



PhD (Doctor of Philosophy) Thesis

Implications of Student Activism on University Governance: A Multi-
Case study in South Africa

Mthokozisi Emmanuel Ntuli

(Student number 214585765)

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the School of Education, University of
KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

Supervisor: Professor Damtew Teferra

March 2020

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study analyses the different manifestations of student activism and its interplay with university governance in three selected universities between 2014 and 2016; namely University A, University B and University C in South Africa. During this period the manifestation of student activism took on different shapes and forms, i.e. participation in university governance, which entailed employing dialogue and constructive engagement on one hand, and engaging in student protest actions on the other. These shapes and forms were prevalent since the advent of the democratic and post-apartheid era. However, during the period under analysis, the student protests in the selected universities in most instances became violent, including massive destruction of university property.

Furthermore in 2015 and 2016, there was an emergence of sweeping protest movements, which also prevailed in these selected universities. These academic years witnessed the advent of new modalities of student activism. A combination of mobilisation and organisation of student demonstrations through virtual activism in cyber space, with classic forms of activism involving physical participation in protest movements, were recorded. The protest movements were organised and mobilised under the banners of #RhodesMustFall, #FeesMustFall and #OutsourcingMustFall.

Indeed, there is no doubt that these novel ways of participating in student activism, in the selected universities and South African universities at large, brought about the new configuration of student activism that government, university management and other interested university stakeholders ought to understand in order to devise ways to handle them. Also, the emergence of protest movements presented a paradoxical condition in which management was required to negotiate with the formally elected student leaders in the form of Student Representative Councils (SRCs) on one hand, and the emergence of the informal leaders who were drawn from the 'leaderless' protest movements, on the other. The study shows that in instances where university management was reluctant to deal with informal leaders or became complacent in addressing student concerns, student protest action tended to become more violent as students demanded attention.

The burning issues of student concerns prevalent in these universities were fees, access, student funding and accommodation. Moreover, universities were faced with a paradox of post-apartheid policy on higher education to expand access to higher education by increasing student

intake on one hand, and fiscal austerity and belt-tightening policies which culminated in limited public spending, and imposition of fiscal constraints on higher education institutions (HEIs), on the other. Since the new democracy, the government rejected the concept of free education, but instead introduced student funding in the form of the National Students Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) and adopted the cost-sharing approach to funding higher education. Cost-sharing measures were based on the premise that students had to contribute to their higher education costs by paying fees. Another paradox that emerged was that the government expansion of access to higher education of students from the poor and working class, was outweighed by the fact that those poor students could not afford to pay student fees and were consequently excluded from higher education. While management insisted that students must pay fees and subsequently excluded those who had outstanding debts and could not afford to pay, the student activists demanded that those students be allowed to register and study while in debt.

In order to provide theoretical lenses through which the study was conducted, the study has identified a theoretical and conceptual framework to guide the collection of empirical data and analysis. The framework consists of a combination of one theory and two models such as Stakeholder Theory (Freeman, 1984; Morrow, 1998), Four Ideal-Type Regimes of University Governance Model (Luescher, 2008) and Activists Leadership Model (Altbach, 1989; Lipset & Altbach, 1966). The theory and two models are integrated to formulate a framework to provide a theoretical lens for the study. Furthermore, the study examines the above-mentioned theory and models of student activism in order to establish whether the existing theoretical and conceptual frameworks encapsulate recent forms of student activism that are prevalent in the selected universities, particularly of protest movements using social media to galvanise support.

The study has adopted a qualitative multi-case approach in three selected universities using multiple data sources for triangulation. Firstly, semi-structured individual interviews with various participants including students and universities senior managers. Secondly, focus-group interviews were conducted with student participants in three selected universities. Finally, the documentation was collected and analysed. The research sample included students from diverse organisational affiliations such as SRCs, politically-aligned student organisations, apolitical student organisations and student activists who were not in formal student leadership and governance.

Moreover, student participants were at least in the third year of their studies when data was collected to provide their experiences and views of student activism between 2014 and 2016. The members of senior management were Deans of Students as they were senior officials who had been directly involved in dealing with SRCs and student activism in general in the selected universities. Also, members of university management included the University Registrars because of their key role as, *inter alia*, the University Governance and Committee Services, including coordinating various university governance matters of institutions; development of universities statutes, stakeholders' representation in various statutory committees (including students) and university policy development matters.

A rich body of documents was collected and reviewed, including student memoranda that was submitted to management, minutes of meetings between SRCs and management where issues were raised and discussed, management communiques with meeting resolutions, SRCs' communiques to a student body, court interdicts, SRC constitutions and statutes of the selected universities and Higher Education Act, 101 of 1997 as amended (National Higher Education legislative document).

The study has demonstrated that student leaders were engaged in a combination of student activism, including participating in the university governance, as well as student protests to raise issues in the selected universities. This has become evident in the analysis of student activism which has sought to address students' concerns, including fees, academic and financial exclusion, inadequate accommodation and more. During the period studied, there were a number of student protests and negotiation processes between student leaders and university management to address student concerns. This usually occurred in an environment mainly characterised by confrontational and antagonistic relations which culminated in the interplay between student activism and institutional governance that was somewhat tense. However, there were some instances where dialogue and cooperation was evident. The manifestation of student activism also involved the intra-student political activism dynamics in the selected universities where the different political groupings emerged to engage in rival activism and organised student protests while disregarding the formally elected SRC.

The emergence of protest movements in 2015, using social media to mobilise students, provided new modalities in which students organised to pursue an intended cause. These protest movements have adopted a horizontal and leaderless approach in mobilising and

organising protests. The study shows that student activists in these universities had negotiated with management and protested against fee hikes long before the emergence of #FeesMustFall which originated in 2015. However, it appeared that #FeesMustFall was a tiny achievement and the ultimate goal for students was to win the struggle for free higher education for all, which commenced a few years prior to its emergence.

Student activism has been characterised by the proliferation of student political organisations that engage in fierce competition to gain a dominant voice or hegemony in the university governance. These organisations included the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL), Democratic Alliance Student Organisation (DASO), Economic Freedom Fighters Student Command (EFFSC), National Student Movement (NASMO), South African Democratic Student Movement (SADESMO), South African Student Congress (SASCO) and Young Communist League of South Africa (YCLSA). SASCO has ordinarily contested SRC elections as the Progressive Youth Alliance (PYA) which comprises ANCYL, SASCO and YCLSA in South African HEIs. The PYA has usually contested SRC elections under the banner of SASCO. However, in some instances, the organisations affiliated under PYA have tended to contest one another in these universities during SRC elections. The SRCs were usually elected among these student political affiliated organisations to serve as a formal student leadership which have a mandate to aggregate, articulate and mediate student interests in university governance (Luescher, 2008).

The university governance has emphasised the “collective identity of students as a distinct group of the university” (Luescher, 2008, p. 62). However, the student body tends to be quite heterogeneous and students serve different political mandates from their mother political bodies and this has caused these universities to become battlegrounds, resulting in a high level of student political activism, distrust and suspicion between different groups which seek to have a predominant voice (Morrow, 1998).

The major findings have indicated that universities are complex and multifaceted entities with various stakeholders. Moreover, these stakeholders tended to have different interests in conflict with one another. Students, university management and staff were some of the stakeholders who participated in the university governance. Students usually participate through their elected representatives known as SRCs. The findings show that a major source of differences originated from fees that are charged at South African HEIs as a cost-sharing measure to higher

education costs. The differences between these stakeholders have been resolved through a negotiated settlement; including allowing students to register with outstanding balances and make arrangements to settle the debt on an instalment basis. However, this solution has increased student debts, as students who committed to pay could not afford it. In instances where management resolved to exclude students with outstanding balances, students tended to embark on protest action to put pressure on management to concede to their demands of accommodating the registration of poor students.

The findings show that there has been a proliferation of different politically-aligned student organisations which has culminated in fierce competition among these student organisations to become SRCs to represent student interests. Although the SRCs negotiated with management on a number of student issues as a stakeholder group, dissenting student groupings, who felt that their interests were not accommodated by SRCs, engaged in protest actions to pursue their demands outside the formally elected student representatives. This kind of activism has been termed rival student activism.

The findings also show that students remain the minority in the statutory university committees and usually get outvoted during decision-making processes. As a result, they tended to embark in mass action when they did not win the negotiations. The findings show that in 2015 and 2016, student activism was characterised by waves of protest movements which swept across the country. This has been identified as new ways in which students engage in activism in the form of protest movement using social media to galvanise support. Students organised protest movements, using social networks under the banners of hashtag networked movements such as #RhodesMustFall, #FeesMustFall and #OutsourcingMustFall.

The findings indicated that social media was significantly utilised as a device to galvanise participation in protest movements and digital technology promoted communication with a large number of people in a short space of time which enabled the protest movements to achieve their goals. The findings have also indicated that there is an external influence on how student activism has come into play. The external influence usually has been exerted by the mother bodies of the politically-aligned student organisations. This included, *inter alia*, influencing student activists to embark on protest action that sought to achieve the goals of external bodies rather than the interest of students. Some external bodies had business interests and used student activists to sway tender bids in their favour. The major findings also indicated that the

current models do not encapsulate these contemporary forms of student activism of protest movements, using social networks to mobilise. Hence the study has proposed a new model, named unbounded student activism. The major findings of the study thus makes an empirical contribution to the body of knowledge.

The study concludes with recommendations for future research and proposes that future research also requires a comparative study of student activism during apartheid (pre-1994), post-apartheid (post-1994) and the hashtag movements (post-2014) era to provide systematic analysis and investigation of the manifestation of student activism in South Africa. Also, future research could analyse student activism in a multi-campus university to understand why student activism is more prevalent in one campus than others. Lastly, future research requires a study of student activism that provides a model to illuminate the understanding of ways in which student issues are raised to university authorities through formally elected representatives, as well as through informal means.

DECLARATION

I declare that *Implications of Student Activism on University Governance: A Multi-Case Study in South Africa* is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination to any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Mthokozisi Emmanuel Ntuli
PhD Candidate

Date

Prof Dantew Teferra
Supervisor

Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The saying, “no man is an island” is truly relevant for me as it would have not have been possible to complete this study without the support of others. Different types of support were received during several years of my PhD studies. I am very thankful and appreciative of my supervisor - Professor Damtew Teferra, for his fortitude, intellectual leadership and support throughout the study. Also, my sincere gratitude for the penetrating and powerful questions that endowed and honed the way I approached and analysed issues. His confidence and encouragement has instilled a permanent sense of belief that the completion of this thesis was inevitable and just a matter of time.

I am also grateful for the opportunity that was provided to me through the Finnish government-funded mobility programme to study at the University of Tampere, Finland, as a PhD exchange student from January 2018 to June 2018. This programme provided international exposure to my understanding of the higher education system transitions in different continents such as in Africa, Europe (including the role of the European Commission), North America, Latin America, Asia and Australia. These transitions included, *inter alia* teaching, research and innovation, quality assurance, community service, university governance and the role of student activism in reforming higher education in these continents.

I am grateful to Professor Seppo Holttä, Professor Jussi Kivistö, Dr Elias Pekkola and the entire team at the University of Tampere – Faculty of Management, for a warm welcome and support while at the university. I am also thankful to the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) PhD cohort, conducted by Higher Education Training and Development (HETD) and School of Education. I thank the various professors who volunteered their time at weekends to share and give input on my studies. Furthermore, I am grateful for ‘grilling questions’ sometimes by members of the PhD cohort I attended, and I learnt much in the process. I am optimistic that South Africa, our beloved country, and our higher education system has a bright future indeed.

My sincere thanks and gratitude that cannot adequately be expressed in words, goes to my entire family who provided support and encouragement, especially my daughters, Nomaphemba and Zamaphemba, and my son, Mbhekiwamaphemba. I thank my family for the sacrifices made to allow me to pursue my PhD studies and supported me at all times when I was at the University of Tampere, on a doctoral student exchange programme.

My inspiration is derived from my late mother, Nonhlanhla Hilderguard MaDubazana Ntuli who always believed in me and brought me up in the spirit of the premise that education is the most powerful weapon for success. My late mother's inspiration has been a pillar of strength that pushed me through to the end. I shall never forget my father, Mcabangisi Alois Ntuli who sacrificed everything to give me the best education he could. I thank both my parents for a dream they had for me to become a better person than they were, through education. They did not want to see me experiencing the similar shocks of living under poverty-stricken, underdeveloped and disadvantaged conditions as they did. The dream and vision they held highly will remain forever and I shall always share it with others.

My sincere gratitude and thanks to all the research participants, including the senior managers and students for the data they provided to make this research journey a success. I am thankful to the Research Directorate of Mangosuthu University of Technology for the National Research Foundation funding provided for editing the thesis.

Dedicated to my late mother, Nonhlanhla Hildegard MaDubazana Ntuli.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AGM	Annual General Meeting
ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
ASB	Afrikaner Student Bond
AZASO	Azania Students Organisation
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BGM	Branch General Meeting
BTF	Broad Transformation Forum
CODESA	Convention for Democratic South Africa
DASO	Democratic Alliance Students Organisation
DHET	Department of Higher Education and Training
EFFSC	Economic Freedom Fighters Students Command
EMC	Executive Management Committee
HBI	Historically Black Institution
HBU	Historically Black University
HEI	Higher Education Institution
HWU	Historically White University
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MDM	Mass Democratic Movement
NASMO	National Students Movement
NCHE	National Commission on Higher Education
NP	National Party
NSFAS	National Students Financial Aid Scheme
NUSAS	National Union of South Africa Students
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SADESMO	South African Democratic Students Movement
SANSCO	South Africa National Students Congress
SAP	Structural Adjustments Programme
SASCO	South African Students Congress
SASO	South African Students Organisation
SRC	Students Representative Council
UCT	University of Cape Town
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal

Wits
YCLSA

University of Witwatersrand
Young Communists League of South Africa

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	i
DECLARATION	vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	viii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xvii
LIST OF TABLES	xviii
CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Context of the Research	1
1.3 Problem Statement	2
1.4 Purpose of the Study	4
1.5 Rationale of the Study	5
1.6 Focus of the Study	8
1.7 Significance of the Study	9
1.8 Conceptual Framework	9
1.9 Methodology	9
1.10 Structure of the Study	13
1.11 Summary	13
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	15
2.1 Introduction	15
2.2 Definition of Student Activism	15
2.3 International Perspective	16
2.4 African Perspective	19
2.5 South African Perspective	26
2.5.1 <i>Political Triumph by the National Party (NP) in 1948</i>	27
2.5.2 <i>Holloway Commission</i>	28
2.5.3 <i>The Van der Walt Commission</i>	28
2.5.4 <i>Conception of Universities: NUSAS vs Apartheid Government</i>	29
2.5.5 <i>NUSAS's Academic Freedom and Academic Non-segregation Campaigns</i>	30
2.5.6 <i>Extension of University Education Bill (1959)</i>	32
2.5.7 <i>White Liberal Radical Activism</i>	32
2.5.8 <i>The Rise of Black Student Activism in South Africa</i>	34
2.5.9 <i>Brief History of Black Student Activism at Fort Hare</i>	35
2.5.10 <i>Establishment of the South African Student Organisation (SASO)</i>	38
2.5.11 <i>Formation of South African National Student Congress (SANSCO)</i>	40
2.5.12 <i>Student Activism in the Post-apartheid and Democratic Era</i>	40
2.5.13 <i>The Emergence of Hashtag Movements</i>	42

2.6 Summary	45
CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	47
3.1 Introduction.....	47
3.2 Conceptualising Student Activism.....	49
3.3 The Stakeholder Theory.....	50
3.4 University Governance Model.....	53
3.4.1 <i>Community of Scholars</i>	54
3.4.2 <i>Stakeholder University</i>	54
3.4.3 <i>Prestigious National University</i>	55
3.4.4 <i>The Market-Oriented University</i>	57
3.5 Activists Leadership Model	59
3.6 Motivation for Combining Theories or Models in the Conceptual Framework	61
3.7 Discussions	63
3.9 Summary	72
CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	74
4.1 Introduction.....	74
4.2 Philosophical World View: Paradigm of the Study	74
4.3 Research Methodology	76
4.4 Data Collection Methods	80
4.5 Gatekeepers' Permission to Access the Field	81
4.6 Piloting the Interview.....	82
4.7 Preparation for Data Collection	82
4.8 Semi-structured Interviews	83
4.9 Sampling	83
4.10 Interview Process	85
4.11 Telephonic Interview	88
4.12 Email Interview.....	89
4.13 Focus Group Interviews.....	89
4.14 Documentation.....	91
4.15 Ethical Issues	92
4.16 Qualitative Analysis of the Data	93
4.17 Validity and Reliability.....	96
4.18 Summary	97
CHAPTER 5: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS: FORMAL ACTIVISM.....	99
5.1 Introduction.....	99
5.2 Conceptualisation of Student Activism	99
5.3 Student Activism Manifestations in South Africa	104
5.4 Student Motives to Engage in Activism	104

5.5 Formal Student Activism Manifestations	108
5.5.1 Government Legislation on Student Representation.....	109
5.5.2 Institutional Statutes and SRC Constitutions.....	109
5.5.3 Elections of the Student Representatives	111
5.5.4 The External Influence on the SRC Elections Process	116
5.6 Student Participation in the University Governance.....	119
5.7 University-Specific Issues Raised by Students.....	122
5.8 Impediments on SRCs' Efficiency in the University Committees	123
5.8.1 Ill-Preparedness for Meetings	124
5.8.2 Insufficient Support for Student Activists to Perform	125
5.8.3 Poor Selection Mechanisms of Student Activists to Formal Leadership	126
5.9 The Impact of Governance, Leadership and Management on Student Activism	127
5.10 Summary	130
CHAPTER 6: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS: INFORMAL ACTIVISM.....	132
6.1 Introduction.....	132
6.2 SRC-Led Student Protests.....	132
6.2.1 Discord between Management and SRC as a Driver of Student Protests	134
6.2.2 Goals Achieved by Students through SRC-Led Protest	137
6.3 Student Movements	139
6.3.1 #FeesMustFall Movement.....	140
6.3.2 Decolonisation of the Universities: #RhodesMustFall Movement	143
6.3.3 #OutsourcingMustFall Movement	144
6.3.4 Challenges Faced by a University Governance in Relation to Student Movements	148
6.4 Rival Protest Actions	149
6.5 Summary	151
CHAPTER 7: SOCIAL MEDIA, STUDENT ACTIVISM AND UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE.....	154
7.1 Introduction.....	154
7.2 The Significance of Social Media on Student Activism.....	154
7.3 Protest Movements and Social Media.....	154
7.4 Critics on the Use of Social Media in Student Activism	157
7.5 Influence of the External Bodies.....	159
7.6 The Interplay between Student Activism and University Governance.....	165
7.7 Call for a Broader Representation in the University Governance	169
7.8 Summary	170
CHAPTER 8: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS	172
8.1 Introduction.....	172

8.2 Manifestation of Student Activism	172
8.3 Social Media	179
8.4 Style of Governance, Leadership and Management of Universities.....	180
8.5 Internet Age Movements.....	183
8.6 The New Conceptual Model	185
8.7 Summary	191
CHAPTER 9: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	194
9.1 Introduction.....	194
9.2 Summary of Findings.....	199
9.2.1 <i>Motives to Engage in Activism</i>	199
9.2.2 <i>Issues Facing Students</i>	200
9.2.3 <i>External Influence</i>	202
9.2.4 <i>Institutional Interaction and Responses</i>	202
9.3 Conclusion	205
9.4 Implications of the Study	206
9.5 Limitations of the Study.....	210
REFERENCES	212
APPENDICES	223
Appendix A: Ethical Clearance – Full Approval	223
Appendix B: Professional Editing Certificate.....	224
Appendix C: Professional Editing Certificate (Final).....	225
Appendix D: Turnitin Report.....	226

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.	Stakeholder Theory	53
Figure 2.	University Governance Model	59
Figure 3.	Activist Leadership Model	61
Figure 4:	Unbounded Student Activism Model	187

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.	Sampling	85
----------	----------	----

CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

1.1 Introduction

This chapter includes the context of the research, problem statement, study purpose and significance of the study, methodology and structures of the study. Student activism is highly complex, multifaceted and difficult to predict (Altbach, 1989). Despite the intricate nature of student activism, it is immensely important to understand the dynamics and configurations of this phenomenon, as activism by students has posed serious threats and even toppled some regimes. Also, it has caused disruption in HEIs (Altbach, 1989; Badat, 1999; Boren, 2013). Hence, Altbach (1989) has suggested that governments and institutional leaders should understand student activism and its dynamics. Furthermore, he has asserted that student activists themselves should understand the history of student activism as “those who do not know the past are doomed to repeat it” (p. 97).

1.2 Context of the Research

The study is conducted in three selected universities in South Africa. The official name of the country is the Republic of South Africa (RSA). South Africa is a diamond shape and covers an area of 1,219,912 square km at the southern edge of Africa. The country covers 1,821 km NE–SW and 1,066 km (662 mi) SE–NW. It is situated within the boundaries of Botswana in the north and Zimbabwe, on the north-east by Mozambique and Swaziland, on the east by the Indian Ocean, on the south by the convergence of the Indian and Atlantic oceans, on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the north-west by Namibia. South Africa's capital city, Pretoria, is situated in the north-eastern portion of the republic (Worger & Byrnes, 2012).

While, Pretoria is the administrative capital, Cape Town is the law-making capital and Bloemfontein is the judiciary capital. South Africa has a population of 56.6 million people and is divided into 51% females and 49% males (Census, 2016). The youth of South Africa constitute 36.2%. The unemployment rate is rising in South Africa and estimated at 27.7% (Census, 2016). The country has nine provinces; Gauteng comprises the largest share of the South African population. There are 11 official languages, including English and Afrikaans (Stats SA, 2017).

South Africa is called a ‘Rainbow Nation’ for numerous reasons as it signifies diverse culture, language, race, colour and creed. The parliamentary system of South Africa has a president of the republic as the head of state with cabinet ministers responsible for different government

portfolios. South Africa is a member state of the African Union that consists of 54 African countries (Worger & Byrnes, 2012).

1.3 Problem Statement

Student activism is prevalent in South African HEIs. Pre-democracy student activism focused on national issues to wage the struggle for change in a political system from the apartheid system to a democratic system. This struggle occurred to transform a political system from apartheid to democratic systems by fighting against the injustices of apartheid law and for total liberation of black people in South Africa. Students fought side by side with the leaders of liberation movements against the apartheid laws of the National Party (NP) government.

When the apartheid system was defeated, student activists shifted their focus from national to institution-focused issues. This shift originated from the new challenges that students were confronted with in the post-apartheid era. The said period, was achieved after the fall of the NP apartheid government in 1994 and ascendance of the democratically elected government of the African National Congress (ANC), led by the first black president of South Africa, the late Dr Nelson Mandela to power. In addition, the democratic government introduced policies that promote cooperative governance in university governance and leadership to involve students in decision-making processes (Department of Education, 1997; National Commission on Higher Education, 1996).

The first problem statement is that despite the cooperative governance policies in place, there was a high prevalence of student protest action in South Africa. The study conducted by Koen, Cele and Libhaber (2006) demonstrated that university students in the post-apartheid era engaged in protests, especially in the historically black institutions (HBIs). It further suggests that the student protest action focused towards addressing institutional issues such as academic and financial exclusion, student accommodation and other educational concerns. Similarly, Cele (2008) has noted that during the democratic era, students embarked on strikes directed towards university issues in the historically black universities (HBU). Furthermore, Cele (2008) noted that students have tended to oscillate from protest action to negotiation with university managers. In most instances, these protests became violent and caused serious destruction of university property. The confrontation between student activists and institutional leaders in universities such as Northwest University, UKZN, Tshwane University of Technology, University of Zululand and others, caused the burning down of property during strikes (Cloete, 2016).

Secondly, there was an emergence of protest movements in South Africa in the academic years of 2015 and 2016. These movements presented new protest modalities by blending mobilisation and organisation of student demonstrations using social networks with physical participation in protest movements. These new ways of students organising in the digital age are aligned to what Castells called internet-age networked movements (Castells, 2015). Undoubtedly, these forms of student action erupted as a novel way of engaging in protests. Nevertheless, these tactics of activism by students have become normal in South African universities, since they have spread rapidly to other universities in South Africa and even beyond (Ntuli & Teferra, 2017; Oxlund, 2016). For this reason, university administrators and other university stakeholders should understand these new configurations of student activism in South Africa.

Thirdly, studies have been conducted to understand the role that student activism plays, as well as its degree of influence in university governance (Luescher, 2005; Pabian & Minksová, 2011). However, some scholars have argued that the enormous work on this phenomenon has occurred mainly in the developed nations (Byaruhanga, 2013; Munene, 2003). For this reason, there has been a concern from some authors regarding the shortage of research conducted on the role of student activism during democratic change (Zeilig & Dawson, 2008). Furthermore, the literature notes that the analysis of student activism in the African context seldom has been undertaken (Alence, 1999; Badat, 1999; Cele, 2008; Luescher, 2011; Naidoo, 2006). Instead, these studies have focused on student activism in relation to the national politics to wage a struggle against colonial rule and independence and against apartheid in South Africa. As a result, studies of student activism in relation to university governance rarely have been conducted (Luescher, 2005; Koen et al., 2006).

Fourthly, university governance in the new democratic South Africa promotes cooperative governance through representation of stakeholders, such as students who were erstwhile excluded in the university governance (Department of Education, 1997; National Commission of Higher Education, 1996). However, the student representation is a small minority in the various committees of university governance (Cele, 2002; Luescher, 2008). Fifth and finally, there has been a lack of theoretical conceptualisation of the recent forms of student activism. In other words, there has been an absence of a conceptual framework or model that describes the contemporary forms of student activism in South Africa. Thus, it has become imperative to conduct this study to fill these identified voids (Ntuli & Teferra, forthcoming).

1.4 Purpose of the Study

The inherent and complex nature of student activism and its potential to disrupt and cause instability in the academic institutions (Altbach, 1989) has necessitated that the study about this phenomenon is conducted to provide deeper understanding on student activism manifestations and its interplay with the university governance. Hence, the purpose of the study is to analyse the interplay between student activism and university governance in South African universities.

As indicated earlier, the student activism in South Africa has entailed students embarking on protest action against alleged institutional injustices such as academic and financial exclusion of students, especially with previously disadvantaged and poor students. Furthermore, student activists have led mass demonstrations against fee hikes, inadequate student financial assistance, shortage of accommodation and other related institutional issues. Actually, the government's shrinking purse has caused seriously reduced university funding from the State. This has been encapsulated in the government economic policy that limits higher education funding and promoted cost-sharing measures in the universities. The cost-sharing approach implied that students should share the costs of their studies by paying fees. Hence, the university managers insisted that students should pay fees so that senior managers could meet their escalating costs of running the universities.

The escalating costs have been, *inter alia*, caused by the augmented student enrolments in the universities to provide the opportunity to the erstwhile deprived black students to access to higher education. These increased enrolments have been undertaken under the notion of promoting equity and access in South African higher educations. Apparently, the augmentation of enrolments without a proportional increase in necessary resources such as finance, infrastructure and quality lecturers to run the universities effectively, has been a recipe for havoc and disaster. As a result, students raised concerns regarding shortages of these resources and engaged in revolts to express their concerns. These revolts were normally directed at the university management as the issues raised by students were institution-focused.

The study seeks to analyse the recent forms and shape of student activism in the three selected universities in South Africa. In order to examine this activism, the student activism that has occurred in the past three years between 2014 and 2016 academic years is analysed. This period was chosen because it was at the height of student activism in South Africa and has covered

violent action by students, especially from the previously disadvantaged institutions. Also, the period covers the emergence of the hash tag protest movements that originated in the historically white English universities. Thus, the period analysed offers the illumination of student action, including perennial student strikes that occurred in HBIs and hashtag protest movements that originated from historically white English institutions and spread across the country and abroad.

This research endeavours to offer a holistic understanding of the recent student activism manifestations and its interplay with university governance in the selected cases. Hence, the study has three specific objectives to accomplish: 1) to critically analyse the interplay between student activism and university governance in the selected universities, 2) to explore the nature of student activism and its manifestations and 3) to discuss the dynamics that influence or inform such student activism manifestations, as well as the implications of student activism on university governance. Hence, in order to understand the interplay between student activism and university governance in South Africa, the study responds to the following research questions:

- a) What is the nexus between student activism and university governance in the selected universities?
- b) How does student activism manifest itself in the university governance in these universities?
- c) Why does student activism manifest itself the manner it does in university governance in these universities?

1.5 Rationale of the Study

This study seeks to understand and re-conceptualise the emerging phenomenon of student activism and its implication of university governance in South Africa. During pre-democracy in South Africa, students participated in the struggle, centred on issues of racist political institutions, the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) and similar issues (Badat, 1999; Luescher & Mugume, 2014; Luescher, Klemenčič, & Jowi, 2016). Nevertheless, the new democratic dispensation in South Africa has catalysed different forms of student activism. Whereas, the erstwhile activism by students has concentrated its focus on political rights issues on one hand, the recent student actions has its attention on educational concerns, on the other (Nkomo, 1983; Badat, 1999; Luescher & Mugume, 2014). Therefore, this study seeks to

contribute to a better understanding of changing dynamics of student activism in the selected universities from macro and national issues to paying attention to institution-focused student concerns.

First, the study offers a global account of student agitation which indicates that student activism has been prevalent since the 12th century in Europe when secular education was born (Boren, 2013). Furthermore, it demonstrates that during this period students engaged in protests against hefty rents for residential space and negotiated for more positive financial terms. Thus, students came to understand their new acquired position of power (Boren, 2013). Furthermore, the study provides some account of the forms of student activism in Western countries, including the revolutionary struggles waged by students focusing on national political systems on one hand and educational concerns on the other. Thus, the study notes that the 1960s was a turbulent decade of student activism in Western countries (Altbach, 1989). Consequently, students began to understand the power they could wield to catalyse reformation.

Second, the literature in this study also offers a historical account of student activism in the African continent. This entails the student struggle for independence and against colonial rule. African students became part of the national struggle and were considered a political equation in virtually every struggle on the continent (Altbach, 1989). Apparently, the literature demonstrates that in the post-independence era, students studied free of charge, received accommodation and allowances (Sawyerr, 2004). However, post-independence, students engaged in a second liberation struggle and during this era student activism was manifest in the form of a struggle for democracy and social justice (Klopp & Orina, 2002).

Accordingly, the growth in student numbers enrolled in African universities and economic decline, paved a way for Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) and increasing withdrawal of public funds. This culminated in a shift in student activism, from political, to focus towards economic matters, which resulted in confrontational and violent student activism to protest for social justice (Federici, Caffentzis, & Alidou, 2000; Teferra & Altbach, 2004). Furthermore, the research notes violent repression as a response by government in some countries to suppress student activism. The study notes that the liberation movements which were then in government and fought side by side with student activists during the liberation struggle against colonisation in different African countries, unleashed the State machineries to violently repress student protests. Consequently, the repressive measures have caused, in some instances,

students' arrests, killings and expulsion from universities (Alidou, Caffentzis, & Federici, 2008; Byaruhanga, 2013).

Third, the literature provides a historic account of student activism in the South African context. It provides comprehensive analyses of student activism by examining its patterns that have manifested during different periods. These periods entail student activism since the formation of the white English student-led National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) in 1924 and exclusion of black students from NUSAS membership until 1945. The NUSAS-led radical student activism that was impelled by the rise of the National Party to power as a governing party in 1948 with apartheid policies. This period was followed by the formation of the South African Student Organisation (SASO) which was a splinter group of NUSAS under the leadership of Steve Biko in 1968. This culminated in more radicalised student activism against the apartheid government in the 1970s, characterised by the formation of other Black Consciousness Movements (BCMs), including a protest by high school pupils in the 1976 Soweto uprising. However, the apartheid government responded by using violent repressive measures which resulted in shooting, killing and arresting protesters, and a massacre. Some were arrested and others fled the country in exile. Subsequently, the black conscious movements were banned by the apartheid regime and Steve Biko was murdered by the police during an interrogation in 1977.

Successively, a new student organisation known as the Azanian Student Organisation (AZASO) was established in 1979 and later underwent a name change to become the South African National Student Congress (SANSCO) in the 1980s. Similarly, the struggle continued and was waged by students against the apartheid government for the total liberation of black people of South Africa. SANSCO's pattern of activism included students being involved in a MDM which consisted of labour, religious groups, civil societies, youth organisations and other groups making a collective effort to fight apartheid. Consequently, the apartheid regime surrendered in 1990 and liberated all political leaders from prison, including Nelson Mandela. This was followed by intensive negotiations in the Convention for Democratic South Africa (CODESA) for democratic elections to take place.

In the 1994 national elections, the ANC was elected into power and introduced democratic policies. During this period, the pattern of student activism was marked by a shift from confrontational to cooperative and constructive engagement. Nevertheless, these shifts were

short-lived as students engaged in violent protests, especially the HBIs on a number of educational concerns. However, the academic year of 2015 saw students from the historically white universities (HWUs) participate in a protest utilising hashtag networked movements under the banner of #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall. This culminated in a national protest for fees to fall, decolonisation of higher education and a demand for free education for all in South Africa. Thus, the research contributes to the limited literature of student activism in relation to the university governance to address educational concerns.

1.6 Focus of the Study

Studies of student activism have tended to be more focused on the role of students in dealing with socio-political and institutional issues without looking at the dynamics that inform such manifestations. This entails the interaction between student activism and its context in which it occurs, the type of governance adopted by the selected universities and how these relate to one another. Furthermore, forms and shapes of student activism are usually impelled by the context in which they occur, including the nature of responses and agility of management in responding, as well as the capacity and constraints of the context to respond to student issues. Further, the nature of student activism entails the political dynamics that come into play within the student population. This includes the manner in which the SRC relates with student organisations and the student body at large. The literature has seldom provided accounts of experiences of individual students or comprehensive accounts of the role of the SRCs in dealing with various student concerns within the universities. Usually, students are conceived as one big homogenous student body, without taking into account their diverse needs and concerns.

Lastly, student activism has changed enormously in South Africa since the dawn of democracy. Specifically, the contemporary forms of student activism have included the mobilisation of protest movements using social networks such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, WhatsApp and others. Also, the protest movements seemingly have no formal leadership and students employ a horizontal and 'leaderless' approach in advancing the struggle. Concurrently, the formal leadership has continued to represent student issues, with some student activists tending to reject the SRCs as their leaders during protest movements. As a result there have been parallel processes in the representation of student issues; namely by SRCs, and in some institutions, *ad hoc* committees informally elected by protest movements.

However, existing understanding and theorisation of the phenomenon of student activism is rather obsolete as students have changed the manner in which they mobilise and organise

protests. Indeed, this study seeks to respond to these voids and to provide evidence emerging from the participants on their lived experiences of campus activism and its interplay with university governance. These participants are derived from both students and senior managers and interviewed to elicit evidence of their lived experiences of student activism manifestations.

1.7 Significance of the Study

The study's significance emanates from the notion of worthiness of the analysis to be conducted. Indeed, the problem statement demonstrates the niche areas that the study could cover. First, the study is significant in providing a better understanding of the interplay between student activism and university governance. Second, it is imperative to offer a holistic consideration of how and why student activism manifests itself in the manner it does. Finally, the study provided a new conceptual model that represents the new forms of student activism which is not encapsulated in the existing ones. Thus, the research affords benefits to institutional leaders and policy makers to deeper understand student activism in South African higher education.

1.8 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework adopted in the study constitutes a combination of one theory and two models. These models and a theory were combined to encapsulate different forms of student activism in South Africa; formal and informal. The framework emanates from the result of conducting an extensive literature review. The conceptual framework used was derived from a combination of a theory and models of student activism and university governance, namely Stakeholder Theory (Freeman, 1984; Morrow, 1998); Four Ideal-Type Regime of University Governance model (Luescher, 2008) and Activist Leadership model (Altbach, 1989; Lipset & Altbach, 1966). Further, these models combined were able to furnish a conceptual framework to holistically analyse student activism and its interplay with university governance.

Indeed, the conceptual framework provides a heuristic role to guide the data collection and analysis. It provides theoretical lenses for the study. Nevertheless, the conceptual framework has been utilised to offer temporary lenses to enter the field for data generation and once the field was entered, the researcher allowed the field to speak about the phenomenon. The conceptual framework will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

1.9 Methodology

This study employs the qualitative research approach (Creswell, 2014), case study (Yin, 2014) and constructivist inquiry (Lincoln, Lynham & Guba, 2011). It conducts a multi-case study that

involves three chosen universities to investigate the student activism in the selected universities. Apparently, Yin (2014) has indicated that the focus of the case studies tend to be on contemporary phenomenon (as opposed to historical) and the use of a case study is relevant in this study as it investigates recent forms of student activism in South Africa. Likewise, this research investigates contemporary student activism in its real-world context (Yin, 2014) and natural settings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Actually, Stake (2005) has provided a definition of a case study as it entails “both a process of enquiry about the case and the product of that inquiry” (p. 444).

Also, Simons (2009) has provided a definition that “case study is an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of complexities and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, programme or system in a real life context” (p. 21). Likewise, a case study has been chosen to offer a holistic understanding of the phenomenon in the context of these campuses. Furthermore, Stake (2005) mentions that a case study can be one or a few events to investigate and enable a nuanced understanding of a complex phenomenon. Equally, the researcher has employed a few cases; three cases to be exact, in an attempt to illuminate the student activism phenomenon. Hence, the study design is qualitative in nature and utilises a case study method to conduct a multi-case study in South Africa.

The case study was selected for the following reasons: First and foremost, Stake (2005) postulates that the case study method has normally been used as a method to conduct a qualitative research. Second, the cases selected provide an opportunity to comprehend a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon in those environments (Yin, 2014). Third, these chosen cases enable investigations of the specific problems in natural settings, and these natural settings and issues are context specific and entail interaction between the unit of analysis and its context (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Furthermore, the researcher provides detailed reasons for choosing the three universities as the unit of analysis for the study in the research design and methodology chapter; Chapter 4. Thus, the researcher has chosen the qualitative approach employing a multi-case method in conducting this study.

The decision to choose these universities was based on various reasons. First, these cases involved recent manifestations of activism by students, including perennial student protests that focused on educational concerns and utilisation of social media to mobilise and organise protest movements. In addition, most of these protests became violent and resulted in the

destruction of university property. Second, the democratic government offered a cooperative governance mechanism in which all stakeholders, who were erstwhile excluded in decision making during apartheid, including students, were involved in university governance. Henceforth, the student voice was represented in university decision making and this implies that students were expected to raise issues through their elected leaders on matters affecting them (Department of Education, 1997). Thus, the students in these universities were generally part of decision making through their formally elected leaders. Hence they negotiated with university management on various institutional issues on one hand and engaged in strikes on the other.

Third, student demonstrations in these universities were perennial since the advent of democracy in 1994 and these demonstrations targeted institutional issues such as access, fees, accommodation, modules, duty performances (DPs), management style, SRCs' complacency and others. Fourth, these three cases showed a great willingness to participate in the study and the access to the participants was granted without serious challenges. Patton (2002) suggests that one of the greatest challenge a researcher can be confronted with is the inability to access the field, or spends considerable time pursuing access to the field. Similarly, Blatter & Blume (2008) concur that access is a significant factor to consider when choosing a case. Fifth, these universities tend to have tension between SRCs, student political organisations, activists who are not in any formal student leadership roles and students in general, which could impact in a manner in which they relate to university governance.

Lastly, geographical proximity is a criterion to be considered when selecting a case. This selection criteria was considered to ensure that the researcher conducted an investigation of the interaction between the units of analysis and respective contexts, in fairly accessible cases, to produce required results. Likewise, Etikan, Musa, & Alkassim (2016) suggest that the selection of cases can be based on relative accessibility, geographical proximity of participants who are available and willing to participate in the study.

The sampling method utilised in this study is purposeful sampling which signifies that the sampling is viewed to achieve particular objectives. The participants were selected from diverse clusters of 15 student activists and five senior managers to provide rich information about the phenomenon (Patton, 2002). This sampling technique involved choosing participants who were knowledgeable about, or experienced in the phenomenon of interest (Patton, 2002).

This strategic choice of participants is essential to ensure the data collection and analysis processes have rigour and credibility in the study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Stenbacka, 2001).

The student participants were derived from different student activists and leaders from the three selected universities in South Africa. The senior managers were selected on the basis of their knowledge of student activism and university governance at these campuses. Furthermore, the research seeks to contribute to the understanding of student activism manifestations and their interplay with university governance by providing perspectives of students and senior managers formed by their experiences in student activism, the nexus between student activism and university governance, role players and processes involved in student activism. In the same way, the three participating universities were selected based fundamentally on the prevalence of student activism, including engaging in perennial student protest action. Hence, the universities were selected as important cases to participate in the study as students in these universities had engaged in different forms of recent student activism, including student representation in university governance, protest movements employing social media as well as utilising violent protests to express student concerns.

Ethical considerations have been taken into account carefully, as informed consent forms were arranged and submitted to participants prior to interviews. This afforded an opportunity to participants to decide whether or not to participate in the study. Also, the informed consent forms aided to offer necessary information to the participants to gain a fuller understanding of the purpose and methods used in the study, the risks involved, and the demands placed on them as participants.

The research employed multiple data sources, involving semi-structured individual interviews, focus group interviews and document analysis for triangulation. Likewise, Yin (2014) suggests that multiple data sources are necessary for triangulation. Also, Yin defines triangulation as an activity that entails “a process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, verifying the repeatability of an observation or interpretation” (2014, p. 454). Furthermore, triangulation is used in the study to eliminate bias and for trustworthiness, dependability and rigour in the finding and conclusion of the study which are most critical characteristics of qualitative research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Stenbacka, 2001). Thus, the utilisation of multiple data sources assisted to provide rigour and trustworthiness in the study.

1.10 Structure of the Study

Chapter 1 covers the context of the study, problem statement, purpose of the study, rationale and significance of the study and structure of the thesis. Chapter 2 covers the literature review on student activism by providing a detailed historical account of student activism from the global, African and South African perspectives. Furthermore, the chapter provides the geographical location of South Africa, brief history of both South Africa and its higher education system to provide understanding of the context in which student activism occurred. Further it furnishes various patterns of student activism manifestations as influenced by different circumstances and periods. Lastly, the chapter offers scholarly debates on student activism by various scholars in the field.

Chapter 3 provides a conceptual framework used in the study. As indicated earlier, it is a combination of three models and emanates from the result of conducting an extensive literature review. It provides a framework of the study and lenses for data collection and analysis. Chapter 4 provides the research design and methodology, which outlines three aspects that are used to conduct this research. First, it provides the philosophical world view of the researcher and research paradigm. Second, the chapter offers the research design of the study and lastly research methods used to conduct collect data. Chapter 5, 6 and 7 present the data that emerged from the field in a descriptive form. Whereas Chapter 5 focuses on formal activism manifestations, Chapter 6 pays attention to informal activism and Chapter 7 provides data on social media and university governance. Chapter 8 provides findings and discussion and lastly, Chapter 9 furnishes a conclusion of the study and suggested future research.

1.11 Summary

This chapter introduces the study by providing the context of the research, problem statement, and purpose of the study as well as its significance and the organisation of the chapters. The problem statements of the study originates from the notion that student activism in South Africa has shifted its focus from national issues to change a political system in the country to institutional issues. Pre-democracy in South Africa, student activism manifestations paid attention to issues of the struggle against the apartheid laws that institutionalised racial segregation. The apartheid laws restricted black students enrolling in white institutions. During this struggle, students were concerned with the achievement of a democratic South Africa and a total liberation of blacks by conquering the apartheid system. After participating successfully in dismantling the apartheid system, students shifted their attention to focus on issues occurring within their universities. Further, this change in focus produced new forms of student activism

manifestations, including student representation in university governance, student unrest, and coupled with violent protests in some instances, new modalities in which students organised themselves in the form of protest movements using social media.

Based on the abovementioned problem statement, this chapter indicates that the researcher developed the study purpose, i.e. to understand the interplay between student activism and university governance. In order to understand these implications, the research first analyses the nexus between student activism and university governance in the three participating universities. Second, it explores how student activism manifests itself in university governance in these universities. Third and lastly, the study evaluates how student activism manifests itself in these institutions in the manner it does.

The significance of the study, which originates from a rigorous review of the scholarly literature and development of the problem statements, revealed numerous gaps. First, the study is necessitated by the shortage of literature of student activism in relation to university governance in South Africa and the African continent. Second, there is a change in student activism manifestations with new modalities, in which students organise themselves in the form of protest movements utilising social media, as well as the mother bodies' influence on student activism. Third, there is a methodological gap in the existing studies in most studies, as their sampling entails studies paying attention solely to student experience and studies focusing on senior managers only. Fourth, there is inherent tension between formally elected students and student activists who are not in leadership or students at large. Fifth and finally, there is a lack of models that capture the recent forms of activism in South Africa. Thus, the research was found to be of significance to provide a better understanding of the recent new notions of student activism in South Africa to the institutional leaders, national policy makers and student leaders and activists, and the interested society at large.

This chapter also provides the synopsis of a historical account of student activism from global, African and South African perspectives which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2. Finally, Chapter 1 provides the structure of the thesis which offers the arrangement of chapters from 1 to 9.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

According to Philip Altbach, student activism is a “complex and multifaceted phenomenon” and it is hard to describe and difficult to forecast (1989). He notes that the manifestation of student activism has created uncertainties or overthrown regimes in some countries and further notes that it has caused volatility and disruption in academic institutions. Thus, it is of immense importance that the institutional leaders and governments understand student activism configurations (Altbach, 1989). Furthermore, student activism is an integral part of universities and it will remain a force to reckon with in the university community and wider society (Altbach, 1989). This chapter provides the literature review of student activism. It begins by providing a definition of student activism by extracting definitions of different scholars and based on that, forms a definition that is aligned to the study. The chapter also furnishes detailed historical accounts of student activism, i.e. international, African and South African perspectives.

2.2 Definition of Student Activism

Definitions of student activism abound, however the researcher meticulously selected a few that appear more relevant to this study. Jacks (1975, p. 13) defines student activism as “the sum total of action and intentions of students individually, collectively and organisationally that are directed for change in the students' own circumstances and for educational and wider social change”. Nkomo (1983) defines student activism as a particular mode of action undertaken by student organisations or groups to address specific or general issues defined as important to them. Fletcher (2005) defines student activism as the efforts by students to effect political, environmental, economic or social change. However, Badat (1999, p. 33) argues that whereas the "action and intentions" are focused to bring about change, they could also be directed at the preservation of the prevailing student situation as well as maintenance of the educational and social status quo.

For purposes of this study, student activism refers to various actions by students to raise or communicate issues of student concerns in an effort to address them. These actions are typically impelled by a student perception of gaps that exist between the current or actual state of affairs in the university and beyond, and desired or expected state. Hence, this triggers student action to make an effort to correct the situation or to bridge the identified gaps. Student activism may

be focused towards addressing issues such as student fees, academic concerns, accommodation, quality of meals, rules and regulations and others (Koen et al., 2006; Nkomo, 1983).

Furthermore, student activism is conceptualised in two forms in this study, namely formal and informal. Whereas formal activism entails the formal involvement of students in university decision making, to communicate and raise student issues or grievances through their representatives on one hand, informal activism entails raising grievances through mobilising students to participate in mass demonstrations on the other. In other words, student activism can be seen as action by students, through their elected leaders carving a suitable niche in the existing status quo or mobilising and galvanising for participation in protest movements, using social media to bring about change in a university (Luescher & Klemenčič, 2016).

Altbach (1966, p. 183) provides two orientations of student activism, namely “norm or etudialist oriented” student activism and “value or society oriented” student activism. He indicates that whereas the “norm or etudialist oriented” student activism can focus towards specific university issues on one hand, the “value or society oriented” can be directed towards general political, economic social, cultural or racial issues that occur beyond the control or jurisdiction of the university on the other. In “value or society oriented” student activism, students are concerned with “broader ideological issues and when involved with concrete actions, this activity is usually linked directly to a broader concern” (Altbach, 1966, p. 183). However, Altbach (1966) notes that sometimes a norm-oriented student organisation may turn into a value-oriented one.

Furthermore, Luescher (2005) observes that student activism can take different modes and range within a continuum from corporative informative modes to confrontational and oppositional modes. The next section provides historical accounts of student activism from international, African and South African perspectives.

2.3 International Perspective

Student activism has been internationally prevalent since the earliest forms of student protest at the birth of secular higher education, from the 12th century in Europe (Boren, 2013; Cole, 2013; Ropers-Huilman, Carwile, Lee & Barnett, 2003). Originally, the term *universitas*, or university referred to informal fraternities of scholars and students which were first organised in Bologna and Paris. Furthermore, students were usually victimised by local towns people who imposed hefty rents and costly supplies on students (Boren, 2013; Cole, 2013).

Subsequently, students realised that with their collective power to bargain, they were able to negotiate more favourable financial terms. Further, as student enrolments rose, the local towns in Bologna and Paris that hosted students relied increasingly and heavily on the revenue from universities. Thus, students became aware of their new acquired position of power. Consequently, they threatened to move the entire educational institution to a more economically favourable town and in a number of instances students followed through on their threats (Boren, 2013; Cole, 2013).

Cartwright notes that student activism in the United States has been prevalent since 1766 and originated at Harvard University when students protested over dissatisfaction with the quality of butter served on campus. The student dissatisfaction spiralled into clashes between students and the board of overseers at the institutions as students regarded submitting themselves to unjust authorities as an unfair requirement. Cartwright further notes that these clashes resonated in political debates that occurred in the wider colonial community (Cartwright, 1995).

In subsequent years, student activism was widespread and occurred in various universities in the United States resulting in severe clashes between students and administrators, as students mobilised for protest action against oppression and subjugation by university administrators. Furthermore, students protested against the application on the *in loco parentis* rule by these administrators and demanded to be treated as adults with an ability to make decisions (Boren, 2013). Student activism also occurred in European countries. For instance, in 1848, students joined the national struggle in Germany, protested against the existence of absolute monarchies and pressed for democratic rights of the citizens. Also, in advancing the national agenda, the German student organisations were among the first to support Adolf Hitler in the 1930s (Altbach, 1989).

In Latin America, student activism has been widespread and students at the University Cordoba, Argentina organised a protest movement in 1918 to bring about change in the university governance (Altbach, 1989; Walter, 1969). This protest movement was known as the Cordoba Reform Movement and swept across all countries in Latin America (Walter, 1969). According to Pavlic (2017) this movement was the first major movement in Latin America. Some of the demands of the Cordoba Reform Movement were passed into law in the 18 Latin American countries. Thus, the Cordoba reform produced the reorganisation of universities throughout Latin America (Walter, 1969). Subsequently, student activism

continued to be prevalent in Latin American as students organised to defend the gains of the Cordoba Reform Movement, including free tuition and opposed the discourses in Latin America that sought to reinstate tuition fees in the universities (Levy, 1986).

Western countries witnessed volatile student activism in the 1960s as student movements spread across much of the industrialised world (Altbach, 1989). In the US, students participated in Civil Rights movements, struggled against the Vietnam War, demanded student representation in decision making at universities and engaged in a struggle for general social revolution, articulating wider political, economic and social concerns (Altbach, 1984; Altbach, 1989; Altbach & Cohen, 1990; Boren, 2013; Cartwright, 1995; Cole, 2013). It was noted that the US students were united more than anything else by defining what they called “an opposition” (Boren, 2013). Mass student protest was evident at universities in South Carolina State, North Carolina Kent State and others which were generally marked by physical confrontations with the police, injury, and even death of students. A series of victories and the end of the Vietnam War in the mid-1970s signalled the splintering and collapse of much of the student activist movement in the United States (Boren, 2013).

In France, students waged a struggle against the authoritarian De Gaulle government. Similarly, German students organised extra-parliamentary opposition to the coalition government’s conservative Christian Democrats and leftists Social Democrats (Altbach, 1989). Students demanded educational reforms in European countries such as France, West Germany, Netherlands, Sweden and others in the 1960s. However the educational demands were not a motivational force of student activism (Altbach, 1989; Barker, 2008).

The recent student activism observed globally has been dominated by protest movements under the banner of #ClimateAction to demand political leaders and governments to deliver on their commitments on climate issues, economic social transformation and others (Ntuli, 2019). This was an international effort of student activists from different parts of the world to pressurise world leaders to take action on climate change. Students and youth all over the world took to the streets during a strike as part of a global day of student protests. They demanded action on climate change, and criticised their governments for not taking global warming seriously (Sengupta, 2019). Concerned about their future on a hotter planet and angry at world leaders for failing to arrest the crisis, masses of young people poured into the streets on every continent to participate in global climate protests. The protesters used placards with written

messages such as “be part of solution not pollution”. The protest occurred in countries such as Berlin, Brazil, Australia, US, UK, India and other parts of the world (Sengupta, 2019).

2.4 African Perspective

Student activism is prevalent in the African continent. According to Boahen (1994), no study on African student activism denies the significant role students played in the African continent in spreading the idea and contributing to the struggle for liberation in Africa. Equally, many of those students who played a part in the contemporary history of Africa served their traineeship in the ranks of movements. Furthermore, no politician or liberation movement could afford to ignore African student activism in their political planning, whether in favour or in opposition to student activists or even infiltrate student movements so as to absorb them into the party in power or weaken them (Boahen, 1994). Likewise, Luescher and Klemenčič (2016) state that African students have had a strong potential to organise and mobilise as an oppositional force to government. They further state that political leaders, at best, endeavour to deal with these activists with caution and at worst to capture them in their sphere of control.

Studies of student activism in the African continent demonstrate that student movements were formed as vehicles to raise student concerns since the beginning of the 20th century (Amoa, 1979; Boahen, 1994; Chenoufi, 1994). While some of these student movements were formed in metropolitan countries such as Britain and France, others were formed on African soil. During this period, the goal of student activism was rather to focus on social and cultural issues than political (Boahen, 1994). The movements paid attention to issues that affected African students in metropolitan countries. These were issues such as acquiring accommodation, establishment of a holiday campus, general welfare of students studying in the metropolitan countries, stopping racism, and teaching Europeans about the history and cultures of Africa to respond to the prevalent interpretations about the inferior treatment of Africans students by the Europeans (Boahen, 1994).

The West African Student Union (WASU) was formed in 1920 with its membership consisting of Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone students (Ake, 1994). The union sought to wage a political campaign to expose the injustices of the system of colonialism and demanded the inclusion of the educated African élite into the colonial system. Furthermore, WASU employed different student activism tactics to put pressure on the colonial rulers, including organising debates, lectures and symposia as well as publishing books such as *United West Africa, Africa at the*

Bar of the Family of Nations in 1927 and Towards Nationhood in West Africa in 1928 (Adi, 1997).

Between 1935 and 1960, student activism in the Anglophone and Francophone countries shifted towards a more revolutionary and ideological approach (Boahen, 1994). In 1942, WASU waged protests to demand self-governance of the countries in the best interests of Africans (Ake, 1994). WASU had influence on the East African students such as Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, and it had influence on students in metropolitan countries such as Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and others (Nyagava, 1994). However, WASU was dissolved and disappeared from the student activism sphere in 1958 (Ake, 1994).

Nevertheless, during this period, there was a huge increase in the establishment of student movements abroad and on African soil. For example, in British colonial Africa, student organisations, including Tanganyika African Welfare Society (TAWS) and National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS) were founded. Moreover, the Ghana Student Union (GSU) and the Nigerian Students Union (NSU) were WASU splinter groups before its dissolution in 1958. The Council of African Organisations (CAO) was formed in response to the dissolution of WASU and Kwame Nkrumah was instrumental in founding it. The goal of CAO was to bring about unity in Africa and propagated the ideology of pan-Africanism (Boahen, 1994).

Similarly, students in Francophone countries formed student organisations such as the Fédération des Étudiants d'Afrique Noire en France (FEANF) in the 1950s, and the organisation had a responsibility to keep an eagle eye on the material conditions of its militants and assist them to attain a firm grounding of their education in order to be of value to their countries. The leadership of the federation had a strong belief that their members should participate in the struggle against colonialism (Kotchy, 1994). African students regarded themselves as a vanguard, representing the interests of the peasants (Bathily, Diouf & Mbodj, 1995).

Student activism in the 1960s also occurred in Ethiopia, as they intensified their militant political activities especially after the unsuccessful coup d'état in December 1960 (Selassie, 1994). Furthermore, students' unity on the call for "The land to those who till it" was intensified as the years went by until the fall of Haile Selassie as well as the acceptance of a drastic agrarian reform bill by the Revolutionary Council in 1975. Furthermore, the Ethiopian student

movement became particularly radicalised and militant with the emergence of two rival Marxist-Leninist groups, the Ethiopian Pan-African Socialist Movement (MEISON) and the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP) between 1968 and 1970 (Selassie, 1994).

For the greater period of the 20th century, African students played a vital role in the national struggle. Students waged struggles focused on national issues for independence of African countries. During this period, students joined the national struggle to liberate their countries from colonial rule. Furthermore, students wielded great power and influence in the nationalist movements in the anti-colonial and pan-African struggles (Altbach, 1989; Luescher, 2005). Thus, student activism was prevalent in almost every national or independence struggle, as students were considered a legitimate part of the political equation (Boahen, 1994; Klopp & Orina, 2002; Luescher, 2005; Omari & Mihyo, 1991).

Post-colonisation, there was an increase in demand to provide higher education in Africa and African student activism shifted its focus towards issues of social justice and democracy, and these issues were primary in their agenda until the 1970s (Boahen, 1994). After achieving independence from colonial rule, there were increased enrolments in African universities. In this era, African students typically paid no fees, from tuition to accommodation and additionally obtained stipend allowances (Sawyerr, 2004).

During the mid-1970s to 1980s, there were world economic recessions and severe economic downturns which culminated in acute inflation and soaring interest rates, to the degree of a collapse in some African countries (Federici et al., 2000). African countries had to turn to the World Bank for financial assistance to request a rescheduling of debts in respect of government-led developments in order to save the crumbling economy of a country. In exchange for rearranging debts, the World Bank demanded rigorous Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), espousing neo-liberal principles (World-Bank, 1981). This paved the way for the SAPs and control by the extraterritorial institution over the national political space of the African countries (Federici et al., 2000).

The World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) targeted the restructuring of higher education funding in Africa, and the ivory tower was turned inside out by the SAPs and governments in the African countries (Zeilig & Dawson, 2008). The World Bank conducted numerous studies in the 1980s to investigate the significance of higher education in Africa.

Studies revealed that while the return on investments for primary school was 28%, the returns in higher education was only 13%. Hence the World Bank concluded that too much money was spent on higher education in Africa and advocated for a decrease in expenditure (World Bank, 1981).

Thus, the SAPs resulted in the de-prioritisation of higher education in Africa which culminated in public funding being withdrawn from tertiary education (Federici et al., 2000; Konings, 2002). A decrease in financial support of higher education by local and international sources, as well as withdrawal of public funding from the sector, indeed eroded some important elements to guarantee quality teaching and learning in the early years of independence (Sawyerr, 2004).

Further, the problem of decline in funding higher education, exacerbated by the parallel increase in student enrolments in the HEIs, produced enormous challenges of poor quality learning conditions (Sawyerr, 2004). For instance, as a result of increased enrolments in African universities, the University of Makerere had its student enrolment increased by six fold in a 10-year period. Therefore, reports that students took their lessons standing due to a lack of sitting space were not a surprise. Similarly, there were reports at the University of Ghana of overcrowding in student residences (Sawyerr, 2004). The infrastructure of various campuses on the African continent deteriorated as a result of overcrowding and introduction of fees pauperised students, and the prospect of employment after graduation diminished as the government shrunk and was exposed to conditions of neoliberalism (Zeilig & Dawson, 2008).

Consequently, these conditions culminated in a shift in student activism, from political governance to economic governance, which resulted in confrontational and violent forms of student action (Federici et al., 2000). In the 1990s African students formed coalitions with civil societies in their struggle in order to effect Africa's second liberation (Mazrui, 1995). They engaged in protests against social, political, economic and other injustices. The squalid conditions of the infrastructure, lack of good governance, resource streamlining and slashing of budgets at universities ignited clashes between students and university administrators (Teferra & Altbach, 2004). Furthermore, African students waged protests against single party states and for democracy. In addition, they protested for more accountability of government and university administrators as well as student involvement in university decision-making processes (Klopp & Orina, 2002).

Student protest led to governments' instability and played a role in power shifts in some African countries. Government responses were regarded as "inhumane", "brutal" and "excessively cruel". Violent repression of student activism was used in some countries on the continent as protesters were arrested, tortured and even killed at the hands of the police (Byaruhanga, 2013; Federici et al., 2000). For instance, students in Kenya engaged in massive protests against the one party state and demanded democracy and more accountability by the government. However, the government used repressive measures to crush protest action such as arrests, torture and killing protesters (Klopp & Orina, 2002). The late 1990s observed a change in economic conditions for the better, and alongside recommitment by the government and donors to higher education from the turnaround (Sawyerr, 2004).

Student activism was also prevalent in southern African countries such as Zimbabwe and Zambia. In Zimbabwe, for example, Chideya (1989) posits that under colonial rule, the country was known as Rhodesia with an educational system that was designed to transform the African students into humble, submissive servants who admired whites' values. The author notes that student activism in the country became radical and militant against racism and activism, but students paid less attention to the institutional administration as a manifestation of societal racism and more attention to the wider national struggle.

Students united against a perceived enemy; i.e. colonisation and racism. Their attention to national issues did not mean all was well on campus. There were educational concerns that existed, however, national issues of colonisation and racism were of prime concern and agitated student activism in Zimbabwe. As students engaged in protests, the government utilised repressive measures against student action. Consequently, most students were detained and the SRC president banned from entering Harare (Chideya, 1989).

Student activism has made an important contribution to the struggle for democracy in Zimbabwe. Students struggled side by side along with political leaders of liberation movements. At the attainment of liberation and independence in 1980, Zimbabwe's first years of independence were marked by student activism supportive of the democratically elected government to the point that the SRC president pronounced that student struggles were focused towards nation building (Chideya, 1989). Zeilig & Ansell (2008) identified three tactics of activism that occurred post Zimbabwe independence. The first tactic was called pro-

government student activism which rallied fully behind the government and a defensive mentality to protect the government.

Chideya (1989) notes that students supported the government as it was popularly elected to represent the desires of the overwhelming majority of Zimbabweans. However, Chideya further notes that there was sporadic engagement in activism by students in relation to national and international matters. For instance, students engaged in student activism advocating for the removal of corrupt government officials and also organised a march following the death of Samora Machel (President of Mozambique) which unfortunately turned violent. Consequently, there was a subsequent breakdown of relations between the students and government in 1988 (Chideya, 1989).

The second tactic of students occurred when student activists declared themselves as the voice of the voiceless (Zeilig & Ansell, 2008). This tactic was driven by the commencement of SAPs in Zimbabwe in 1996 and which swiftly eroded their benefits and privileged status of university students. As a result students were confronted with hardships from what student activists erstwhile called the “heaven on earth” (Zeilig & Ansell, 2008). Moreover, in 1998 the departments responsible for offering student residences and catering were dissolved, leaving students in a dire situation depending on private suppliers. Subsequent to the period of intense commotion over late disbursement of the students’ pay-outs and outsourcing of campus facilities, the university experienced almost five months’ closure (Zeilig & Ansell, 2008).

In 2000, the government introduced the Millennium Economic Recovery Programme and pronounced “cost-sharing” measures in the HEIs, with tuition fees at state universities increasing up to 30 times, and further outsourcing of student facilities such as residence halls (Zeilig & Ansell, 2008). This announcement impelled campus and countrywide student demonstrations. From 1998 students also began to raise issues openly and became confrontational with the government in raising their political demands. The student activists contended that it was only by forming a political movement that the regime would honour the right to free education (Zeilig & Ansell, 2008).

The third tactic of student activism occurred when students realised that they had been completely displaced from previous privileges by the reform of SAPs and were relegated to the poor. Subsequently, students embarked on new tactics of student activism to force the

government to listen to their demands to restore their privileges and provide them with free education. This tactic included forming coalitions and unity with the urban poor to form a political movement to engage in anti-SAPs revolts (Zeilig & Ansell, 2008).

Furthermore, a common cause was found between the student union; Zimbabwe National Student Union (ZINASU) and workers union; Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) which created new spaces to organise and mobilise support of the movement. Subsequently, new spaces for connection between students and workers culminated in the establishment of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) which was founded and functioned across the country. This movement formed a new platform for resistance against the state policies, outside the traditional spaces of student political activism and trade unionism (Zeilig & Ansell, 2008). Zeilig & Ansell (2008) also note that the tactic of student activism in which students engaged in a political movement to galvanise support in solidarity with workers was indeed a powerful tactic that shook Zimbabwe.

Another example is student activism in Zambia. Burawoy (1976) posits that student activism in Zambia has been prevalent since the founding of higher education in 1966. Student demonstrations were mostly driven by foreign issues, including the struggle towards expression of hostility to Britain for supporting the racist Rhodesian regime and South Africa's apartheid government. The protest took place outside the British High Commission. Another demonstration by Zambian students occurred at the French Embassy in 1971, as students expressed dissent about the French regime's decision to allow apartheid South Africa's manufacture of Mirage jet fighters (Burawoy, 1976).

This demonstration resulted in confrontations between the students and police, and teargas was fired at the students. This included an incident where a police commander shot live ammunition at students, injuring one in the thigh. Consequently, many students were detained by the police and some were badly beaten. Lulat (1989) states that since the founding of the university, students at the University of Zambia had had at least eight major confrontations with the government, principally over foreign policy issues, but almost always incorporating domestic issues. The magnitude of the confrontations was such that it involved direct government intervention ranging from expulsions and arrests of students to complete closure of the university (Lulat, 1989).

Confrontations between students and governments over the SAPs commenced in the mid to late 1980s and spread with austere measures across the African continent. For instance, countries that experienced student unrest between 1985 and 1995 over the SAPs were Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana, Tunisia, Zimbabwe, Ivory Coast, Sudan and Benin (Luescher & Mugume, 2014). There were a number of common features on the nature of post-colonial student activism in most African countries. This included student activism that shifted from national issues to bread and butter issues (Mazrui, 1995), grievances on academic quality which ensued from the economic downturn and SAP, revolts against teaching, poor conditions, rising costs of education, unpaid scholarships and general deterioration in educational conditions (Munene, 2003).

Another tactic of activism that manifested itself in African student activism was students getting involved in mass coalitions with civil society, protesting the deteriorating economic conditions and pressing political liberalisation and democratisation. There were also manifestations of ethnic divisions that flared up within the student bodies in African universities in the 1990s and incidents were recorded in countries such as Cameroon and Niger (Konings, 2002), Kenya in the 2000s (Kiiru, 2011) and it emerged that in some of these instances, the ruling party fuelled it (Alidou et al., 2008).

Recently, African students were involved in a protest movement under the banner of #ClimateAction in an effort to spur political leaders to action about global warming and climate change (Ntuli, 2019; Sengupta, 2019). The demonstrators from Nairobi to Cape Town, Kampala to Lagos, called on political leaders and governments to mitigate the effects of climate change (Dahir, 2019).

2.5 South African Perspective

The prevalence of student activism in South Africa dates back to the formation of NUSAS in 1924 in Bloemfontein to create student solidarity between two white student groups, namely English- and Afrikaans-speaking students (Chapman, 2016; Luescher, 2008; McKay, 2015). The SRCs of universities in South Africa were invited to the launch of NUSAS, excluding Fort Hare which was the only black campus that existed at the time when NUSAS was founded (Luescher, 2008). It is stated that NUSAS took a stance to exclude Fort Hare in order to avoid alienating Afrikaans-speaking students from becoming members of the student union. As a result Fort Hare was prohibited to obtain NUSAS membership. For the first two decades of its launch, the union did not have a specific political goal and it focused on the social and welfare

issues of students (Chapman, 2016). However, NUSAS deliberately avoided political, religious and cultural agendas as that could possibly divide English- and Afrikaans-speaking students (McKay, 2015).

The emergence of Afrikaner nationalism in the 1930s resulted in Afrikaner students being seceded from NUSAS to form the Afrikaanse Nasionale Studente Bond (ANSB) in 1933 (Luescher, 2008). The Studente Bond was formed to organise Afrikaner students as they felt that they required a student organisation that would provide them with a platform to advance and accomplish their cultural and political desires. Further to that, Afrikaner students felt that NUSAS was too liberal and tolerant of black students (Chapman, 2016). The admission of black campuses to hold NUSAS membership manifested a significant turning point for the student union when Fort Hare was granted NUSAS membership in 1945. Similarly, the black campus of the University of Natal, Medical School was also granted membership to NUSAS in the 1940s (Burrows, 2003).

NUSAS essentially abandoned segregation and adopted an understanding of the concept of South Africanism that was more liberal and racially inclusive. By adopting this position, the student union had to deal with blows of exclusive white South Africanism dissolving their NUSAS membership and possibilities of those members reuniting with the Afrikaans universities (Luescher, 2008; McKay, 2015). Consequently, some of its branches seceded and dissolved their mandates for participation in NUSAS (Burrows, 2003; Ntloedibe, 2017).

For instance, Stellenbosch University students went to the extent of attempting to form a white national student union as adherents of white Africanism which did not embrace black students (McKay, 2015). Wits University on the other hand, with newly affiliated black centres, attempted unsuccessfully to transform NUSAS into an overtly political organisation which would advocate for “equal political opportunity” and not just creating equality of educational opportunity for all South Africans, black and white. This would actively contribute to pushing the struggle for democracy in South Africa and not just defend South Africa’s partial, defective, white democracy. These actions showed that the radical left was heading contrary to the disposition of white liberal students (McKay, 2015).

2.5.1 Political Triumph by the National Party (NP) in 1948

According to Burrows (2003), the increase of student activism in South Africa came about from the dramatic changes in national politics with the ascension of the NP to power in 1948

with the contested policies of apartheid. These changes were a huge shock to many South Africans and was observed as the greatest disaster that occurred in South Africa in the 20th century (McKay, 2015). Following that, the realities of NP rule became apparent towards the end of 1948 when the Afrikaner Studente Bond (ASB) implored the NP government for black students to be removed from universities designated for white students, particularly the University of Witwatersrand (Wits) and University of Cape Town (UCT) which had a sizeable number of students enrolled. This culminated in the August 1948 pronouncement in Parliament by DF Malan, the newly elected Prime Minister of the NP government, that the state of affairs in South African universities was intolerable, and that a hostile relationship existed among black and white students at some campuses, which would be eradicated by the introduction of HEIs designated to black students (McKay, 2015).

The new government dominated by Afrikaners proceeded to institutionalise racial segregation by legislation in a number of spheres and this became a catalyst for student political activism in white English-medium institutions (Burrows, 2003, p. 12). These campaigns were aimed at the restoration of academic freedom in these universities. The pronouncement by the prime minister culminated in the establishment of the Holloway Commission (Burrows, 2003).

2.5.2 Holloway Commission

The Holloway Commission was established by the NP government to explore the feasibility and financial implications of providing separate universities for blacks. Briefly, the commission invited submissions from various stakeholders to express their views about the proposed plan. NUSAS was one of the stakeholders which made submissions and their stance was that the proposal should be rejected in totality as it promoted academic segregation and interference with academic freedom (which will be described later). On the weight of all the submissions, the Holloway Report concluded against the implementation of separate universities for blacks and whites and recommended that the formula would be impractical and costly. However, the NP government rejected the Holloway Commission recommendations (Beale, 1992). NUSAS rejected the proposal because as a liberal white student union, they held a particular conception of universities which seemed to be contradictory to that held by the conservative Afrikaner dominated NP government (McKay, 2015).

2.5.3 The Van der Walt Commission

Having rejected the findings of the Holloway Commission as indicated earlier, the NP government established the interdepartmental Van der Walt Commission in 1955 and was

tasked to acquire further information on the funding and building five separate ethnic universities. The ethnic universities would include two new HEIs in the Western Cape and Durban for coloured and Indian students. The long-existing Fort Hare was planned to be converted to offer higher education for only isiXhosa-speaking students under state control, the creation of a University of Zululand for IsiZulu and IsiSwati speaking communities, the Northern Transvaal for Africans not from Natal or Eastern Cape (Horrell, 1957; McKay, 2015).

These universities were also planned to be subjected to the control of the Department of Native Affairs in terms of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. This idea had been rejected by the earlier commission (Holloway Commission) as unworkable and exorbitant (Beale, 1998). The Van der Walt Commission demonstrated that the Ministry of Education, Arts and Science was no longer in complete charge of universities in South Africa. Hence, the minister would no longer be the only arbiter in respect of the type and direction of higher education policy as a considerable responsibility, for this would be assumed by the Department of Native Affairs (Beale, 1998). Moreover, the appointment of the interdepartmental Van der Walt Commission signified a departure from a relatively open-minded investigation and decision making to a more ideologically-driven approach that ignored dissenting and cautioning opinions (Beale 1998, p 152). The idea of creating ethnic universities had been rejected by the earlier commission (Holloway Commission) as unworkable and exorbitant (Beale, 1998).

Consequently, NUSAS wrote a strongly worded letter regarding these new government developments to the Minister of Education, Arts and Science which was later released to the press condemning the Van der Walt Commission as a commission of bureaucrats used to plan apartheid, and contended that it had no substance in practicality and ethics. The ‘commissioners’ were dismissed by NUSAS as mere civil servants who were neither experts in economics nor educationists, who conducted the exercise of a commission at the behest of the NP government to do the bidding and institute apartheid (Beale, 1998).

2.5.4 Conception of Universities: NUSAS vs Apartheid Government

McKay (2015) reveals that there was ideological contestation between the NUSAS liberal student organisation and the Afrikaner dominated government. These ideological views were about how universities were conceived which was a bone of contention between NUSAS and the NP government. McKay further shows that regarding the conception of academic freedom, NUSAS rejected the view held by the NP government that it is the right of the government to dictate approaches on how a university must embark on its processes in searching for the truth

and defining their purpose and functions. Moreover, NUSAS asserted that in a multi-racial society, the pursuit of the truth could only happen in an environment where all races and cultures were represented. Hence, it waged a protest against academic segregation and advocated for academic inclusiveness, as was a practice at the white English universities such as Wits and UCT (McKay, 2015).

Inversely, the Afrikaans dominated government conceived universities existed to advance the desires of the *volk* (nation) and the government held a strong belief that universities could not follow interests opposed to those of the *volk* and its government (McKay, 2015). For NUSAS, with its liberal ideology, the view held by the NP government had authoritarian and dictatorial implications on universities which infringed academic freedom. NUSAS equated South African government policy to that of a totalitarian state such as the Third Reich and the Soviet Union (McKay, 2015). Furthermore, NUSAS held a strong belief that education could not be equated to party politics and higher education of a country transcend party politics. Thus, it criticised government meddling in education as interference in the functioning of universities on justification that universities should serve the interests of student membership rather than being equated as party politics (McKay, 2015).

2.5.5 NUSAS's Academic Freedom and Academic Non-segregation Campaigns

At the beginning of 1956, NUSAS affiliates began to launch its academic freedom campaign and reacted to imminent university apartheid. Devoted to defend academic non-segregation and academic freedom, NUSAS adopted various tactics of student activism such as marches and strikes against the regime interference in the functions of universities. Students identified the opposition to their goal of defending academic freedom and academic non-segregation and remained as vehemently opposed to apartheid universities as ever before and took a strong stance on these goals (Beale, 1998).

The student union mobilised all campuses that were its affiliates, such as Rhodes University, Natal University, Wits and UCT and participated in marches, boycotts and protests against new government plans for higher education, rejecting the Van der Walt Commission Report that recommended the introduction of apartheid universities (Beale, 1998). Students contended that establishing separate universities and closing off alternative educational opportunities to black students would be unethical until the ethnic institutions were equally endowed (McKay, 2015).

Another tactic of student activism adopted by NUSAS was taking campaigns beyond student mobilisation and employing multi-faceted academic non-segregation and academic freedom struggles. This tactic included mobilisation at university level of all campus constituencies ranging from students, senates, councils and convocations to unite against apartheid universities. To ensure that this tactic was effective, the student union encouraged its executive members to establish strong ties with academics who were sympathetic to the struggle pursued at their institutions. The third tactic of activism by NUSAS to pursue its struggle was to look outside the universities and establish links and a network of sympathisers ranging from individuals to organisations (McKay, 2015).

The external mobilisation galvanised various sympathisers to participate in public campaigns against the government interference in higher education. This was a demonstrable move by NUSAS that the struggle for academic freedom had been altered tremendously, with opposition to apartheid universities and academic freedom no longer confined to the right but extended to those on the left who felt that the campaign was not radical enough to put pressure on the apartheid government. There was an extra-parliamentary opposition to criticise the government and “criticism came from quarters for many reasons” (Beale, 1998, p. 178).

NUSAS took a position to employ every possible avenue to attain full public support. In January 1957, the university councils of Wits and UCT organised a conference in Cape Town at which 28 renowned academics, educationists and judges defended the assertions of the open universities to remain non-segregated. NUSAS was not officially involved in this conference but praised it as the decorous kind of opposition that one would expect from universities (Beale, 1998).

Furthermore, the mobilisation of external entities from universities also contributed to the campaign. For instance, external organisations such as the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) issued a statement in relation to the cost and academic inequity of ethnic universities and repeated the liberal position that no inter-racial contact bred exclusive nationalism (Beale, 1998; Horrell, 1976). The Christian Council resolved to condemn the loss of academic freedom. Also, NUSAS received global support to oppose apartheid universities from organisations such as International Union of Students (IUS) and the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) (McKay, 2015; Ntloedibe, 2017).

As part of the recommendations of the Van der Walt Commission, it proposed that the University of Natal Medical School be moved from the University of Natal and placed under the control of the University of South Africa (UNISA). In response NUSAS, together with black student organisations, exerted political oppositional pressure on the apartheid government in relation to the plan and these pressures forced the government to back down (Badat, 1999).

2.5.6 Extension of University Education Bill (1959)

The year 1959, saw the National Party government pass the Extension of University Act that enforced racial segregation on higher education (Luescher, 2008). The bill specified that in future, black students who wanted to enrol at institutions reserved for whites would have to acquire permission from the office of the minister (Bunting, 2006). Regarding the Fort Hare Transfer Act of 1959, Fort Hare was to be limited to enrol isiXhosa-speaking Africans and in terms of the new universities for Africans, were to be put under the direct control of the newly formed Department of Bantu Education (Badat, 1999, p. 51).

The open universities (white English universities) usually admitted black students based on merit to study at these universities. For instance, the UCT registered 12.4% of its students from the black community before the racial segregation legislation was enforced. For instance, out of 5,000 students registered and studying at UCT, 633 were derived from black races with 461 coloureds, 133 Indians and 39 Africans (Ajayi, Goma & Johnson, 1996). Similarly, a sizeable number of blacks were already enrolled at other white universities, with “12.4% at UCT, 21.3% at University of Natal and 5.5% at Witwatersrand” and the bill sought to stop and reverse these figures (Badat, 1999, p. 51).

2.5.7 White Liberal Radical Activism

The passing of the Extension of University Act and Fort Hare Transfer Act brought about a sense of sadness and disenchantment among politically conscious students that the scale and magnitude of campaigns against university apartheid was sustained over a long time (Beale, 1998). However, the battle was lost as NUSAS ultimately failed to persuade the government to alter the course. Furthermore, the hope and belief that the 1960 Sharpeville protests, to mark the beginning of the end of white rule, were ruined by the violent repression of the uprising and the ensuing steps taken to establish a police state (Beale, 1998). Furthermore, the banning of the liberation movements in 1960 demonstrated that legal peaceful protest was becoming even more difficult to pursue. Many liberals feared that violent apartheid and Afrikaner

nationalism was pushing the African majority to a more extreme nationalism that would plunge South Africa into a race war where peaceful settlement was unlikely if the situation was not arrested (Burrows, 2003).

This was the context of NUSAS adopting a radical form of student activism, which entailed radicalisation of a small group of liberals comprising contemporary and former students in the white English universities, particularly UCT and Wits. These militant actions included the formation of a clandestine organisation called the National Committee for Liberation (NCL) which was later named the African Resistance Movement (ARM). This student movement adopted an oppositional approach to the NP government and engaged in radical action such as sabotage through bomb attacks on apartheid government installations, including railway lines and electricity towers between 1962 and 1964. These students were arrested and convicted during 1964 (Burrows, 2003; McKay, 2015).

The trial of these students was an enormous humiliation to their universities, namely UCT and Wits as it revealed that members of the ARM had utilised the campuses of these two universities as pedestals for their clandestine actions (Burrows, 2003). As a consequence, the radical liberal student leaders lost backing on the liberal campuses. Thus, 1964 saw all English-medium campuses in South Africa voting in conservative SRCs at the cost of liberal ones. Furthermore, there was a shift with the white English students in attitudes towards student leadership. This included condemning NUSAS for engaging in political activities. The institutional leaders utilised graduation ceremonies as avenues for vice chancellors to make speeches lambasting the SRCs and student leadership (Luescher, 2008).

While the chief battle was lost to stop the imposition of the racial segregation bill by the apartheid government in 1959, this did not imply that black students disappeared in white English campuses, nor did it result in a break in internal trends of these universities in student relations towards social integration. However, the conflict between NUSAS and institutional leaders was festering. For instance, in 1964 there was a series of confrontations between the vice chancellor and SRCs at UCT and the relationship turned hostile, characterised by “autocratic rigidity”, “suspicion”, “deadlock” and “secrecy” with a “great divide”, “bad faith” and a “credibility gap” between the administrators and the SRCs (Luescher, 2008, p. 85).

The student activists in the white English universities also faced a struggle to promote student organisations inclusive of all races. For instance an incident occurred when a group of students demanded that their society be comprised of white students only. The SRC refused and were backed by the council. However, the then minister of education, arts and science intimidated to put a legislation on law books which would frustrate the SRC (Amoore, 1979). The SRC at UCT received threats that “the wings of students should be clipped severely” (Burrows, 2003, p. 56). This included the vice chancellor unilaterally recommending the university council review the SRC constitution, and this move was set to reduce the powers of the SRC (Luescher, 2008).

In 1960, NUSAS, as a national student organisation made an effort to maintain the momentum in their struggle against apartheid laws. Their attention was on student issues, including racial segregation on campus. The racial segregation law of campuses in South Africa culminated in the establishment of universities for black students in 1960 as the Van der Walt Commission had proposed (McKay, 2015).

These campuses were formally established in 1960 such as University of Zululand for IsiZulu and IsiSwati speaking students, University of Durban-Westville for Indians, University of the Western Cape for coloureds and University of North for other native black students who were not accommodated in University of Zululand and Fort Hare. University of Fort Hare was officially transferred under the Ministry of Native Affairs in terms of the Fort Hare Transfer Act. NUSAS allowed these newly founded universities to become members. Though these universities were for Africans from different ethnic groups, their senior administrators consisted of conservative white Afrikaners who supported apartheid (Beale, 1998; Chapman, 2016; McKay, 2015). NUSAS also focused its efforts towards the conditions of the newly established university for black students (Burrows, 2003).

2.5.8 The Rise of Black Student Activism in South Africa

Student activism by black students in South Africa dates back to 1948 at Fort Hare to the SRC and formation of the ANCYL on campus (Badat, 1999; Chapman, 2016). Though the youth league of the ANC was (and still is) a youth wing of the political party, its programmes in the Fort Hare branch were typical of a politically-aligned student organisation (Badat, 1999). The black student activism was triggered by changes in government laws to the disadvantage of African students in particular and blacks in general (Chapman, 2016).

The 1930s saw new pieces of legislation passed by the white government between 1924 and 1933. These laws gave advantages to whites at the expense of blacks. The pieces of legislation that were passed included the Native (Urban Areas Act) of 1923 which organised the pass laws that significantly restricted the rights and freedom of black Africans. In 1927, Parliament passed the Native Administration Act that extended government authority over Africans in South Africa. The legislation empowered the Native Affairs Department to act as an agency to exercise control over Africans to repress dissent, promote cultural ethnicity among blacks with a divide and rule strategy (Switzer, 1993).

2.5.9 Brief History of Black Student Activism at Fort Hare

Founded in 1916 at Alice in the Eastern Cape, the South African Native College (later renamed University of Fort Hare in 1951), received most of its funding from churches and its constitution specified it as a Christian university (Switzer, 1993). During this period, political organisations were formed in South Africa. The South African Native National Congress (SANNC) was formed earlier in 1912 and later changed its name to ANC (Chapman, 2016). The African People Organisation (APO) organised non-Europeans conferences between 1927 and 1934, and created a platform for leading members of the African, coloured and Indian intelligentsia to meet and discuss government segregationist policies (Chapman, 2016).

Furthermore, the students at Fort Hare were exposed to communism on two encounters. Firstly, in 1922 students came into contact with Max Yergan who resided near the university and visited the campus regularly (Anthony, 1991). Yergan was an African American who had been to the Soviet Union earlier and through his experience, he realised that capitalism and imperialism were the root causes of problems facing Africans. When he returned from the Soviet Union to South Africa, he provided secret socialism classes to eager students. Moreover, Yergan stayed in South Africa from 1922 to 1936 and worked as a missionary and YMCA secretary (Anthony, 1991).

Secondly, the communist party member, Edward Roux arrived in Alice and played a significant role in radicalising student life at Fort Hare. Roux would hold conversations with students on communism and was ultimately forbidden by the university administrators to come on campus and students were not allowed to attend his lectures. However, Govan Mbeki, who was a student at the university, gave credit to Roux and Yergan for igniting his interest, enthusiasm and curiosity in history and political science. Yergan taught on communism and fascism in Mbeki's political science class and Mbeki also borrowed some books from him to read such as

Lenin's *The State and Revolution*. In 1935, Mbeki became a member of the ANC as a student and completed his BA in 1937. Moreover, he reminisces about being among the first cohort of students to become nationalists at the institution. This culminated in a growth of students who embraced nationalism which reflected the atmosphere of African politics in South Africa (Massey, 2010).

University of Fort Hare exhibited signs of student political activism since 1940s (Chapman, 2016). In the course of this decade, students began to express disenchantment about the quality of student life, particularly food, in 1941 and 1942 where there were successive outbreaks of defying the authorities. Food usually served as a metaphor for issues of power and authority in the mission school. When Mandela and Oliver Tambo enrolled at Fort Hare in 1939, the food complaint helped to trigger discussions around broader issues of social domination. The issue of meals was a real problem for students but it also symbolised a shift from a passive acceptance of their circumstances. Fort Hare students generally came from a religious, Christian background and accepted the patriarchal power set-up prevalent on campus. However, as African politics in South Africa became more militant, so too it did among the students on campus. Most features of these changes among students was the formation of the ANCYL in 1944 and this marked the beginning of the struggle by black students (Badat, 1999; Chapman, 2016; Luescher, 2008).

The ANC Youth League became a platform to politicise students and its founders were primarily professionals that included student activists such as Anton Lembede, Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and others. Towards the end of the 1940s, the ANCYL had its footprint in the large cities of the Eastern Cape province, including Port Elizabeth, East London and others, with its main branch instituted at Fort Hare in 1948. When Mandela and Tambo left the university, the youth league was led by Robert Sobukwe, Joe Mathews and others (Chapman, 2016).

The rise in African oppositional politics and resistance in the country during the 1940s and 1950s saw the Ciskei, Eastern Cape as a central point of the political struggle in the first half of the 20th century. This struggle mirrored itself at Fort Hare as students engaged in protests that included the refusal to submit to the apartheid government, which culminated in confrontations between students and university authorities (Chapman, 2016). In the 1950s, the

ANCYL embarked on strikes, boycotts, stay-aways, and various forms of civil disobedience and non-cooperation to render the apartheid system unworkable (Worger & Byrnes, 2012).

As the oldest university in South Africa providing higher education specifically to African students, Fort Hare attracted most students in southern and central Africa, including former President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, former President of Botswana, Sir Seretse Khama, and late Edward Modlane of Mozambique, President of Mozambique Liberation Front in Dar es Salaam during the struggle for liberation in the 1960s. South African political figures who studied at the University of Fort Hare include the late ANC leaders such as Govan Mbeki, Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela as well as the late Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) founder, Robert Sobukwe and the leader of the IFP, Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi. University of Fort Hare became a stronghold of student activism and produced some prominent leaders who played a pivotal role in South African liberation from colonial and apartheid rule (Chapman, 2016).

Before the 1960 takeover of the university by the apartheid government, in particular the Department of Bantu Education, Fort Hare was multiracial and had always adopted a stance against tribalism or ethnic division. Following that premise, Xhosa, Zulu, Tswana and Sotho speakers were combined at Fort Hare with coloureds and Indian students and made friends with one another (Chapman, 2016). The multiracial temperament of Fort Hare did not go unobserved by the apartheid regime and the university became a target for a conversion that would be in line with the apartheid state. As a result, the Extension of Bantu Education changed the diverse nature of Fort Hare when the apartheid government introduced the Extension of the University Education Act, Act no 45 of 1959 which produced four other universities based on racial and ethnic identity (Beale, 1998). These four university colleges were University of Zululand primarily for Zulu and Swati speakers; University of the North for Sotho, Tsonga, Tswana and Venda speakers; University of Durban-Westville for the Indian community, and University of Western Cape in Bellville for the coloured community. Concurrently, Fort Hare Transfer Act, Act no 64 of 1959 placed Fort Hare under control of the Department of Bantu Education and designated it for Xhosa speakers (Beale, 1998).

Saleem Badat contends that the universities designated for Africans were purposefully placed, not only in deprived and underprivileged rural areas which have inadequate social infrastructures and facilities, but also in areas far disconnected from political militancy and

influences of large cities (Badat, 1999). These universities were administered and run by white Afrikaners who were protagonists of apartheid. This move by the NP government did not augur well with staff and students at Fort Hare and other newly formed universities, thus creating an environment of constant turmoil and conflict at these campuses (Chapman, 2016).

The Minister of Bantu Education was endowed to appoint and dismiss the academic and senior administrative staff, and controlled the appointment of staff, senate, council and advisory board members. Staff members could be dismissed upon violation of any apartheid laws, including criticising the education department and separate development (Badat, 1999). Furthermore, Badat argues that it was reasonable for black universities to be administered by blacks, however the necessity for ideological and political control required that the universities be administered by Afrikaners to advance the beliefs of the Afrikaner white conservatives (Badat, 1999).

2.5.10 Establishment of the South African Student Organisation (SASO)

The NP government used force to suppress any dissenting voice against apartheid laws. In the 1960s the Sharpeville protest against apartheid pass laws resulted in the Sharpeville Massacre when the police shot and killed peaceful protesters. Furthermore the apartheid government banned all political parties including the ANC and PAC, and arrested their leaders. The ANCYL was automatically banned when its mother body, the ANC was banned. Hence black students had no organisation in which to organise their activism, particularly associated with the struggle against apartheid. Subsequently, numerous black student associations were founded as substitute organisations. These new formations included the African Students Association (ASA), African Students Union of South Africa (ASUSA), as well as student chapters of the Non-European Unity Movement. Nonetheless, it was not until 1968 that the SASO emerged as a black student organisation which considerably changed the student political terrain and had a great impact on the national political landscape (Badat, 1999).

The establishment of SASO occurred as a result of black campuses which were members of NUSAS seceding from NUSAS in 1968. This splinter organisation was founded after a decision by some members of the University of Natal's Black Campus SRC to break away from NUSAS (Luescher, 2008). Steve Biko became the first president and Barney Pitso as general secretary of the newly formed organisation. The resolution to form a splinter organisation was triggered primarily by the advent of the Black Consciousness Movement whose founder was Steve Biko. The BCM had a new doctrine that was influenced by the development of "Black Theology" among the University of Natal black students. The BCM

that Biko formed discarded the belief that whites could make a contribution to the liberation of blacks (Badat, 1999).

What was central to the SASO and BCM was to make an effort to ensure that black people expressed their own struggle and discard the white liberals in NUSAS establishment from prescribing to people (Heffernan, Nieftagodien, Ndlovu & Peterson, 2016). The term “black” was popularised as meaning Africans, Indians and coloureds collectively (Badat, 1999; Mzamane, Maaba & Biko, 2006). SASO adopted a philosophy of black consciousness that united Africans, coloureds and Indians to fight against white supremacy and divide and rule strategy. SASO participated in the struggle against the ideology of racism and racial prejudice (Davies, O'Meara & Dlamini, 1988). SASO's goal was that South Africa should be a non-racial society and that all people should have the same status before the law (Badat, 1999).

In the 1970s, student activism was organised and galvanised under SASO and adopted a militant approach to effect reforms in the political system to attain a total liberation of blacks. The 1970s was a turbulent decade of student activism in South Africa. Most importantly the 1970s was a period when SASO began to define itself as a powerful force opposing the state and apartheid. SASO also called on homeland leaders to withdraw from apartheid structures and stop being “ambassadors of oppression” (Badat, 1999, p. 95). There were widespread strikes during this decade. This included the 1973 Durban workers' strike against lower wages as well as protests in various black campuses against university authorities. The political developments in southern Africa, such as the defeat of Portuguese colonisation by Frelimo in Mozambique in 1974, contributed to the militancy and assertiveness of black students. The apartheid policies denied black South Africans political rights and this became a permanent feature of the social order during the apartheid era in South Africa (Badat, 1999).

The student mobilisation under SASO intensified and precipitated in radicalisation of high school pupils who participated in the 1976 uprising against the use of Afrikaans as an official language of instruction. The apartheid government applied all mechanisms at its disposal to crush any form of protest. During the 1976 uprising, a number of students were arrested, shot and killed. Most students who participated in the 1976 protests fled to exile in neighbouring countries (Bundy, 1989). In 1977, the apartheid security forces arrested and tortured Steve Biko who consequently died while in custody of the police. The apartheid government banned SASO

and all BCMs. They were declared illegal organisations and any form of association with them was regarded an illegal act (Bundy, 1989).

The banning of SASO and BCMs did not deter student activism in South Africa as student protests continued to take place in different black campuses, such as University of Zululand and University of North. These protests resulted in confrontations between students and university authorities (Badat, 1999).

2.5.11 Formation of South African National Student Congress (SANSCO)

In 1979, AZASO was formed to replace SASO. AZASO was aligned to BCMs and multi-racialism even though some of its leaders were aligned to the Congress Movement (CM) with principles of a non-racial South Africa. Whereas the black consciousness movement was based on principles of a multiracial society, the Congress Movement was based on principles of a non-racial society, aligned to the ANC principle of a non-racial South Africa (Badat, 1999).

AZASO changed its name to SANSCO in 1981. The leadership of SANSCO reassessed its ideological and political orientation to align it to CM. The organisation promoted the role of black students as vanguards of liberation. From mid-1981 to mid-1986 SANSCO established organisational presence in various universities in South Africa. The SRCs of different universities affiliated under SANSCO (Badat, 1999).

SANSCO joined the Mass Democratic Movements that consisted of workers, youth, religious organisations and civil society in the struggle for national liberation. Between mid-1986 to early 1990, the state of emergency and repressive political conditions were instituted by the apartheid government. The relentless struggle resulted in the apartheid government acceding to pressure by releasing the political leaders who were imprisoned, including Nelson Mandela and allowed South Africans who were in exile to return to the country. The government liberalisation measures ended the state of emergency in 1990. In 1991, a merger took place between SANSCO and NUSAS to form SASCO (Badat, 1999).

2.5.12 Student Activism in the Post-apartheid and Democratic Era

During the apartheid era, students demanded democratic governance systems that promoted student representation in the decision making of universities (Badat, 1999). In post-democracy in 1994, students called for involvement in transformation of higher education and democratisation of the higher education governance system, including expansion of student

access to higher education (Maseko, 1994; NPHE, 2001). Studies of student activism and participation in university governance demonstrated that when students are excluded from decision making, they can cause a detrimental impact on the academic functions of the university by engaging in mass demonstrations. Thus, student participation in university governance can have a positive impact regarding establishing an environment that promotes openness and trust among different stakeholders in universities, which results in an optimistic organisational climate (Luescher, 2013). The student demands for representation in university governance were ultimately achieved when the Higher Education Act of 1997 was promulgated, which officially recognised students as one of the major stakeholders in higher education (Cele, 2014; Department of Education, 1997). Hence through the said act, students were included in the decision making of universities as internal stakeholders, and were regarded as a significant stakeholder group of the university (Luescher, 2013).

The South African experience of student activism was in line with the global trend of the 1960s where students in Western countries engaged in mass protests to demand change in their universities, particularly democratisation of higher education (Luescher, 2010). University democratisation can be defined as a process of reconfiguration of HEIs' internal processes of decision making to align them with democratic principles to make it more representative of the internal constituency, including students (Luescher, 2010). The various stakeholders in higher education eventually reached a general consensus to include students in higher education governance, primarily owing to what is designated as the globally acceptable move to adopt the principles of representative democracy in HEIs (Pabian & Minksová, 2011).

However, they note that a dispute among stakeholders was usually associated with how and to what extent students should be involved in university governance. Furthermore, the study was conducted to assess the extent of student participation in the collective decision making at the UCT (Luescher, 2008). The study revealed that students held only 2.4 % of the seats in the university senate and such a low percentage could not support the role of students as important partners who had a stake in university decision making. It further showed that the majority of seats in the university senate were held by academics and non-academic staff members, and student representation was a small minority with limited representation (Luescher, 2008).

According to Maseko (1994), students participated in university governance to discuss issues they were confronted with, especially access to higher education in post-apartheid South

Africa, which affected mostly HBIs, attracting mainly students from poor communities. Cele (2014) posited that the issue was primarily caused by the democratic government's paradoxical policy of expansion of access and limited government funding to higher education, together with cost-sharing measures that were promoted in the higher education policy. Furthermore, the author notes that there was a high demand for expansion of student access, particularly from historically disadvantaged and poor students. Historically, the student sub-cultures at the HBIs were characterised by high-level political activism during the struggle against apartheid (Maseko, 1994). Thus these universities engaged in perennial protest action to wage a struggle for expansion of access and equitable funding in the post-apartheid era (Cele, 2014).

The literature also demonstrates that despite democratic mechanisms that were put in place for student activists to vent issues, students in South African universities tended to engage in protests to raise their concerns (Cele, 2008; Koen et al., 2006). Cele (2008) further points out that students' tactics to achieve their goals entailed oscillating from participation in university governance through negotiation process and engaging in protest action. However, Luescher asserts that students prefer from time to time to organise protests to defend and extend their gains (Luescher, 2008). In addition, students use social media to galvanise support in student protests (Luescher & Klemenčič, 2016).

Even though the post-apartheid policy promulgations cast students as equal partners and that students and all other stakeholders should play a role in participatory and democratic systems of governance in HEIs, the literature reveals that student participation in South African HEIs remains insufficient and restricted, and students view protest as a tool that is effective to raise their concerns (Cele, 2002; Luescher, 2008). Koen et al. (2006) conducted a study to explore the nature of student protests that occurred in South African universities between 2002 and 2004. The study reveals that the majority of student protests in South Africa have been centred on issues of student fees, student funding, financial and academic exclusion. In subsequent years, students continued to use negotiations through their elected leaders and protest to influence or put pressure on the university governance decision-making processes (Cele, 2008).

2.5.13 The Emergence of Hashtag Movements

In 2015, South African universities were taken aback by a wave of protest movement that swept across the country (Luescher, Loader, & Mugume, 2017). The protests began in March 2015 at the UCT, where students demanded the removal of the statue of Cecil Rhodes that was mounted at the entrance of the university, which was viewed in many quarters as representing

a symbol of colonisation and racial inequities in South Africa. This protest was mobilised using digital technology under the banner of #RhodesMustFall. The student struggle against the removal of the statue was a success as UCT senate and council voted in favour of its removal. Apparently, the statue was always only a placeholder for larger demands of the campus-based movement which are better encapsulated in the notion of decolonisation of campus spaces, institutional culture, teaching and learning and more. This culminated in debates among the various stakeholders, including the government, institutional leaders and student activists in South African higher education about the issues of fees and access to higher education in South Africa. In October 2015, student protest began at Wits over the management proposal of a double-digit fee increase to the university council (Luescher, Loader, & Mugume, 2017).

Students rejected the proposal on the notion that it increased the barriers to higher education to the already unaffordable fees, especially among poor students. The protest was mobilised using social networks under the banner of #FeesMustFall movement. Booysen (2016) has indicated that the #FeesMustFall movement took the form of a national uprising with the epicentre at Wits and points out that the top issues that caused the emergence of this protest movement was the lack of access to higher education and financial exclusion in South African universities. Furthermore, through this protest movement students demanded for fees to fall, as they were unaffordable, particularly to students from poor backgrounds. Thus, the united collection of students served as a strong force to bring about changes on fees and access to higher education decisions (Booyesen, 2016).

However, Davids and Waghid (2016) contend that the post-apartheid student protests in South African higher education did not begin in 2015 with #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall that occurred in historical white English universities. Students at historically disadvantaged universities that enrol almost exclusively black students have been protesting against academic exclusion, fees hikes and the cost of higher education since the dawn of democracy. However, that did not attract much media attention beyond regional newspapers (Davids & Waghid, 2016). However, (Msila, 2016) notes that the most recent protest movement that began in white English universities and involved students from both historically advantaged and disadvantaged universities attracted widespread media coverage and sparked solidarity protests in countries such as United Kingdom and USA. Furthermore, (Msila, 2016) reveals that the year 2015 will go down in history as one second only to 1976 in terms of students flexing their muscle in seeking to alter the direction of South Africa's future.

The #FeesMustFall protest movement employed different tactics to put pressure on the government for fees to fall. Those were tactics such as class boycotts, a march to Parliament, a march to the ruling party headquarters and lastly a march to the Union Building which is the official seat of government, housing the offices of the President of South Africa (Luescher et al., 2017). Eventually, the state president organised a meeting with the numerous stakeholders in higher education in South Africa, including vice chancellors, chairs of councils and student leaders towards the end of 2015 to discuss the issue of fees and access to higher education. Subsequently, the president made an announcement that there would be no fee increase in the 2016 academic year (Luescher et al., 2017). Furthermore, the state president established the Heher Commission to assess the possibility of free higher education in South Africa. The commission's report revealed that the country could not afford the free higher education and proposed for the establishment of an income contingent loan with state guarantees (Heher-Commission, 2017). Nevertheless, the president made an announcement for the introduction of free higher education for all families with an annual income of R350,000 and less as from January 2018 (Mlambo, Hlongwa, & Mubecua, 2018).

Despite the positive effects on the use of social media on student activism for e-mobilisation in South Africa, the use of digital technologies to engage in activism has not been without its critics. It is argued that even if the internet does trigger activism, it does so in a pointless way, since the activities do not have any impact on political outcomes in real terms, hence, accusations of slacktivism (Morozov, 2011) and clicktivism (Shulman, 2009). The concept of slacktivism generally refers to activities that are easily performed, but they are considered more effective in making participants feel good about themselves than to achieve the stated political goals (Morozov, 2011). These activities do not have a meaningful input to address issues at hand in order to achieve political goals. Regarding clicktivism, Shulman (2009) posits that participants would just click and like and this triggers activism in a pointless way. With this logic, the availability of electronic forms of activism may even lead to deterioration in the quality of participation, since people who would otherwise get involved through traditional means may instead opt for digital opportunities, believing that these activities are a sufficient replacement (Shulman, 2009).

Notwithstanding the criticism by Morozov (2011) and Shulman (2009) on slacktivism and clicktivism, the use of social media has been highlighted by many scholars as an effective tool to galvanise social movements in pursuit of different social, political, cultural and economic

causes. This has been evident in the South African hashtag movements, pursued through social media platforms to unite students across the country regardless of race, gender, social class and/or political affiliation (Luescher et al., 2017; Ntuli, 2019; Ntuli & Teferra, 2017). Thus, the use of social media as an effective tool to mobilise for support had outweighed its critics as social media has been able to mobilise beyond the narrow grouping.

2.6 Summary

This chapter provided literature of student activism by showing the complex nature of it and the impact it may have on governments and universities, as it has displaced and overthrown regimes in some countries and caused disruptions of academic institutions. The chapter shows that student activism will may remain an integral part of universities and wider society. It also provided definitions of student activism by various scholars. Also, a definition of student activism was provided by the researcher for the purpose of the study and it shows that the student perception of the gap between the actual and desired state of affairs can trigger student activism to bring about change. The chapter provided conceptualisation of student activism in two forms; i.e. formal and informal activism.

The chapter provided detailed historical accounts of student activism from international, African and South African perspectives. The international perspective provides an account from around the globe. It shows that 1960 became a turbulent decade of student activism in Western countries which ranged in issues raised by students along with confrontations with governments and universities administrators. On the African continent, students played a big role in bringing about independence in African countries and struggled side by side with the political leaders of liberation movements. However, in the post-colonisation era, African countries were affected by severe economic downturn and SAPs by the World Bank and this culminated in the second liberation struggle for democracy and accountability.

The South African historical account of student activism exhibits student activism led by NUSAS in white English universities and their campaigns in 1950s against the apartheid universities, racial segregation as well as government interference with academic freedom. Further, the chapter shows that black student political activism began in the 1940s when the ANCYL branch was formed at Fort Hare and became a platform for students to organise mass demonstrations. However, in 1968 SASO emerged under the leadership of Steve Biko, adopting a philosophy of black consciousness which mobilised African, Indian and coloureds against the whites' divide and rule strategy. SASO inspired workers to engage in wild cat

strikes in 1973 against lower wages and high school students to participate in the Soweto uprising in 1976 (which ended with protesters being arrested and killed by police). Further, SASO was banned and Steve Biko was arrested, tortured and killed. SANSCO was established in the early 1980s and continued with the struggle against apartheid until its demise.

In the post-apartheid era, student activists were confronted with unaffordable fees to cover the cost of higher education, especially for students from poor backgrounds. Consequently, universities in South Africa, especially the HBUs were marked with student demonstrations year in and year out, since the democratic government came to power. In 2015, universities were caught by surprise by a new wave of protest movements, using social media to galvanise support. These tactics gained traction as they were echoed across the country and globally in countries such as the UK and US. However, the use of social media was not without critics as it was considered to be supplanting the real activism as people will click the button without participating in real activism. It was criticised for causing slacktivism and clicktivism which triggers activism in a pointless way. However, the advocates of social media tended to outweigh critics as it was found to be an effective tool to mobilise participation in protest movements as with protest movements such as #FeesMustFall in South Africa.

CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the conceptual framework used in the study to understand the interplay between student activism and university governance, to grasp the nature and dynamics of different manifestations of student activism in selected South African universities and to illuminate research questions for the study. This framework is formed by a combination of theory and two models of student activism and university governance, specifically stakeholder theory (Freeman, 1984; Morrow, 1998), four ideal-type regimes of university governance model (Luescher, 2008) and activists leadership model (Altbach, 1989; Lipset & Altbach, 1966). The theory and two models were selected after conducting the literature review and were found to be relevant for this study. Apparently, the theory and two models were complementary to one another to provide a holistic view and understanding of student activism in South Africa and thus were selected to conduct this study. Hence, this chapter presents the stakeholder theory, university governance and activist leadership models to understand their assumptions and to develop a conceptual framework to provide a theoretical lens for data collection and analysis.

The literature review chapter of this study provided an account of the existing studies on student activism, including student participation in the university governance. Also, the literature provided the origin and perspectives of student activism using international, African and South African standpoints (Badat, 1999; Boahen, 1994; Boren, 2013; Luescher, 2005; Luescher, 2008). Moreover the literature review revealed there are different tactics of student activism in South African universities, ranging from constructive engagement and dialogue, student protests, including violent protests and other, and also how these forms of student activism interplay with the university governance (Cele, 2008; Koen et al., 2006; Luescher, 2005).

The study is based on a conceptual premise that student activism in South Africa has played a critical role during the apartheid system and continues to become the structural component of student struggles in post-apartheid South Africa (Badat, 1999; Cele, 2008; Koen et al., 2006). However, the post-apartheid era has presented universities with specific challenges that confront students, which culminated in a shift towards student activism that chiefly focuses on addressing institutional student grievances (Cele, 2008). Altbach (1966) refers to the type of student activism that pays attention towards university specific issues as “norm or etudialist” oriented student activism. Further he states that student activism that focuses on national

political and ideological issues is “society or value oriented” student activism (Altbach, 1966, p. 183).

The literature chapter also reveals that during apartheid, the HEIs in South Africa were dominated by Afrikaner administrators for the purpose of perpetuating apartheid laws and promoting Afrikaner ideologies in South African universities, including black campuses (Bunting, 2006; Pillay, 2006). It further reveals that these administrators applied an authoritarian type of university governance where student dissent and any word against apartheid was suppressed, hence students had no voice in decision making. Furthermore, it indicates that black universities became sites of struggle against oppressive forms of university governance as well as against the apartheid system. Moreover, the literature shows that whereas white campuses were well-funded by the apartheid government on one hand, the black universities were underfunded and struggling with resources on the other. This, according to Bunting (2006), resulted in racial segregated educational systems in South Africa.

The post-apartheid policies have promoted the cooperative governance of South African universities, which espouses democratic principles in which stakeholders who were erstwhile excluded in the university decision making, e.g. students, were included in university decision making to represent their interests and need without fear of persecution (Cele, 2014; Department of Education, 1997). Also, the democratic government created post-apartheid policies that promote the “principles of equity, redress” and seek to ensure that black students can access and succeed in higher education (Department of Education, 1997, p. 40). The National Plan for Higher Education (NPHE) was enacted in 2001 to force universities to increase their intakes to allow more students from poor backgrounds to access higher education (NPHE, 2001).

The literature also demonstrates that despite democratic mechanisms that were put in place for student activists to vent on issues, student activism has not only manifested in the form of representation in these democratic structures, but also in the form of student protests and mass demonstration, including violent protests (Cele, 2008; Koen et al., 2006). It is further noted that student tactics to achieve their goals entailed oscillating from negotiations to protests (Cele, 2008). However, Luescher (2008) asserts that students have opted from time to time to use mobilisation for student protests in order to defend and extend their gains. Also, the student

activists use social media to galvanise participation in protest movements (Badat, 2016; Luescher et al., 2016).

Furthermore, the literature demonstrates that the interplay between student activism and university governance can swing within the continuum, ranging from cooperative forms to confrontational forms (Luescher, 2005, Cele, 2008), and the way student activists raise or communicate their grievances and concerns can be determined by the response they expect (Alence, 1999; Altbach, 1991; Luescher, 2005). Moreover, the power structure and manner in which matters are dealt with on campus can serve as stimuli to mass student protests (Omari & Mihyo, 1991). Cele (2014) asserts that the attitude and approach of institutional managers could play an enormous role to influence and shape the tactic of student activists or student leaders. Thus, if university management is perceived to be “intransigent”, student activists are prone to take a very militant and aggressive approach, whereas if management is seen as “progressive and sensitive” to the needs of students, student activists may take a more constructive or consensus-building approach (Cele, 2014, p. 58).

The literature further demonstrates that student activism manifestations in South Africa can take two broader forms, namely the formal representation in governance structures as a voice of students, and informal mobilisation of individual students and organisations to join protest movements using social media (Luescher et al., 2016). As part of the challenges that have been faced by students in the post-apartheid era, was the voluntary structural adjustments programme of the South African government by introducing cost-sharing as a key principle (Cele, 2014). This principle was based on the premise that higher education provides both public and private benefits and students should contribute to the cost of higher education (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2013). This policy was somewhat paradoxical as students from poor backgrounds could not afford to pay student fees which culminated in universities incurring high student debt (Cele, 2014).

3.2 Conceptualising Student Activism

The definition of student activism in the literature offered a point of departure to conduct an investigation that focuses on 1) how student activists communicate issues of concerns, 2) how do they choose a particular form of activism to articulate and deal with student issues and 3) why do they choose those forms of activism in articulating student issues. Altbach (1989) avers that the dynamics of student activism and student movements are unlike those of social movements although the specific aspects of campus life – an age-graded population, close-knit

community, common social class backgrounds – and other elements, makes student movements unique. The student body can form a good basis to analyse how students engage in activism, the student organisations and individual student activists that exist within the student body and how they organise themselves in Altbach's three rings of students, taking into account both formal and informal activism (Luescher, 2008).

The National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) which was instituted by the first democratic elected President, Nelson Mandela in 1996, recommended the establishment of cooperative structures for decision making in the governance of HEIs. Section 7.4 of the NCHE indicates that HEIs in South Africa consist of different participants located in the internal and external environments of the universities and these participants are termed 'stakeholders' in the university decision making (National Commission on Higher Education, 1996). This culminated in the establishment of the Broad Transformation forums, which were later called institutional forums to broaden participation in university governance (Kulati, 2000).

However, the paradox regarding the principles of cooperative governance was that whereas it promoted students participation in the university decision making as significant and equal partners on one hand, the introduction of managerialism inversely promoted the expert-led university governance which shifted decision making power towards professional senior managers (Luescher, 2008). The following section presents the stakeholder theory as one of the theoretical tools that have been utilised to conceptualise student activism in this study.

3.3 The Stakeholder Theory

Freeman posited that "a stakeholder refers to any group or individual that affects or is affected by the achievement of organisational objectives" (Freeman, 1984, p. 46). In 2004, Freeman further provided a new definition of stakeholders as those groups are vital to the survival and success of the organisation (Freeman, 2004). Fundamentally, the stakeholder theory focuses towards how a business or firm works and how to create value for the shareholders as well as managing the business effectively (Freeman, 1984). This demonstrates that the theory was designed to focus on stakeholder groupings in the private sector to create wealth for shareholders. Hence, Wally Morrow developed a stakeholder political theory that puts much focus on stakeholder participation in the HEIs (Morrow, 1998).

In the late 1990s, the position of the South African government on the best way to transform the higher education system in the post-apartheid era was influenced by the stakeholder theory

and that was shown in subsequent government policy documents and legislation. This theory has resonated with some of the major tenets of the participatory democratic theory (Morrow, 1998). Morrow suggests that the name ‘stakeholder’ is a fundamental notion of distinct political theory which is presumed to be typically democratic and is based on the assumption that HEIs are complex and multifaceted entities that comprise different competing groups.

The theory suggests that each of these groups has its own particular interest that has to be served in collective decisions. Each of this group is called a ‘stakeholder’ and sometimes ‘stakeholder group’ that needs to articulate its interests autonomously and present them in the form of ‘demands’ which should be met by a collective decision (Morrow, 1998). It further notes that the negotiation processes are used to deal with the demands from different groups. Subsequently, there may be areas of conflict between the demands of various stakeholders which is inevitable. Thus, negotiations take place to reach a compromise which normally entails concessions from stakeholders and common interests occur in cases where demands of different stakeholders overlap (Morrow, 1998).

The HEIs are assumed to be democratic entities in which no single group can decide for the entire university, which is made up of various stakeholders groups representing different constituencies. The theory postulates that its democratic assumption emanates from the criticism it makes to a monolithic mode of university governance in which one party elevates its interests at the expense of the interests of other significant stakeholder groups in a university. It is opposed to the dominant group to unilaterally impose its own interests by claiming that its interests coincide with general interest. The stakeholder theory makes assumptions of the democratic style of stakeholder collaborations and attempts to substitute the concentration of power in a single interest group with the distribution of power across interest groups.

The theory further makes assumptions that the interest groups or stakeholders are self-defining and organised around constellations of interests. It contends that if they are not organised interest groups, then they cannot be counted as stakeholders. It further shows that these groups are sometimes referred to as ‘organised constituencies’ which is synonymous with stakeholders. Hence, the association of members are regarded as a stakeholder group which might have a voice in the university governance, e.g. the organised students are allowed representation in public education policy negotiations. The theory puts homogenous interests

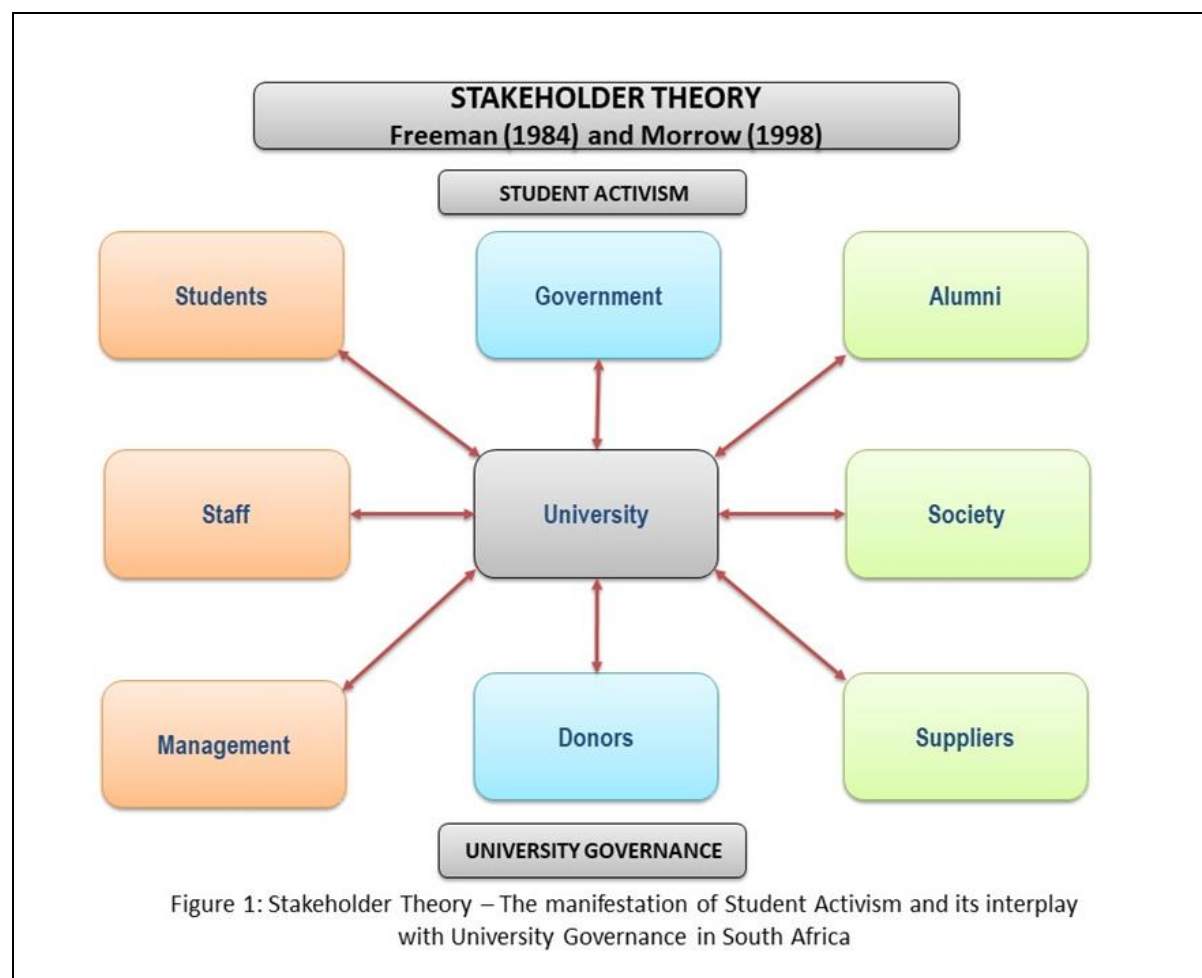
to the fore and endeavours to keep itself distant from the presupposition that atomise individuals as sources of interest.

Further, the theory is strongly opposed to the ideal that the expressed interest of each individual stakeholder can be satisfied in collection decision making. In addition, the theory suggests that interests of one stakeholder could be conceived as structurally in conflict with the interests of the other. For instance SRCs are an example of stakeholders and, significantly, their interests could be conceived as structurally in conflict with those of management. For instance, the concessions that management would grant to allow students to register, attend lectures and write examinations without paying fees, could affect the cash flow and budget of institutions and could also increase the student debt, which could have a negative impact on the efficient running of universities. The theory further argues that structural conflicts have little to do with the personal or probably selfish wants and interests of individuals (Morrow, 1998).

The theory also makes assumptions that an individual member of a stakeholder group, who is out of line with the position of the stakeholder group in which he or she belongs, is understood as suffering from a form of self-deception about her/his real interests and it takes the same kind of view about the dissenting voices in any stakeholder group. It makes an assumption of the equality of all stakeholders in a complex setting. It further assumes that these stakeholders are equal on the grounds that the interest of all stakeholders must receive equal treatment and it is opposed to having the interests of one stakeholder favoured above others. The theory also makes an assumption that the voting system in collective decision making should be organised such that each stakeholder group possesses the same number of votes. The theory holds a democratic stance that contrasts with a hierarchical governance, where power resides at the top and attempts to promote any form of superiority where views of one group carry more weight than others (Morrow, 1998).

Universities are conceived as complex and multifaceted institutions which consist of a variety of stakeholders, with each having a vested interest in university governance. The formation of the Broad Transformation Forums (BTFs) in South African universities with equal representation of the multiple university stakeholders came into existence in order to influence transformation of higher education institutions in South Africa as expressed in the stakeholder theory (Morrow, 1998). BTFs are seen as the magnificent road to the simultaneous transformation and democratisation of higher education institutions as they comprised

stakeholders representing diverse interests, including students, workers, management, administrative staff, council appointees and alumni. The BTFs were later replaced by the Institutional Forums (IF) for transformation and democratisation of South African higher education in a new epoch of democracy (Fourie, 1999). Furthermore, the application of this theory entailed making an effort to democratise the erstwhile inflexible and elitist system of governance within society's institutions (Morrow, 1998). Figure 1 below depicts the Stakeholder Theory as articulated by Freeman (1984) and Morrow (1998).



The next section provides discussion about the four ideal-type regimes of university governance utilised as part of the conceptual framework in the study.

3.4 University Governance Model

The university governance model, as posited by Luescher (2008), consists of four ideal-type regimes of university governance and suggests that the nature and type of university governance can have an influence on the level of student involvement in activism. The study presents these ideal-type regimes of university governance in detail.

3.4.1 Community of Scholars

The first ideal-type regime of university governance model is the Community of Scholars and based on the assumption that a university governance has a disciplinary-based authority of the professors. This included various practices of academic self-rule to govern the core academic activities and other associated matters especially through the constitution of senates (Luescher, 2008). The academic self-rule entails professional self-regulation and self-governance of academic disciplines by the virtue of expertise and commitments (Moodie, 1996). This academic self-rule bestows academic freedom to the academic disciplines which involves the right to admit students to be enrolled in a discipline and the freedom to decide what to teach. The Community of Scholars is also based on the assumption that the hierarchy of authority is expressed in the form of academic seniority and ranks. It further proposes that the university councils serve as buffers between the academic community and its external environment and this keeps scholars autonomous in its internal self-governance (Luescher, 2008).

The model further suggests that the academic community is stratified with students located at the lower level of academic hierarchy as mere apprentice scholars or junior members of the academic community (Olsen, 2007). It postulates that the community of scholars does not only entail intellectual development of students but also their moral education. The Community of Scholars is characterised by academic competence and student rights to participate in university decision making, and joint determination of the learning environment are generally deprived of this because of their lack of professional experience, academic competence and maturity. Also, the student body is conceived as a homogenous group with limited rights, and privileges are limited and student political activism is largely minimum (Luescher, 2008).

3.4.2 Stakeholder University

Luescher (2008) presents the third element of the university governance model as the stakeholder university which envisions the university as consisting of a range of relevant internal stakeholders, including the university management, academic and non-academic staff, unions, students and others. This element of university governance is characterised by the involvement of multiple stakeholders in the collective decision making. It suggests that the staff, both academic and non-academic, students and other stakeholders, all seek to participate and prevail in a culture of decision making that is characterised by negotiation (de Boer & Stensaker, 2007; Olsen, 2007).

Wally Morrow has shown that the first main challenge of governance in the stakeholder university is to define your stakeholders, i.e. who qualifies as a stakeholder and who does not. This can present an advantage in that it creates flexibility in the governance to adapt to a changing political landscape. Conversely, he suggests that this may be a source of suspicion and distrust between different groups who seek to have a predominant voice (Morrow, 1998). The model assumes that a stakeholder university enables student representation in the university governance and perceives students as a key constituent group of the university and represented in almost every governance committee of the university as equal partners. The institutional managers, as an executive wing of the democracy, becomes accountable to students among others. The corporatist orientation of the stakeholder university offers an extensive latitude for student self-government in the extracurricular and other student activities. Moreover, the nature and characteristics of the stakeholder university is assumed to have a structural effect on how students are organised as well as on student politics in a number of ways (Luescher, 2008).

Firstly, the stakeholder university is assumed to have features of a highly politicised student body and marked by a fierce political rivalry between different student political groups that contest one another to acquire a leadership mandate from the student body. Secondly, it suggests that generally there is high sense of entitlement among students and the official student representatives enjoy many benefits and incentives. This tends to deteriorate and take the character of patron-client relationships between university leadership at one level and student leadership and key members of the student body at another level. Lastly, the student governance, i.e. the officially established SRCs to enable student representation in a collective university decision making, is highly centralised to ensure the coordination of student groupings and organisations in a union-like style (Luescher, 2008).

The stakeholder university tends to emphasise the collective identity of students as a distinctive group of the university. Moreover, student organisations, clubs and societies in a university, involve a disproportionate number of student political organisations which become involved in the contestation for power to be elected to the official student representative bodies, resulting in high student political activism (Luescher, 2008).

3.4.3 Prestigious National University

The prestigious national university governance is based on the premise that the institution is regarded as a national instrument that provides a training ground for the cultural, political and

professional development of students as the future elite of the community or nation (Luescher, 2008). Furthermore, it assumes that the university is an instrument that necessitates national direction and state coordination. In addition, the university is assumed to form part of the national development task that forms an integral part of national political and cultural dynamics (Olsen, 2007). It further suggests that the prestigious national university is fundamentally anchored on the logic of trust and it seeks to imitate the prevailing types of governance in a nation (Luescher, 2008).

The model suggests that the academic staff and institutional administrators are to be hired by the state, as key stakeholders of a university and expected to show accountability to the nation. The institutionalised governance statutory committees serve to promote the institutional adherence with the national orders. In a prestigious national university, students are expected to voluntarily and uncritically comply with the received rules administered in a traditional manner. Moreover, students who succeed academically are guaranteed to achieve upward social mobility. Also, student representation in the university governance is a mere co-option of student leaders to a number of governance forums, yet the real decision making lies elsewhere. Student participation is merely done to socialise students on how things are done in the university. Furthermore, student life is assumed to be an integral part of national life which embraces every aspect of a person. Moreover, students are conceived as members of the nation first before being a student (Luescher, 2008).

In a prestigious national university governance, the student loyalty is assumed to be imperative and any form of student dissent or opposition is ostracised or chastised. Students who form close relationships with the national leadership may achieve special influence. Also, students are assumed to be homogenous and the rule of governing the student domain has paternalistic tendencies. Thus, student activism is very limited and students are encouraged to participate in sanctioned groupings or national youth movements that have a close relationship with the national leadership, to organise the officially authorised form of student activism. This element of university governance is based on the principle of the *in loco parentis* rule, whereby the universities provide oversight through student affairs, and officials and elders take on the responsibility of guiding and nurturing students towards their role in the nation as the future elite (Luescher, 2008).

3.4.4 The Market-Oriented University

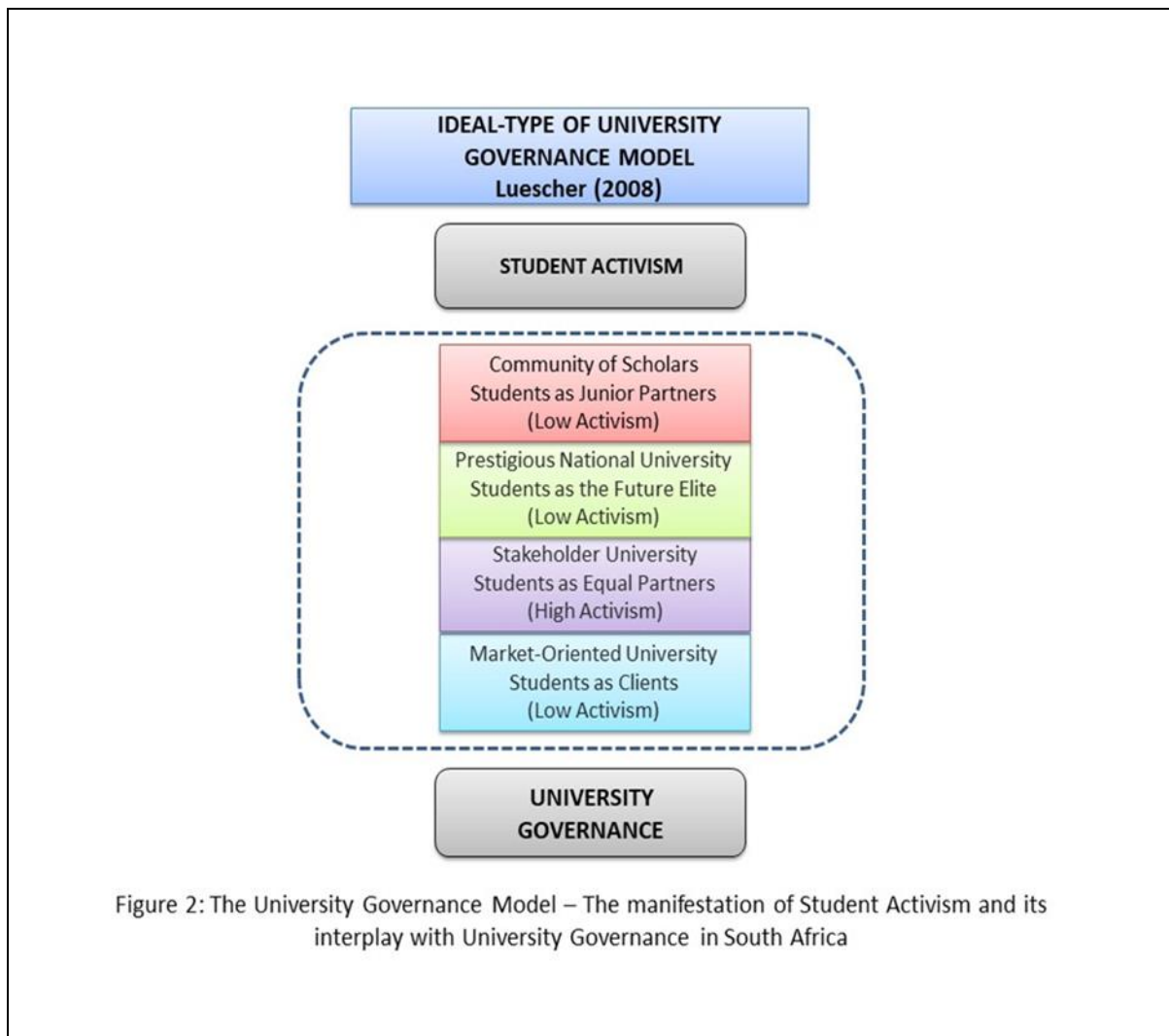
The market-oriented university is based on the assumption that a university is envisioned as a commercial service provider of higher education that competes locally and globally. The traditions of academic hierarchies are substituted by a corporate mission that commits the university to entrepreneurial principles and identifies the market niche for the teaching and research services that are competitively offered by a university. The higher education and research services are conceived as commodities to be packaged and branded with the high standing of the university. Further, commodities are marketed to satisfy the needs of specific segments of clients that are targeted by a university (Clark, 1998; Cloete, Fehnel, Maassen, Perold & Gibbon, 2002; Olsen, 2007).

Moreover, Salerno (2007) suggests that this ideal-type regime of university governance is accustomed to the perception of the market in respect of value for money for the services rendered and this perception is inextricably associated with the status of a university and its standing in relation to global ranking. Also, it requires most importantly, to respond with agility and with great effectiveness to new demands emerging in the market. Apparently, a university that adopts a market-oriented perspective needs to operate on the principle of efficiency that is applicable to the running of businesses. The professional managers become an integral part of the core leadership of a university and are a crucial component of the university to ensure that the institution survives in a competitive environment and achieves growth. The staff members, both academic and administrative, are answerable to the senior management for their performance through their line managers. This element of university governance places emphasis on efficiency and effectiveness of the multiple institutional processes and makes necessary adjustments in the productivity of a university and its ability to market its products or services to achieve a viable position in financial and profitability terms (Luescher, 2008).

The tradition of having governing bodies such as council or senates is remodelled to having them serve as trial audiences for innovations of products or services that are proposed by the professional senior managers. These bodies play an advisory role, as well as providing feedback on the level of service provided by a university as well as clients' satisfaction. The executive leadership of a university that adopts a market-oriented approach of governance is equivalent to a board of directors and provides direction to university senior managers with a staff complement involved in multiple educational core and non-academic services (Luescher, 2008).

The teaching services are generally provided by the contract lecturers and the deployment of these lecturers is coordinated by the academic programme manager. The teaching is programme-based and the role of traditional discipline-based departments is not significant. The lecturers and researchers are mostly contract-based personnel and a university would have a small proportion of full-time academics, who have achieved well, to become members of the teaching programme. The sense of academic community is not necessary in market-oriented university governance. A university is conceived as a firm whose employment relationship with the staff is regulated and controlled by a contract of employment (Luescher, 2008).

The market-oriented university governance assumes that students submit freely to the rules of an institution as long as it is able to perform its contractual obligations effectively and create the impression that it offers value for money in a longer term perspective especially in terms of reputation or prestige. Moreover, only the aspects of student life specified in the service level agreement can be considered as binding to the parties. Thus, a reciprocal relationship between students and a university is the prime rule of legitimation of this perspective of university governance. Lastly, this element of university governance lacks a sense of a student community; the student body is heterogeneous and consists of individual students who pursue quality service to prepare for their future beyond a university education. The model assumes that any form of activism by students in the market-oriented university, whether socially or politically, is alien unless it is triggered by the incentive of adding to the value of such credentials. Student political activism is limited and can occur on an *ad hoc* basis. Students are typically politically apathetic. Figure 2 below depicts the university governance as suggested by Luescher (2008).



3.5 Activists Leadership Model

The third and last model that is utilised in this study is known as the activist leadership model and it provides the significance of analysing the extent to which students get involved in student activism, i.e. the degree of intensity of student action in their participation in achieving goals of student movements. It furnishes a stratified level of student involvement in activism. Thus, the activist leadership model is explored in a comparative context and based on the assumption that there are three rings of student activism engagement, namely the core leadership, active followers and sympathisers. The model further makes an assumption that outside the three rings of activism, there are uninvolved students which consists of apathetic students and those who are opposed to the pursued cause (Altbach, 1989).

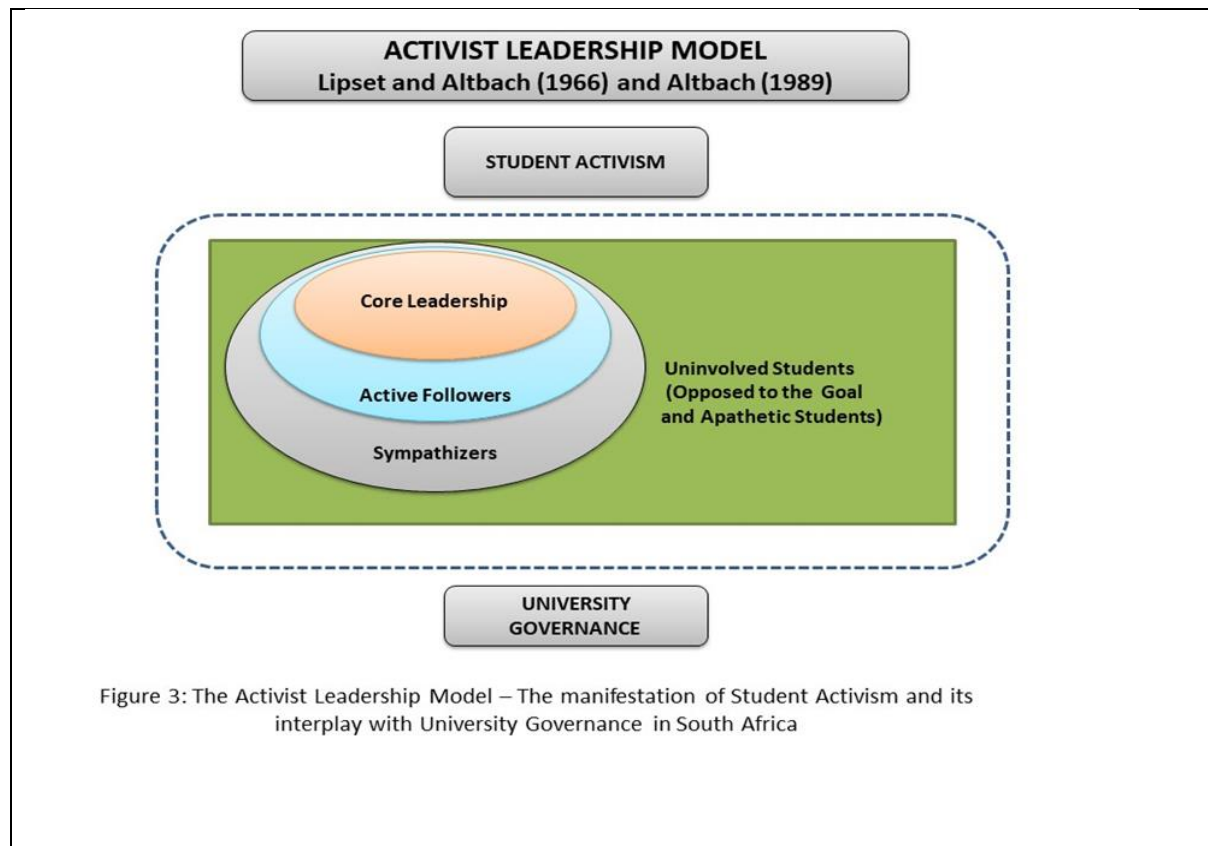
Firstly, the model presents the core leadership as an inner and smallest ring of student activism. The ring comprises a small minority of student activists who are generally more radical than most others. In addition, the model suggests that activists who form the core leadership are usually politically conscious and regularly ideologically oriented. Thus, these activists are more

likely to be members of political organisations before they engage in student activism compared to other fellow students. Moreover, the core leadership engages in politics during the period of campus quiet, and in most cases, they are student political leaders of the existing political parties in their communities (Altbach, 1989; Lipset & Altbach, 1966). The model further shows that the activists who form part of a core student leadership tend to be students enrolled in social science and to some degree, humanities disciplines, commonly political science and sociology. These students tend to hold ideologies that are more on the left than students in other disciplines.

The model also suggests that these students self-select since social science is a discipline that encapsulates studies about society and this contributes to engender a critical perspective with some students (Altbach, 1989). It indicates that these activists tend to be derived from somewhat affluent and well-educated families, normally situated in urban and cosmopolitan areas. It suggests that the manner in which these students were brought up and their attitudinal pattern of activism are generally liberal. These students tend to be high academic performers and usually come from minority groups. They are typically engaged in issues that are ideological rather than local and broader political ones (Altbach, 1989). The model further proposes a second ring of student activists known as ‘active followers’. It suggests that ‘active followers’ are situated in a middle ring and this ring is larger than the core leadership one. This ring of activism is assumed to comprise of students who are well aware of the issues that students are confronted with and they usually demonstrate a great commitment to the goals of the movement. Moreover, they are always committed to actively engage in mass demonstrations to achieve the intended goal of the movement.

The third ring of the activist leadership model consists of ‘sympathisers’ and it is located at the outer side of three rings. The model suggests that this group of students are more sympathetic to the broader goals of the movement. However, they are rather unclear about specific aspects. They occasionally get involved, if at all, directly in student activism. Fourthly, Altbach presents the largest group of students located outside the three rings of student activism and termed as ‘uninvolved students’. According to Altbach, this group consists of students who are apathetic and may not be interested in participating in protest action and are unaware of issues. However, Altbach also notes that besides the apathetic group, some students engage in activism that is opposed to the goal of a movement. Moreover, the model reveals that the overwhelming majority of students in this ring consists of students who are apathetic (Altbach, 1989; Lipset

& Altbach, 1966). Figure 3 below demonstrates the model of student activism as conceptualised by Lipset and Altbach (1966) and Altbach (1989).



3.6 Motivation for Combining Theories or Models in the Conceptual Framework

This section provides a motivation as to why the researcher combined the stakeholder theory, university governance model and activist leadership model to formulate a conceptual framework for this study. The conceptual framework was designed after conducting a literature review to provide a holistic view of the study and illumination of the research questions, to explore the relations between student activism and university governance, to shed light on various manifestations of student activism and the dynamics that inform such manifestations on selected universities in South Africa. In order to conceptualise student activism and university governance, the study utilises the conceptual framework that is formed from a combination of one theory and two models; namely stakeholder (political) theory, university governance model and student activist model.

The stakeholder theory has limitations as it neither encapsulates all forms of student activism manifestations that exist in the selected universities, nor provides different types of university governance in which student activism can occur, so therefore does not provide a holistic picture

of different student activism manifestations. For example, the theory pays attention towards a formal representation of students as a stakeholder group and does not cover activism by students in the form of protest movements and use of social media. Hence, the researcher included the university governance model to provide further illumination on the research questions.

The ideal-type regime of university governance model contributes to the study to understand how each type of governance can trigger specific forms of student action. However, the model focuses chiefly on a more formal and institutionalised participation of students in the decision making of the university and does not accommodate the emergence of informal activism in the form of protest movements, using social media to mobilise students. Hence, the activist leadership model was also included in the study to furnish a theoretical lens for a holistic study of student activism in the selected universities.

The activist leadership model contributes to informal activism that is not embedded in the stakeholder theory and university governance model as it encapsulates student activism that occurs in the form of student engagement in student movements. Thus, the conceptual framework of this study has been formed by using the stakeholder theory, university governance model and activist leadership model to provide a framework for data collection and analysis.

Furthermore, in order to provide a fuller depiction of the manifestations of student activism in this study, the theoretical and conceptual framework can be modified to incorporate the use of social media as the literature review has shown that it was used as a mobilisation tool to galvanise students to join protests (Luescher & Mugume, 2014; Klemenčič, Luescher, & Mugume, 2016; Oxlund, 2016). Therefore, the conceptual framework can offer an absolute and holistic illumination of the research questions to understand student activism; formal or informal and its interplay with the university governance. This framework provided lenses to guide the field work and is intended to be utilised during that data analysis and interpretation of the study (Patton, 2002).

Thus, the study proposes that different manifestations of student activism and the interconnection between student activism and the university governance can be conceptualised

using these conceptual frameworks that consist of a blend of the stakeholder theory, university governance model and activist leadership model.

3.7 Discussions

The following discussions pay particular attention to utilising the theoretical and conceptual framework to illuminate the understanding of student activism. The stakeholder theory provides a platform for the representation of all students in collective decision making of a university and hence encapsulates formal student activism. The student involvement in university decision making is guided by government legislative frameworks to promote the cooperative governance of the universities and to ensure that those who are affected by the university decisions have representation to ensure broader participation by different stakeholders in the collective decision making.

The cooperative governance was adopted by the South African government as a model that sought to redress the inequities and fragmentations within the higher education system which were caused by the university segregation laws during the apartheid era (Bunting, 2006). Section 1.19 of the White Paper of 1997 promotes the principle of democratisation which requires that “governance of the system of higher education and of individual institutions should be democratic, representative and participatory and characterised by mutual respect, tolerance and the maintenance of a well-ordered and peaceful community life”. It further says “structures and procedures should ensure that those affected by decisions have a say in making them, either directly or through elected representatives” (Department of Education, 1997). This theory depicts that students form part of a number of important stakeholder groups to engage in collective decision making. In a similar way as staff, management, government and stakeholders, students are an interest group that have a stake, can affect or be affected by the university decisions (Morrow, 1998).

Students as a stakeholder group are represented by collective decision making through their elected student leaders in the form of SRCs, and their participation is formalised and institutionalised by government legislative frameworks and university rules (Department of Education, 1997). They can be regarded as significant stakeholders in higher education governance and the legislation casts them as equal partners in university decision making (National Commission on Higher Education, 1996). Despite the post-apartheid policy promulgations which cast students as equal partners and that students and all other stakeholders should play a role in participatory and democratic systems of governance in HEIs, the literature

showed that student participation in South African HEIs is insufficient and restricted (Cele, 2002; Luescher, 2008).

Cloete and Bunting (2000) note that the Higher Education Act does not explicitly outline the role and responsibilities of the different stakeholders in various decision-making bodies. However, the act places it in the hands of individual institutions to determine the extent of student participation and it becomes discretionary and may vary from one institution to another (Cloete & Bunting, 2000). The university managers and administrators have the potential to reserve the power and authority to curb student involvement right from the onset, especially if relinquishing power and allowing student participation is perceived to be threatening the managerial prerogative (Cloete & Bunting, 2000).

Despite students being stakeholders participating in institutional decision-making bodies, some students may see this representation as a mere co-option of students to the status quo (Luescher & Klemenčič, 2016). Those student activists tend to engage in informal activism by mobilising other students to engage in protest action to change the status quo. However, the stakeholder theory focuses on student participation as a stakeholder group and does not take into account the movements and mobilisation of students taking part in protest movements, using social media. Rather, the theory tends to regard students as a single homogenous constituency and ignores any dissenting groups or individuals outside the agenda of its formal stakeholder group (Morrow, 1998).

The university governance model presented four types of university governance as a conceptual framework to present a prism through which to analyse and better understand the interplay between student activism and university governance. This model can determine student activism levels; namely community of scholars, prestigious national university, stakeholder university and market-oriented university governance. The community of scholars however, has been presented as limiting the role of student activism by perceiving students as junior partners who lack academic and professional competence. However, there may be instances where academic issues served as a driver for high political activism among students. For instance, the student activism that relates to decolonising the curriculum in South Africa is one form of activism that could be cited in this case, where students were intensively involved in organising debates, guest lectures and protest movements, and demanded for a change in the curriculum taught in South African universities (Jansen, 2017).

Inversely, the stakeholder university governance perceived students as a meaningful partner who have a stake in a university. However, this ideal-type regime of university governance presents a high level of student political activism due to fierce competition among different student political groupings to acquire a mandate from students to represent them in the university governance (Luescher, 2008). The prestigious national ideal-type regime of university governance perceived students as the future elite whose participation in decision making was viewed as a mere co-option and socialising student leaders on how things are done yet the decision is made elsewhere. The *in loco parentis* rule is applicable as students received guidance from elders on what is required for the nation and hence student activism is quite low (Luescher, 2008).

Although the national prestigious university is based on the assumption that it results in low student activism, there is a contrary view. This sort of university governance ignited a very high level of student political activism during the apartheid era as students waged a struggle to demand a democratic change and struggled against the *in loco parentis* rule, demanding to be treated as adults who are able to make decisions and also demanding to participate in the university governance. This type of activism was evident in black campuses in South Africa during the apartheid era when the government appointed white Afrikaners as administrators and senior academics in these campuses to propel the ideology of the Afrikaner white government. Moreover, during this era, universities were regarded as state creatures that existed to serve the state and the nation and support the apartheid system (Bunting, 2006). This type of governance provoked high student political activism in black universities as they became the site of struggle to overthrow the apartheid system (Badat, 1999).

Lastly, the market-oriented university ideal-type regime of university governance perceived students as ordinary clients who needed to be serviced by a university as a service provider. The involvement of students in university governance tended to be limited to student concerns about the quality of service (Luescher, 2008). However, student activism can transcend students as ordinary customers. Students tended to demand to be partners in the university governance to ensure that the quality of the service provided was sustained as they would hold qualifications for future employment and other career opportunities. The university governance model contributes to the illumination of the interplay between student activism and university

governance and understanding of the potential drivers of multiple manifestations of student activism in South African public universities.

The activist leadership model presented earlier in this chapter conceptualises student activist involvement depending on the level in which they engage in student activism. It presented three rings of activism according to the degree or level of student involvement in activism. Thus, the discussion about activist leadership model emanates from examining the student body in a university as consisting of students who engaged in student activism at different levels or degrees, from the lowest to highest degree of engagement and vice versa (Altbach, 1989).

In the literature chapter, the researcher conceptualised student activism as the involvement of students in activism to deal with issues that affect them as well as how student activists raise student their concerns or grievances within the university governance structures. Moreover, the study was further delineated to investigate student activism that focuses on addressing university specific issues or concerns raised by students. This activism is ignited by student concerns about certain institution-focused grievances which can relate to demands for change of institutional policies on fees, student funding, academic exclusion, financial exclusion and provision of quality infrastructure to ensure that teaching and learning of high pedigree occurs and other student concerns (Koen et al., 2006; Cele, 2014). These concerns tend to be centred primarily on higher education funding as it plays a pivotal role in processes such as inclusion and exclusion of students. In an effort to put pressure on institutional senior managers to consider effecting policy changes in favour of students, students would resort to various tactics of activism ranging from negotiations with management to mass demonstrations.

When students engage in mass demonstrations, usually they never seek permission from the institutional management and hence this form of student activism can be regarded as unofficial (Cele, 2014). Thus, these forms of activism are regarded as informal student activism by Luescher (2008) and extraordinary student activism by Pabian and Minksová (2011). Furthermore, the mass demonstrations can constitute a small or large group, depending on the nature and scope of the grievance and number of students affected. Moreover, student activism can take different forms and shapes, including mass meetings, submitting memoranda, boycotting classes, sit-ins, marches, peaceful and violent strikes (Cele, 2014).

To illuminate other concepts such as the student body, student organisation and student movement that are used to analyse the activist involvement model, Badat (1999, p. 23) defines the student body as the “collective of individuals who are engaged in academic study and vocational education and training at a particular HEI”. Moreover, he reveals that a student body comprises of student organisations and they can become part of student movements as "a source of potential members, supporters and sympathisers as well as antagonists" (Badat, 1999, p. 24). Furthermore, he reveals that the “size and social composition of the student body has an impact on the character, role and actions of a student organisation” (Badat, 1999, p. 24).

Badat also states that a student organisation can be understood as a collective of students with different reasons (political, cultural, religious, academic and/or social) for affiliation and can take different forms such as ‘council’, ‘club’, ‘society’, ‘association’, ‘union’ and even ‘organisation’ itself, which may be used to designate such a formation (Badat, 1999, p. 21). Most student organisations are characterised by voluntary membership, although some student organisations, for example the SRCs at South African HEIs, have automatically incorporated all registered students (Badat, 1999, p. 22). Student organisations have constitutions as foundation documents that outline governance arrangements and guiding principles, objectives and the vision and conduct of members, including dispute resolution measures (Cele, 2014).

The student movement can be defined as the “sum total of action and intentions of students individually, collectively and organisationally that are directed for change in the students' own circumstances and for educational and wider social change” (Jacks, 1975, p. 13). The student movement cannot be reduced to a single organisation and is not an extension of one or even many student organisations, but is a broad entity, which includes individual students who may not be formally attached to organisations. The student movement is a “dynamic entity whose size and boundaries” are likely to vary depending on political conditions, time of academic year and the issues being confronted (Badat, 1999, p. 22). The section on the activist leadership model earlier shows that students can be located in three rings of activism, namely core leadership, active followers and sympathisers, and outside these rings are uninvolved students. Badat (1999) reveals that the student body of a university provides organisations and individual students to become members, supporters, sympathisers or antagonists of the movement.

In analysing the three rings of activist leadership model, the members of the movement can consist of the inner ring of core leadership who understand the goal of the movement. The

supporters of the student movement can be located at the middle ring of active followers who support the goal of the movement and get involved in the movement activities. Similarly, the student organisations and individual students who sympathise with the goal of the student movement can be located at the outer ring of sympathisers, which is the largest ring of the model. Also, outside the three rings are individuals and student organisation who are against the goal of the student movement and are located there as antagonists of the movement. Student organisations or individual students who adopt an antagonistic stance against the movement goals tended to engage in rival activism or parallel activism that may be meant to oppose and compete with the goal of the movement. This is usually fuelled by the rivalry that is prevalent in the South African HEIs among different politically-aligned student formations. Despite student participation in activism, there have been numerous stakeholders who participated in protest movements such as #FeesMustFall movement as active supporters and sympathisers of the protest movement. This locates these stakeholders in the rings of activism as indicated in the activist leadership model. These were stakeholders such as academics, workers and others who were either active supporters or sympathisers of protest movements.

3.8 Integrating the Two Models to the Theory

This section integrates the university governance model and activist leadership model to the stakeholder theory which has been used as a theoretical lens for this study. This theory is based on the theoretical and conceptual premise that universities consist of a variety of stakeholders who have different interests. These interests can be ventilated through a collective decision-making process of university governance. Also, students constitute a stakeholder group whose interests are formally protected and advanced through representation in university governance. However students as a stakeholder group would from time to time engage in protest action to raise their concerns, usually on matters they felt unable to win in negotiations. To intertwine the stakeholder theory with the two models, the study shed light on understanding the role of a variety of stakeholder groups in the university governance model as well as in the activist leadership model for purposes of understanding the manifestations of student activism and its interplay with university governance.

The university governance model intertwines with the stakeholder theory as it provides different ideal-type regimes of university governance; namely the community of scholars, prestigious national university, stakeholder university and market-oriented university. These ideal-type regimes of governance could serve as platforms for the various stakeholders to

negotiate and reach collective decisions on how to serve the interests of different stakeholders or constituency groups that are recognised in university governance structures. The university governance model consists of different stakeholders such as management, students, academics, workers and others for all ideal-type regimes of university governance. Of particular importance in this study is that these different ideal-type regimes of governance can impel the type and level of activism in which students engage. Furthermore, the university governance could serve as a mechanism to hold various stakeholders such as academics and management accountable.

The university governance model of a university, including the role of students thereof, can be influenced by certain dynamics such as the nature of issues that are dealt with. Firstly, the nature of issues discussed in the community of scholar university governance can be more academic, as a result, demanding expert knowledge of stakeholders such as academics and the professorate. Subsequently, students can be generally viewed as junior partners or apprentices who lack academic expertise. Hence students can have a minimum role to play in dealing with academic matters. Secondly, the stakeholder university conceives students, academics, management, government and other stakeholders as partners. Students are conceived as a key constituency to hold management and academics to account. However, the stakeholder university differs from the stakeholder theory in that, although students are conceived as key constituents in university decision making, the stakeholder university does not necessarily emphasise that stakeholders should have equal numbers of representation in university governance. Hence, student representation is usually characterised by a minority.

Thirdly, the prestigious national university governance consists of a variety of stakeholders such as academics and administrators of universities to be held accountable to the nation. The government has an upper hand and control of universities as they are conceived as a national asset. This kind of university governance has culminated in low student activism as students are treated as young future elite who are expected to serve the nation. In order to serve the nation conscientiously, students are guided by adults using the *in loco parentis* rule. However students have risen against this type of government and demanded to be treated as adults.

Fourthly, the market-oriented university governance is based on a premise of an entrepreneurial or business approach in the governance of universities. It embraces the principle of managerialism where expert senior managers are appointed to run universities in a business-

like fashion. This university governance type was also found to generate low student activism as students are seen as clients who need to be supplied with quality service and expected to pay for the service rendered. The market-oriented type of university governance is characterised by different stakeholders such as expert senior managers, academic, students and others, and student participation is only considered on matters of the quality of the services provided to students and hence student activism is rather low. Similarly, students have risen against being treated as mere customers and demanded to be treated as partners whose interests go beyond their stay at universities as they would hold a university qualifications for future employment.

Lastly, the activist leadership model has been integrated within the stakeholder theory. This has located these stakeholders within the activist leadership model rings of activism; namely the active followers' ring and sympathisers' ring respectively. For instance, some academics engaged in #FeesMustFall protest movement in support of students. Other stakeholders involved in protest movements included the worker unions, as they supported the student struggle and marched side by side with them. Also, a variety of other higher education stakeholders such as management, chairpersons of university councils and others, participated in dialogue convened by government to address the issue of fees. This culminated in the government decision to introduce a no-fee increase in 2016 and free education for the poor in 2018. It could however be argued that the government actions were aimed at getting a political capital and may not be in the best interest of students and the country at large, as increasing the budget to fund free education occurred at the expense of other needs of the country such as health, social services and others.

The #FeesMustFall movement has shown that students have great potential to make a meaningful contribution to the South African mass struggles. The effect and triumph of student-staff alliances have been realised in protest movements at the selected universities. Whereas students received support from workers during the #FeesMustFall protest movement at the various South African universities on one hand, students also joined forces and collaborated with workers to fight against outsourcing, under the banner of #OutsourcingMustFall on the other. Also, political parties demonstrated support of the #FeesMustfall movements and used Parliament as a platform to raise and debate issues pertaining to free education. Government, management, academics, organised labour, students, parents, convocations and wider society were somehow involved in a protest as supporters and sympathisers, since they have a stake in university governance. These stakeholders have a

responsibility to serve the best interest of the institution and their constituency and have a responsibility to hold university management accountable.

It can be noted that despite these key stakeholders, other actors apparent during the protest movements included security forces whose intervention was intended to maintain law and order. However, there were reports of police brutality during protests action as teargas and water cannons were used against protesters, and some were arrested. Other actors who were apparent during protest movements included the courts to interdict students from engaging in violent protests. Moreover, courts conducted cases against student activists who allegedly engaged in violent protests, while the correctional services served as a custodian to keep the student activists arrested and detained.

Also, the government as a university stakeholder group indicated sympathy with the plight of students and declared the #FeesMustFall and #RhodesMustFall protest movements a good cause. For instance, the South African Minister of Higher Education and Training, Dr Blade Nzimande supported the removal and relocation of the Rhodes statue, but added that it was important for institutions to note that transformation goes far beyond such measures (South African Government News Agency, 2016). The minister further stated that transformation of HEIs should not only be about the removal of statues but should also include transforming the staff and student demographics. Furthermore, the minister opined that transformation should ensure that the curriculum reflects South Africa's development and cultural needs (South African Government News Agency (2016). He closed his statement by indicating that transformation should reflect the history of its people, including all their languages, art, philosophical and religious beliefs, and their material and scientific development (South African Government News Agency, 2016). However, there was a silent majority of uninvolved stakeholders in society who had a say on the matter. Other uninvolved stakeholders included academics who were detractors and opposed to student movements.

In conclusion the two models have been integrated within the theory, as the assumption of the stakeholders in the stakeholder theory may be required to adopt different types of university governance (as encapsulated in the university governance model) to serve as a platform for different stakeholders to conduct dialogue to reach a collective decision. Also, the activist leadership model that has been integrated within the stakeholder theory has made assumptions that different stakeholders of a university engaged in protest movements as supporters and

sympathisers of a cause. However, a number of stakeholders were quiet and never got involved in the protest movements. Others adopted an antagonistic stance and were opposed to protest movements.

This theoretical and conceptual framework has taken cognisance of the view that, a variety of stakeholders participated in the university governance and these stakeholders played a role in student activism as supporters and sympathisers. Although others have not shown face in the protest movements, through social media these stakeholders indicated support and sympathy to the protesters. These actions by certain stakeholders have been critiqued by many detractors that it may result in slacktivism as these people participate in cyberspace by sending messages of support without physical participation when protest movements occurred. It is however argued that this form of participation mattered less and what mattered most has been the physical appearance during protests.

3.9 Summary

This chapter has provided a conceptual framework offering lenses for the study. The theoretical and conceptual framework was formed, after reviewing the literature, by a combination of one theory known as the stakeholder theory and two models; namely the university governance model and the activist leadership model to illuminate manifestations of student activism and its interplay with university governance. The framework was formulated to shed light on how student activism manifests itself in the university governance as well as why it manifests itself the manner it does. The chapter has provided the reason for choosing this aforementioned theory and two models and how they complement one another to provide a holistic view of the phenomenon of student activism. The theoretical and conceptual framework have been presented in this chapter, including their assumptions as well as their diagrammatical representations. Furthermore, this chapter integrates the two models with the theory and organises them effectively.

The stakeholder theory has suggested that universities are complex and multi-faceted entities and consist of different constituency groups which have competing interests. The interests of these groups can be served in a collective decision-making process. Compromises or concessions are made where there are differences in views. The stakeholder theory has been presented as promoting democratic ethos in university governance. However, it appeared to pay attention on theorising student activism that occurs in a formal and institutionalised setup. Hence, informal activism is not embedded in the theory.

Subsequently, the chapter has presented the university governance model which is based on the conceptual premise of four ideal-type regimes of university governance as a framework to present a lens through which to analyse and better understand the interplay between student activism and university governance in the respective institutions. These are the community of scholars, prestigious national university, stakeholder university and market-oriented types of university governance and these can influence the level of student engagement in activism. Although these ideal-type regimes of governance can influence student participation activism in a number of ways, they all however consist of different stakeholders who are involved in university governance which include, *inter alia*, management, academics, organised labour, students, government and others.

The chapter has also presented the activist leadership model which has postulated that there are three rings of activism which denote the level of student engagement in activism. These rings are core leadership – inner ring, active followers - middle ring and sympathisers – outer ring. The model has also indicated that outside these three rings are uninvolved student who are either apathetic or their activism is opposed to the student movement goal.

Furthermore, the chapter has integrated the student activist model to the stakeholder theory by showing that there have been different stakeholders, both internal and external who play roles in supporting or sympathising with movements. These stakeholders included academics, workers and others. While some stakeholders participated in the protest movements and marched side by side with students, others participated in cyberspace as they sent messages of support on social media without physical participation. Hence, these stakeholders can be located in the rings of the activist leadership model as active supporters and sympathisers. The two models are interwoven in the theory to form a theoretical and conceptual framework to illuminate the understanding of the phenomenon of student activism.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the design and research methodology adopted to conduct this study and is divided into six sections. First, the chapter provides discussions on the underlying philosophical assumption of the study in terms of the researcher's world view to determine the paradigm that was adopted in the inquiry. Second, it presents a research methodology selected in the study, including the research approach and method, and data collection and analysis methods. Third, the chapter provides a section about the ethical issues that were taken into account when the study was conducted and how these issues were dealt with. The ethical considerations included, *inter alia*, designing the informed consent forms to ensure data integrity. Fourth, the chapter provides discussion on the data analysis process that was adopted in the study. Fifth, discussions are presented to demonstrate on how issues of validity and reliability were addressed in the process of conducting the inquiry in an effort to safeguard that elements of trustworthiness and rigour were imbued. Sixth and last, the chapter outlines the methodological limitations of the study.

4.2 Philosophical World View: Paradigm of the Study

A paradigm or philosophical world view can be referred to as the underlying assumptions upon which the study is grounded (Kuhn, 1962). Denzin and Lincoln (2011) note that a paradigm can provide a framework of beliefs and assumptions about the world. Creswell (2003) suggests that the philosophical world view or paradigm of the study can be based on three major dimensions of the research process, namely ontology, epistemology and methodology. The research paradigm adopted in this study assisted in making the decision to select the research methodology, research methods, data collection methods, analysis and writing (Bryman, 2016; Pickard, 2013). Whereas ontology can be referred to as the nature of reality and claims about existing knowledge on one hand, epistemology can be referred to as the nature of knowledge of humans that can be understood and possibly learnt by making use of different types of inquiry and alternative methods of investigation, on the other (Lincoln et al., 2011).

Accordingly, methodology can be referred to as the process of acquiring knowledge and how the inquirer establishes what he believes can be known (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). The philosophical world view of this research is based on the assumptions that there is no single reality and that reality can be constructed through social interaction and relative to people's experiences (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Moreover, the participants in a natural setting create

meanings about the world based on their experiences, views and opinions. Furthermore, these meanings are multiple, differ and are dependent on individual participant experiences. Subsequently, the study provides analysis of the multiple participants' views and perspectives based on their lived experiences about the phenomenon that is studied (Creswell, 2003).

Emanating from the philosophical assumption of multiple realities and constructivist analysis of the world, this study designed semi-structured and focus group interview questions that are in-depth and open-ended so that participants could construct a meaning which could be formed through interaction with others. Moreover, this philosophical assumption is based on the notion that open-ended questions posed by this study provide a deeper insight about participants' experiences of natural settings. These experiences provide multiple and subjective meanings. However, these meanings are negotiated for knowledge construction and hence social constructivism (Creswell, 2003) or constructivist paradigm (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). The study is normally context specific in relation to where participants work or live, to understand the natural settings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

The constructivist paradigm was chosen over the critical theory and positivist paradigm. The critical theory was not chosen, as its world view is based on the premise of conducting research in order to challenge certain practices that are oppressive to a certain category of people, and the intention of studies that adopt the critical theory paradigm is to empower or emancipate a particular group (Bohman, 2005). Instead, this study is not meant to criticise or challenge a certain group of people. But rather to provide a better understanding of the phenomena through lived experience of the participants. Hence, the critical theory paradigm was not suitable for the study.

Equally, the constructivist paradigm was chosen over the positivist paradigm. Kaboub (2008) observes that the positivist paradigm is based on a premise that only scientific knowledge can articulate the truth about reality. Its ontological view is that there is a single reality and the methodology used in this paradigm is experimentation in a lab-like environment. The characteristics of this paradigm are not aligned to the intention of the study. Participants' lived experience provides multiple realities and these realities are negotiated to construct knowledge. Hence a positivist paradigm was not chosen for the study.

4.3 Research Methodology

The research methodology can be referred as the strategy of inquiry which moves from the underlying assumptions to research design and data collection (Myers, 2013). The study adopts a qualitative design and a multi-case study. The qualitative design was adopted to study different participants in their natural settings and involved an interpretive, naturalistic approach to reflect and interpret the phenomenon based on the meanings that participants make (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

In a qualitative approach, the researcher is considered to be the primary research instrument for data collection and analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Stake, 2005). Moreover, the study engages with the context and attempts to understand the multiple realities which exist about the phenomenon in a context, since participants construct their own meaning about reality. In a qualitative case study, the data is generated to conduct the inquiry in a natural setting as they unfold naturally without predetermined constraints or conditions that control the study or its outcomes (Golafshani, 2003). Merriam (1998) suggests that the researcher engages with the context in an effort to construct an understanding of the context in which the study is conducted through providing an interpretation of what takes place in natural settings. Thus, the qualitative design can produce results which are based on the researcher's interpretation of participants' views which is analysed and interpreted through the researchers own views (Merriam, 1998).

Furthermore, Merriam (1998) suggests that qualitative case studies are often framed with concepts, models and theories and further suggests that the inductive method can then be adopted to confirm or refute theoretical assumptions. The process of qualitative research is largely inductive, with the inquirer generating meaning from the data collected in the field (Creswell, 2003). Lincoln and Guba (1985) contend that qualitative research is an approach where the researcher is an instrument to conduct research. Hence, the researcher's has reflected on his positionality and reflexivity as he was the person pursuing the study. The researcher is employed at one of the universities in South Africa and responsible for student leadership and governance. Working with the student leaders or activists has stimulated the researcher's interest in conducting this study. However, the university in which the researcher is employed was not part of the three selected universities, rather, the university was used in a pilot study.

Bourke (2014) notes that it is reasonable to expect that the researcher's beliefs, motivations and biases are important elements likely to affect the research process. Hence, reflexivity was

conducted to manage the researcher's impartiality throughout the study. Reflexivity entails self-scrutiny on the part of the researcher; a self-conscious awareness of the relationship between the researcher and other (Pillow, 2003). Thus, throughout the research process, the researcher was mindful of possible subjectivities and was conscious about his position by telling the story, as a researcher, on behalf of participants rather than passing judgement (Creswell, 2003).

The study intended to interpret the meanings that participants have about the phenomenon. Basically, the meaning was generated and constructed socially and emanated from interaction of participants within the context (Creswell, 2003). Thus, the qualitative research was selected to conduct a systematic inquiry into the manifestations of student activism and its interplay with the university governance by employing an interpretive and naturalistic approach (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Furthermore, qualitative research was most appropriate for this research as the study sought to provide a deeper understanding of how participants think about the phenomenon and to provide analysis and interpretation of their perspectives (Rubin & Rubin, 2011).

A case study approach was chosen to explore the three selected universities in South Africa to acquire different perspectives about the phenomenon. According to Gillham (2000), the case study approach is one of several ways of doing research that seeks to understand human beings in a social context by interpreting their actions in the case settings. Furthermore, the author defines a case study as an analysis that seeks to respond to specific research questions that are aimed at a range of different evidence from the context in which the study is conducted. Yin (2003) defines a case study as an empirical inquiry that analyses a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly defined. In addition, the case study provides a variety of participant perspectives and uses multiple data collection techniques to provide an understanding of the phenomenon. The multiple methods of data collection used provide thick descriptions of the phenomena that is studied (Yin, 2003).

The cases were selected because of the high prevalence of student activism, including participation in the university governance and protest action in the selected universities. The activism by students in these universities had predominantly culminated in perennial student protests and in most instances these protests were characterised by violence and destruction of

university property. This culture of student activism presents a paradoxical situation, with students' demands for specific university issues to be addressed on one hand, they tended to destroy the little they had on the other.

Stake (2005) indicates that cases chosen for the study usually tend to be those that have noticeable interest in relation to the phenomenon contemplated for study prior to the formal study commencement. Therefore, the three selected universities were chosen as cases because of the high discernible level of student activism prevalent. The qualitative case study approach was adopted as the study focuses on analysing the recent forms of student activism in a natural setting (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Yin, 2003; Yin, 2014). Student activism occurs in a natural social setting and is fundamentally interpretive of a complex social phenomenon in a particular context (Yin, 1994).

Qualitative research utilises multiple data sources to conduct the inquiry (Marshall & Rossman, 1999; Rossman & Rallis, 2016). Hence, the study conducts qualitative research to examine the recent manifestations of student activism and its interplay with the university governance in its natural world. It studies the meaning, perception and experiences of student and management participants regarding the phenomenon. Choosing the case study aided the researcher to comprehend this complex and multifaceted social phenomenon. Moreover, the case study strategy was selected to provide an in-depth analysis of the contemporary and recent student activism rather than historical, and the phenomenon is analysed in its real-world context (Yin, 2003; Yin, 2014) or natural setting (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

The study investigates three selected cases and hence is a multi-case study. A multi-case study enables the analysis of different cases in order to gain different perspectives from various participants in different universities about the phenomenon. The case study has enabled the researcher to obtain real-world events holistically, including different manifestations of student activism such as dealing with student issues through formal representation of students in university governance, debates on issues, student mass mobilisation through protests, using social media and other real-life events. The case study method enabled the exploration of detailed matters in their natural setting where the problems examined were inherently associated with the context (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

This concurs with Yin (2003) who asserts that the interaction between the unit of analysis and its setting is important when conducting analysis of case studies. The research questions that were developed were mainly ‘how’ and ‘why’ to provide extensive and in-depth descriptions of a social phenomenon (Yin, 2003). In this respect of the research, participants were asked about how student activism had manifested in their campuses and why those manifestations occurred the way they did, and how did student activism interplay with university governance.

Further, the researcher selected these universities because of the existence of the fierce competition among student political groupings as they compete to get a mandate from students to represent them in university decision making, especially during SRC elections (Luescher, 2008). These characteristics of student activism resulted in high student political activism which was important to understand this study. Furthermore, these universities were chosen because of their historical role in the liberation of South Africa and became the sites of struggle during the apartheid era, as well as their commitment to bring about change through continuous transformation in the post-apartheid era.

In the post-apartheid era, student activism in these universities had advocated for transformation and expansion of student access through engaging in the negotiation process with management as well as student protest action. Also, the universities were chosen for the study because they were willing to participate and had granted permission to the researcher to access their premises. The researcher had free access to speak with the participants and the information was provided by participants without suspicion (Creswell, 2005).

The fact that the researcher was not an employee of the three selected universities, allowed the researcher to conduct the study as an outsider. This addressed the common issues usually associated with conducting research as an insider where the researcher would be prone to elements of subjectivity. The researcher was able to adopt a more neutral/objective stance. Another crucial factor was that the researcher was able to persuade the gatekeepers and participants to support this study, and comprehend how conducting it is significant, which despite its prime interest of being towards completion of a PhD, could also provide some insights about student activism in HEIs, which is likely to benefit various stakeholders in South African higher education.

4.4 Data Collection Methods

The data collection methods used were semi-structured interviews such as individual face-to-face, telephonic and email interviews; focus group interviews; and document analysis. In order to enter the field to collect data, the researcher submitted application letters for gatekeepers' permission to enter the premises of the selected universities. Since the research was a qualitative case study, the researcher combined different data sources which was important for the study (Mouton & Babbie, 2001).

The goal of utilising various kinds of data sources was to triangulate (Patton, 2002; Lewis & Ritchie, 2003). Triangulation generally refers to a process of utilising multiple insights to illuminate meaning and confirm the recurrence of an observation or interpretation (Stake, 2005). Myers (2013) concurs that triangulation is about using two or more techniques to produce data and is viewed as an excellent way to look at the same topic from different angles to provide a fuller picture of what is taking place. It is used to avoid the "common problems of bias, poor recall and poor or inaccurate articulation" (Yin, 1994, p. 85). The next section discusses the activities that the researcher undertook in preparation for data collection.

An informed consent form was developed to provide the details as to what the study was about. The informed consent form provided disclosures to the research ethics committee of the UKZN where the PhD study was registered, the gatekeepers of selected universities and research participants. The informed consent form provided information such as the purpose of the study, ethical issues including anonymity of participants, voluntary participation and withdrawal at any time from the study, the use of an audio recorder with the permission of participants and other related ethical issues. This process provided transparency about the study. The informed consent form was approved by the research ethics committee of University of KwaZulu-Natal before it was utilised for data gathering.

The interviews were used as primary data collection methods for the study. The semi-structured and focus group interviews format was chosen where questions were planned carefully to offer sufficient coverage for the objectives. Hence, the interview protocol was developed to cover questions in a general statement which was then followed by a sequence of sub-questions for further probing (Noor, 2008). The interview protocol is the "form designed by the researcher that contains instructions for the process of the interview, the questions to be asked and space to take notes of the responses from the interviewee" (Creswell, 2005, p. 225). This process

included designing different semi-interview questions for both students and university senior managers. Different interview questions were designed to ensure that questions applicable to each group were organised in a proper manner and asked to the relevant participant. Additionally, the interview protocols were designed to conduct focus group interviews with student participants in the three selected universities (Creswell, 2005; Jacob & Furgerson, 2012).

4.5 Gatekeepers' Permission to Access the Field

This refers to an appropriate practice to get permission to enter the premises of the selected cases to conduct a study (Jensen, 2008). Prior to gaining access to the field, the researcher wrote letters of application to the Registrars of the three selected universities to conduct the study. Further, a letter was written to another university to request permission to conduct a pilot study to test research instruments such as interview questions. The process took between three and six months as the matter had to be tabled to meetings of research ethics committees of the selected universities.

The gatekeepers' permission was granted by all three universities. Also, permission was granted by the university selected to conduct a pilot study. Getting permission to access these universities to conduct interviews with participants was a major step forward. The researcher was granted full permission and this enabled him to have access to the selected universities to conduct interviews with the participants as well as permission to access documentation of these universities (Creswell, 2005).

Upon receiving gatekeepers' letters that permitted access to the field, the researcher subsequently identified participants from the selected universities to be interviewed. The student participants were identified by the researcher by communicating with the student affairs officials of these universities. These officials assisted to provide the lists of students who were members of the SRC and student leaders from politically-aligned and apolitical student organisations, including email addresses and contact numbers. These student leaders were selected by virtue of their positions as student leaders. Furthermore, student activists who were neither in formal student leadership nor university governance were selected and assisted by other participants. Moreover, student participants were classified according to their level of involvement in student activism.

Similarly, senior managers from the selected university were also identified as participants for the study. The Registrars and Deans of Students were selected to provide a management perspective by virtue of their roles in the university as senior managers responsible for university operations that relate to student activism and university governance. The contact details of senior managers were located through the websites of these universities as they were publicly available (Creswell, 2005). The research participants were contacted by email to request to set up interviews as well as telephonically for a follow-up. Moreover, all participants indicated willingness to participate in the study.

4.6 Piloting the Interview

Before the research interviews were conducted, the study was piloted by interviewing seven participants at the university which was selected for the purposes of conducting a pilot study. The university selected for a pilot was solely used to test the research instruments before the actual interviews for the study began. The pilot assisted to familiarise the researcher with the interview questions to be asked and this enabled research interviews to proceed efficiently and naturally (Babbie, 2015). Furthermore, conducting a pilot study sought to identify any ambiguities and to clarify the wording of questions which allowed for early detection of necessary additions and omissions (Noor, 2008).

Furthermore, the participants were sent copies of interview protocols and informed consent forms so they could familiarise themselves with the process before pilot interviews took place. Participants were requested to indicate the earliest appropriate and convenient date for the pilot interviews to take place. Moreover, participants were students from different categories of activism or leadership, namely SRCs, politically-aligned student organisations, apolitical student organisation and student activists who were not in any form of leadership in the selected universities. The pilot study assisted to test and sharpen the research instruments, to eliminate ambiguities and obscurity in the interview questions (Noor, 2008). Thus, this piloting study assisted to clarify the questions that had some ambiguities (Creswell, 2005).

4.7 Preparation for Data Collection

After permission from the gatekeepers was granted, communication with student participants was made through emails, requesting them to participate in the research interviews. Further to that, participants were requested to indicate an earliest suitable and convenient date for their research interviews, time and location within university premises. Also, the interview protocols and informed consent forms were sent to the participants for transparency about the study. This

furnished participants with sufficient time to familiarise themselves with documents in preparation for the research interview. Telephonic follow-ups were made with student participants to schedule interviews sessions.

Also, the researcher communicated by email with the offices of the Deans of Students and Registrars of the selected universities requesting them to participate in the interviews. The section on sampling below provided more details and reasons for selecting these senior managers as participants in the study. The semi-structured interviews were conducted with the individual participants from November 2016 to March 2017 and took place at the premises of universities in which student activism and interplay with university governance occurred. Furthermore, the focus group interviews followed thereafter and occurred between April and May 2017.

4.8 Semi-structured Interviews

The researcher conducted semi-structured, face-to-face, individual research interviews as they are commonly used in qualitative research. This form of interview had some elements of formality in the way it was organised but it also had some flexibility as it provided leverage to probe participants for more answers (Edwards & Holland, 2013). The semi-structured interviews enabled the researcher to prepare questions prior to the interviews. It provided a standardised line of questions to ensure that participants were asked similar questions, but at the same time its flexibility allowed the researcher to utilise open-ended questions and probing to get in-depth information about the phenomenon (Edwards & Holland, 2013).

Accordingly, the researcher had predetermined questions, whose order could be modified depending on the researcher's view of what seemed most appropriate. Furthermore, the semi-structured interviews wording of questions were reviewable and justification provided. Also, the semi-structured interviews allowed for flexibility to omit inappropriate questions for a particular participant and could be omitted and/or relevant ones added. Correspondingly, the semi-structured interviews provided in-depth exploratory data about the phenomenon (Creswell, 2005). The next sections provide discussion on the sampling strategy of the study.

4.9 Sampling

The sampling strategy adopted in the study to select the participants for the semi-structured and focus group interviews was purposeful sampling. According to Patton (2002, p. 243), purposeful sampling can be referred to as strategically choosing information-rich cases for the

research. Creswell concurs with this view that in purposeful sampling, individuals and sites are intentionally selected to provide data that is important to understand the phenomenon (Creswell, 2005).

The selection of the participants intentionally and purposefully included five members of the senior management who were selected by virtue of their role and position in the participating universities. These senior managers were the University Deans of Students and Registrars. Whereas the Deans of Students primarily deal with issues of student activism on one hand, Registrars are responsible for matters of university governance matters in these universities on the other. They were selected as well-informed participants who have knowledge of student activism and university governance and they provided valuable information as well as access to university documents (Yin, 1994).

Furthermore, 15 student leaders were purposefully selected to participate in the study and were derived from different classifications of student activist involvement such as SRCs, politically-aligned student organisations and apolitical student organisations. These students were purposefully selected by virtue of positions they held as student leaders and their involvement in student activism. Through interaction with the student affairs officials, information was provided on the SRCs in office as well as student organisations. Hence, the researcher was able to make a decision to identify participants who would provide rich data for the study.

One of the challenges that confronted the study was that the participating universities did not have records of the student activists who appealed and were influential to the student population, but who were not in leadership or university governance as they operated informally. Given the difficulty in locating these students, the researcher used snowball or chain sampling and asked other participants to identify them (Patton, 2002). Patton (2002) outlines snowball sampling as a process of discovering cases of interest from the participants who are familiar with persons and cases that are material-rich for the study.

The research participants became informants in the qualitative study and had information that was crucial to aid the researcher in determining the student activists who could best contribute to the research (Jensen, 2008; Miles & Huberman, 1994). However, the studies cautioned the researcher that snowball sampling can result in the researcher being referred to people who cannot provide information-rich cases for the study. However, the researcher was conscious of

this. Nonetheless through snowball sampling, the researcher was able to access student activists who provided quality information. Indeed, snowball sampling assisted the researcher to identify students who had been actively engaged in activism, including informally organising and mobilising students to participate in protest action.

Lincoln & Guba (1985) recommend the selection of a sample to a “point of redundancy”. They argue that in a purposeful sampling, the size of the sample is determined by informational considerations. Furthermore, if the aim is to acquire maximum information, the sampling is terminated when new information is no longer forthcoming from the new sampled units, thus redundancy is the primary criteria (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Table 1 below depicts the sample of the study.

Students Participants per Affiliation	Number of Participants
SRCs	6
Politically-Aligned Student Organisations	3
Apolitical Student Organisations	3
Student Activists not in Leadership and/or Governance	3
<i>Sub-Total</i>	<i>15</i>
Senior Managers	Number of Participants
Dean of Students	3
Registrars	2
<i>Sub-Total</i>	<i>5</i>
Grand Total	20
Table 1: Sampling of a Qualitative Multi-Case Study in the Selected Universities	

4.10 Interview Process

After the interview participants were identified, the semi-structured interviews were conducted. During interviews, the researcher first built a rapport to put the participants at ease. He then explained to the participants about the study, went through ethical issues such as protecting participants’ anonymity, requesting to use an audio recorder for data accuracy and granting the informed consent. The research interviews focused on eliciting information from the participants about student activism manifestations and its interplay with the university governance.

The researcher had initially intended to conduct semi-structured interviews with 21 participants. Although all participants were willing, one senior manager at University C was unavailable for quite some time and could not participate. Overall, the researcher interviewed a total of 20 participants, namely three Deans of Students, two Registrars, six SRC members, three leaders from politically-aligned student groupings, three leaders from apolitical student organisations and three student activists who were not student leaders and in governance. The university senior managers and student leaders and activists consented in writing by signing the informed consent form.

The interviews dealt with a variety of issues such as the nature of student activism in the participating universities, the role of social media and activism, and the interconnection between student activism and university governance. The student leaders and activists were senior students mainly in their third year, Honours or Masters level of study. Moreover, one student activist was at PhD level and had been with the university since 2010. Selecting senior students who had been in university for a number of years provided the researcher with rich information for the study. Also, these student activists and leaders enabled the researcher to understand how they interpreted student activism and why they engaged in it.

The interviews also provided insight of different forms of student activism on their university campuses that occurred from 2014 to 2016. The researcher chose three years to investigate the recent forms of activism in the selected cases. This concurs with Yin (2014) that the case study should be contemporary rather than historical. It also provided insight on the goals that are pursued by student activism during 2014-2016 and whether those goals were achieved. These included how student activists had communicated their issues to the university governance, including negotiating to reach consensus on issues such as fees, concessions for students owing, understanding the nature and amount of student debts, as well as payment plans agreed upon between student leaders/activists and the university management. Another issue at the centre of activism was the lack of accommodation which entailed how student leaders and management negotiated and planned for student access to accommodation during this period to create a conducive living and learning environment.

The interviews with student leaders or activists provided insight into the role of students in the transformation of the selected universities from their origins as an apartheid institution to becoming a democratic institution for all students across the erstwhile racial divide. The semi-

structured interviews provided great insight in understanding how students organise themselves in these universities to deal with student issues, including formal activism in the form of participation in university governance or protest movements using social media. They provided insight into different protests that occurred in these universities between the academic years 2014 and 2016, and also to understand issues that students were attempting to address through these protests, as well as forms and shapes of these protests and whether they were able to achieve those goals. The interviews also provided information as to why students choose one form of student activism over another.

The interviews with student leaders further highlighted how students elected become leaders in the SRCs. The interviews with participants also provided understanding that there were internal student contestations, which were usually politically and ideologically motivated and they manifested themselves in how students approached student issues and concerns, relations with the university management and the role of the SRC.

From the university management perspective, the researcher conducted interviews with the Registrars and Dean of Students. These interviews provided understanding of the nature of student activism on their university and its potential to cause instability on campuses. However, the interviews with the university senior managers provided an understanding of the role that student activists play to make the management aware of issues facing students and their contribution to the solution. They also provided an understanding of various communication platforms available for student leaders to raise their concerns and to address them.

The interviews also provided understanding about different forms of activism by students to raise their concerns. The interviews with senior managers provided understanding of their perspective on the interconnection between student activism and university governance. They also provided insight about views of senior management participants on the influence of the external bodies on student activism.

The research interviews for this study were conducted between November 2016 and March 2017. Most of interviews took place at the beginning of the academic year 2017. Once an appointment was confirmed between the researcher and participant, the researcher would arrive half an hour before the interviews in a natural setting. Usually, the SRC boardrooms were arranged by student leaders for the researcher to conduct interviews. During registration at the

beginning of 2017, the researcher observed how the student leaders and activists went about assisting students who were unable to register. During this period, the researcher observed hundreds of students queuing at the SRCs offices for help, as they indicated that they were unable to register due to outstanding fees. Furthermore, the researcher observed that student leaders were up and down between the SRCs offices and the university management offices to negotiate for these students.

While the researcher waited in the SRC boardroom to conduct interviews with student activists and leaders, one student came into the boardroom and, thinking that the researcher was one of the student activists or leaders, she requested the researcher to assist them (students) in talking to the management on their behalf, to allow them to register with outstanding debt. That allowed the researcher to understand the challenges that student activists had to deal with in their activism. The researcher used this time, before an interview session, to observe and understand what was happening in the natural setting. Stake suggests that a researcher involved in a qualitative case study spend time on site to get in touch with events and processes to reflect and get insight on what is happening in a setting (Stake, 2008, p. 450).

4.11 Telephonic Interview

A telephonic interview took place with one senior manager who was willing, but unavailable for quite some time, to participate in a face-to-face interview. After numerous attempts to secure the interview, his personal assistant related that he requested to participate in research only through a telephonic interview. The researcher contacted the participant to arrange one and it was agreed he would participate. Furthermore, the participant agreed to sign the informed consent and sent it by email to the researcher. Also, the participant agreed that the interview could be audio-recorded. The interview was conducted successfully and it provided a deeper insight on the participant view of student activism on his campus. It also provided insight on various ways in which senior managers respond to student activism. In addition, it provided understanding on the interplay between student activism and university governance. The drawback about this form of interview was that it tended to lack direct contact or face-to-face communication with the participant and could limit the researcher's ability to understand the participant's perception of the phenomenon, as the physical gestures were missing (Creswell, 2005). However, the researcher was able to elicit information from the participant that was useful to the study.

4.12 Email Interview

The email interview was used in the study for data collection. This form of interview is useful in collecting qualitative data quickly from geographically dispersed individuals (Edwards & Holland, 2013). Gillham (2005) suggests that email interviews can be useful if the participant is too busy, living in another city or country and lastly, if the subject prefers it as an option of participating in an interview or is reluctant to participate in face-to-face ones. Similarly, one participant requested to participate in the study via an email interview and she requested that the researcher identify three questions from the interview protocols and send them to her for responses. She stated she was unavailable to participate in a face-to-face interview and preferred electronic mail.

The researcher acceded to the participant's appeal and three questions were sent to her to provide responses about the phenomenon. The participant emailed her responses to the researcher a few days later. The interview provided insight on the participation of students in university governance as well as different university committees that existed in which students were represented, through their elected leaders. Edwards & Holland (2013) suggest that this form of interview can be effective for busy participants as it provides substantial flexibility in controlling communication flow as participants' responses trigger the next communication on the part of the researcher.

However, other authors indicate that there is a drawback in this method of interviewing a participant as it raises complex ethical issues such as whether the researcher has permission to interview the individual to participate in the interviews, and whether the privacy of the responses will be protected (Creswell, 2005; Gillham, 2005). To deal with this drawback, the researcher used standard ethical practice that was applicable to all participants, including providing copies of the gatekeeper's letter authorising the researcher to conduct interviews before the interviews were conducted. Furthermore, the participant's email responses were stored in a private and safe file and were deleted from the email to ensure that no one else had access to it, except the researcher, as suggested by Creswell (2005).

4.13 Focus Group Interviews

The focus group interviews were conducted as one of the methods of data collection for the study. The focus group interviews were used to gather shared meaning from several individual participants as well as to obtain understanding from a group perspective (Edwards & Holland, 2013). The focus group interviews were utilised to collect data from a group of participants

through interviews and were conducted with 10 student participants in the three selected universities. These focus groups interviews took place at the natural settings of each participating university at the convenience of participants and they were conducted between April and May 2017. All participants were students and they cooperated with the process.

This concurs with the view that focus group interviews work best when the participants are similar and cooperative with each other (Creswell, 2005). Furthermore, focus group interviews were facilitated by the researcher and the researcher was able to contain the group dynamics inherent in a group by exercising control over the process of discussions, including giving each and every participant an opportunity to respond to the questions, noting or recognising participants who wished to respond to questions and allow them to speak at an appropriate time. The researcher encouraged participants to speak freely in the focus group interviews and posed questions to the group to get responses in order to elicit participants' views to understand the phenomenon from the groups' perspectives (Creswell, 2005; Edwards & Holland, 2013).

The focus group interviews were used in the study to triangulate the semi-structured in-depth interviews to collect information about the views, opinions and experience of participants (Edwards & Holland, 2013). Thus, the focus group interviews' participants were students selected among those who had participated in the individual face-to-face semi-structured research interviews. In other words, the pre-condition for participation in focus group interviews was that a participant must have been involved in the face-to-face individual semi-structured interviews and must have been selected to participate in focus group interviews. These participants were selected based on the rich information that they provided in the individual interviews.

The focus group interviews provided understanding of various forms of student activism from a group perspective during the academic years 2014 to 2016, including formal activism in the form of negotiations and informal activism in the form of protests and use of social media. Also, they illuminated the issues that confronted students such as academic and financial exclusion, accommodation, limited student funding which culminated into #FeesMustFall and other forms of protest movements. Furthermore, they served well to corroborate participants' responses in the semi-structured interviews. They also furnished insight on student activism and the interplay between student activism and university governance in these universities.

Creswell (2005) states that focus group interviews can offer an advantage in that the interaction among participants is likely to yield the best information about the phenomenon in a particular setting. However, the difficulty highlighted in the literature was that when focus groups are audio-taped, the transcriber may have difficulty identifying voices of individuals in the groups. However, researchers exercised control over the group and the members pronounced their names first before they responded to the questions. This addressed the difficulties during transcription to identify the individual members of the focus group as they gave responses (Creswell, 2005).

4.14 Documentation

Documentation is one of the research methods used for data collection. This entailed collecting documents from the participating universities between March and May 2017 which were used to provide analysis on the manifestation of student activism in the selected universities. The documents were SRC constitutions and institutional statutes of these universities. Furthermore, these documents were analysed along with the Higher Education Act which provided national regulation on higher education, including the role of students in university governance. These documents provided insight on how students are formally organised in the university, including student representation in the university governance.

Other documents that were obtained from the universities were memoranda of student submissions to university management on student issues as well as how students raised their grievances in the university governance, usually done in a protest mode. Also, the documents used were minutes of meetings between management and student leaders or activists in an effort to find solutions on those issues and communiques sent to the student body to communicate the outcome of a meeting. These documents provided understanding on how students communicate their concerns in the university and how university senior managers respond to those issues. Furthermore, the documents analysed were court interdicts that were used to prohibit students from engaging in protests and some video clips of confrontations between the police and students during protest action.

Padgett (2016) notes that documents are an important source of information when conducting qualitative research. The author further suggests that documents are less time-consuming and emotionally taxing compared to hand-on labour observation and interviewing. Moreover, the documentation provides the advantage of being in the words of participants who have usually given thoughtful attention to them (Padgett, 2016). However, Creswell (2005) reveals that the

drawback of using documents is that sometimes they can be difficult to locate and information may not be available in public. However, in the case of this study, the selected university cooperated with the research and provided the documents required.

Regarding documents that were available in the public domain, the researcher was advised by the university senior managers to locate these documents from university websites of the selected universities. These documents included the SRC constitutions and institutional statutes of the selected universities. Also, documents that were not in the public domain such as memoranda, minutes and others were provided by the participating universities. The next section provides discussions on ethical considerations that were made in the study.

4.15 Ethical Issues

This section discusses the ethical issues that the study has taken into account when conducting the data collection and analysis. The researcher was conscious about ethical issues from the onset of the study. These were ethical issues such as designing an informed consent form, designing interview protocols and applying gatekeepers' permission to gain access to the premises of the selected HEIs. Also, the participants' anonymity was protected and this included assigning pseudonyms to the subjects and selected universities during the process of data collection and analysis. The participants' anonymity was included in the informed consent forms and this was conveyed to them during the semi-structure and focus group interviews. Furthermore, participants were informed at the beginning of the interview that their anonymity was guaranteed (Creswell, 2005).

During the research interviews, the researcher established the necessary rapport with participants and this played an important role in making the participants feel at ease in order to receive maximum participation. Furthermore, at the beginning of the interviews, the ethics were outlined to the participants. This included informing an interviewee about the purpose of the study, anonymity and the fact that their participation was not going to jeopardise them academically, personally or otherwise.

Moreover, participants were informed that their participation was voluntary and they could withdraw at any time and stage of the research process. In addition, permission was requested from participants to use an audio recorder and justifications thereof were provided by the researcher. The audio recorder enhanced accuracy of the data collection and enriched interactive conversation with participants thus eliminating the disruptive nature of looking

down and taking notes (Padgett, 2016). Permission was granted by participants that the semi-structured and focus interviews could be recorded. The researcher paid full attention to participants' responses which were informed by their experiences about the phenomenon when distracted by taking detailed notes.

The researcher maintained objectivity at all times during the data collection, especially during focus group interviews that included students from the various student bodies. The researcher always acted appropriately at the sites and was always courteous to the respondents and conducted himself well in the natural settings as a guest (Creswell, 2005). All participants were senior students who were at least in a third year of study and 18 years or older. Moreover, vulnerable persons such as children, pensioners, persons with disabilities and sickly people were not selected as participants.

The ethical issues pertaining to the focus group interviews chiefly entailed the group dynamics, including the dynamics of power and influence that would likely manifest during the interview. The researcher remained sensitive to these dynamics where one participant could potentially dominate discussions and the researcher was capable of facilitating and controlling the process (Marshall & Rossman, 2014). Having received the informed consent of the subjects meant that the study was in line with the general research code of ethics, which insists that participants agree to make voluntarily participation without being subjected to coercion (Patton, 2002).

Also, ethical consideration was taken into account regarding the data recording transcription and storage as all interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. Yin notes that audio recording indeed offers a more precise interpretation of an interview than any other methods (Yin, 1994). Moreover, the researcher kept the tapes in a safe lock-up cabinet in the researcher's work office. In addition, the researcher, did not write down the real names of participants to maintain confidentiality and the recording could be destroyed after five years from the date of submission of the thesis, which is in accordance with the research ethics guidelines of the UKZN.

4.16 Qualitative Analysis of the Data

The audio recordings of data that were collected through semi-structured and focus group interviews were transcribed. The process entailed converting the interviews into text data to a computer file for analysis (Edwards & Holland, 2013). The process of transcribing 20 semi-structured and in-depth interviews was a lengthy one as a one-hour interview consumed about

eight hours to transcribe. Also, the three focus group interviews that were conducted for about two hours each were transcribed. Each focus group interview took about 16 hours to transcribe.

During transcription, the researcher listened to the audio recorder, stopped it and converted what the audio recorder was saying into text data. Furthermore, the researcher rewinded the tape and listened carefully in instances when what was said was unclear. Generally, the audio tape was enabled to play and stop at any time so that what was being said by participants was followed. The right-hand margins of transcripts were used to make notes during analysis. Furthermore, extra space was made available between the researcher questions and participants' responses in the transcripts. Furthermore, the text question and answers were colour-coded to eliminate ambiguities (Creswell, 2005; Edwards & Holland, 2013).

Taylor-Powell and Renner (2003) suggest that qualitative data analysis and interpretation are conducted to bring about understanding about the phenomenon. The study adopted content analysis to develop codes, sub-themes or categories and themes. This technique of analysis was chosen to analyse the content of transcripts of semi-structured, focus group interviews and documentation (Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003). The conceptual frameworks; namely ideal-type regime of university governance and activists leadership provided a lens for data analysis. For instance, the models provided a prism to illuminate understanding that there are different student organisations, usually political and individual students that engage in student activism to influence university governance. Data collection and analysis was guided by those assumptions that were encapsulated in the conceptual frameworks to provide a lens to analyse data.

In conducting the data analysis, the semi-structured interviews and focus group interviews' transcripts were organised and prepared by the researcher for analysis. Furthermore, the documents provided by the selected universities were also prepared for analysis. In addition, the field notes made during data generation were included in the preparation for data analysis. The text was browsed through by the researcher and notes were on the first impressions about the data. This process provided an opportunity for the researcher to reflect and make sense of the overall meaning of the data. During this process, the researcher established an understanding of what participants were saying about the phenomenon. The process included making notes in the margins and recording some ideas and thoughts about the data that was analysed (Creswell, 2014; Miles & Huberman, 1994).

After reading the transcripts repeatedly, the researcher commenced the process of composing notes in margins of transcripts in order to start recording general thoughts about the data at this stage. Thus, the process of coding data was activated. Coding refers to the process of arranging the data by grouping text. Furthermore, they postulate that this process entails writing a word that represents a category in the margins (Rallis & Rossman, 2012). Coding can be conceptualised as a process that serves to arrange interview transcripts or documents that have been collected and it is the first step of analysing data (Bryman & Burgess, 2002).

Creswell (2014) notes that the process of coding entails taking text data gathered during data generation, i.e. interviews transcripts and documentation, and segmenting paragraphs or passage into categories and tagging those categories with a particular term. The codes were developed in this study based primarily on the emerging data generated from the field to develop categories and themes (Creswell, 2014; Miles & Huberman, 1994). The actual coding process entailed intensive reading of transcripts one by one repeatedly. Transcripts were re-read carefully, line by line from the computer. The coding began by labelling the relevant portions of the text such as sentences and sections in the transcripts or paragraphs and labelled based on actions, activities, concepts, differences, opinions or processes. Coding was conducted based on what was repeated in several places in the data, i.e. patterns of participants' responses.

The researcher went through all codes and grouped them systematically to create categories. The categories did not have to be of the same kind and they were processes, objects, differences etc. The categories were generated systematically and grouped to form themes for data analysis. The themes were analysed across the three selected cases using multiple perspectives. The presentation of findings of analysis will be centred on detailed discussions of several themes, multiple perspectives from individuals and with interconnecting themes underlying patterns (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003). Consequently, seven themes were generated for the research study; namely 1) conceptualisation of student activism, 2) student motive to engage in activism, 3) formal activism manifestations, 4) informal engagement in student activism, 5) social media and student activism, 6) university governance, leadership and management and 7) influence of external bodies.

Lastly, the study provides an interpretation of the findings and implications of study to capture the essence of “what were lessons learnt” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Creswell (2014) indicates that this could consist of a lesson about the meaning derived from comparing findings with information collected from the literature and/or theories. Along these lines, the researcher can suggest that findings can confirm past information or vary from it (Creswell, 2014). The researcher stayed impartial in coding by remaining close to the data. Moreover, he remained unbiased, creative and endeavoured to be open-minded. Furthermore, member checking was conducted to communicate with participants when some statements appeared ambiguous (Creswell, 2005).

4.17 Validity and Reliability

Validity and reliability was the crucial aspect of the study. It is argued by some authors that the terms validity and reliability are not applicable in a qualitative study. However, these authors recognise the fact that it is essential to have some sort of qualifying check for the qualitative research. Thus, they established their own concepts of validity and usually adopted terms that they considered appropriate such as quality, rigour and trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Mishler, 2000; Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls & Ormston, 2013; Stenbacka, 2001).

The qualifying check for reliability adopted by most researchers is called dependability (Golafshani, 2003). The term dependability was adopted in a qualitative study to signify that if research is conducted, there should be evidence that if that research were to be repeated with the same participants and in the same context, the outcome would be similar (Mouton & Babbie, 2001). Trustworthiness is a term that represents research with rigour (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The fundamental concern around the issues of trustworthiness is about how the study can assure the reader that its findings deserve to be considered (Mouton & Babbie, 2001). Trustworthiness comprises four elements namely credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson & Spiers, 2002; Lincon & Guba, 1985). Credibility is assessing the interconnection between the understood realities that are in the participants’ minds and those that are attributed to them. This can be attained through conducting triangulation and member checks (Morse et al., 2002).

Transferability is about the ability of the findings to be applicable in other contexts. Nevertheless, the study does not seek to provide statistical generalisations since it is a qualitative case study and context specific. Therefore, the researcher does not make claims that knowledge gained from one context would necessarily have relevance for other contexts or for

the same context in a different time frame (Mouton & Babbie, 2001). However, the conceptual model that the study seeks to develop, can be used in other contexts to provide understanding of the contemporary forms of student activism and its interplay with the university governance which may be prevalent in other HEIs in South Africa.

Conformability is about the extent to which the findings are derived from the focus of the research rather than possible prejudices of the researcher (Mouton & Babbie, 2001). This element can be tested by conducting an audit trail that includes reviewing the raw data such as interview audio tapes, field notes and documentation (Mouton & Babbie, 2001). Several methodological strategies for demonstrating rigour of the study were developed to include *inter alia* triangulation, writing extensive notes, audit trails, peer review or debriefing, member checks when coding, confirming results with participants, structural corroboration and referential material adequacy (Morse et al., 2002).

To ensure validity and reliability of the study, the researcher used methodological triangulation by combining multiple data sources such semi-structure interview, focus group interviews and document analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Hence, the researcher conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with senior managers to corroborate semi-structured interviews with students to imbue rigour in the data collected. Furthermore, in order to validate participants' responses in the semi-structured interviews, the focus group interviews were conducted. This was conducted to evaluate if the participant response in the former data collection method was consistent with those in the latter. Lastly, the documents were analysed to verify the semi-structured and focus group interviews. Thus, the triangulation process enhanced the generation of valid and high quality data that can be credible and reliable to the reader (Patton, 2002).

4.18 Summary

This chapter provides the research design and methodology framework adopted to conduct this study. It further provides the philosophical assumption guided by the researcher's world view to determine the research paradigm for the study. The chapter then provides the methodology that was chosen. This includes the research strategies, research instruments, and data collection and analysis methods while explaining the stages and processes involved.

The study is qualitative and a multi-case one in the three selected universities in South Africa and provides the rationale behind its choosing. The qualitative multi-case study was selected to elicit student experiences in order to provide the interpretive analysis from the participants'

view in order to provide a better understanding of the phenomenon. Furthermore, the participating universities were selected due to the prevalence of student activism at these campuses, including student participation in the university governance as well as student protests. Further to that, these universities were marked by the prevalence of recent forms of student activism of protest movements using social media to mobilise students. Also, the study adopted multiple research methods of data collection such as semi-structured interviews, focus group interviews and documents analysis. The multiple sources of data were utilised for triangulation in order to validate the participants' responses for consistency.

The sampling of the study involved students and senior managers. The student participants included student activists who operated on different forms and levels, including SRCs – who typically operate at governance level, politically aligned student organisations, apolitically-aligned as well as student activists who are not in leadership or governance. The senior managers include Registrars and Deans of Students of the selected universities. These senior managers have knowledge of student activism and university governance and they provided invaluable information for the study.

The chapter also offers the ethical issues that were considered when the study was conducted. This included compiling the informed consent form, sourcing gatekeepers' letters from the selected universities, safeguarding participants' anonymity and others. The ethical issues were taken into account throughout the inquiry process as they tended to emerge at different stages. The chapter also furnished a section on data analysis. The data was collected and taken through a process of transcription. The transcription was conducted to instil integrity on data collected for analysis and interpretation to obtain credible results. The chapter also addresses issues of validity and reliability in an effort to ensure trustworthiness and rigour. The researcher then provided the methodological limitations of the study data analysis process that was followed by the study.

CHAPTER 5: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS: FORMAL ACTIVISM

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses the data obtained in the field from participants' responses in order to examine student activism and the interplay between student activism and university governance in the three selected universities. As indicated in Chapter 4, the study used content analysis to develop codes, sub-themes or categories and themes and this technique of analysis was adopted to analyse the content of the transcripts in order to get the nuances of participants' experiences and views about the phenomenon through analysing the transcripts of semi-structured and focus group interviews as well as analysing the documents (Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003).

The above-mentioned process has aided to identify a pattern of responses based on participants' live experiences in natural settings. It also assisted the study to establish the views, ideas and experience of participants about the phenomenon (Creswell, 2014; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003). Consequently, seven themes were generated for the research study; namely 1) conceptualisation of student activism, 2) student motive to engage in activism, 3) formal activism manifestations, 4) informal engagement in student activism, 5) social media and student activism, 6) university governance, leadership and management and 7) influence of external bodies.

The theoretical framework provided a lens to develop research questions for data collection and pertinent documents to be analysed (Yin, 1994). The content analysis was used to analyse data that was collected, guided by the theory. For instance, the stakeholder theory assumptions of different stakeholder groups in the university governance as well as dissenting voices of informal groupings and individual students outside university governance provided a lens data to be collected. The theoretical lens was used along with content analysis to analyse the content of semi-structured interviews, focus group interviews' transcripts and documents in order to develop codes, categories and themes.

5.2 Conceptualisation of Student Activism

In order to illuminate participants' responses on the manifestations of student activism and its interplay with university governance, it became imperative for the researcher to assess their understanding of student activism. There were a variety of responses that were shared by

participants based on their experiences of student activism. Whereas, what came to some participants' minds when they heard the word 'students activism' had a negative connotation about the concept on one hand, most participants projected it in a positive light on the other.

The negative views associated with student activism that emerged from participants' responses included associating it with the disruption of academic activities, destruction of university property, instigating instability in the selected universities as well as disruption of the government administration with an intent to topple it under the notion of 'regime change'. Other negative associations of student activism included the notion that it incubates conflicts and confrontations between student activists and management, and could result in clashes between activists and the police which could culminate in shootings, arrests and torture of the protesters by security forces.

However, there were tones of affirmative views of student activism and its implications for university governance among the research participants. That included notions that student activism could aid the university managers to think about things that they wouldn't normally, and student activism could provide solutions to university management that might never have crossed their minds. Furthermore, other positive associations were notions that student activism could help university management to understand the reality of societal issues such as unemployment, poverty and inequality, and that students from poor communities and working class could not afford to pay the fees required by universities due to their socio-economic backgrounds.

Whereas, student activists demanded that poor students should be allowed to register without paying, management maintained that students should pay fees in order for the selected universities to generate the cash flow required to meet institutional financial obligations. Also, the data shows that student activism plays a role in bringing about change in the university governance, by helping students who have challenges to register, due to academic and financial exclusion, advocating for the access and success of students. Most participants held views that student activism, in general, serves as an advocate for student interests by bringing unattended matters of student concerns to the attention of the university governance. Furthermore, it provides students perspective in the university governance on how the issues confronting students can best be resolved.

The issues like fees, the payment of fees are very important issues in the life of students but in the university, this is viewed as an approach of keeping the university afloat and meeting all its obligations. It also shows that very often, we as officials tend to have that view that students need to pay the fees, without really understanding the difficulties they are facing. When the #FeesMustFall issues came, I think it forced everybody to relook the difficulties that the students go through (P17, a senior manager).

P06, a student leader stated that when he heard about the term student activism, he understood it as an aspiration by student activists to provide assistance to fellow students to promote access to a university education by eliminating the barriers thereto, especially for students who come from poor backgrounds and the working class. P06, stated the following about student activism:

Student activism is the desire by fellow students to assist, help and groom each other and make sure that in the main the barriers of access to higher education are taken-off so that many, especially those who come from poor backgrounds are able to access higher education (P6, a student leader).

Most respondents understood student activism in relation to the advocacy for the expanding of access to higher education, eliminating the current and potential impediments to access and success in higher education, advocating for policy changes in favour of students and dealing with general student concerns. This included unaffordable fees, insufficient student funding, insufficient and dilapidated residence halls facilities, overcrowding in classrooms and other student concerns. Furthermore, most respondents disassociated student activism from vandalism, burning of university property such as libraries, lecture halls, laboratories, residence halls, vehicles and other facilities of the university. Some participants associated these actions with hooliganism and criminal acts.

Why burning a library which is major in the university that you are going to need it? ...the burning of the infrastructure for me especially why would you burn a library? You need a library more than anything. It is not all of us who have smart phones. It is not all of us who have laptops. The burning of the infrastructure for me is hooliganism. It is not right (P11, a student activist).

However, some participants viewed vandalism and burning of property as a last resort that student activists employed to make the perceived intransigent university managers budge from their stance and agree on student issues. The data shows that the burning of property shook management in the campuses and they began to respond positively to student concerns when they had initially shown no intention to accede to those demands. These participants conceived the destruction of property as a tactic of student activism that student activists employed in protests movements and was usually applicable when all other strategies failed.

It is obvious that as a leader you understand that everything you want, you will get it through engagement. But ultimately, what do you do if you have been engaging one and the same issue for five times. You then go back as a leader, you do your analysis and then you consult your books by looking at the last stage of a revolution, which becomes revolutionary violence. But ultimately, when you are partaking in mass action you are not saying that you want to destroy everything but, you are expressing your power, the capacity that you have so that you would go back to the boardroom. The minute that person calls you back to the boardroom that you differed with, it shows that there is something to offer now (P03, a student activist).

P05, a student leader concurred with this and stated the following:

I wouldn't recommend the students to do that but sometimes I do understand why they are doing that. There is so much, sometimes you find that students are following the right channel, they have been saying a lot that we want this and nobody is paying attention. So sometimes the only way to do that is physical protest where they have to burn the buildings (P05, a student leader).

The data obtained from both individual and focus group interviews reveals that management actions and responses to student activism serves as a determinant on the following tactic used by student activists including violent student action. It further shows that in most instances, violent protests occur when the management is allegedly complacent, obdurate and intransigent when student issues were raised. The example of violent protest that occurred at University C was triggered by the manner in which one of the senior managers conducted himself towards student issues when he received a memorandum from the students. Apparently, he did not submit the student submission to the executive management for deliberation. When he was

requested to provide an explanation to students, he acted in a manner that spurred anger among them. Consequently, students went on a rampage, blocked entrance gates and damaged university cars and buildings.

There is one strike we had previously, the former Registrar was showing arrogance. The SRC reported that the memorandum was submitted to him and he did not submit to the Executive Management. Now when we called him to come and address us. You know he just looked at us like this (looking at them over his spectacles), very arrogant. In that way he invited students to say look, you must know one thing. We will block the entrance. That resulted to damaging of cars and damaging buildings (Focus Group 03).

The data indicates that although some participants regarded burning of property and use of violence during protests as part of student activism and a solution to move the alleged intransigent management to respond to issues, most participants held strong views against this notion. These participants stated that there was no place for violence in the universities and they condemned the use of violence including burning of university property. Furthermore, they associated student activism with dialogue, raising issues cooperatively and engaged in peaceful protests. Moreover, they noted that students should not destroy property that is essential for success in their studies, contending that one cannot burn a residence hall, lecture hall, library text books and other facilities that they would need the next day towards their academic success.

I don't promote burning of property because if we burn a library, tomorrow we will need library. If we burn a car, tomorrow we will need a car to move from point A to point B. We must not burn property but we must participate in protests peacefully. Be able to engage. Be able to sit in boardroom and convince others because what is very important is to analyse how you are going to solve these issues. Those are important things (P14, a student leader).

The section above presents participant views on how they conceptualise student activism. Views varied and were informed by participants' lived experiences. Although responses varied, they can be classified into two main categories; i.e. negative connotations on one hand and positive ones on the other. Whereas the former associated student activism with academic

disruption, overthrowing governments and incubation of conflict and confrontation on one hand, the positive connotations associated student activism with a positive contribution to university governance; great ideas that universities have not thought about and serve as a student voice to help needy students on the other. While some participants condemned the burning of property and associated it with hooliganism, others pronounced violence protest as a tactic to leverage power to pressurise management to accede to student demands.

The next section presents the reasons that motivated the interviewees to engage in student activism.

5.3 Student Activism Manifestations in South Africa

The data collected shows that student activism manifestations can be subdivided into two broader forms prevalent in the selected cases; namely formal and informal student activism. Whereas the former can be referred to as forms of activism that were institutionalised, regulated, sanctioned and formalised by the university policies, rules, regulations, the latter tended to occur outside the formal set up of a university and normally were unregulated. Before engaging in details of the two forms of activism, this section examines what motivates students to join in activism.

5.4 Student Motives to Engage in Activism

The data shows that the motives to engage in activism were multiple. There were numerous reasons that student activists put forward. Whereas some appeared to be self-serving, most motives tended to tilt towards centring on serving the needs of other students and society. The data indicates that students tend to use student activism to enhance their curriculum vitae (CVs) to demonstrate to a future employer that after three or four years of gaining a degree, these students completed one within a specific set time. Moreover, while these students were doing their degrees, they could demonstrate to prospective employers of their involvement in student activism; clubs and societies to demonstrate to employers that they are a well-rounded graduate who not only focused on academic work at hand, but also got involved in other activities for overall development. The data shows that prospective employers were looking for that, i.e. someone who could demonstrate that she/he had been in leadership (P07, a student activist).

The data also indicates that students' motives can be centred on the question of convictions and these activists view the university space as the microcosm of wider society (Altbach, 1989). Hence, the student activists pursued their convictions within the university community and these are the same convictions they explore in the wider community, such as being an affiliate

to a political party. There were also observable patterns of social change that normally occurred in wider society that took place in universities. For instance, data obtained showed that the SRC election processes and their outcomes in the selected universities bore serious, discernible contestations by the different student political organisations to gain control of the student governance, which happened nationally. It shows that the universities were meant to unleash student creativeness and invention. For some, students were motivated by the opportunities that they saw in the universities to explore and exploit at the inventive and innovative level. They were motivated to attempt a few ideas, in terms of engaging the university community, and society at large. Moreover, they got involved in various forms of activism to create some legacies in the universities and society.

[Students had different motives to engage in student activism]. One is self-serving motive for any student who is very futuristic. It's what we call writing your CV while you are in university. If your CV after a four year degree reflects that you did your degree, you passed it all the time but while you were doing that you were also participating in leadership and you can demonstrate your involvement in the number of clubs and societies... Companies are looking for that, they are looking for students that can demonstrate that they have been part of leadership... The university space is really a nice space because it's a microcosm of society. So people then pursue their convictions within this community that we call a university and these are the same convictions that they would've explored in society if they were not in the university, like being affiliated to a political party... The university space is meant to unleash creative innovation so some students see opportunities that they can explore and exploit at a creative and innovative level and so they going to try out a few ideas in terms of engaging the community... (P07, student activist).

The data also shows that students are motivated by student activism to fulfil certain goals. They saw a gulf between the existing state of affairs and the desired or expected one. This gulf was identifiable in the university governance systems and society, and was viewed by the student activists as posing serious injustices to a university community and society. Hence student activists were motivated to engage in activism to act as a voice for the voiceless and articulate issues that they were faced with. P09, a student leader posited that the challenges that students were facing drove him to become an activist. Moreover, when he registered at the beginning of the year, typically he received sub-standard treatment from the university. As a result, he

was motivated to become an activist and wanted to fight for the betterment of service to students and he ended up being elected to serve on the SRC.

It was because of a number of challenges we encountered when we enter the university [that motivated us to engage in student activism]. When we get there, there is a number of things that we don't understand how they happen. The treatment that we are given and some people act as if it's just a privilege for you to be there. So we saw a space; treatment that we are given and service that we are given is not up to standard. When we start fighting for betterment of things and we end-up making it part of our lives and our business, and we end up being in the SRC (P09, a student leader).

Also, the data shows that some students were motivated by their eagerness to bring about change in the manner things happen in the universities, and their efforts were geared to assist their fellow students to resolve their problems and to protect and defend their interests. Other student activists were motivated because students were sent home by universities because they could not afford to pay their fees. Consequently, students were subjected to academic and financial exclusion, especially those who came from poor backgrounds and working-class communities. Thus, some students were motivated to engage in activism to help these students register and attend classes. These students were prepared to be on the frontline to fight against alleged injustices of depriving the poor black students from accessing higher education.

Although most participants indicated that their key motivating force for student activism was altruism, humanity and selflessness to help others, some were motivated by playing a role in changing society. The latter participants viewed the university as a centre that should prepare student activists to become good citizens who understand the challenges of society and intend to bring solutions to societal problems.

I was politically motivated to assist and champion the student interests and do not want to see other students suffer. I was also struggling when I got to the university and had no money to study. I had to travel from home to the university daily (P04, a student leader).

P08, a student who was formally elected to the position of SRC president at University B stated that she engaged in student activism in her first year. She said when she registered as a first

year student, she was assisted by activists from a student organisation that she later decided to join. Subsequently, she became an activist and had been resolving student problems long before she became an SRC member. In later years of her study, she was elected to serve as a member of the SRC in the first term of office. In the following year, she was elected to serve a second term on the SRC as president. She decided to join the SRC because she felt that there were certain doors that were difficult, if not impossible, to enter without becoming a member of the SRC. Therefore, she became available to be elected to the SRC and served two terms as an ordinary member of the SRC and president of the SRC in 2015 and 2016. After she was elected, the research participant stated that she was able to enter all doors of the university, including management to bring about solutions to student issues.

I joined student activism in 2012 when I [was a first year student at the university]. I became active in student politics through the ANCYL. Mostly, I joined because when I came to the university, I was assisted by the comrades that were in the SRC and ANCYL at that time. So, I then became very close to them. Having spent time with them in January and half of February during registration [2012], I became interested in student politics. I then joined the ANCYL and was elected to serve in the branch executive committee of the structure... I became a member of the SRC really to assist students. But, I was already assisting students outside the SRC. However, there were doors you cannot enter without the SRC tag and it is better that you have an SRC tag so that whatever you see that need to be fixed, you are able to fix it. There are many issues within the university that one would like to champion and when the organisation has deployed you, you then act to it. Last year I was also part of the central SRC as a Community Development Officer. This year, I was elected President General of the SRC (P08, a student leader).

P06, a student leader mentioned that he was motivated to engage in student activism after observing a group of student activists on a number of occasions who had sacrificed the comfort of their home and came to the university early at the beginning of the year to help other students who were facing registration problems. He was intrigued by those students and decided to become active to support those activists in helping the needy students.

One thing that drew my consciousness to this organisation is that at the beginning of the year, are fellow students primarily from poor backgrounds but they leave the

comfort of their families with little or nothing in relation to food and money to come and assist. It drew myself to say these are people are doing a very good thing, some people want to do it for a money, monetary purpose of it but they just do it for the love to try to upgrade the standard of [their] fellow blacks who we know by the way that blacks are on the receiving end in relation to the economy. They rank last in relation to even education. But for fellow blacks to understand that and young black fellow students to understand that to come down and help fellow students took me and say no, this is the organisation I can participate in (P06, a student leader).

P02, a student leader stated that she became involved with student activism to assist fellow students as she was perturbed when students were turned away from the university because they did not have money to register.

I do not like to see students being frustrated and I have seen that systems in the university frustrate students and it requires someone who is not afraid to speak her mind (P02, a student leader).

Though a small number of participants stated that they joined student activism as an extramural activity and a hobby, or for self-interest, the majority indicated that they joined student activism because they were passionate to help others. A large number of participants said that they joined because they wanted to fight all forms of injustice and to reform the existing system that deprived their fellow students' access to higher education.

5.5 Formal Student Activism Manifestations

The data generated and analysed indicated that formal activism entails student activism that is institutionalised, regulated and sanctioned by legislative frameworks, policies, rules and regulations both at national and institutional level. These legislative frameworks included the White Paper 3 - Higher Education Act, no 101 of 1997, Institutional Statutes and SRC Constitutions of the selected universities. Furthermore, documents such as memoranda of student demands, minutes of meetings and communiques on the outcome of negotiations were also analysed in order to understand how student activism occurs in a formal university arrangement; i.e. how students participate in the university governance to raise issues of student concerns. The following sections provide discussions about the various legislative frameworks that legitimise student activism; White Paper 3 – Higher Education Act, 101 of 1997 as amended, Institutional Statutes and SRCs Constitutions.

5.5.1 Government Legislation on Student Representation

At a national level, the government has created legislative frameworks to regulate the participation of students in the university governance. These legislations were enacted in the post-apartheid era since the election of a democratic government in 1994. These bills sought to promote participation of different stakeholders, including students in the university governance. Subsequently, these documents were assessed to provide an analysis of government position regarding regulating student activism in South Africa. Hence, the Higher Education Act, 101 of 1997 as amended was conceived as a legislative framework that prescribed the establishment of student representatives and participation of students in the university governance to represent student concerns in South African universities.

The Higher Education Act, *inter alia* legislated that South African universities shall establish SRCs to participate in governance of HEIs and represent the student concerns, in terms of Section 35 of the Higher Education Act of 1997 as amended:

The establishment and composition, manner of election, term of office, functions and privileges of the students' representative council of a public HEI must be determined by the institutional statute and the institutional rules (Section 35 of the Higher Education Act, 101 of 1997 as amended).

Given the prescript from the government proclamation on establishment of SRCs, the selected universities were therefore bound by legislation to establish SRCs. Thus, they have taken this legislation into account when developing university policies, rules and regulations and created clauses in their institutional statutes and policies to institutionalise the establishment of SRCs, including their powers and responsibilities. The university documents that were analysed in relation to the establishment of SRC were Institutional Statutes and SRC constitutions of the selected cases.

5.5.2 Institutional Statutes and SRC Constitutions

The institutional statutes are university legislative documents that regulate the governance of the selected universities. They provide a prescription on all matters of university governance, including the appointment of vice chancellors and other executive office bearers, composition of university statutory committees such as council, senate and institutional forum. Furthermore, it prescribed the establishment of the student representative bodies, election of student

representatives to these bodies, designation of powers and responsibilities of these bodies and legitimised student representation to the various decision-making committees of a university.

The institutional statutes serve as regulatory institutional frameworks that were promulgated and approved by the Minister of Department of DHET in terms of the Higher Education Act (Act 101 of 1997) as amended. Institutional statutes give effect to any law relating to the university and promote the effective and responsible management and governance of the university in respect of matters not expressly prescribed by any law (Statute, 2012; University C).

The statutes of the selected universities capture the establishment of student government bodies for student representation in university governance as follows:

The students of the University are represented in matters that affect them by a central students' representative council ("CSRC") and local SRCs ("LSRC"). The central and local SRCs will collectively be referred to as SRCs (Section 41 of the Statute, 2017; University B).

The council of the university shall recognise the SRC and its subdivisions constituted in accordance with section 35 of the act and its Rules as representative bodies of students in the student governance and related matters. The SRC constitution as approved by council has the status of rules of the university (Section 56 of the Statute, 2012; University C).

The student government frameworks were formulated to provide, *inter alia* details about election processes of student activists to formal leadership to serve on the student government body. These legislative documents ensured that student activism was formalised and institutionalised to operate within the confines of the legislative frameworks. They afforded a university student body the opportunity to elect their leaders among themselves. Hence, the student activists were formally elected by students to represent the student interests, needs and concerns.

As the stakeholder theory demonstrated, students were a constituency group with a stake in the university and hence their interest is represented through their officially elected leaders

(Morrow, 1998). In South Africa, these student activists elected to formal leadership are called SRCs and the student government frameworks are known as SRC constitutions. The SRC constitutions served to guide student activists on the policy, rules and regulations regarding the formulation of student governance.

The preamble of these constitutions were as follows:

The students of the university emerging from diverse cultural, religious, political and economic backgrounds, conscious of the historical disparities within the African continent in general and South Africa in particular, committed to unite and build a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society, recognising the central role played by students in serving their community, determined to instil and nurture a culture of learning, research, tolerance and understanding and critical thinking, conscious of their civil duty as the student community and members of society as a whole (SRC constitution 2018, University B).

This Constitution shall serve as the supreme law of the SRC at the University and will be applicable to all students, student organisations and formations. This Constitution is subject to the provisions of the Constitution of South Africa, the Higher Education Act, 1997, as amended and other legal prescripts, the Statute of the University and its policies and procedures. In the event of any conflict between this Constitution and any Constitution or policy or procedural arrangement of any of the student sub-structures or organisations the provisions of this Constitution will take precedence (SRC Constitution 2018, University C).

The following section discusses the elections of the SRCs as part of the formalisation and institutionalisation of student activism.

5.5.3 Elections of the Student Representatives

This section entails the elections of SRCs whose primary role was to represent the students' concerns in the university governance. The data shows that the universities conduct the SRC elections in the selected universities annually to provide the opportunity for students to participate in democratic processes, including election of their representatives to participate in university decision making. Furthermore, the data shows that a secret ballot determined the winners and losers in the SRC election processes. Subsequently, candidates who were winners in the SRC elections, ascended to formal leadership positions of SRCs in the selected

universities. The SRC election process sought to ensure that those who are governed have a voice in decision making through their elected leadership.

Moreover the SRC's constitutions enabled all registered students in a university to exercise their democratic right to vote or be voted for to serve on SRCs. That was what P06, a student leader at University B, called student governance. He elaborated that students elected people to govern themselves and to sit in the university governance to represent their interests. The SRCs were formally elected by the students for the students through democratic processes.

Governance of students should be people that are elected formally to represent the interest of students. So those people that carry the clout of governance in the university should be SRC (P06, a student leader).

The observation by P06, a student leader, was supported by P18, a senior manager at University B that SRCs were the formally elected student leaders to represent the interests of students in the university governance. Furthermore, he indicated that as senior managers of the university, they have taken a position not to negotiate with any other student grouping who claims to be representatives of students, except the SRC.

The stance that we have taken over the years is that we do not engage with people who have not been formally elected (P18, a senior manager).

P06, a student leader and P18, a senior manager suggested that the SRC was the only body that has legitimacy to represent student concerns in the university governance. According to these perspectives shared by both leaders and managers, student activists cannot be considered to be in governance without being formally elected by students to represent their interests. The argument put forward was that, SRCs were governors of students since they were democratically elected by students. According to this argument, SRCs appear to be the only considered structures in South African universities that represented the interest of students and participation in the university governance. The establishment of SRCs is regulated by various legislative frameworks such as the Higher Education Act, Universities' Statutes and SRC Constitutions as indicated in the previous section.

The data showed that the three selected universities have the formally elected SRCs to represent student issues. The SRC constitutions were derived from the university statutes which were developed in line with national policies such the Higher Education Act, Act 101 of 1997 as amended to ensure that the documents are not in conflict with each other. However, in the event there was conflict between the SRC constitution and institutional statute, the statute took precedence. Also, it emerged from the data that the SRC elections applied different electoral systems, guided by different constitutions and electoral policies of the SRCs. Whereas students at University A could contest for SRC elections as individual candidates, University B utilised a combination of individual and organisational candidates.

Inversely, University C utilised a system known as ‘first-past-the-post’ electoral system in which individual candidates contested for specific SRC portfolios. A candidate with the highest votes in a particular portfolio is announced a winner and automatically becomes the incumbent SRC member for the portfolio for which the candidate was contesting (University C, SRC constitution). Conversely, the individual candidates at University A did not contest for specific SRC portfolios and the portfolio allocations were conducted after announcement of winners. Similarly, data also indicated that the portfolio allocations process at University B was conducted after the voting process was concluded. That was applicable to both individual and organisational candidates who were declared the winners in the SRC elections.

The data indicated that although students contested as individuals in these universities, they tended to group themselves along political lines. In this fashion, the individual candidates tended to launch and roll out their SRC election campaigns under the banner of politically aligned student organisations to which they belonged.

P02 stated that at University A, candidates contested elections as individuals in the university but student political organisations decide on who becomes a candidate. She stated that if she was not campaigning using the banner of the organisation during her campaign, she would not have made it to become an SRC member. She further stated as follows:

We are contesting as individuals but organisations send out those individuals. People may vote for you because of the organisation you are in, but on the ballot paper, there is no logo of your organisation but photos of candidates (P02, a student leader).

The data also showed that University B was a multi-campus institution and the contest for SRC election was conducted for campus SRCs and an institution-wide or central SRC. Only student organisations were allowed to contest for these. Individual candidates were allowed to stand to be elected under this category. Moreover, these organisations were required to be recognised and functional in all five campuses of the university, and should contest for SRC elections to at least three campuses. The contest was open to all recognised student organisations, including apolitical ones. However, the contest was usually among the politically aligned student organisations and apolitical student organisations rarely participated. Also, the local or campus SRC elections were open to both individual candidates and organisational candidates to stand for election and could only contest for the local SRCs in a campus where they were registered.

In terms of central SRC, you only run as organisation and not as individuals. The organisations [that contest for SRC elections] have to exist in all campuses and should be running in at least three campuses. The university takes the central SRC very seriously (P08, a student leader).

The SRC constitution at University B confirmed the data from semi-structured interviews that the portfolio allocations were only conducted for successful candidates.

Seats on the respective SRCs shall be allocated to the successful student organisations in accordance with the provisions of SRC constitution and in accordance with the ranking recorded in their lists of candidates (SRC Constitution, University B).

At University C, it emerged that students contest as individuals for specific positions or portfolios. When students vote for the SRC, they vote individual candidates for specific positions. It emerged that a candidate with the highest votes wins and is automatically allocated the position that was contested for, as stated earlier. P17, a senior manager stated that when candidates contest for SRC elections, they contest as individuals and they know their positions.

With us, it is individual candidates that contest elections. But students group themselves. In terms of SRC constitutions, you stand for elections as individuals and we do not allow organisations or parties to stand.... They participate in the elections as individuals and they know their positions (P17, a senior manager).

The documents were also analysed to triangulate the data received from both the semi-structured interviews and focus groups regarding the SRC election process in the three cases, using SRC's constitutions, universities' statutes and the Higher Education Act.

It emerged that though constitutions of SRCs prescribed that candidates can contest elections as individuals, they tended to group themselves politically. When students voted for a particular candidate, they already knew from which organisation a candidate was derived, and only voted for candidates from the preferred organisation. It also emerged from the data that even the campaigns for SRC elections, were conducted by politically-aligned student organisations on behalf of individual candidates who were aligned to those particular organisations. This was evident at the SRC election results for 2016 at University A, where all individual candidates who were aligned to one particular organisation, received the highest votes and won all seats in the SRC. A similar pattern is evident in the other selected universities. That voting pattern depicted that students were politically conscious around voting for office bearers in the SRC.

When the researcher analysed further about these different forms of electoral systems, it emerged that at University B, SRC elections were contested by both individuals and organisations in order to promote inclusive governance; i.e. the SRC that got to office constituted members from a multiplicity of perspectives to promote inclusivity. P09, a student leader said the following:

We have five local SRCs and one central SRC. Each structure has 10 members. The local SRCs five people are derived from an organisation and then five are individuals. So if you are not aligned to any organisation you still stand a chance to get in the SRC as an individual, so it's inclusive. (P09, a student leader).

It emerged from the data that organisations tend to be interested in forming coalitions with individual candidates in an attempt to unify the SRC candidates. This, because individual candidates were likely to become kingmakers in determining the organisations which would gain power and control of the campus SRCs.

Organisations have interest in individual candidates, because of the unifying of the structure...So what we make sure all the time is that we have the majority of seats as the organisation to make sure that the structure is working, because if it's just three of

you against seven it's hard to go on your own way because if you go your own way, the structure will still function because that are seven people that are there. So, you are actually forced to comply and be in a unified structure when the structure has majority seats (P08, a student leader).

P11, a student activist at University C stated that the electoral system utilised in their university provides an equal chance for all individual candidates from different organisations to be in the SRC. He argued that even though candidates contest for SRC elections as individuals for specific portfolios, one would find that the SRC president is an individual from a student organisation X, the SRC secretary general from student organisation Y, the SRC treasurer from student organisation Z and so on. He further stated that this allows for a combination of individuals, derived from different organisations, to be in the SRC. According to P06, a student leader, the system promotes inclusive governance that caters for a multiplicity of student views.

5.5.4 The External Influence on the SRC Elections Process

The data showed there is a strong connection between the student activists of the campus-based branches and the political parties, and these political parties have a great influence on student activism, particularly during SRC elections. The data further showed that these political parties decide as to who become members of the SRC, including portfolio allocations. This was based on the view that student political organisations were branches that reported to their regional, provincial and national mother bodies and that was reflected in the constitutions of certain student organisations.

The data also indicated that when those student organisations conducted Annual General Meetings (AGMs), the Regional Executive Committees (RECs) or Provincial Executive Committee (PECs) members were present to preside on the elections of the branch leadership. Also, the data showed that during the Branch General Meetings (BGMs), the regional or provincial committee members were present to conduct nominations of candidates to stand for SRC elections representing those particular organisations. This was conducted to ensure that candidates who were elected in the SRC advance the agenda of those organisations on campus-based activities.

Furthermore, candidates were given training in the form of political classes within the ranks of their student organisations prior to the SRC elections. That was conducted to ensure that student organisations brought competent candidates to serve on the SRCs. The data showed that such

practices also occurred in the universities where electoral systems prescribe that candidates for the SRC contest as individual candidates. Furthermore, the influence of the external bodies occurred after the SRC elections ended, when those who had won seats in the SRC were allocated portfolios. Also, the external bodies tended to exert influence on the portfolio allocations process. They influenced who became the president of the SRC, secretary and so forth.

External bodies have a lot of influence especially the structures that deploys to SRC. You are deployed to the SRC, you take mandate from structures; especially student formations like SASCO. You report and account to the organisation that deployed you. So there is a lot of influence...there is something called a BGM where members of our organisation meet and then there is Provincial Executive Committee and Regional Executive Committee that preside over that process and then the membership elects you to run for SRC... So when students vote for our organisation, they know who they are voting for. That is within the banner. When the organisation wins you then get to SRC (P08, a student leader).

A similar view emerged from the perspective of a senior manager that regional members of student politically-aligned organisations tend to prescribe who should hold a particular portfolio on the SRC. Although this practice was not in the purview of management, management learnt about it because students usually talk about such things. There was a deployment mentality from the external organisations that students who served on the SRC were given a mandate to pursue.

We have regional members of student organisations who are not students who tend to prescribe who should hold particular offices in the SRC. But obviously this happens outside our purview. We do not have to know about that. But student talk and how we learn. It is something that is difficult to control but it seems that students like it. We have SASCO regional bodies, ANCYL so it happens all the time. You will find that if you speak to the Manager Student Governance, he can tell you that during portfolio allocations is a difficult time. Because students are constantly, who you think should be holding a particular office does not have to do that, and when you investigate and enquire it you will find that it is a deployment mentality from outside (P17, a senior manager).

However, the data indicated that the influence of the external bodies extended beyond influencing SRC elections and portfolio allocations processes. Furthermore, it extended to influence campus activism, including SRC operations and university governance decisions. Also, the data showed that students tended to fight during SRC elections as they contested for space and votes in the selected universities. The external bodies visited the campuses to quell the situation. Furthermore, the external bodies were viewed by some participants as contributing to their victory during the SRC elections. One student leader stated that using the organisational emblem enhanced her chances of being elected to the SRC and she stated the following:

When we got elected, had I stood by myself and did not have a banner of SASCO behind me or ANCYL behind me, I wouldn't have won. So, organisations that are dominant especially students who are from KZN, you find that organisations like the ANCYL are very dominant in the communities from where they come from. When they get here, they automatically vote those structures without even looking at the leaders (P02, a student leader).

Despite these positive contributions as perceived by participants, the external bodies were viewed as interfering with student activism on campuses. The emerging view was that they arrive with their agenda on campuses and tend to use the student leaders to achieve these goals. Some of these agendas include business interests by some members of the external bodies of the university, and hence they use student leaders to influence university decisions in favour of their interests. Also, student activists are expected to protect and defend their mother body on campus regardless of how genuine the criticism is.

Further to that, student activists raised concerns that they spend a lot of time defending the mother bodies at the expense of dealing with institutional matters. The example made by one participant was that the mother bodies come on campuses during the national general election and ask them to campaign on their behalf. Moreover, the participant stated that they were always available during general elections and once the elections are over, they disappear.

It is no secret. I said it before. Out of the problem that we are having in student governance is the extent to which politics play a heavy role for us as institutions to operate. It is no secret that more than half the time what happen in our institution is

engineered by people who are outside of the institutions. They do play a problematic role in a way they create a burden on the institution. Whatever happens in the institution is directly controlled outside of it. The role of external organisation for me is quite a negative one and a problematic one for that matter (P18, a senior manager).

5.6 Student Participation in the University Governance

Student representatives are regarded as formal and regulated structures who are elected by students to articulate and mediate their needs and interests to management as well as to represent students on various committees. The data reveals that both groups of participants, from students and senior managers, appear to agree on the notion that student activists who were elected to form leadership sit in the various committees of the university to represent students on matters of their interest.

Furthermore, student involvement in the university governance was perceived by most participants as contributing to addressing student issues and to promote dialogue and engagement to resolve issues cooperatively, rather than utilising more confrontational approaches. The data indicates that student participation in the university governance provided a platform between student activists and management, to work together to deal with challenges facing the university. Furthermore, it shows that student involvement gave them a voice on how universities should be shaped.

I sit in the institutional forum and when I sit there that's where I come with the student perspective that our view as students. We feel the university should be run in this manner (P01, a student leader).

P17, a senior manager at University A indicated that student participation in the university governance was promoted with all committees of the university and they were able to give input on all forums of the university. Among other committees in which students were represented it included Council, Senate, Student Services Board Council, Tender Committee and Finance Committee.

They sit in all the committees, Student Services Board for an example. They sit in council, Senate, Senex they sit in the Tender Committee, Finance Committee and all over" (P17, senior manager).

A similar pattern of student participation in the university governance also emerged at University B where student leaders participated in the university governance by serving on various committees. Similarly, students at University C were represented through their elected student leaders in the university decision making. P16, a student leader put forward that the SRC sits in council, senate, institutional forum and other committees. He stated that when he received an agenda and minutes, he involved the sub-committee members to give input on issues to be discussed at the meeting.

The observation was also supported by P17, a university senior manager at University C that students indeed participate in the running of the affairs of the university and there is a close working relationship between management and student activists. Despite the student representation in the university governance which is applicable in all participating universities, there were some concerns from most student participants that students are not adequately represented on these committees. They stated that one or two students per committee represent the entire student population. It emerged from the data that the student representation was insufficient in the various statutory structures, as students remained the small minority on the university committees.

The data shows that in most instances, university decision making was usually taken by a vote in cases when there were two views on issues that were discussed and university managers tended to vote against student views. The observation by P06, a student leader, to illustrate the insufficiency of their representation on the university governance committees, was that at University B, out of 32 members in the university council, there were only two students. Management was indicted of taking most matters to a vote and members were not allowed to speak twice on it. If you remembered something about an issue after you had spoken, regardless how crucial and helpful that information could be, you were not allowed to speak again on that matter. That was regarded by most student participants at University B as an absurd mechanism of managing meetings and viewed to be taking away student rights to freedom of debate and engagement.

The student representation is not sufficient. Like in council, there are thirty-two members but we have only two students. They always take a matter to vote and we are not allowed to speak twice on a matter, so if I speak now on a matter and everyone has spoken and I remember, I cannot come back and raise it... this mechanism takes away

the nature of free debate and engagement, whenever there's new information; you have to put it on the table because you are not only putting it on your behalf but you are also helping the committee members to understand and analyse and be able to come up with a good concept in relation to that subject matter. But you are only allowed once, if there are two different views, the chairperson proposes voting (P06, a student leader).

Despite the indicated inadequacy and tiny minority of student representation on the committees, the data shows that student representation was not applied in all committees. For instance, it emerged from the data that students at University A were no longer represented in such university statutory structures such as the Tender Committee. The participant argued that as SRC, when students demanded quality transport to ferry them to and from their residences, they would raise concerns to the SRC who did not know anything about the committee. If the Tender Committee offered a tender to a company that operated with the old buses, students raised that dissatisfaction with the SRC and not the Tender Committee.

...the SRC is no longer going to sit in the Tender Committee. It is not fair to students that there is someone else who decide that we want this company that will transport students and bring old buses. When there is a bus have a breakdown, students tell the SRC. They will not tell the tender committee. They don't even know that there is a tender committee for that matter. They only know the SRC (P17, a student leader).

The issue of student representation being inadequate was refuted by a senior manager at University B who stated that representation in the university governance was not a numbers' game. He stated that it was the ability of the student representation to articulate student issues convincingly to management that counted, rather than the number of students represented. However, the data showed that numbers were important when the chairperson of the committee takes matters to a vote. Furthermore, it was obtained from data that stakeholder groups that got involved in the university governance committee, could not sit in those committees with any other interest than the interest of the institution. He had the following to mention:

When you sit in a committee of an institution, my understanding is that you sit there not to represent yourself, not to represent your constituency but you sit there to represent the interest of the institution. Governance structure operate at a level in which the interest of the institution is advanced. That is why you get people from outside who

are ministerial nominees. Those individuals cannot come there to pursue any particular interest except the interest of the organisation (P18, a senior manager).

5.7 University-Specific Issues Raised by Students

The data shows that student activists who were formally elected by students to serve on the university governance were mandated to articulate and mediate student issues and interest in the decision-making bodies of a university. Moreover, student issues were raised to the SRC through various means of communication. Those included individual members of a student body communicating issues directly to the SRC offices, mass meetings and social networks.

However, the most common issues regarded as burning, in all three selected universities, include the fight against academic and financial exclusion, struggle for expansion of access to higher education, unaffordable student fees, limited student financial aid, insufficient and poor quality accommodation, overcrowding in classes and others. It emerged from the data that these issues have been prevalent in higher education since South Africa achieved democracy in 1994, and were emerging mostly in the previously disadvantaged universities and addressed by management on a piecemeal basis, usually after student protests.

The data suggests that the SRC compiles a list of student demands for submission to management. Moreover, the SRCs formally submit memoranda to the management and then request a meeting to discuss the issues. The management would arrange a series of meetings to discuss student issues that reflected on the memoranda. The issues were discussed and debated through a negotiation process to reach an agreement on the way forward. Subsequently, the SRC convened a mass meeting to provide a report-back to the student body. Alternatively, the SRCs circulated a communique informing students about the outcome of the negotiation process between itself and management. That was normally executed via university notice boards or social networks for updates.

In the event that an agreement was not reached, SRCs advised management that they would inform students about the position regarding issues raised. The report-backs on SRC management meetings were usually provided by SRCs to students through mass meetings. Mass meetings decided whether to accept the resolution or provide a fresh mandate to their SRCs to re-negotiate with management further. If there was still no agreement on issues raised, the SRC returned to students at a mass meeting. This usually became a back and forth process until students decided to use other means at their disposal to express their demands. This

entailed withdrawal from formal negotiations to engage in informal forms of activism such as mass demonstrations.

P18, a senior manager at University B stated students raised issues by emailing or submitting a document with a list of student concerns. He further stated that the university established the Student Services Stakeholders Consultative Forum. This is a voluntary and non-statutory structure and used to tackle issues of student concerns before they become a crisis. The structure that was established brought different stakeholders together from campus security, residences and other departments to allow students to put together issues of concern. Then they sat down to engage. The different departments were asked to provide report-backs and timelines or plans to address those issues. Subsequent meetings were then scheduled to follow up on those concerns.

However a senior manager at University B stated that there was a problematic way in which students engaged in protests. Students embarked on protest action first and submitted the list of issues later. Following that, management would then set up a meeting with the students' representative in order to create a platform on which student concerns would be resolved. Moreover, a senior manager mentioned student grievances were dealt with problematically, which in his view was also prevalent in other institutions, especially when student leaders were under pressure from their colleagues. For instance, SASCO would say students needed to go on a protest when there were no issues at the university, or the university was in the middle of dealing with the issues, and students would also go on a protest and bring a memorandum later. So, that was the way in which student activism took place and university intervention measures. The data suggests that these patterns of student activism manifestations were also prevalent in the other selected universities.

5.8 Impediments on SRCs' Efficiency in the University Committees

The data exhibits that there were a variety of impediments on the SRCs' efficiency to participate in the university governance. However, the data indicated that student activists who ascend to leadership were affected by certain factors that impeded their efficiency in the statutory committees. These impediments emerged from the responses of both student activists and senior managers. The section below discusses these impediments as outlined by research participants.

5.8.1 Ill-Preparedness for Meetings

Some student participants stated that they were not well capacitated to sit in the university governance committees and the environment appeared to be intimidating at most times as they had to sit in a boardroom full of professors and academics. The data also indicated that student activists or leaders came to meetings ill-prepared to engage with issues and hence they were unable make meaningful engagements. One student participant stated that students came to meetings when they had not read the minutes and agenda and as a result they were generally quiet at these meetings.

You have students that are given a Council file and go to the Council meeting while the document is still in file it was delivered with. They haven't open or looked at it. So, you hear a lot when you interact with council members and senate that students are generally quiet. They don't make input up until something that affects students comes out. If you sit in Council you have a voting right and every issue that goes to council, you should have a view about it. You should have read and you should be informed and I think with that, I am concerned (P07, a student activist).

Similarly, another student leader stated that student representatives did not read documents before the meeting and he regarded this as tantamount to robbing the students, as student interests would not be properly represented under the circumstances. Moreover, he stated that if a student leader went to a committee meeting without reading the agenda and attachments, she/he would be unable to discuss university issues productively.

When you get to a meeting and they say 'item one in agenda items, is there any question or comments'. If you have not read and never engaged those documents, you will not be able to raise anything because you don't know what has been said in the document. So you may be seen as radical and someone who raise issues sharply but if you can't read documents, you are as good as bad because you are not providing the leadership that you should and you are robbing the masses of the leadership you are supposed to be providing (P09, a student leader).

It emerged from data that the manner in which meetings were administered also contributed to their ill-preparedness for meetings. Moreover, it suggests that one major contributor to the ill-preparedness of student leaders was that the agenda and minutes of a meeting were not

delivered timeously and were distributed a few days before the meeting. As a result, student leaders often did not get sufficient time to read those documents because they also had academic activities to attend to. The data shows that students would receive thick documents a few days before the meeting. As a result, they could not finish reading them and ended up attending the meeting with little or no preparation. Furthermore, it emerged that when student activists sat in committees, they may not have understood the document and the terminology.

Conversely, the data indicated that university managers had an edge in the committee meetings as they understood documents better than students by the virtue of their expertise and experience. That gave them an advantage. Moreover, the data exhibited that some of the university managers had been in the university for quite a number of years. When student leaders made suggestions on how certain issues could be resolved, they were usually told by university managers that the solutions they suggested were implemented in previous years and proved unsuccessful in the university. The ill-preparedness of student activists is one of the impediments that emerged from the data (based on participants' experiences) that affects the efficiency of student activists in university governance.

At times the people will just be given Agenda today and told that the meeting is tomorrow or will be given an agenda on Monday and a meeting is on Wednesday. So they forget that you came here as a student before you became a student leader. So you have exams, you have all these kind of things... You cannot as the SRC sit with people who has been doing the work for more than 20 or 30 years doing the very same thing and think you are going to argue with them on policy where they will tell you that 5 years ago someone came here and raised what you are raising and lost, so you are not the first one (P11, a student leader).

5.8.2 Insufficient Support for Student Activists to Perform

The data indicates that there was inadequate support for student activists who ascended to formal student leadership. P18, a senior manager mentioned the insufficient support to the formally-elected student leaders, because on most occasions there was no opportunity for training and development to take place as too much time was spent dealing with student political issues. Furthermore, he mentioned that student affairs and the Department of Higher Education and Training have not succeeded in providing adequate training for student leaders. Also, he stated that there was apparently a lack of a national framework for student leadership training and development from which training programmes could be derived in South Africa.

In my experience there is not that opportunity for training and development to take place. Because even in instances, as I said earlier, we as student affairs have failed to that, not just us even the department of higher education has failed to do that because we don't have a student leadership framework from which people can derive training programmes for the training of student leaders. The opportunities are not there. Even if you try to create opportunities, the politics becomes so heavy that you don't even get the opportunity to do that (P18, senior manager).

5.8.3 Poor Selection Mechanisms of Student Activists to Formal Leadership

The data shows that there was poor mechanism through which student activists were elected to formal student leadership. Moreover, it emerged that the manner in which the student activists ascended to formal leadership had a bearing on the kind of student leaders they have. Also, it was obtained that the quality of student leadership and quality of engagement was mainly affected by the manner in which students became part of a formal leadership.

Furthermore, the data indicated that students were registered at the university and affiliated to certain political student organisations. Those organisations could put up a name of a student to stand to be elected to serve on the SRC. However, there was no clear mechanism put in place to see what qualifies a student to be in leadership in terms of experience. Also, the data shows that student organisations did not give the most capable student activists leadership positions and that was viewed as a contributing factor to their lack of competency in the statutory committees.

It also emerged from the data that a number of student activists were selected to leadership because they were members of a particular dominant faction of an organisation, without taking into account their leadership qualities. Inversely, student activists who had qualities to become great leaders were sidelined by their organisation to stand to be elected to student leadership. These were student activists who had capacity to lead and who had led before (who had tried-and-tested leadership competencies). They were excluded by their organisations because of factional reasons, precisely because they were not part of the faction that was in leadership and in control of the student organisations.

We have good comrades that were put aside for factional purposes, who had a capacity, who have led but put aside for factional purposes, precisely because they are not part

of the current faction in charge... This thing of factionalism, it's on campus and very huge (P06, a student leader).

5.9 The Impact of Governance, Leadership and Management on Student Activism

The governance, leadership and management approach was also found to have an impact on student activism manifestations in the selected campuses. It emerged from the data that student activists advocated for an accelerated pace of transformation of the HEIs. Hence, student activism provided advocacy for transformational leadership in the participating universities as an essential character that was necessary to attain the transformation agenda in South Africa.

The leadership character was mostly viewed as a key element to transform universities from the apartheid forms of structures that were racially discriminating, autocratic and authoritarian, to the democratic form that is non-racial and represents demographics of the population of the surrounding communities. Responses from interviewees show that even though transformation has taken place in some areas, there was still a long way to go. Most research participants stated that transformation of student demographics in terms of gender and race has occurred and the student enrolment in this aspect is indeed acceptable. This was stated by participants from both students and senior managers of the three selected cases. However, what appeared to be lacking at University A and University B was that they were lagging behind in terms of transformation of senior management.

The transformation within the university, it's not where we want it but in the student population, we are happy about it. But we want to see more in terms of race, in terms of it representing what is actually there in South Africa, what the divisions are like because you can't be having too many Indians in the university whereas in the community you have many black people who are more than Indians. We would also like to see that in the management as well. It hasn't happened management-wise. That is what we are pushing for right now. (P08, a student leader).

P10, a student leader at University B mentioned that transformation had not taken place in his campus, particularly in his school – School of Engineering. He stated that the university, particularly the school in which he enrolled was still dominated by whites and had black academics who were foreign nationals.

Very little transformation has taken place, it's still white-dominated. If there is transformation you will find that they have brought black academics from across the continent, the rest of African continent – foreign nationals (P10, a student leader).

Focus Group 03 indicated that management has been transformed at University C, in terms of race and gender, however, the data indicated that the senior management members consist of older people and there were no young people in the existing management team. The focus group further indicated that student activists want to see a change such that more young people with requisite skills get recruited to the university leadership.

There is an issue of young people not being employed. If I speak to a young person, it's better because it's still new and will have a better understanding of our problems than a 70 year old professor who studied at different times and circumstances (Focus Group 03).

P15, a student leader at University C stated that transformation at the university has taken place on a number of fronts in terms of new infrastructural development programmes in the form of buildings, information technology infrastructure and other infrastructural developments. Furthermore, there were improvements in terms of staff qualifications, particularly academics. Moreover, a Master's degree and being registered for a PhD and conducting research was set as a minimum requirement in order to teach. Also, he mentioned that more than half the students enrolled at the university were female and the university had a female vice chancellor and principal.

However P07, a student activist at University B raised concerns about lack of progression and transformation at University B. The respondent noted that lecturers were expected to teach several hundred students in one class and it became difficult for lecturers to mark their scripts when students were given assessments. Consequently, they were using multiple-choice tests and true or false when assessing students. The participant posited that those forms of assessments could affect the quality of graduates produced by the university and in his view, there was need for transformation on that front.

We have massive classes, very few lectures. That deteriorates the quality of our assessment especially in the humanities. Imagine a student who has been given a

multiple-choice test and multiple-choice exams in the humanities because a lecturer can't mark scripts for hundreds of students in terms of short questions or essays. That affects the quality. And I am not seeing urgency in terms of leadership and management to try and arrest that (P07, a student activist).

However, P19, a senior manager at University B stated that the university was in the process of taking stock of where it wants to head, and that transformation was a process, that couldn't be said to have been reached. He further suggested that people need to be patient.

Our university have a transformation charter. When the university was taking stock of where we come from and where we want to go and what we need to, we consolidated this into a charter.... Well, transformation is a process and you cannot say it's done. It's a long process where people and institution need to be patient changing with things around. We are guided by the legislation in the country that ensures that there is transformation and the university is adhering to that in terms of its recruitment, representation in committees and its procurement in terms of BBBEE, all of that contribute to transforming the university to be a university different from the Apartheid University of the Past. It is a process (P19, a senior manager).

Although transformation was seen as work in progress, senior managers noted that the university operated within certain resource constraints and it was important for students to understand that.

The university is like any home, if you don't get sufficient funds and resources then you can't do certain things and provide the type of services that you want. So I think there's a need for students to understand (P17, a senior manager).

In instances where activists viewed governance, leadership and management as steering transformation on the right path, it culminated to a more cooperative student activism approach. Inversely, in areas where governance leadership and management were viewed as not taking the right path, a more adversarial student activism manifestation prevailed.

5.10 Summary

This chapter presented data analysis to get a sense of participants' experience and views about student activism manifestations as well as the interplay between student activism and university governance in the participating universities. The chapter provided analysis of the participants' understanding and conceptualisation of student activism and showed that participants conceptualise student activism based on lived experiences in their campuses. Also, the chapter analysed student motives to participate in student activism and showed that students engaged in student activism, driven by various motives. Whereas some students were driven by self-interest, most of them engaged in activism driven by a desire to assist fellow students to address challenges they were confronted with and to make reforms on allegedly unjust systems.

The chapter provided the analysis of different student activism with the broad themes that emerged, namely students' motives to engage in activism, formal activism manifestations, informal engagement in student activism, impact of social media activism, interplay between student activism and university governance, influence of external bodies and student activism as a training ground. The chapter provided a detailed analysis on how formal student activism came into being. The analyses of transcripts of the semi-structured and focus group interviews, as well as documentation provided an understanding on how formal activism was established and its role in the university governance.

Furthermore, documents such as the White Paper 3 (Higher Education Act) which was a national legislative document, provided regulations of higher education governance that prescribed to universities that they should have a formalised and institutionalised relationship with student activists, whereby a formal structure that was called the SRC was established in selected universities. Also, the universities promulgated certain clauses in their institutional statutes and SRC constitutions which promote the establishment of SRCs in the selected universities, including their elections, powers, functions and responsibilities. The data indicated that SRCs were formed in the selected universities through a ballot, whereby all students were given a democratic right to elect their leaders or to be elected to leadership.

The data further indicated that the three selected universities employed different types of electoral systems when conducting the SRC elections. Whereas candidates contested for SRC elections as individual candidates at University A, the SRC elections at University B were contested by a combination of individual and organisational candidates, and 'first-past-the-

post' electoral system at University C. Here individual candidates competed for SRC portfolios and those who obtained highest votes automatically became the incumbent SRC members for the portfolios for which they were contesting.

The chapter also showed that there were processes followed by students to raise their concerns. This included providing a written submission in the form of a memorandum which resulted in meetings and negotiation processes to discuss matters submitted, to reach a compromise. University-specific issues that usually appeared in the memoranda were, *inter alia* issues such as fees, student funding and accommodation. The resolutions were communicated to the student body utilising a combination of communication channels; this included a communique posted on the social media university page, communiques pasted on notice boards, mass meetings and fliers.

Furthermore, there were factors that appeared from the data as impediments to the efficiency of the SRCs when they participated in the university governance. These were factors such as ill-preparedness of student leaders for university governance meetings, insufficient support for the student leaders to perform in meetings and a poor system of deployment of student leaders to the SRCs. The data shows that the governance, leadership and management have a bearing on student activism manifestations in the selected universities. In instances where activists viewed management as steering transformation on the right path, student activism manifestations tilted towards a more cooperative end and in cases where governance, leadership and management style as lagging behind in the transformation agenda, a more adversary approach prevailed.

The next chapter focuses on the analyses of various kinds of informal activism that prevailed in the selected universities. Regarding informal activism, it is usually the form of student action that occurs outside the formal university set up to influence university governance. It normally takes the shape of protest action, mass demonstrations or organised strikes, coordinated and led by SRCs when they withdraw from formal representations which is called SRC-led protests. Despite SRC-led protest action, there were other kinds of protest action prevalent in the selected universities, including protest movements and student protest action organised by certain groups which were fuelled by rivalry that exists on campuses. Their agenda is usually hidden and organised to gain popularity among students.

CHAPTER 6: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS: INFORMAL ACTIVISM

6.1 Introduction

The chapter provides the analysis of the informal form of student activism in which students engage in the universities, based on the data obtained from participants' experiences. The data indicates that this form of activism involves student engagement in activism that occurs outside the official, institutionalised structures of a university and it is usually in the form of student protest.

The subsequent discussions indicate that informal activism can take different forms of protest action manifestations in the participating universities. Hence, this chapter presents the different kinds of protest action that is manifested in the selected universities, namely SRC-led student protests, social movements and rival student protests.

6.2 SRC-Led Student Protests

It emerged from the data that when negotiations proved to be a failure in resolving the impasses between management and formally-elected student activists, the activists tended to look for alternative means to resolve issues. Hence, they opted to withdraw from formal participation in the university governance to mobilise students to engage in a mass demonstration. The data shows that such decisions to switch from participating in university governance (formal activism) to embark on protest actions (informal activism) was normally caused by deadlocks during the negotiation process. The data further shows these impasses were usually apparent when management was supposedly intransigent or didn't respond positively to student issues. In this instance, students, led by their SRCs adopt a confrontational and oppositional approach to bring about change. They adopt this form of activism with the intention of pressurising management to budge from their position.

However, the data shows that SRCs tend to avail themselves for further negotiations when management reconsider their original position. Various protest actions erupted, and were coordinated and organised by SRCs of the selected cases during the period analysed in this study. Those protest actions were utilised by students as a tactic to express their dissent because they were unable to reach agreements in the negotiation boardroom. Inversely, the data shows that in some instances the SRCs organised strikes before engaging in negotiations, and while leading mass demonstrations they would submit memoranda with lists of their concerns and thereafter demand negotiations take place with management. They adopted these tactics to get the attention of management, by engaging in protest action, pulling other students out of lecture

halls to join the strike. These tactics were used to ensure that student concerns were resolved speedily. This was based on the notion that at times management tends to ignore student demands due to complacency.

The data indicates that students engaged in protest action that was organised by SRCs between 2014 and 2016 in the selected universities because of a multiple issues. Although a number issues emerged from the data, issues that emerged mostly were concerns that ranged from student fee increases, academic and financial exclusion, to a shortage of student funding and accommodation. Regarding fee increases, the data shows that management would conduct meetings with SRCs to negotiate fee increases for the following new academic year. Some of the percentages were a double-digit increase and hence the SRC would organise strikes against this, as it was viewed as contributing to unaffordable university education, especially among students from poor backgrounds and the working class. These increases prevented access to higher education and made higher education a commodity which culminated in many students being excluded from higher education because they owed the selected universities large sums of money with no means to settle them.

The next issue that confronted students during the period under study was the issue of academic exclusion. The data exhibited that selected universities have a rule that permitted these universities to exclude students who did not display academic potential or progress in their studies. These students were excluded from the university in terms of those rules. Also, because of not displaying progress, they were also subjected to financial exclusion, as funders were reluctant to support students who were not academically strong. Another issue that emerged was the shortage of student funding. SRCs revealed that the funding scheme in the country did not provide sufficient funding to accommodate needy students. Because of that shortage, universities had to utilise stricter criteria when selecting students for funding (such as academic performance), leaving the majority of students without funding.

The last dominant issue that emerged in these cases was the shortage of accommodation. The data shows that these universities had limited accommodation, so the majority of students, who came from outlying areas, had to source accommodation from private lodgings around the universities. Most of the private lodgings, were of an inferior standard and not conducive to living or learning. Students who resided in these lodgings were mugged on their way to and

from their campuses and, for some, their belongings were taken away by force, resulting in the shooting and killing of one student.

There are always accommodation problems, shortages... So, that is the problem as the rest of students move to live off-campus. They have to look for their own accommodation and everything and there are lot of problems. Most student live off campus. We lost a final year student, around October, if I am not mistaken who was shot. Thugs came in, they wanted accessories and he was shot two times in the head (P11, a student activist).

In an effort to address the above-mentioned issues, the SRC organised strikes to sensitise management about problems students were confronted with. It was obtained from data that student protests took place at least twice in one year during 2014 and 2016; usually one at the beginning of the year and another at the beginning of the second semester. The pattern and number of student protests is similar in the three selected cases, as students protested at the beginning of the year and mid-year against issues mentioned earlier. The data shows that although the SRC agreed with management on some issues, mostly big issues such as fees, student funding and accommodation were usually achieved through a protest force management to understand how serious they were about these issues.

6.2.1 Discord between Management and SRC as a Driver of Student Protests

It emerged from the data that there was discord between student activists and management on how to handle a variety of issues in the selected universities and this drove interest upheld by each stakeholder group. Moreover, the interests of students and management conflicted. Whereas student activists fought for access of their fellow students to higher education, regardless of affordability on one hand, university managers insisted that students who desired access to higher education should pay their fees, on the other. This discord created tension between the two parties. The senior managers saw payment of fees as essential and the lifeblood of universities to keep them afloat and to meet their maturing obligations. However, student activists, through protests forced management to understand the difficulties faced by students with their ability to pay these fees.

We have a number of students who can't afford to pay the fees so obviously they don't get their results and don't get to register in the following year. So the SRC demands that all these students must be unblocked for registration and the university has acceded

to all these requests and now we have a situation where we have huge bad debt situation (P17, a senior manager).

There were issues of access to higher education for students from impoverished communities to affordable, quality education, and students perennially embarked on protest action to resolve these issues. Hence there were notions among student activists to advocate for access, retention and success in higher education. During the academic years of 2014 to 2016, students were required to pay fees in order to access higher education and students who had debts were required to settle them before they could register for a new academic year. Unfortunately, most students could not afford to settle their debts and pay registration fees.

Hence, student activists demanded that students who had debt, must be given the academic results from the previous year before they registered, so that they knew which modules in which to enrol. Also, student activists organised protests to demand the registration of students who owed, regardless of how much it was. Moreover, they asserted that it was not the students' fault they were poor, and attributed the dire condition of black students to the historical disparities bequeathed by apartheid policies.

We are fighting all the time because we simply sometimes believe that if a student cannot afford registration you cannot say, 'No go back home.' They shouldn't because knowing our previous history that's the reason behind us not being able to afford university fees... We fought a lot because of these fee hikes and our main goal was for students to get access (P01, a student leader).

These conflicting interests culminated in perpetual conflict and clashes between SRCs and management. The major concerns mentioned by senior managers were increasing student bad debts, and as managers they were obliged to manage universities efficiently to reduce student debts. Also, the showed data that the government initiated a student financial aid scheme called NSFAS which released the funds to the institutions much later than the due date. Upfront payments were normally received in April of each year and university managers had to rely on student fees to keep the universities afloat. However, SRCs insisted that students should not be sent away and denied an opportunity to study on the basis they didn't have money to settle their debts.

The payment of fees is very important issues in the life of students but in as university it's seen as a way of keeping the university afloat and meeting all its obligations (P17, a senior manager).

P17, a senior manager stated that as officials, they did everything within their power to assist students to register while owing despite the increasing student debt. Hence, they viewed student tactics of engaging in protests as unnecessary since universities were cognisant of student issues. Although P17 viewed most student issues as genuine, some of them were conceived as unrealistic. For instance, students at University B embarked on a mass demonstration and demanded to be represented at the university Executive Management Committee (EMC). They advanced their demand that at least one student leader, i.e. the SRC president be allowed to sit in the EMC. As a result, conflict erupted between the SRC and management and the SRC organised a strike to put pressure on management to agree to their demand.

The rationale put forward by the student leaders was that management made decisions in the EMC without understanding issues that affect students on the ground. Furthermore, they contended that by involving the SRC in the EMC, the representative of students would be able to guide the EMC on their decisions. In addition, the student leaders noted that the delay in resolving student issues was chiefly caused because the EMC would make decisions in their meetings. Later those decisions were challenged by the student activists for not serving the best interests of students. Through mass demonstrations, the student activists intended to induce the management to consider their demand to include student representation in the EMC.

We say at least the SRC President must sit on those meetings so that whenever there are issues that deals with students, they must be able to be dealt with and make sure that those who are in the meeting understand the impact those decisions have to the institution and lives of students. It also was something that was going to assist because when something is being raised as a proposal at the EMC and now you the student leader that is there, it can be able to give an idea to say no we don't think this is going to work and if you want this to work, approach it in this way. So, it is going to save you resources in terms of time and human capital that need to run around for things that when it is time to implement that is only when you involve the people you have been discussing about in the last minute and you to start again doing all processes again (P09, a student leader).

Contrary to the view of student inclusion in the EMC, one senior manager noted that the EMC was a decision-making body of the university executive managers, and students' demand to sit in the EMC was rejected. Furthermore, the data indicated that members of the EMC were not elected or nominated to the structure, but were serving there by the virtue of their positions as senior managers. This was a view held by P18, a senior manager:

I am employed in order to deal with and take decisions of a management kind. You don't get nominated to that structure. You sit in that structure by the virtue of the position you hold, in this case as an executive manager (P18, a senior manager).

The conflicting views on the matter culminated in a protracted strike which lasted for about eight weeks, students insisting that management should reconsider its decision and involve student representation in the EMC. P07, a student activist who was not in the formal student leadership and governance castigated the student leaders' stance and postulated that such a demand was outrageous because student leaders should hold management accountable. The participant further stated that if student leaders formed part of the EMC, they would be highly likely to be a part of the problem.

I do think that is a bit crazy because it will swallow them into a problem. They will be effectively part, even if they do not vote, they will be effectively part of the decision making. The SRC is meant to hold executive accountable on behalf of students. That would blur the lines because if they sit in the EMC, how do they hold the Executive Management to account. There is a question there, desires do not match the logic. Governance logic is that the SRC not only channel on behalf of students grievances or issues but hold accountable various structures of the university in particular the Executive Management because it does day to day running of the university (P07, a student activist).

6.2.2 Goals Achieved by Students through SRC-Led Protest

The data shows that although discord existed between SRCs and management, through SRC-led protests, students were able to achieve most of their goals to make management reconsider their initial positions and acceded to demands made by students. The data also shows that management relinquished their stand on a number of issues to accommodate student concerns. First, one goal achieved by students SRCs was that students who were initially excluded from

the academic system were allowed by university management to register without paying their outstanding fees.

At the beginning of the year we had a student protest. We had NSFAS problem being frustrated by the system. We had students being excluded from the academic system due to financial reasons. Students that were excluded from the academic system were allowed to register without paying their outstanding fees. (P02, a student leader).

This notion was echoed by P17, a senior manager who said that despite universities needing these fees to generate cash flow, management gave concessions to student activists to allow students to register without paying. Through student activism, management understood the difficulties students were confronted with. Despite the policy that students owing fees were not allowed to write exams, students who were in debt, were granted permission to write examinations after they made some commitment on how to settle the debt – on an instalment basis. Those achievements were recorded as victories by student leaders and activists.

The data indicated that without student activism, life would be difficult for students at University C and a major challenge students faced was not being able to register and further their studies because of outstanding debts. However, with student activism in place, registration ran smoothly and students who had NSFAS were allowed to register without any payment. Similarly, the data indicated that the demands by the SRC to unblock students for registration at University A were acceded to by the university managers. Although, University A was faced with a large bad debt situation, students owing the university were allowed to study. A similar pattern was prevalent at University B as university management agreed to register students with outstanding debts and formed a payment plan to allow students to pay their debts on a monthly instalment basis. The data indicates that these patterns of victories by student activists were prevalent in the selected universities. P10, a student leader had the following to state about the student victory on that front:

Progress on this one [student debt] has already been made... We have a system called Registration Appeals Concessions (RAC). [This is] a payment plan in the university and a student does not have to pay a lump sum but [can] work-out a payment plan to register while still owing. Students are still receiving NSFAS and what has happened in the past two years is that for first years there was no fee increment. That is the success

I must say, in 2015. Last year [2016] those students whose parents earn less than six hundred thousand rand, their fees did not be increase. Those students whose parents earn more than that were expected to pay for the 8% increment. (P10, a student leader).

This notion was supported by P08, a student leader who said that leaders were able to engage with the university to draft a plan with the students owing fees, to make a plan on paying back the money, and she stated that the agreement between student leaders and management to allow students to register despite their outstanding debts was one of the biggest victories in getting management to accede to their demands. Although the management at University B did not agree to the demand for inclusion of student leaders in EMC, certain concessions were made by the university management that after all EMC meetings, the vice chancellor and executive dean of students would meet with the student leaders to provide an update on EMC resolutions. This arrangement was regarded as providing a student voice to engage and comment on those resolutions. Hence, it was regarded as a part win by students in achieving their goal.

6.3 Student Movements

South African HEIs were apparently undergoing deep, dramatic changes that were spearheaded by student movements from different fronts. The waves of student protest movements focused mainly on three different causes or objectives. First, the waves of protest movements on decolonised education and removal of symbols of apartheid and colonisation under the banner of #RhodesMustFall. Second, the wave of protest movements that focused on addressing the issue of unaffordable fees paid by students to share the cost of higher education students, demanded those fees to fall under the banner of #FeesMustFall.

Third and finally was the emergence of a protest movement by the student-worker alliance against the outsourcing of services under the mantra of #OutsourcingMustFall. Students launched campaigns under #OutsourcingMustFall, #FeesMustFall and #RhodesMustFall movements. That, in essence meant that everything from symbols of colonialism to fees and outsourced contractors must fall. These protest movements caught South African HEIs by surprise and targeted both the government and universities' management to effect reforms on the abovementioned fronts. The sections below provides analysis of each protest movement in detail.

6.3.1 #FeesMustFall Movement

It was obtained from the data that the #FeesMustFall protest movement occurred in 2015 and focused on fighting against the unaffordable higher education fees, especially among students from poor backgrounds and the working class. The protest movement began under the notion that higher education fees are expensive and must fall to enable access to education for all students, especially black poor students across the country. It was obtained from the data that prior to the emergence of this movement, student protest action that targeted fees had been perennial in higher education. The #FeesMustFall movement was preceded by student marches that focused on achieving free education for all and led by student activists from politically-aligned student organisations some years before the protest movement occurred. However, the government indicated that free education was unaffordable in the country. Nevertheless, student organisations were relentless in their fight for free education for all, organised marches and galvanised support.

Despite these marches, the data shows that fee increases were experienced in the selected universities on a yearly basis. Management invited the SRCs to participate in fee negotiations with an intention to increase fees. It also shows that whenever there were proposed fee increases, there was always some movement to attempt to resist them. Focus Group 2 revealed that a university council meeting, where the fee adjustments issue was tabled, is usually convened towards the end of the year when students are busy with examinations. Moreover, when students return to their universities at the beginning of a new academic year, fights arise around the struggle on fees. This culminated in #FeesMustFall in 2015.

According to P20, a senior manager, the #FeesMustFall movement was about advocacy attempts by students mainly associated with access to higher education, but also student retention and success. However, he said that adequate funding was essential to achieve the goals of a movement.

The #FeesMustFall [movement] is an advocacy attempts mainly by students to increase access to higher education, not only access, also retention of students in Higher Education. That is why there is the issue of fees, that why they say #FeesMustFall which means that there shouldn't be only access to HE, they should be retained and succeed. So, without adequate financial support, that cannot be effective (P20, a senior manager).

One student leader stated that the #FeesMustFall movement was an upsurge by the middle class as they were excluded access to the NSFAS because they were regarded as too rich to get it, but too poor to pay for higher education.

[The #FeesMustFall movement] was also the outburst of the missing middle, as a middle class you are not too poor to receive NSFAS but at the same time you are not rich enough to pay for the fees and that middle part has been basically ignored for the past 20 years. So now attention has been brought forward to say listen we have actually been ignoring this segment of the society and they also experience difficulties. (P10, a student leader).

It emerged from data at University B that the SRC initially participated in the #FeesMustFall protest movement and later pulled out because the movement was politically interpreted as a group of students who were used by certain people to destabilise the ruling party in government. Given the fact that the SRC was aligned to the governing party, they did pull out. Subsequently, student activists from other politically-aligned student organisations took over and led the movement for the entire period of the struggle for fees to fall and free education for all. Subsequently, during the SRC election period, the politically-aligned student organisations, which projected themselves as leaders of the #FeesMustFall protest movement throughout the course of the struggle, were regarded by students as their leaders and performed fairly well in the 2016 SRC elections. Hence, they took control of some campuses that were controlled by student organisations aligned to the ruling party.

P06, a student leader of the student organisation aligned to the governing party in South Africa, stated that they were upstaged during the 2016 SRC elections. The student organisations that were seen as leading the #FeesMustFall movement made progress and won campuses that were erstwhile under the control of SRCs that were aligned to the ruling party. He revealed that the #FeesMustFall movement resonated well with students and student activists who were viewed as leaders of the protest movement appealed to students and were voted in to the SRC office during elections. However, he stated that the leaders of the protest movement were former members of student organisations that were politically-aligned to the governing party. Subsequently, they formed a splinter group. He further stated that the splinter organisation may have felt they were not given an opportunity to lead. No one wanted to be led, everyone want to lead. It emerged that the #FeesMustFall movement allowed everyone to lead and it gave an

opportunity for leadership to all individuals and organisations previously shut out. Thus, leading a protest movement provided them with an opportunity to shine; hence those activists or leaders were voted in to the SRC office in the subsequent SRC elections.

Most of the people in a forefront all there are former members of our organisation because of various political problems; may be they felt left out and look for other avenues. But there is a new ideology of Steve Biko of black consciousness movement is resonating with the youth. In actual fact they are remobilising black students. So, all in the main the people that project or proclaim to be in the fore front in the #FeesMustFall [movement], they look at themselves in relations to Steve Biko analysis of society and his writings, and they use that. So, that's why even the songs they sing, those songs are primarily Pan Africanist songs to a certain extent. It shows that there is a new shape to a certain extent that it is getting momentum (P06, a student leader).

The #FeesMustFall protest movement shifted the student issue from institutional to national. Although the perennial student protest action on fees was university-focused, the #FeesMustFall movement directed its demands to the government to deal with issues of fees nationally. The data shows that the struggle for fees to fall was intertwined with broader national politics. It indicates that the movement was a great success as the state president announced there would be no fee increase in 2016. Furthermore he instituted a commission to investigate the possibility of free higher education in South Africa. A preliminary report was submitted towards the end of 2016.

Some of the issues of free education are a work in progress. Because it is intertwined to the broader national politics were the state, through the president has said there must be a presidential commission to look into a suitability of free education. So primarily that committee has presented, I think two weeks ago, a preliminary report to the President. But they promised that they will finish their report by mid next year (around June). So we have not lost or won it we hope that it's work in progress (P06, a student leader).

The final report was to be submitted in November 2017. Although the commission's report revealed that free higher education was not feasible in South Africa, the state president went

ahead and made proclamations for free education for the poor, effective from the beginning of the 2018 academic year.

6.3.2 Decolonisation of the Universities: #RhodesMustFall Movement

The data shows that students engaged in a protest movement to decolonise higher education, which started in March 2015 at the UCT as the #RhodesMustFall movement, and spread across the country and beyond. The #RhodesMustFall movement was triggered by the Cecil John Rhodes statue erected on the premises of the university and was regarded by student activists as representative of colonisation. Students engaged in a protest movement to demand it be removed. This became a national cause of student activists to remove symbols of apartheid and colonisation at universities across the country.

The data shows that in 2015, students at University B engaged in protest action for decolonisation of higher education by painting over the King George of England statue that was erected at the university. Students engaged in activism by painting the statue. However, it emerged from that data that the King George statue was still in place, standing but not cleaned. While student activists did not put pressure on management for removal of the statue on one hand, the management had not cleaned it on the other. The data shows that the non-action by management to have the statue cleaned could signify they treated that form of activism as a historic event.

I think the university doesn't want to remove this part of history to say why is it painted like this? Why is the statue there? We can explain there was forceful removal university were building colonialism. Why was it painted? No, it's because students in 2015 - 2017 became aware and they tried to remove it and hence there is this paint. The statue painted was for George, the King of England so you that was the statue (P10, a student leader).

Focus Group 2 held a view suggesting that the statue is there, uncleaned because no one cares about it. It suggests that if management cared about it would be clean and if students cared about it, it would have been taken down.

The statue is still there with the same paint, students are silent, and management is silent. So at the end of the day nobody actually cares about King George (Focus Group 02).

It was obtained from the data that the protest movement had specific goals they sought to achieve which were not limited to removing statues on South African campuses, but for the total transformation of the higher education system such as the replacement of white heads of institutions with black leaders (vice chancellor) and decolonisation of the syllabi.

Nonetheless, the data indicates that there were black professors with PhDs who had written some research papers and textbooks that could be used as teaching material for students. It further indicates that this material was more related and in touch with South African reality because they were produced locally. European textbooks were viewed by most participants as out of touch with the realities of South Africa and Africa at large. Furthermore, the participants view the Eurocentric curriculum as a major contributor to problems such as unemployment among South African graduates. The data shows that what was taught in the selected universities was mostly irrelevant to the South African economy. It also shows that the current curriculum contributed to the brain drain as South African and Africans were more employable in Western countries, a result of a Eurocentric curriculum used in South Africa.

6.3.3 #OutsourcingMustFall Movement

The data shows that students joined the outsourced workers' protest movement to demand both decent salaries and direct employment in universities. The #OutsourcingMustFall movement was a third form of protest movement in which students participated in the selected universities. The data reveals this student protest action was grounded on a student-worker alliance struggle against outsourcing of university services to private contractors. The data indicates that the workers of these private contractors were subjected to exploitation by these contractors and they were paid very low salaries. It also emerged that these were workers included in categories of lower-end jobs including cleaners and security.

Consequently, student activists formed an alliance with these workers and mobilised students and workers to engage in the #OutsourcingMustFall protest movement using digital technologies to fight against exploitation of these workers. The goal of the protest movement was to pressurise the universities' managers to do away with private contractors and to employ the workers directly to the university in order to get better wages or salaries and other benefits enjoyed by all other full-time staff members.

P10, a student leader stated that the protest movement was about the cleaners, security and maintenance workers and these types of jobs were considered to be at the bottom in the hierarchy of the employment chain. Furthermore, it was obtained from the data that part of the reason to participate in a protest movement was that a huge portion of what the companies received as income or profit was taken away by these agents and workers who were left with very little. Students embarked on that protest movement at the beginning of 2016.

Furthermore, it was obtained from the data that university staff members had their dependants studying free of charge regardless of the salaries they earned. Inversely, the data shows that outsourced workers did not enjoy those benefits and their dependants were expected to pay for their education in the selected universities regardless of how low their salaries were. It was also obtained that dependants of university staff, including senior officials such as deputy vice chancellors, studied free of charge when enrolled in universities despite earning high salaries. Inversely, the cleaners or security guards of outsourced contractors were expected pay for their children's higher education, notwithstanding a low income. This was viewed by student activists as perpetuating a gap between the haves and have-nots. Hence, student activists advocated for reform to end outsourcing to improve the lives of the poor and working class. They became an integral part of the protest movement in solidarity with the workers to end outsourcing.

We found that there are some staff in the university who can afford to pay, [e.g.] Professors and so forth, but then because they work in the institution, their children can study for free. But here we have got a Mama who's been cleaning the rooms and all that for about 15 years, but her kids cannot come and study here, she has to pay (P10, a student leader).

It emerged that the pattern of protest movement for insourcing was prevalent in all three cases. However, the data shows that although the struggle was won at University B, the struggle for insourcing at University A and C was still work in progress and was handled through negotiations with university managers. P08 stated that they galvanised students from various formations to join the #OutsourcingMustFall protest movement.

Last year we went on strike with a number of internal issues and we brought the memorandum and had a number of issues such as the insourcing of the security (P08, a student leader).

At University C, it also emerged that students joined the protest movement to advocate for insourcing of services. According to Focus Group 3, students at University C joined the protest action for political reasons, i.e. to form a student-workers alliance to embark on a struggle against exploitation of workers. The issue of insourcing was one of the main issues that triggered students to join the workers' protests. Furthermore, social media was a vital tool to galvanise support for the #OutsourcingMustFall movement.

There was a genuine issue of outsourcing ...Those people were paid R2, 000.00. We supported it because we have a situation here. I was born in 1994 and the person who was employed before I was born is earning R2, 000.00 only, no pension and have to take children to school. We supported it because the university was not going to lose much (Focus Group 3).

The data shows that the goal of the #OutsourcingMustFall movement was achieved at University B. The university management and student activists reached an agreement to employ all outsourced workers on a permanent basis. The outsourcing of workers ceased to exist at University B when all cleaning and security workers were absorbed directly into the university staff establishment and these employees had their dependants studying at the university free of charge.

I think that is the one thing I will forever cherish because we won it, the university acceded to our demands that this workers that were exploited by outsourced companies were finally able to be taken back to the university and the benefits that they were not enjoying like having their kids studying for free that they are now enjoying it, like having 13th cheque, funeral cover and severance allowances which they didn't have because they employed contractually by those companies that they were working under. Their salary was increased triple fold, some double fold and it is something that is literally a good achievement (P06, a student leader).

P07, a student activist at University B noted that the cleaners and security guards needed these benefits much more than other university officials who had means to pay for their dependants' higher education. That victory was regarded as a great success for the workers as they were insourced with higher salaries. However, there was no clear picture of how many workers may have lost their jobs along the way. Nonetheless, the principle that was adopted during implementation was that no one should lose their jobs. While the protest movement was under way, there were engagements in the background to say when workers were absorbed, and how it would come into play. Apparently, the unions would play a role and continue with that task until the goal was achieved. Student activists indicated that unions were trusted to assist workers.

The data shows that the victory at University B was absolute since all outsourcing activities were stopped at the university. It emerged from the data that victory reached a point where there were no private security companies on campus and all the guards wore uniforms with a university emblem. The data further shows that insourcing these services was a process and did not happen overnight.

It emerged from the data that whereas this goal was achieved at University B, the issue of insourcing was still pending at the other two, when data was collected.

The issue of insourcing is still pending and if the institution has funds, it will be able to assist as currently, some buses, some residences are contracted, and the whole security is contracted (P04, a student leader).

Students at University C participated in a protest movement under the banner of #OutsourcingMustFall that lasted for about two months in 2016. They demanded that management facilitate the process of insourcing of services such as cleaning, security and student buses. The protest movement culminated in violent action that resulted in the damage of property and temporary closure of the university. The SRC returned a week later after the university closure to initiate discussions with management to consider reopening it. An agreement was reached between student activists and management, and the university reopened. Upon re-opening, students joined the workers' protest action again to pressurise management and workers to resolve all issues of conflict. This culminated in a university shutdown for the second time. However, the data shows that the goal of the

#OutsourcingMustFall protest movement was not achieved at University C, primarily due to the inherent hostile relationship between management and the workers' union.

Last year [2016] we went on strike and brought the memorandum. We had a number of issues such as the insourcing of the security [and others]. Currently, some buses, some residences are contracted, the whole security is contracted. You find that when they [management] suspect that we are going to strike, they will pay millions to get tactical response and all that. So, we are saying that money is lost and we want the security to be insourced (P04, a student leader).

When we are embarked on a strike, the management chased us out. We resulted in losing most of the academic time. The university was closed down for a week. We then came as the SRC to negotiate that [on] the second week, we must come back. The management agreed but when we came back the same thing happened, the protest was still continuing. Then students engaged again on a strike. Then when students were engaged on such then there were again, from the workers side, people who were opportunistic as there were torching of the institution buildings. Students at that time when that happened, they were not around. That was what students got themselves into (P15, a student leader).

6.3.4 Challenges Faced by a University Governance in Relation to Student Movements

It emerged from the data that student movements present new challenges in the selected HEIs as they take a new form of student activism, and when it happened, it appeared to ignore the governance processes that existed. The data shows that while the SRC is part of university governance; i.e. representing student issues and concerns in the university governance structures, students were swiftly moving away from SRCs and creating spaces that did not include the SRCs. It also shows that sometimes student movements created spaces hostile to the SRCs. Reflecting on the #FeesMustFall movement in 2015 and 2016, P07 stated that the student movements had no leadership and students led themselves.

We do not have leadership here. We are leading ourselves and when the SRC goes in that space, you are told that you are part of broader collective. You do not automatically lead this thing [the movement] (P07, a student activist).

The data indicates that the contemporary forms of student activism posed new challenges to the university governance as these new forms disrupted the narrative of formal governance structures. While universities wanted to hold on to the formal governance structures that had been created and institutionalised to include SRCs as a formally elected body, student movements appeared to operate outside governance structures and preferred to send an *ad hoc* delegation to talk on their behalf. Management would state that the SRC is a legitimate student representation structure and student activists stated that the movements rejected the SRC.

You can't really say because there is #FeesMustFall [movement], we can't recognise the SRC. You then need to deal with these two structures [SRC and student movements]. The structures [movements] morph out of issues. They are issue-based; #OutsourcingMustFall, #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall [movements]. All these things happen outside the SRC and the SRC sometimes is not even leading these initiatives and you have a disruption in terms of your governance logic. I think that's one of the challenges that will occupy universities in the next few years in terms of dealing with these challenges (P07, a student activist).

6.4 Rival Protest Actions

The data shows that the experience of student activism between 2014 and 2016 included rival activists who tended to organise themselves in an informal way and mobilise students to participate in protest action. It was obtained from the data that the goal of these protest actions were ordinarily concealed and were organised to become popular among students. The data shows that such tendencies were prevalent in the selected universities and contributed to the high prevalence of student protests on these campuses. Also, the data indicates that during this form of protest action, those activists would identify burning issues and used them as a vehicle to galvanise student participation in protest action.

It was also shown that these protests usually occurred when the universities were approaching SRC elections. The data shows that the student groupings engaged in rival activism against the SRC and projected themselves as spokespeople of students. These protest actions were regarded by most research participants, from students and senior managers, as being fuelled by rivalry that existed on their campuses and were purportedly interpreted as a genuine struggle to champion student needs, whereas these were mere tactics and campaigns by these groupings to gain popularity to be elected to the SRCs.

Furthermore, the data shows that issues that were used as reasons for these kinds of protests were mostly in the pipeline, pending resolution between SRCs and university management. Most of these forms of protest were used to vilify and discredit the existing SRC and to show students that activists who engaged in these forms of protest action could do better than the sitting SRC, in terms of serving students. Also, it was obtained from the data that the rival activists from the informal groupings tended to label SRCs as sell-outs, too soft on the management, enjoying themselves too much in governance and forgetting to serve students' needs. Hence, they disowned and disregarded the SRCs as their leaders.

The data indicates that there was political contestation in the participating universities among the various student formations that were politically-aligned and became the root cause of fierce competition between student organisations. These contestations instigated political formations to use every possible tactic to discredit their opponents, usually the SRCs, and to demonstrate to the voters that they were a better choice to represent students in the university governance. P13, a student leader stated that these kinds of protests were something that should be expected at any time because political groupings contest each other. He indicated these protests were prevalent at his campus, as student activists embarked on rival student protest action to gain popularity among fellow students to elect them to serve in the SRC in the next SRC elections.

It [rival protest action] is something to expect at any time because there is contestation, mobilising students against the SRC for popularity. There is SRC that we have and contestation among political formations (P13, a student leader).

P12, a student leader stated that those who were not in the SRC organised these kinds of protest and galvanised support. However, the issues raised as the cause of protest became concealed because they were raised to advance narrow interests rather than interests of the whole student population.

In most times other people get the opportunity to mobilise and these are people who are not in the SRC. The issues that are raised in a protest get masked because they are raised to advance their interest (P12, a student leader).

Focus Group 03 showed that among the various political groupings, everyone mobilised. The data shows that rival protest action was used as a campaign by aspirant SRCs to get in the

limelight and become popular. The data further shows that the students organised strikes and posed as the voice of students to gain popularity too. So, these protest actions were construed as opportunistic and to gain popularity rather than for solving real issues.

It happens almost in every strike. Other people get an opportunity to mobilize. Because you will find that if people are not in the SRC at that term...The issues get masked because people use issues on the ground to advance their interests (Focus Group 03).

The data shows that student activists who organised this kind of protest action tended to do well in the following SRC elections, as students regarded them as their heroes or heroines who fought for their rights. Focus Group 2 revealed that students who organised such strikes in 2016 performed well during the SRC elections.

In 2013 we had a problem with residences in Royal Hotel, we couldn't get an accommodation. I am sure you saw the story in the newspaper and students were out there in the night and all that. During that time there were some student leaders who were somewhere assisting but there were others who were agitating. It was so exciting to me that it all happened in March. It was so interesting to see that come October or September when we have our SRC elections, the very same people who had positioned themselves during the crisis were now the leadership. So, it's a most unfortunate way in which student governance or if you want student politics is playing out at this institution (P18, a senior manager).

This notion also concurs with that of P18, a senior manager who indicated there was a shortage of accommodation at University B. While the SRC and management attended to the matter, a group of students organised a strike and projected themselves as spokespeople of students who needed accommodation. The student activists who were leaders of the rival protests contested the SRC elections in 2016. Subsequently, they won the elections and became members of the SRC. This pattern was also noticeable across the three selected universities.

6.5 Summary

This chapter provided the analysis of data obtained from the field and focused on informal activism which is usually in the form of protest. This form of activism was generally adopted when formal structures of the university had reached a deadlock. However, in some instances

students used the protest action, even though they had not explored all other avenues at their disposal, to raise their concerns.

The chapter shows that there were three types of informal activism that manifested during the period under investigation, i.e. between 2014 and 2016 in selected universities and were in the form of student protest action, namely SRC-led student protest, protest movements and rival protest action. Whereas rival protest actions were typically viewed as protest actions by activists with hidden agendas to achieve narrow interest in order to gain popularity among students ahead of SRC elections, the protest movements were generally viewed as pursuing a genuine cause, such as #FeesMustFall.

The SRC-led protest actions were normally organised and coordinated by formally-elected student leaders, usually when negotiations between them proved unsuccessful. However, it was obtained from the field that in some instances, students engaged in protests before negotiations.

The chapter also presented factors that cause discord between student activists and management, as their primary demand to management was to allow students to register while they owed are owing funds to the three selected universities. However, the management of these universities usually insisted on payment of fees as essential, to ensure that they had sufficient cash flow to operate. Student activists demanded that students not be excluded academically simply because they could not afford to pay for higher education.

The other root cause of discord was the shortage of accommodation. The three universities faced a shortage and most students had to organise accommodation in private lodgings surrounding the universities. The data states that these students become victims of crime and were robbed of their belongings on their way to and from campuses. Whereas students demanded more residences to provide accommodation, the management was unable to provide these as they were constrained by financial resources. Another issue was that of limited student funding to assist all needy students who had academic potential. Also, management indicated that the amount of student funding was determined by the NSFAS and universities had no control over this. Lastly, there was one unique demand raised by students at University B to be allocated a seat in the Executive Management Committee.

Nevertheless, students made some gains in the process of engaging in this type of protest. For instance, a concession was reached between parties and students who owed funds and were allowed to register without paying their fees. Registration Appeals Concessions were granted by management so that a student who owed the university was not expected to pay the debt in full upfront, but could make arrangements to pay monthly instalments until it was settled. The second type of informal activism was in the form of waves of protest movements that occurred in 2015 and 2016 which caught universities by surprise.

There were three protest movements which had different goals. The first emerged in March 2015 and was the #RhodesMustFall movement which began at UCT and spread across the country and beyond, and its goal entailed the removal of symbols of apartheid and colonisation in universities. The movement advocated for the decolonisation of higher education; this included the syllabus or curriculum, removal of white vice chancellors and replacement with blacks and the total transformation of higher education. The second protest movement was the #FeesMustFall movement that emerged in October 2015 at Wits which was a result of student protest against fees since the inception of democracy in 1994. Students rejected proposed fee hikes and demanded fees to fall. Consequently, the government announced there would be no fee increase in the 2016 academic year.

The third protest movement was called the #OutsourcingMustFall movement which advocated employing workers of the outsource contractors to the university so that they could qualify for benefits accrued by other university employees. The goal of the movement was achieved at University B and all security guards and cleaners of outsourced contractors were incorporated into the staff establishment. At the other two participating universities the #OutsourcingMustFall movements had not achieved its goal as yet, however their struggle continues. The last informal manifestation was known as a rival protest form of student activism and entailed student groupings who informally mobilised students to engage in protest action. Although they projected themselves as spokespeople of students to address their issues, they engaged in activism to achieve narrow interests, to opportunistically gain popularity ahead of SRC elections, hence was called rival protest action. The rival groupings tended to disregard the existing SRCs, label them as sell-outs and project themselves as the voice of students to position themselves to become the next SRCs. It emerged from the data the leaders of rival protest action tended to do well in the SRC elections which implied that students viewed them as alternatives to the existing SRCs.

CHAPTER 7: SOCIAL MEDIA, STUDENT ACTIVISM AND UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE

7.1 Introduction

Digital technologies have become a vital tool of student activism. The data depicts that social media is used intensely to promote digital communications in the selected universities. The chapter outlines the significance of social media and different digital applications that are available, in these cases to facilitate virtual activism by the cyber community which usually triggers classic student activism; participation in university governance, debates, dialogue and protest action. The chapter also presents data on the influence of external bodies, interplay between student activism and university governance and lastly a call for a broader representation in the university governance.

7.2 The Significance of Social Media on Student Activism

The data shows that social networks are significant in facilitating communication between the student leaders and ordinary students as well as between students and management, and they influence communication in a big way. Furthermore, it was obtained from the data that students have created social network groups to communicate matters of concern, using digital technologies that were previously non-existent. Through social media, students were able to raise issues easily to the SRCs and be heard by a large group of people. They could talk and engage with one another, and influence each other using the social network. The majority of students were on social media and they were able to communicate speedily within a large group.

However, the data shows that social media can be susceptible to unscrupulous people who visit a page to post propaganda, since certain people want to score political points or discredit the leadership at that time. The formally-elected leadership had to go to a page to respond to those comments in order to provide proper perspectives on propaganda. Students used social media for a variety of purposes, including sending complaints, but some asked for assistance, others enquired for clarity on things that they were not fully aware of. There are a variety of digital apps that are used which include Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Instagram, WhatsApp and others.

7.3 Protest Movements and Social Media

The data shows that the selected universities adopted the hashtag in protest movements to grasp the attention of South Africans and beyond. Further, it shows that through social media, the

majority of students mobilised to engage in protest movements and hence hashtag movements were viewed as more impactful than organising marches for free. The data shows that the overwhelming majority of students at the selected universities had smartphones and could easily access the social media apps to communicate, educate and mobilise each other to engage in student activism. Moreover, those who did not have smartphones had access to the computer laboratories of the selected universities to utilise computers to access social media.

The research participants stated that in their experience, social media was used extensively to galvanise support for protest movements such as #FeesMustFall in the South African universities. Although the hashtag movement against fee hikes started at Wits, the selected universities followed suit to mobilise students using social media to participate in the protest movement to fight against fee hikes and demands for fees to fall. However, the data shows that according to the experiences of some participants at University B, the protest against fee increases began at the UKZN at the beginning of the 2015 academic year. Though, this did not get much attention in the mass media.

Inversely, the protest action at Wits, with a similar demand of rejecting the fee hikes, gained much traction as it obtained national media coverage. Furthermore, the introduction of the hashtag facilitated communication among students using social media which culminated in the #FeesMustFall movement whereby social networks were used to galvanise support among students and beyond.

P08, a student leader stated the rejection of fee hikes at the UKZN could not gain traction for numerous reasons. First, she stated that students at Wits were more conversant with social media and when there was a protest all students were on social media. Secondly, she stated that according to her knowledge, campuses at Wits are close to each other and it's easier to mobilise students to participate in protest action. Hence, the proximity of campuses at Wits was viewed as an added advantage for Wits compared to the UKZN that has campuses located far apart. To concur with this notion, P09, a student leader stated that Wits also enjoyed an advantage being located in Johannesburg where most media houses were situated.

P15, a student leader at University C stated that since the university was located in a rural area, there was a huge number of students who were not on social media. Moreover, if something was posted on a social media page, those students tended to miss that communication. Also,

when information was posted on a page, such as announcement of the registration closing date, the student leaders receive questions and comments from the students and the student leaders found it time-consuming to respond to all student concerns on a social media page. Hence, student activists preferred rather to advise students to meet them at a designated venue to solve student problems.

The advantages [of social media] are that it is easy to communicate. It is easy to get the message across. The disadvantage is that there still people who are not on social media since we are rural based. They would miss that and if you are posting something. Let's say we are talking about the registration is closing on this day, you get comments, questions and cannot attend to all these – they are too many. Rather, we use social media say no, let's meet at a particular lecture hall at a particular time. It's better that way because all the questions will be dealt with orally. There is this the App called Facebook live, if you are having a meeting and you want to present many things. In oppose to writing, just articulate what you are saying in that video and post it on Facebook. It's much easier that way (P15, a student leader).

The Facebook is used mainly and it provides may be when there is a certain issue, or may be when the SRC is going to speak to the Registrar or may if they are going to send a letter of grievances, they would first post on the page and ask us if we included everything and so forth (P12, a student leader).

A senior manager at University A stated that social media was used by activists during SRC elections to galvanise the student population support to go and vote. Also, it created a platform where students commented and raised issues about the SRCs. Furthermore, when there were strikes, all communications were made through social networks. Social networks also created a space for dissenting groups where students would vent their dissatisfaction and student activists would send comments, criticising the existing SRCs and was supported by some students who shared similar sentiments. The SRC also responded to those critics and obtained support from their followers. In terms of the university governance, management used digital technologies to communicate with students. According to the lived experience of P17, social media plays a crucial role on how student activism came into play and its interplay with the university governance.

I think it has a major impact, the last elections we had, there is a lot of canvassing was done via social media by the SRC that is now in office. When we have strikes and protest actions, all of that you see on social media. Students vent on social media, we have had instance recently, the last elections that one of the students who was aggrieved went to social media and made very disparaging remarks and he got a fair amount of support in it, criticizing the current SRC, and obviously the SRC and supporters has other things to say as well. They respond on social media. Social media has a very significant role to play in activism. I would also imagine that in terms of governance, because we also use social media to communicate with students (P17, a senior manager).

However P18, a senior manager stated that according to his lived experience at University B, students used social media to galvanise support during protest action and there was not meaningful engagement in respect of dealing with student issues. He stated that the SRC, in terms of the constitution, should publicise their minutes to inform students. In his view, social media is mainly only used to organise strikes or mobilise students. He further stated that the university used both emails and social media to communicate with students. There is a Facebook page where information gets posted and questions raised by students are answered. He stated that that was how far communication goes and they were doing well in that regard.

7.4 Critics on the Use of Social Media in Student Activism

The data shows that social media does well in communicating things and making things go viral. For example, during the student protest action the police were reported as shooting students (P07, a student activist interview in 2017). Moreover, the students took those pictures and video clips and posted them on Facebook. These clips and pictures went viral and students complained about police brutality. Nonetheless, most critics of social media contended that the social media community was nothing more than just virtual space, a mere cyber community.

The data indicates that it is not virtual student activism, but the real student activism that counts. The real activism includes physical participation in protest movements which translate to feet on the ground, or boots on the ground, to support the cause being pursued. Moreover, the data shows that there are those activists who feel they are doing enough by condemning the police brutality on Facebook and do not show their face or participate in the protest movements. In doing so these student activists allowed management to say it was only the minority that was protesting.

The support in virtual space was seen as giving false promises and false hopes to the leaders of protest movements when support did not translate to ground support. Until the groundswells take place in activism, the legitimacy of the cause would always be put to question. People would ask themselves whether the cause was noble and whether the cause was worth supporting. The activists who were on social media and not on the ground did nothing, such as to at least send water, food, first aid or more. That support was noticeable at Wits during the wave of protest movement that swept across the university. The support by academics and alumni was visible with them providing food and other resources.

The data shows that in some instances social media tends to substitute actions and when there were less people on the ground, the protest movement would unlikely achieve its goal. When the media came with cameras to capture the event for TV, radio or newspapers, the crew would discover that only a few people were participating on the ground and the majority were on Facebook or Twitter. Hence, a mismatch exists between virtual activism and real activism, and the data shows that this could affect the legitimacy of the cause. Some participants were sceptical about social networks that they did not always translate into feet on the ground. They contended that individuals would say they supported the protest movements, however, these individuals did not leave the comfort of their offices to participate in real activism.

Another criticism that emerged from the data was that ordinary students sometimes used social media to feed each other with incorrect information and misinformation. When their leaders logged on to the page, they would discover that the information disseminated among students was incorrect and subsequently posted a correct message. In those instances, as student leaders, they had to do damage control to rectify the situation. Furthermore, it was obtained from the data that student activists who had their own agendas used social media to mobilise students to embark on strikes that were aimed at advancing their own narrow agendas. Furthermore, social networks were criticised as a tool used by certain students who used false names to spread untrue stories.

People have different motives and some may just want to cause havoc and that the reason they use Facebook. They hide behind pseudonyms and post whatever negative message and post lies about people and spread rumours. That's a problem about social media because you just have no control (P20, a senior manager).

Despite these criticisms about social media, the data shows that it played a vital role to mobilise support for protest movements. Furthermore, the data suggests that through the comments posted by students on Facebook, management was in a position to gauge how students felt about something and the likelihood of taking a particular direction regarding certain issues, plus their potential of engaging in protest action. This enabled university management to solve student concerns before it became a crisis reaching destructive proportions. Furthermore, this assisted management in attending to a potential problem swiftly.

Also, the use of social media in student activism facilitated communication between student activists and the general student population to provide report backs to students on their meetings with management. It also facilitated engagement among students on certain issues, communicating with students on guest lectures, debates and political classes that were organised at the selected universities and other forms of communication. Facebook and other digital networks used in the selected universities enabled students to engage in their leadership (in a virtual space) on certain issues to provide responses and possible solutions to their concerns. The use of social media during the hashtag movements drew large crowds to participate in protest movements such as #FeesMustFall.

7.5 Influence of the External Bodies

It emerged from the data that there was influence by the political mother bodies from outside the universities that affected the manner in which student activism was manifested in the university governance. The data shows that this influence was applicable to all selected universities. The data shows that the external bodies' influence could have both a negative and positive influence. The external bodies were parent bodies of campus-based student organisations and influenced student activism and what was happening on campus in general.

Well, the university is a microcosm of the wider society, student organisations have parent bodies/external bodies and have vested interest in what it is performing. Done well, the influence of external bodies will be very positive (P07, a student activist).

It emerged from the data that by associating themselves with certain campus-based student organisations, by implication, students would associate themselves with a certain parent body of those student organisations. It further emerged that students equally chose to join student organisations that subscribed to their ideology or beliefs. Once they were members of these student organisations, they became volunteers on the ground to recruit students in the

universities for membership of external bodies. Equally, student activists could not associate themselves with certain student organisations on campus unless those organisations were politically-aligned to the parent body that held an ideology to which they subscribed. The data indicated that by associating with those organisations, they would associate themselves with certain external mother bodies.

That is why students may not associate themselves with certain student organisations because by implications they will be associating with certain mother bodies. Likewise they become recruiting agencies for their organisations (P10, a student leader).

It appeared that the parent organisations had both a positive and negative influence on student activism manifestations in the selected universities. The positive influence included their intervention in campus activism when there were disagreements within student organisations in an effort to resolve that conflict. The conflict was generally within organisations and usually about leadership contests of campus-based organisations. P04, a student leader stated that the provincial structure came on campus due to in-fighting within a student organisation.

It emerged that campus-based leadership of that organisation had divisions and factional battles which were triggered by political dynamics in wider society and that tended to divert the efforts of student activists from their roles and functions of championing for student issues. Hence, students spent much time dealing with factional issues. It also emerged from data that these differences in some instances culminated in divisions in campus-based student organisations, as factions competed for control of the student organisation. In such instances, a decision would be made by the provincial executive committee as to which branch executive committee (BEC) was legitimate or not, to operate on campus.

The provincial structures came on campus because there were in-fighting. The structures were divided at a branch level. There were disbandment's and appeals. There comes a time where provincial structure came and sat. We discussed in a very long meeting. We had to adjourn and come back tomorrow, we continued but it was clear that we are differing in views (P04, a student leader).

Also, some participants observed that there was a positive influence brought about by the external bodies on student activism. P05, a student leader observed that the national and

regional mother bodies provided sponsorship for various leadership development and training programmes for student activists. Another positive aspect of their influence, as suggested in the data, was that the external bodies benefited keeping student activists on track and sustaining their political consciousness.

It was obtained from the data that student activists tend to lose political consciousness when they get to the university governance. The data further suggests that they tend to start enjoying the benefits and other privileges for serving on the university governance and forget about servicing students. Hence, external bodies are viewed as assisting those activists to remain conscious. This notion was also supported by P08, a student leader, that the influence of the external body is about keeping student activists who are serving on the SRCs on track at all times, and to perform their functions as mandated to do so; i.e. to champion for student issues.

However, most participants viewed the influence of external bodies negatively as it interfered with the processes of universities. Moreover, the data exhibits that the influence by mother bodies on student activism is so huge that it affects the deployment of student activists to the SRC; i.e. the influence on who becomes a member of the SRC and who does not. The data shows that student activists were deployed and received a mandate from parent bodies, and student activists, deployed by those organisations were expected to report and account to the external bodies when they were supposed to account to the students who elected them. This notion was supported by P17, a senior manager at University A, who stated that a decision as to who should be in the SRC was made by the regional executive committee. He stated that this usually happened outside management purview but students talked about it and seemingly they liked it.

You will find that if you speak to the Manager: Student Governance, portfolio allocations is a difficult time and students saying who should hold a particular position, and if you investigate it, you will find that it is a deployment mentality from outside (P17, a senior manager).

The influence of external bodies was also strongly mentioned by P18, a senior manager at University B, which from the problems the university experienced in the student governance was the extent to which external politics affect operations of institutions.

It is no secret that more than half the time what happen in our institution is engineered by people who are outside of the institutions. They do play a problematic role in a way they create a burden on the institution. Whatever happens in the institution is directly controlled outside of it. The role of external organisations for me is quite a negative one and a problematic one for that matter”. (P18, a senior manager)

P09, a student leader stated that external influence has a huge impact, taking into account that universities are a microcosm of wider society. He stated that the external bodies wanted to come on campus to influence what was happening there because they believed that if one could influence what was happening at universities, one could also influence what was happening in society. P02 indicated that external bodies have their own plan on where they want the organisation to go. She further stated that they end up manipulating student leaders to achieve their goals. The data shows that some external bodies exhibited business interest in the university and attempted to use student activists to influence decisions on Tender Adjudication Processes.

They [external mother bodies] may tell us to go to fight for an issue that we do not understand which may end-up working in a negative way for students. Let’s say a structure decide to open a catering company and we have to make sure that they make it to the bidding processes of cafeterias as leaders and we end up doing it but turns out that their prices being higher than other companies. The external structures are pushing their own agendas and use student leaders because at the end of the day, we are young people we do tend to get gullible (P02, a student leader).

In addition to the above, P03 a student activist at University A stated that external bodies hinder student activism. Moreover, they attempt to control a place in which they do not spent sufficient time. Furthermore, they came on campus and dictated what the student organisations should and should not do while they didn’t have full understanding of the university’s specific environment. This is because they did not spend any time there, nor were they based on the campuses. Thus, it was unfair for them to control the student organisation on how they should or should not operate.

Because you are leading in higher structures, you no longer have interest in branch issues; it will be very easy for you to say comrades don’t do that. It cripples the way

people are organised on the ground, because they are willing to move to a certain direction but because you have a dictating power, you come and dictate something else even those who assist during the elections they do have an impact (P03, a student activist).

P01, a student leader stated that external bodies had taken over the independence of student activism in the sense that student organisations had been swallowed by them. He further noted that there were things to be fought against parent bodies. However, by fighting them, they were fighting the government.

The external bodies will say ‘now you are fighting us, do you know where the next plate is going to come from’ (P01, a student leader).

This notion was supported by P06, a student leader at university B, who said there was much outside influence and stated that whatever they were doing, should not be viewed to be in contravention of their mother body. He stated that student activists get support from their mother body. However, the data shows that student activists spend plenty of time protecting their political parties and government leadership at the cost of delivering services to students. The activists were also expected by their parent organisations to vilify anyone who spoke against the mother body.

Even if they are genuine and critical in whatever they say, but we are now in a defensive mentality perpetually, so that’s where the negative comes in (P06, a student leader).

Focus group 3 indicated that the influence of external bodies occurred in different forms and as student activists, they at times needed financial and political support from the external bodies to undertake certain organisational activities. It was obtained that support usually came with conditions in the long run that were not explicitly stated in the initially. The data showed that external bodies tended to demand something in return for their support. However, P15, a student leader stated that the external bodies were influential because it was the student activists themselves who gave them a platform for that influence.

It’s us who invite them to our programmes to come to deliver key-note address. But what they do, which is not right, they will think for their own self-interest and want to

dictate who must lead so that if that one wins I could control this person. I am able to get to these funds and these tenders. That is what is affecting most people. That's why you find most of student organisations are collapsing because members are having endless internal fights it because of the external influence (P15, a student leader).

P14, a student leader noted the significance of external bodies on student activism of providing guidance to student activists. He stated that he believed it was the responsibility of external mother bodies to guide student activists because they reported to them. He also revealed that some student activists were controlled from outside because of being 'captured'. They could not take decisions because they had to consult from outside. This resulted in student activism 'capture'.

P12, a student leader stated that she felt that the impact of the external bodies was negative, especially political ones. She further argued that in her view, student protests are never really brought about for the good of students, but to enhance and champion their own political interest as political organisations. She further stated that these external bodies invested their money and other resources in student activism on campuses to have access to the university to execute certain activities of mother organisations and have meetings with student activists on campus. Furthermore, the data shows that the investment was made by parent bodies to get something back; i.e. when student activists reach the SRC office, they gain control over financial resources and influence on the governance of the university which could be used for the advantage of the external mother bodies.

P20, a senior manager at University C posited that one gets a sense that students in political organisations take instructions from their mother bodies. The data showed that the university environment was controlled by outside people, people who were invisible. Furthermore, the data indicated that at times, those people do not have the interests of the institution at heart. Moreover, they viewed a university as an extension of their power-base and saw students as potential voters to get votes for them.

When you have young people on your side they will run for you and mobilise for you. So, that is how they see the students unfortunately. When you try to talk sense to these young people it becomes difficult as a result, because someone outside has influence over these you people. For example, a student taking the institution to the high court,

where does he get the money? Even when you are working you cannot afford. It means that someone is behind the whole thing for whatever reasons (P20, a university manager).

It also emerged from the data that the external bodies tended to influence student activists to pull strings for them to achieve their business with the university. They influenced leaders of student organisations for their own narrow and limited interests. These are issues highlighted by the participants. It was also obtained from the data that the external mother bodies caused disunity among student activists. P13, a student leader revealed that factions that prevailed in the political organisation outside campuses on leadership successions of mother bodies were manifested at university campuses due to the influence of external bodies.

You find structures having institutionalised factionalism where a certain structures have to hold a certain mandate because the upper structures have provided directive to say that this is a call and this is a mandate, this is a person that you must mobilise for, and it affect us (P13, a student leader).

P13, however highlighted the notion that there was some positive influence that external bodies had on student activism. He stated that as young people, student activists must be guided in the course of their struggle.

We understand ourselves as young people, not being matured enough and based on our experiences, the experiences that we have in the struggle compared to experiences they have in the struggle, there are differences. But then at all time, we appreciate their guidance in the struggle that we are facing (P13, a student leader).

7.6 The Interplay between Student Activism and University Governance

The connection between student activism and university governance is paramount, as shown in the data. The importance of this nexus is necessitated by the notion that students are one of the key stakeholders in a university and without students there would be no teaching and learning; without teaching and learning, universities would not exist. Through formal representation in university governance or student protest action, students interact with the university governance and participate in collective decision making or embark in mass demonstrations to pressurise management to address matters of their concerns. Hence, the data

shows that the interplay between student activism and university governance was paramount in promoting the efficient and effective running of universities.

P05, a student leader at University A stated that the interplay between student activism and university governance was good at their campus because management listened to the student voice since management of the university recognised student voices and subscribed to the democratic ethos. However at the same university, P03, a student leader stated that students were not regarded as key stakeholders in the university governance. Furthermore, students were viewed as a marginalised group of stakeholders in the statutory committees of the university.

Such views had a negative bearing on the nature of interactions that prevailed on the campus. P04 stated that the establishment of structures such as a student parliament were crucial to create a platform where broader student voices could be heard and would be used to regulate the interplay between student activism and university governance. The university has more than one campus and what happens at one campus is not known by the other.

The relationship is in antagonistic approach because we haven't moved forward per se. The same issues the previous students have been fighting for, the same issues we were fighting for 15 years ago which is access and we find that most students drop out because they are not able to afford fees (P01, a student leader).

P17, a senior manager, suggested there is a nexus between student activism and the university governance.

We had instances in the last two years where students hadn't paid their fees but the university allowed them to sit in their classrooms. At the end of the year a rule says that for you to write your exams you must have paid your fees. Through student activism these students made some kind commitment and write exams. There is obviously a nexus that you are talking about. Sometimes it is very confrontational and sometimes more supportive. But I mean it is very difficult to say this is a general claim. It also depends on the type of leaders that you are getting every year. The current group that we have got are very self-serving whereas in the past we had leaders that were more accommodative. How we draw the picture, so it depends on the type of leaders you get in a particular year (P17, a senior manager).

P01 stated the relationship is antagonistic: students had not moved forward, raising the same issues of residences and access, and fought this for many years. However P04, a student leader noted that their vice chancellor treated others like partners and when there were problems, he would request student leaders raise proposals and work together to solve problems. Consequently, when there were confrontations, student activists and management were able to work together and support each other. That view was concurred by P02, a student leader, who said the university governance did believe in engaging with student leaders or student activists and gave student leaders that freedom. P03, stated that students were not treated as equal partners in the university governance; they were always treated as students, not as colleagues. He further revealed that council members received benefits because of council membership, but did not take cognisance of students as members.

The data showed that at University B, the connection existed between student activism and university governance. However, such interactions were dynamic and changed at times from more cooperative to antagonistic relationships. The P06, a student leader from University B stated that the nexus was antagonistic and oppositional. This was driven by the fact that the decisions that were taken at the university governance committee were not implemented by the management. The university management would commit to a particular decision and those decisions were never implemented until the term of office of the sitting SRC ended. When the new SRC took over office, they began to negotiate again with management about the same issues which were never implemented despite management's commitment.

The nexus is antagonistic and oppositional. You write a memorandum and you send it to them, they tell you we agree with all these issues and we'll implement them, but they don't. So the next time do you expect that we'll go the same route, so the problems we are fighting for today are problems that we were fighting for 20 years ago? Always being promised we are going to do this, but nothing happens, because we've also always adapted a situation where we say damn that mentality. That's why there are always strikes, because of the antagonistic nature of the relationship (P06, a student leader).

This view was also concurred by P09, a student leader at University B that the relationship was confrontational because students raised the same issues every year and resolutions of university governance structures were never realised and usually deferred indefinitely. Hence student activists indicated that if the nexus was sound and good, with constructive dialogue and

engagement, student activists would not complain about the same issues over many years. He stated the following:

If we want fair and constructive engagement, we need to start dealing with the issues on time before they become burning issues. We can't have burning issues for five years. For five years you cannot always talk about residences as if we did not have made plans to say we will take so much people for the following year (P09, a student leader).

P06 stated that students were not treated as equal partners in the university governance. Furthermore, he mentioned that while the SRC should be treated as an important section of a university that subscribes to the vision of the institution, the SRC was however treated like children.

Once you treat me as a kid instead of the equal, that's a problem because I can't change your mentality. You have already decided that I am kid to you. You have already conditioned your mind that these kids can't tell me. Even when you engage them they say, 'Hey, hey, Hey, niyizingane nina angeke ngitshelwe yinina' [you are kids and I won't be told by kids what to do]. Those are words you get from them and you are not speaking there as a father and a child. We are speaking there as equals (P06, a student leader).

P19, a senior manager stated that there is a nexus between student activism and university governance. He stated that the relationship was fine and regulated through mechanisms of the university that are set out to regulate that nexus, particularly through the terms of reference and charters. He further revealed that meetings are open for everyone to express his or her views and stakeholder representatives are treated as equal partners in meetings. Furthermore, he stated that there were never thoughts that views raised by students were less important. P12, a student leader at University C stated that the nexus existed between student activism and university governance as student activism influenced shaping the direction of the university governance.

Student activism does affect the way of governance of our university because if students decide, I can say if they want something done and we are going to effect a particular change, the university is sort of going to have to steer into that direction of the students because at the end of the day we are studying there and the university is there for us.

Student activism gives direction or shape the university on how it should govern itself (P12, a student leader).

P17 stated that the relationship in governance takes different forms and totally depends on which level, and at which point of the negotiation one is. He stated that at the beginning it is obviously antagonistic but then over a period of time, one finds that it starts to move towards a more conciliatory approach on both sides (P17, a senior manager). Focus Group 1, showed that the university partners and students are free to raise their concerns and there is a nexus between student activism and university governance.

7.7 Call for a Broader Representation in the University Governance

This call emerged from data as a concern from most participants about the SRCs' accountability. The issue is whether the SRCs account to the student population who voted them to office or to the political parties who deployed them. The data showed that the SRCs tended to account to particular political organisations which raised the question of legitimacy as to whether these SRCs were relevant vehicles to represent entire student population issues, given the nature of student activism where a political ticket was normally used to elect the formal student leaders in the form of SRCs.

The question of legitimacy of the SRCs to represent the interests of students in the selected universities was also centred on how the SRCs came into being, as they were normally elected using tickets and mandates of their organisations. However, contradictions that emerged were that certain students may belong to a variety of opposition political groupings with their needs and interests taken care of in the university governance. Also, if these groupings held a view that their interests were not taken care of, that potentially instigated dissenting groups to emerge, as they may feel that their views, needs and concerns were not taken care of by the SRC. These were some revelations that emerged from the data.

It also emerged from the data that there was a necessity for a broader representation of student issues to be more inclusive; SRCs are a politically-aligned entity and not accountable to students. Should the national policy makers in South Africa consider a broader form of student representation inclusive of the majority of, if not all, student views? These were concerns by most participants from participating universities from both senior managers and student respondents.

The SRC does not accurately represent us. So I feel like we also need to find the ways on how do individual students, student structures ...and other organisations sit there because you get a much wider perspective of what is really going on in the university rather than coming from one perspective, because they will condense all information to them whereas I could have something completely different that actual factors as to why students are not happy”. ... I can say something and when you say it it’s not going to be exactly the same. I think we need to be given that voice to express ourselves as well, you know (P12, a student leader).

This view concurred with that of P18, a senior manager who stated that the broader participation of students was necessary to deal with students’ issues holistically.

You need to have a broader participation within the university and that participation is not just by those who are elected to be in the SRC and participation goes broadly at various levels. I think you need to ensure that you create necessary structures for the engagement to take place because you deal with students when there are problems. You have to ensure that there are opportunities for engagement at a much broader level (P18, a senior manager).

7.8 Summary

This chapter discussed the role of social media in the selected universities. It showed that social media was used in a big way for communication among students as well as communication between students and management. Social media was hailed for its ability to send messages speedily to a large number of people. It was also commended for its ability to mobilise students in large numbers to participate in protest action. It emerged that formally-elected student leadership in the selected universities used social media to communicate matters, including formal report backs to students, responding to issues raised by students on social media, organising a strike and more. Also, management used social media to send communiques and other matters to students. Social media played a pivotal role in keeping everyone on campus posted about the developments during protest movements that occurred in HEIs.

However, some critics held a contrary view about the effect of using social media on student activism and viewed it as promoting activism in a virtual space rather than real activism to participate physically. This demonstrated discrepancies between participation in a virtual space and physical participation. This is viewed as undermining the cause that is pursued by activists

and gives management a weapon to say only a few supported the cause when social media showed otherwise. Social media was criticised as it could be used by unscrupulous people who posted propaganda or false stories, hiding behind false identities. Despite these critics, social media was found to be an effective tool to mobilise large numbers to participate in protest action as was the case in the hashtag movements such as #FeesMustFall that swept across selected universities and across the country.

The chapter also provided the data presentation on the interplay between student activism and university governance. All participants mentioned that a connection exists, however most participants stated that the relationship is paradoxical and dependent on certain circumstances. However, the data showed that while the relationship was antagonistic and oppositional in most instances, the data also showed that the relationship was marked by constructive and cooperative dialogue in some instances.

Also, the data indicated that the types of governance, leadership and management contributed to the relationship that prevailed on campuses. The more democratic and participative the styles have been, the more likelihood of a cooperative relationship. The data also indicated that there was a call for a broader representation of students in the university governance. This was informed by the notion that SRCs were viewed as representing the interests of their organisations rather than the interest of students who voted them to serve on the SRCs. The data indicated that students were a heterogeneous group with different interests and the majority of participants felt that their interests were not represented in the SRCs. Hence, they used other avenues such as an informal tactics, to express their dissent.

Most respondents who were not members of the SRCs in the selected universities, suggested that SRCs did not articulate and represent student issues the way students felt. Hence, they proposed a broader representation of students in higher education governance in the form of student parliaments or student assemblies rather than relying solely on the SRCs. The view has also been shared by some participants from the SRCs and senior managers. Furthermore, participants suggested that management, particularly vice chancellors, should conduct walkabouts on campus regularly in order to interact with ordinary students and listen to their issues and views in order to obtain undiluted information rather than solely relying on getting information from the SRCs.

CHAPTER 8: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings and discussions of the study in light of the literature and provides a deeper conceptualisation of student activism. The findings include the recent forms of manifestations of student activism, external influence and relations between student activism and university governance. This provides a deeper understanding on the interplay between student activism and university governance, social media, internet age movements and the new conceptual model developed to encapsulate all forms of student activism in South Africa.

8.2 Manifestation of Student Activism

The findings of the study showed that student activism in the selected universities manifested itself in multiple ways and there were certain dynamics that informed these. The manifestations of student activism involved formal and informal forms of activism. Whereas informal forms were about student participation in university governance, informal referred to student participation in mass demonstrations and protest movements using social media to mobilise support. Findings also showed that the relationship between student activism and university governance was not a linear process. It was dynamic, fluctuating and incumbent upon a number of factors such as the actors, processes and events that occurred in the student efforts to engage in activism. The actors included the university management, students, academics, police, courts and others. There were several factors that affected the kind of relations that prevailed. It could be noted that in certain instances, mass student mobilisation usually originated from impasses or deadlocks in the negotiation process between their representatives and management. The impasses culminated in student activists' withdrawal from the negotiation process to embark on protest action. The student strikes on fees and other issues were perennial in the selected universities.

The perennial strikes by students were driven by the view that the overwhelming majority of students enrolled in these universities were mostly poor black Africans whose households could not afford fees as a portion of their study costs. The findings indicate that each and every year, students protested against financial exclusion as university management would not allow students with outstanding fees to access higher education. That was further exacerbated by inadequate funding that was channelled by the government towards assisting needy students. Also, even if students managed to register, there was a shortage of accommodation and other necessities which also fuelled protest action. That affected students mainly from the far flung

rural areas who could not secure accommodation on campus and subsequently stayed in private accommodation in the surrounding areas which was usually not conducive to living or learning. In most instances, the shortage of accommodation resulted in students becoming victims of robbery by thugs on their way from private accommodation to campuses. Moreover, a student was shot and killed during a robbery in one of the selected universities. Student strikes have been widespread since the existence of the post-apartheid government, and fuelled mostly by institution-focused issues such as unaffordable fees and the inability of poor students to access higher education. The findings provided an indication on how student activism transitioned from one form of activism to another as student action involved oscillation from negotiations to protest actions to pressurise university management to accede to their demands.

The findings show that generally, students began with formal activism where they made submissions in the form of memoranda. The student submissions to management were followed by intense negotiation processes in an effort to deal with student concerns. This culminated in a series of meetings between management and student activists. Student activists typically became confrontational at the beginning of the negotiations. However, as negotiations proceeded, student activists became more conciliatory as parties began to find common ground. In instances where negotiations were unsuccessful, student activists usually lobbied their political parent organisations; i.e. external bodies who fought side by side with students during the struggle against the apartheid system. Nonetheless, there were instances when the intervention of the political parties yielded positive results to unlock the stalemate that was prevalent in the negotiation process between the student activists and management.

In most instances, when negotiations failed, students tended to embark on mass demonstrations as a tactic to put pressure on the management to budge from their position and agree to student demands. When students were on strike, management would ultimately invite their representatives to return to the boardroom for further negotiations. That was usually construed as an indication of something different that management intended to offer. Hence, the negotiations were re-opened between the university management and student activists in the hope of reaching a compromise on issues that were on the table, and ultimately to call off a protest.

The SRCs typically sought a mandate from the student body when they engaged in the negotiation process, including a decision to withdraw from formal student participation in decision making and to embark on protest action. Moreover, a mandate to accept and sign the final agreement with the university management was usually sought with the student body. The bulk of the student body were supportive of the SRCs' move to engage in protest action as their democratically elected leaders.

In the case of violent protest action, management sought court interdicts to prevent students from participating. Nevertheless, the majority of students rallied behind their leaders and supported their decision to embark on a strike even when some students were arrested by the police. The study referred to these kinds of protest actions as SRC-led protest action as they were usually organised and led by SRCs in the selected universities, in most instances, when negotiations had failed.

Despite the student protest organised and led by SRCs, there were other forms of student protest that occurred yearly in the selected universities. These protest actions were organised by certain political groups who opportunistically identified particular burning issues which affected students and mobilised them to participate in protest action against those issues. The activists from these groups typically projected themselves as leaders of students to gain popularity and to increase their chances for election in the SRCs. These protests were usually organised in the second semester of the academic year when universities were approaching SRC elections. Furthermore, those student groups habitually adopted an oppositional stance and sought to discredit the sitting SRCs for working in cahoots with management. The study refers to these kind of strikes as rival protest actions as they were fuelled by rivalry among politically-aligned student formations. Findings of the study show that these protests appeared disingenuous with hidden agendas.

The findings indicate that another kind of student activism observed, entailed the wave of student activism in 2015 and 2016, characterised by the emergence of protest movements using social media to galvanise support of protest against fees, symbols of colonisation and outsourcing services under the banners of #FeesMustFall, #RhodesMustFall and #OutsourcingMustFall, referred to as hashtag movements. That kind of activism changed the way in which students galvanised support in protest action. Students used social media to communicate, educate and mobilise participation in protest movements which signalled a new

and contemporary way in student activism. These new kinds of student participation in activism provided a model case on ways in which student activists would oscillate from one tactic to another including meetings, protest actions at various campuses, marches to the ruling party headquarters, Parliament and to the official residence of the state president.

The protest movements generally began with the #RhodesMustFall which targeted the symbols of colonisation and spread across the country when universities asked themselves what must fall on their campuses (Luescher & Klemenčič, 2016). This hashtag mode of student activism and mobilisation against alleged injustice occurred at various universities across the country, including UKZN (former University of Natal) where the King George statue was defaced and painted over at Howard campus, as a feature that preserved colonisation in the university. Nevertheless, findings show that the statue still stands to date, uncleansed, and neither students nor management have taken further action on the statue, either to advance the struggle for its removal or having it cleaned.

The study can deduce that students abandoned their struggle on that front, to advance for the King George statue to fall. Also, it can be further deduced that management deliberately did not clean the statue in order to preserve the history of that wave of protest movements. The emergence of hashtag movements provided a new tactic for mobilisation to protest against the apparent injustices that deprived students from poor backgrounds to access higher education. Furthermore, this form of mobilisation challenged government finance and economic policies that were implemented in the post-apartheid era of introducing cost-sharing measures in which students were required to pay fees in order to contribute to their study costs. Although the protest movements focused on addressing the issue of fees against the university management, it became a national concern as the struggle that initially focused towards the university management shifted its focus towards challenging the national government policies on funding and access to higher education.

The university-specific issues of student fees and access to higher education have transformed to become national issues, pursued in the form of a national movement as students realised that they were not achieving their goals using a traditional methods. Hence, the tactics of student activists changed to focus the issue of fees towards the national government. That assertion concurs with the view posited by Altbach (1966) that student activism that is value-oriented

and institution-focused can change to become ideologically-oriented to deal with the national issues if it is not addressed at an institutional level.

The struggle for fees to fall in 2015 sought to ensure that the institutions did not exclude students on the basis of being poor and not able to afford to pay fees. Moreover, this goal was achieved when the government resolved to introduce a no-fee increase in 2016 (Luescher et al., 2017). Furthermore, the introduction of a free education for the poor by the government enabled thousands of students who faced exclusion to be able to register and study without paying fees (Mlambo, Hlongwa & Mubecua, 2018).

Also, the students who sat at home on the basis of financial exclusion were able to return to the HEIs to re-register. This was based on the response by the government and universities to re-register students from poor backgrounds who were erstwhile subjected to financial exclusion. The study can conclude that the 2015 student activism achieved its goal in addressing the problem of financial exclusion and to ensure that the bulk of poor students who could not access higher education did gain formal access to universities.

The 2015 student activism exposed the contradictions of the post-1994 democratic higher education policy in particular. While the national government promoted the expansion of access to higher education, especially for poor students from previously disadvantaged communities, there were discrepancies between the policy of expansion of higher education and adequate financial assistance required to achieve that expansion. Rather, poor students were expected to make a contribution to the costs of their studies. Consequently, students had to embark on activism to demand to be re-registered. Other students were unable to return to campus, probably because of the inability to settle outstanding fees (Cele, 2014).

Inversely, findings indicate that protest movements, organised through social networks took away the university governance format that existed prior to their commencement. Moreover, the governance format is based on the premise that SRCs were the only legitimate representatives of students who were democratically elected. Additionally, the era of protest movements was characterised by students regarding SRCs as an integral part of the problems they were confronted with. Subsequently, SRCs were conceived as part of management and their leadership role was disregarded by protest movements. Instead, an informal leadership approach was adopted by protest movements in the form of unofficial bodies such as *ad hoc*

committees and student assemblies as representatives in negotiation with the government and university management on issues of student concerns, such as fees. SRCs' leaders were rejected by the protest movements. In some instances SRCs were relegated to become ordinary members or followers.

The study suggests that these types of student action could be described as parallel activism as in most cases, university management had to negotiate with both SRCs (formally elected student leaders) on one hand and *ad hoc* committees (informal leaders of protest movements) on the other. Protest movement culminated in the SRCs (typically located in the core leadership ring) being relegated to other rings of activism as active followers, sympathisers and uninvolved students. The SRCs in the selected universities that were aligned to the governing party, regarded the #FeesMustFall movement as a threat to the administration of the sitting government. They tended to be suspicious about the movement as most of them conceived it as an entity funded by other countries, who were against the South African ruling party. For instance, activists who were opposed to the #FeesMustFall movement cast aspersions that the movement was receiving funding from other countries to bring about a regime change in South Africa. According to the Activists Leadership Model, the SRCs were relegated outside the three rings as uninvolved students who adopted an antagonistic stance.

A conclusion can be drawn, based on these changes, in which students organised to engage in activism. Student activism in post-apartheid South Africa that occurred in the HBIs before the 2015 protest movements, only attracted local media coverage and could not yield effective results to address the issue of fees. However, the emergence of the hashtag movements which began in the white English universities changed the manner in which students coordinated protest action which attracted national attention and this confirms the existing literature. (Davids & Waghids, 2016)

Also, the existence of the SRCs was viewed by some students as a mere co-option of students in university governance and hence these students rejected SRCs as their legitimate representatives. Instead, the manifestation of student activism saw students opting for leadership that was informally elected by them in the form of a student assembly or *ad hoc* committees. These informal leaders could be changed at any time that the student movements deemed it necessary. Indeed, we can conclude that the new generation preferred flat structures of communication and usually became frustrated with the hierarchies that exist in HEIs.

Due to the emergence of these new forms of activism, management found themselves in a situation where they had to accommodate these movements and negotiate with their informally-elected leaders on one hand and negotiate with SRCs on the other. Hence, that posed new challenges to management to think carefully on how to deal with these new emerging modes of student activism. This point may highlight a limitation in the conceptual framework for this study that it does not encapsulate all forms of student activism that existed in the selected universities. Hence the proposed new model will be presented later in this chapter to contribute to the body of knowledge.

Although most students benefited from the #FeesMustFall movement, not all students who were sent away due to the higher education policy were able to return to the universities to further their studies. These students can be described as uninvolved students in terms of the activist leadership model. They could be students who were apathetic and uninterested in student activism who were subsequently subjected to financial exclusion. Their response was that they submitted to financial exclusion without engaging in activism to fight against potential injustices.

In this aspect, a conclusion could be drawn that the dreams and aspirations of those students were shattered because of paradoxical higher education policies. This incident affected potential students who were unable to enter higher education and students who initially entered accessed higher education and could not reach the finishing line, as they were excluded, based on the inability to pay fees. Financial exclusion occurred despite the perennial student protests in the selected universities in the post-apartheid era.

The pre-2015 conflict in the selected universities confronted student activists to make a decision on whether to fight against injustices emanating from financial exclusion or to succumb to the instructions of the government and management. However, students chose the former: i.e. to fight and challenge the status quo and embarked on student activism. Government and university management took a tough standpoint against them, including bringing the police to campuses to repress student activism and arrest leaders. These kinds of responses to student activism took a similar shape in other parts of the African continent (Alidou et al., 2008; Byaruhanga, 2013). However, most importantly, students were defiant against government orders to desist in embarking on protest movements.

Lipset and Altbach (1966) observed that student activism was usually amplified by the media and involved a minority of the student population. Although student activism began with a minority in South African hashtag movements, the technological affordances such as social media attracted the bulk of the student population and other sympathisers to participate in protest action against the alleged injustices of unaffordable fees in higher education.

The active followers and sympathisers of student activism went beyond student support to include other interested stakeholders of universities such as professors, alumni of universities and other stakeholders. The analysis indicates that the people who supported and sympathised with students were mostly those who had gone through similar problems during their studies. It further indicated that individuals who came from affluent families or had bursaries and studied with ease were less likely to support and sympathise with the student cause, because they did not have similar experiences of such pain.

8.3 Social Media

The findings indicated that technological affordances were used during protest movements and social media assisted in communications for a large number of people smoothly and speedily. It enabled students who were uncomfortable to express their views in the open space and to raise them without disclosing their identities. By using pseudonyms in a virtual space, shy students were able to speak their minds without fear of victimisation. Despite the ability of the social networks to mobilise people to participate in protest movements, they were criticised for not translating into physical participation in activism. They were also criticised for supplanting real activism and promoting slacktivism and clicktivism. This finding confirms the literature by Morozov (2011) who posited that social media can result in engaging in activities that are easily executed, but they are considered more effective in making participants feel good about themselves rather than achieve the stated political goals.

It also confirms the literature by Shulman (2009) who criticises social media for stimulating clicktivism; i.e. participants would simply click the button on social media and indicate supporting the cause without engaging in real protest movement. Shulman argues that this triggers activism in a pointless way. The finding also confirms the literature that the availability of electronic forms of activism may even lead to deterioration in the quality of participation, since people who would otherwise get involved through traditional means may instead opt for digital opportunities, believing these activities to be a sufficient replacement (Shulman, 2009).

Despite these criticisms, the findings on the other hand show that social media was a pivotal tool used by students to rally everyone behind the protest movements. Participation of a large number of people in the hashtag networked movements was galvanised through social media, e.g. #FeesMustFall. Hence, the instrumentality of social media in protest movements has been highlighted by many scholars as an effective tool to galvanise support for protest movements in pursuit of different social, political, cultural and economic causes (Luescher et al., 2017; Ntuli, 2019; Ntuli & Teferra, 2017).

8.4 Style of Governance, Leadership and Management of Universities

The findings of the study indicated that university governance, leadership and management style was generally democratic and was tilted towards a stakeholder university governance approach to decision making and addressing student issues. The students were generally viewed as a legitimate and important constituency group with particular interests. Although students were regarded as partners in the university governance, the representation in the decision making deemed to be skewed in favour of other stakeholders since only a minority of student representatives, as indicated earlier in the study, were included in the university governance forums. Committees such as council and senates were dominated by academics, professors and non-teaching staff. This finding confirms the literature that student representation is in the minority in university decision-making processes (Luescher, 2008). The study at UCT revealed that students had only 2.4 % of the seats in the university senate and such a low percentage could not support the role of students as important (Luescher, 2008).

However, the findings showed that although the governance, leadership and management system was said to be democratic, in some quarters, the system was conceived to be undemocratic in others. That view was particularly driven by the notion that student representation in university governance was a minority, yet students were one of the biggest stakeholder groups in the university governance. Hence, the system was regarded as undemocratic and unjust in these quarters; based on the notion that if the governance system was democratic, students would have been represented proportionally by the biggest number in the university governance.

Inversely, a contrary view was held by a senior manager that student concerns regarding the minority of representation in the university committees was somewhat immaterial based on a view that university governance was not a numbers' game; he stated that it was not about

numbers but how the student activists communicate students' concerns convincingly to other stakeholders in a university's decision-making process.

However, that notion was also countered that numbers were fundamentally significant in the university governance especially when matters were taken to a vote. The findings indicated that in instances where there were two views on a matter, a committee chairperson would take it to a vote. Subsequently, students usually lost because of their small representation which translated into an insufficient number of votes. Thus student views were ordinarily defeated. Furthermore, the findings indicated that when student leaders lobbied other stakeholders in the university governance to support their views, the lobbying process was usually unsuccessful and consequently students were typically outvoted. The findings showed that the inherent skewed representation in university governance had a negative impact on students in achieving their goals, and student activists generally did not view representation in university governance as an effective tactic to adopt in dealing with student concerns. Consequently, students perceived strikes as the most effective tool available to pressurise the university governance to accede to their demands.

To link the governance, leadership and management of the universities, the researcher utilised the ideal-type regime of university governance model advanced by Luescher (2008) and stakeholder theory (Freeman, 1984; Morrow, 1998), as the stakeholder university ideal-type regime of university governance indicates, the students were regarded as the key participants in decision making in an effort to entrench a democratic ethos. Further, the stakeholder theory contrasts with concentration of power in one party that dominates over other significant interest groups and unilaterally imposes its own interest. The theory advocates for dispersal of power across independent interest groups (Morrow, 1998). However, the findings from the study and existing literature do not confirm the theoretical underpinnings of the stakeholder theory as they reflect that students are allegedly underrepresented in university governance which relegates them to junior partners.

Furthermore as the university governance model suggests, there was inherent conflict among politically-aligned student formations who competed for space to control the campuses and to get a mandate from the student body to represent them in the university governance. Moreover, there were some incentives, benefits or perks received by student activists for serving on the

SRCs. Hence, student activists could join the SRCs in order to access these benefits rather than as an honest cause to serve students.

Also what transpired in the selected universities was aligned to the stakeholder university ideal-type regime of governance. There was a high sense of entitlement among the official student representatives who enjoyed numerous benefits and incentives and that tended to worsen the character of patron-client relationships between university management at one level and SRCs at another (Luescher, 2008). Nevertheless, the findings displayed that a stakeholder university ideal-type regime of university governance appeared to be most dominant in the selected universities rather than the others. Hence, it can be concluded that the four ideal-type regimes of university governance stated in the study have different manifestations of student activism. However, the manifestations in other institutions may be different, although studies have not been conducted in those universities.

The findings of the study indicated external bodies had an enormous influence on the way student activism took place in the selected universities. Furthermore, external bodies were found to be influential on who became the candidates for SRC elections. The members of external bodies presided in BGMs for student organisations when candidates were nominated to represent the organisations in SRC elections. Candidates for the SRC elections were usually selected to advance the mandate of the external mother bodies. Also, the findings indicated that the external mother bodies influenced how the portfolio allocation process unfolded, i.e. they influenced who became the SRC president, SRC secretary general as well as other portfolios. Whereas they were hailed for their role and influence in some quarters, external mother bodies were mostly criticised in others.

In order to illuminate the influence of the external bodies on student activism, a theoretical lens; Stakeholder Theory, and conceptual lenses; Activist Leadership Model and University Governance Model, were utilised. However, it was apparent that the influence of the external bodies was not encapsulated in the existing frameworks. Hence, the study has developed a new model (which will be presented later in the chapter) to encapsulate the external bodies as findings showed that the external organisations have an interest in student activism manifestations and university governance. This indicates that the existing models of student activism have limitations and do not fully represent the new forms. Hence the development of a new, robust conceptual model is necessary.

In relation to the ideal-type regime of governance as a conceptual model articulated by Luescher (2008), the findings of the study indicated that a stakeholder university regime of governance was most ideal in the institutional governance. This governance type promoted student participation as a key constituency or stakeholder group and regarded as a partner in the decision-making processes. Furthermore, the presence of the politically-aligned student groups created a space for contest for power and control of the student government. Those were politically-aligned groups such as ANCYL, DASO, EFFSC, NASMO, SADESMO, SASCO and YCL. They contested each other to be formally elected to serve the SRCs.

Theoretically, the investigation of manifestations of student activism and its interplay with the university governance has outlined three fundamental points. First, it has improved the understanding of student activism manifestations in the selected campuses, taking into account both formal and informal forms. It has also illuminated the contemporary and new forms of student action that swept across the universities. Second, it has provided deeper understanding of the interplay between student activism and university governance in the selected universities as well as the appreciation of how student activists transit from one form of activism to another in pursuit of goals. Finally, it has provided illumination on how the formally-elected student leaders in the form of SRCs relate to different student activist groups and the student body in the institutions.

8.5 Internet Age Movements

The key findings of the study indicate that student activism is perennial in the selected universities. During 2014 and 2016, the selected universities experienced a minimum of two protests per year. While such activism traditionally manifested itself in student representation in university governance structures and student demonstrations, the contemporary forms of student activism entailed an emergence of new modalities in the form of protest movements using social networks as a tool to galvanise support (Langa, Ndelu, Edwin & Vilakazi, 2017; Ntuli & Teferra, 2017; Oxlund, 2016). These new modalities in the digital age are aligned to what Castells called internet-age movements (Castells, 2015). Novel methods of participating in student activism culminated in the emergence of new groups, issues and events which cannot be understood readily within the framework of existing theories and models, calling for reassessment. The study examined student activism and its interplay with university governance in the selected universities through the Stakeholder Theory (Freeman, 1984; Morrow, 1998), and the Ideal-Type Regime of University Governance (Luescher, 2008) and Activist Leadership Model (Altbach, 1989; Lipset & Altbach, 1966).

The stakeholder theory is key to understanding the role of various stakeholders in university governance. This is based on the view that students have a stake in the governance of the university and should hence participate in decisions that affect them. The advent of democracy in South Africa ushered in a similar approach to the governance of higher education (Department of Education, 1997; Morrow, 1998; National Commission on Higher Education, 1996). However, the typical bone of contention has been the extent to which students participate in university decision making. While they can be conceived as equal partners, studies demonstrate that they were a minority in university committees such as senate, which were dominated by academics, senior management and administrative personnel (Cele, 2002; Luescher, 2008).

The findings of the study confirms the literature that students in the selected universities constituted a minority in university governance structures. The findings show that, for example at University B, out of 112 members of the senate, only 6 members were students. Due to a small student representation on university decision-making committees, students were usually outvoted when decisions were made. Consequently, they embarked on strikes to put pressure on management in order to accede to their demands. As a result, students were inclined withdraw from formal participation and resorted to protest action (Cele, 2008).

Luescher's (2008) University Governance Model was explored to form part of the conceptual framework and it posits that the level of student activism can be examined in the context of the governance type adopted by universities. Furthermore, the manner in which students are considered by university governance determines the level of their engagement in activism. However, this model is limited to more formal activism and how students can participate in university governance.

Finally, the activist leadership model explored participation of students in activism at different levels to bring about change. It suggested that there are three rings of activism; namely the core leadership, active followers and sympathisers. An examination of recent protest movements shows that the protest was not only led by formal leadership as exhibited in the core leadership ring of the activist leadership model. Other student activists who were not formally elected leaders were at the forefront and assumed a leadership role in protest movements. This concurs with what Badat (1999) noted that protest movements can be formed by leaders of student organisations and individual student activists who are not members of organisations.

The study can thus deduce that the three rings of activism can accommodate both formal and informal activism and that occupants of the core leadership ring could vary from time to time, depending on the nature of the cause pursued by the protest movements (informal leadership) or formally elected leaders (formal leadership) at a particular period in time. Hence, the centre ring could be identified as core activists rather than core leadership.

8.6 The New Conceptual Model

This study presents a conceptual model which seeks to provide a holistic picture of the new forms of both formal and informal student activism in South Africa. In a context of formal activism, student representation occurs as represented in the stakeholder theory. Students are a constituency in an HEI and are affected by its fortunes (Freeman, 1984; Morrow, 1998). The Ideal-Type Regime of University Governance also caters for student representation as a junior partner in a community of scholars, equal partners in a stakeholder university, as a future elite of the nation and young people to be guided by elders in a prestigious national university and as clients in a market-oriented university.

In the Activist Leadership Model, student activists are elected as formal leaders in the form of SRCs. They hence become a core leadership by virtue of their formal position, with specific goals. This core leadership has staunch supporters in the active followers' ring and those who sympathise with the cause in the sympathisers' ring. Changes in SRCs that are elected each year could therefore imply change in core leadership (the centre ring) and active followers (middle ring) as well as their sympathisers (outer ring). Figure 4 depicts what this study calls the Unbounded Student Activism Model that attempts to cater for all forms of student activism in South Africa. The analysis of this new model begins by noting that different constituent groups increasingly command a voice in university decision making, directly and indirectly, formally and informally and through contemporary and emerging technologies and tools. Furthermore, students have a major stake in the university and can affect, or be affected by, its objectives (Freeman, 1984).

Their interest hence lies in collective decision making. However, because of the formal nature of student representation, student dissent outside the formal activism track tends not to be accommodated in the stakeholder setup. Nevertheless, representatives of stakeholder groups can decide to walk out of the formal representation if they feel that their interests are not well served while engaging in collective decision making, or that university management is placing their interests below those of other stakeholders. When students abandon such structures, they

are likely to engage in protest action. The stakeholder theory fits well with the University Governance Model espoused by Luescher (2008), notably the Stakeholder University Equal Partners model which envisages students as key constituents and equal partners in university decision making.

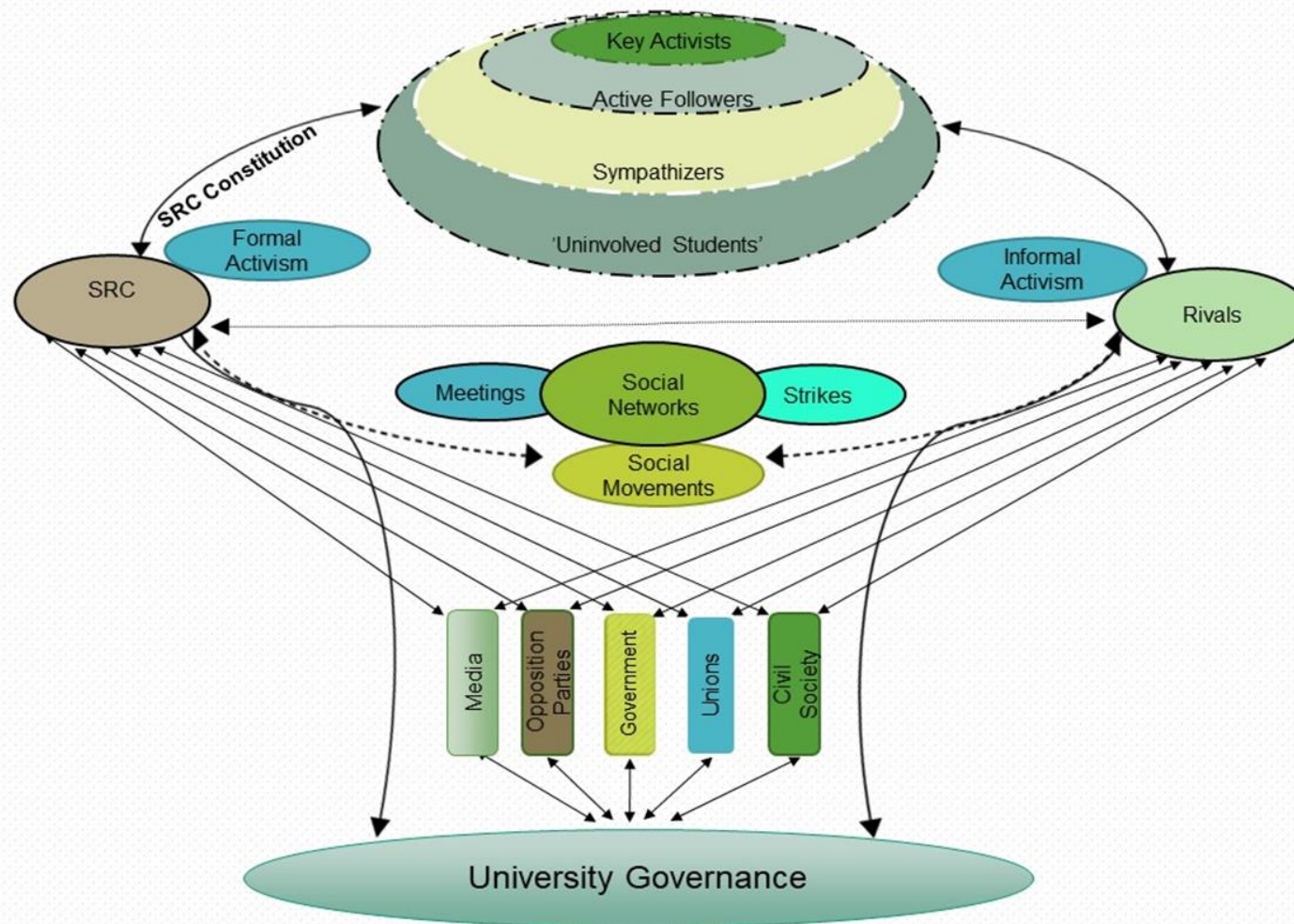


Figure 4: Unbounded Student Activism Model

The university governance model provides a conceptual understanding that an ideal-type regime of university governance can trigger a certain form of student activism. However, the findings show that this may not always be the case as students may decide to participate in a particular form of activism regardless of how they are conceived by university governance. It should be emphasised that student activists may demand change in the kind of governance adopted by the university if they hold the view that it is restrictive or unjust. For example, students protested against fees and colonial symbols in South Africa under the banner of #FeesMustFall and #RhodesMustFall. They were successful in that the government was forced to review cost-sharing modalities and symbols of colonisation and apartheid were removed (Booyesen, 2016; Fomunyan & Teferra, 2017; Langa et al., 2017; Ntuli & Teferra, 2017; Oxlund, 2016).

The #RhodesMustFall protest movement was able to put pressure on management which caused the senate and council of UCT to resolved to remove the Rhodes statue on campus (Fomunyan & Teferra, 2017; Oxlund, 2016). The #FeesMustFall movement put pressure on the government to budge from its initial position which culminated in President Jacob Zuma announcing a no-fee increase in 2016 in all public higher institutions and the implementation of free education for the poor which became operational in 2018 (Mlambo et al., 2018; Ntuli & Teferra, forthcoming).

As noted previously, in terms of the Activist Leadership Model, core leadership can consist of either formal or informal leaders. Whereas formal leadership can take the form of elected leaders such as SRCs, informal leadership could consist of a few actors that drive protest action or protest movements, typically using social media. In the case of formal leadership, the core is composed of individual activists (possibly fronted by proxy organisations) who have won SRC elections and maintain active followers and sympathisers.

The so-called “uninvolved students” described by Altbach may not be as uninvolved as they seem. For instance, individual student activists or organisations which stood for elections but lost may not degenerate into the uninvolved category. Many tend to adopt a rival approach, confronting the new elected core leadership by engaging in parallel activities to make their presence felt and enhance their popularity to increase their chances of winning the next SRC elections.

Furthermore, it is evident that the clean categorisation of groups in Altbach's model – as core, active, sympathisers and uninvolved – has become increasingly blurred to the extent that disorder is evident. In the first place, the so-called uninvolved students are not entities without a voice or interest. Their purported lack of involvement may emanate from a number of factors. Moreover, it could be construed as silent resistance, as the popular views may not represent the interests of everyone. Opposing a particular popular view espoused by the larger community of students without appearing to be visibly hostile may not qualify such students as uninvolved. Furthermore, the manner in which this passive resistance can be gauged has become complicated due to technology platforms that enable anonymity.

It is also important to note that what appear to be uninvolved students may grow to be sympathisers and also turn into active members and core activists. The reverse is also true as active participants may become less active; the phenomenon is thus a two-way process. Rivals tend to be individual student activists or groupings of activists whose goals contradict those pursued by the existing core leadership. This usually results in intense political activism and tension among student groups, especially student political ones. Political groupings tend to have goals that are informed by diverse political ideologies on how universities should be shaped.

This concurs with Luescher's (2008) University Governance Model, particularly in the stakeholder university where numerous political groups lobby for a mandate to represent students in university governance via SRCs. The model also reveals that the stakeholder university type of governance offers SRCs access to perks and incentives. Fierce competition for leadership positions may be motivated by such perks as well as control over campuses rather than devotion to a cause or to serve student interests.

The Activist Leadership Model assumes that the core leadership comprises of activists who tend to be militant and subscribe to clear goals for the student movements. The concept of movements implies informal activism as protest movements are not regarded as formal structures in the South African Higher Education Act. Badat (1999) describes movements as consisting of different organisations and individual students who participate in activism to achieve a particular goal. His description demonstrates that they are not institutionalised or regulated forms of activism. However, various organisations and individual student activists

can become members of protest movements connected by the particular goals that such movements seek to achieve.

A similar process to the formal arrangements in relation to SRCs is followed in analysing the three rings of the Activist Leadership Model from the point of view of movements. Some members of movements occupying the core leadership ring, with the rest being active followers and sympathisers and a new set of antagonists outside the three rings. Furthermore, it can be argued that the consciousness of students described as apathetic by Altbach (1989) can be raised through social media so that they become sympathisers, active followers and even core leaders.

Recent forms of student activism in South Africa involved the emergence of protest movements using social networks. These movements tended to reject formal leadership and adopted a “leaderless” approach to advance their cause (Badat, 2016; Ntuli & Teferra, 2017). Furthermore, they appeared to be issue-driven and tended to become inactive once a particular issue was resolved. In some instances, protest movements opted for *ad hoc* committees to serve as core leaders, creating ‘semi-formal’ rivals who tended to reject the officially established SRCs. This resulted in parallel, competing forms of student activism and university managers had to engage with formally and duly elected student leaders and informally designated leaders of protest movements.

This was evident in #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall where the formal leadership was defied or ignored and certain individuals became informal leaders as members of *ad hoc* committees (Booyesen, 2016; Ntuli & Teferra, 2017). These unofficial leaders occupied the centre of the three rings of activism, with new active followers and a new set of sympathisers. In such cases, formally-elected leaders (SRCs) who were originally in the core leadership ring may have become irrelevant or opted to become active followers or sympathisers in the movements.

Students tend to shy away from formal structures and hierarchies and prefer flat structures. This can disrupt the governance norms and structures established by the Higher Education Act. However, in some universities, SRCs were able to negotiate a space within the movements, and become involved in planning protest activities, communicating with the student population

through Twitter or Facebook to provide updates and physically leading the movements (Luescher et al., 2016).

The study can therefore conclude that student activism has recently shifted from formal student representation in university governance and traditionally organised strikes to new forms of protest movements orchestrated by informal leadership, using digital technologies to galvanise students and wider support. It thus reasons that the so-called ‘core leadership’ should be termed ‘key activists’ to accommodate both formal and informal leadership (Ntuli & Teferra, forthcoming). Secondly, the study observes that the designation of “uninvolved” students is somewhat inapt given the transient nature of student interests and views as well as the volatility and fluidity of roles and responsibilities in the contemporary world and the new means, tools and media to navigate them (Ntuli & Teferra, forthcoming). Thus, in order to encapsulate the emergence of new forms of student activism in South Africa in the form of hashtag movements, in which student activists organise protest movement using social networks to galvanise support, this study recommends the modification of the conceptual framework to include the use of social media and the framework is called Unbounded Student Activism Model as indicated in figure 4.

Also, it may be concluded that the recent forms of student activism in the selected universities were primarily motivated by the goal of managing the paradoxical situation of increasing access to higher education on one hand, and limited funding on the other, as encapsulated in the economic policies of austerity measures and cost-sharing measures since the dawn of democracy in South Africa. That demonstrated an inherent mismatch between affordability to pay for higher education among the black African students from poor communities and sustainability of financial resources by the institutions.

8.7 Summary

This chapter presents the findings and discussions of the study and attempts to link the conceptual framework and literature with them. The findings indicated that manifestations of student activism occurred formally and informally. Formal activism involved student representation in the university decision making. It also entailed the institutionalisation of the formally-elected student representatives in the form of SRCs. This entailed the SRC elections in which all registered students in a particular academic year exercised their democratic right to elect their student representatives to articulate and mediate their interests. Moreover, when the negotiation processes were unable to reach agreements between student activists and

management, students tended to withdraw from formal activism (negotiations) to embark on informal activism in the form of student protests. Furthermore, the chapter presented three kinds of student protests that occurred, namely SRC-led protests, protest movements and rival protests.

The SRC-led protests were a result of SRCs' withdrawal from the university governance to embark on mass demonstrations, usually due to failure of the negotiation process to reach consensus which culminated in impasses between student activists. Subsequently, SRC organised and led protest action was used to pressurise management to concede to student demands. Also, findings indicated that the wave of protest movements swept across selected universities and students engaged in protest action against potential economic, political and social injustices in South African universities and national government. Those protest movements occurred under the banners of #RhodesMustFall, #FeesMustFall and #OutsourcingMustFall to fight against symbols of colonisation, fees and exploitation of workers respectively. Students achieved their goals as the statue was removed, a no-fee increase in 2016 and subsequently free education for the poor from the beginning of 2018 was introduced by the government, and the insourcing of services, which entailed absorbing the outsourced workers into the staff establishments on a permanent basis with full employment benefits.

The third type of protest action on which students embarked was rival protest action. This involved student mobilisation to participate in protest action that was purported to represent students and promote certain student activists to the student body ahead of SRC elections. Linking the student protest action to a conceptual framework, the student activist leadership model of the three rings of activism indicated the changing roles of students from the core leadership, active followers and sympathisers. Outside the three rings were uninvolved students who either opposed the goals, or apathetic students.

The findings showed that there was an enormous external influence by political mother bodies on student activism. That included external influence on who was elected to the SRCs, promotion of factionalism in student activism, business interests by some members of external bodies and funding student activists' campaigns for SRC elections. However, in return for funding student activists, external bodies put student activists under pressure to influence the

university tendering process and other functions of the university in their favour. The findings also showed that the relationship between student activism and university governance was not a linear process. It was dynamic and changing all times dependent on circumstances. Furthermore, it fluctuated from constructive dialogue and engagement on one end, and an oppositional relationship on the other.

The discussions on the key findings indicated that there are different manifestations of student activism in the selected universities. Whereas there are traditional forms of student activism which occurred in post-apartheid years, the universities were taken aback by the new forms of student activism where social media was used to mobilise students. Traditionally students engaged in formal activism by participation in the university governance as well as informal activism in the form of strikes, especially in previously disadvantaged universities.

The 2015 protest movement was mediated by social media and the hashtag networked movements. The study analysed the existing conceptual models to illuminate the understanding of contemporary forms of student activism. The study discovered that the existing models do not encapsulate the recent forms of student activism in the form of protest movements mediated by social networks. Thus, the key findings of the study show that student activism in the selected universities has changed and the existing models do not encapsulate recent forms of student activism. Hence, the study proposes an unbounded student activism model to include all forms of student activism in South Africa as presented in fig 4.

CHAPTER 9: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

9.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the key findings and conclusion of this study that sought to examine the prevalence of student activism and its interplay with university governance in the three selected universities. This research adopted a qualitative multi-case study to analyse participants' experiences on phenomenon from student activists' and senior managers' perspectives. The study thus evaluates the manifestations of student activism and the dynamics that inform them. Furthermore, the study assesses how student activism interplays with university governance. Lastly, it outlines the implications of student activism on university governance.

Altbach (1989) states that student activism is a “complex and multifaceted phenomenon” and it is hard to describe and difficult to make predictions thereof. Furthermore, he notes that student activism has shaken the existence of some governments and toppled others on the African continent. Thus, it is imperative for university managers and governments to understand student activism as it may cause serious disruption of university business. Also, the author notes that the activists themselves should understand student activism so that they do not suffer the same consequences as in the past (Altbach, 1989). Student activism can be defined as a particular mode of action undertaken by student organisations or groups to address specific or general issues defined as important to them (Nkomo, 1983). Fletcher defines student activism as the efforts by students to effect political, environmental, economic or social change (Fletcher, 2005).

The literature on student activism indicates that student activism can be subdivided into formal and informal activism. The literature review of the historical account of student activism involves student activism from different perspectives; namely international; African and national perspective. Moreover, the international perspective mainly covers student activism in Western countries to demonstrate student activism manifestations at a global perspective. Although students have engaged in activism since the birth of circular education, it was not until the 1960s that Western countries experienced turbulent student activism in the form of protests against alleged social, economic and political injustices. In the US, students participated in the civil rights movement, struggled against the Vietnam War, struggled against in *loco parentis* rules and demanded student representation in decision making at HEIs.

Furthermore, the literature highlighted students protested for reforms in European countries such as France, Germany and others as well as the struggle to be included in university decision making. Police brutality was evident during student protests in Western countries where confrontations between students and police resulted in injuries and death of protesters.

A series of victories such as the inclusion of students in university decision making and other achievements as well as the end of Vietnam War in the mid-1970s, culminated in the splintering and collapse of social movements in Western countries.

The literature on African student activism elaborates the active role played by students in bringing about change in the African continent. African students contributed significantly in the struggle to liberate Africa from colonial rule and bring about independence in African countries. The literature also demonstrates different patterns of student activism that existed. It shows a gradual shift of student activism that focused on demands for welfare issues, representation of Africans in colonial structures to a more radical approach to overthrow the colonial structures to achieve total independence of Africans. Through student activism African countries were liberated from being ruled by colonisers.

Moreover, student activism was also prevalent in the post-independence period. The struggle by students was regarded as a second liberation struggle against authoritarian rule, one party states, austerity measures and SAPs and cost-sharing measures of higher education studies. In their struggle, students demanded African countries adopt democratic principles and do away with autocratic and authoritarian governance structures. Also, student activism played a role in toppling governments and power shifts in some African countries. In a similar fashion as in Western countries and elsewhere in the world, African governments responded to student activism in a harsh way by using state machineries to engage in violent repression which resulted in some protesters being arrested, tortured or killed by police and other security forces.

The South African perspective showed that students participated in a struggle against apartheid. The apartheid system was used as a tool by the Afrikaner government to divide and rule South Africans on a racial basis; namely white, Indian, coloured and black Africans. The system was also used to deny opportunities to non-white race groups and to promote white supremacy among South Africans. The historical account showed that South African students adopted a radical approach to fight against the apartheid system which was manifested, *inter alia* by the racial segregation of HEIs.

NUSAS attempted by all means to block universities' racial segregation bills but all efforts were in vain. During that process, NUSAS demonstrated different patterns of student activism, including calling mass meetings in former white English campuses to vote for strikes, engaging in strikes, mobilising for support from senates and other statutory bodies, mobilising civil society and other organisations, galvanising global support and lastly using violence to establish a clandestine organisation to execute sabotage on government buildings such as railway stations and post offices.

South African student activism also explores activism that occurred among black students, to include the formation of SASO under BCMs by Steve Biko which promoted black identity, self-confidence and self-reliance among blacks. The 1970s was a turbulent period of student activism as SASO mobilised workers to participate in a wildcat strike in 1973 on wage disputes. SASO also galvanised high school students to engage in defiance campaigns which resulted in the Soweto uprising in 1976. Confrontations between students and police resulted in protesters being arrested, shot and killed by police. Other protesters fled the country to exile and underwent military training to engage in the armed struggle against apartheid. Subsequently, Biko was arrested by the security forces in 1977 and was tortured and killed in police custody.

In the same year Biko died, SASO and all BC movements were banned by the apartheid government. In 1979, Azanian Student Organisation (AZASO) was formed and its name changed to SANSCO in 1980. SANSCO's strategy was to mobilise civil society, trade unions, youth organisations, religious fraternities and other formations to form a Mass Democratic Movement against apartheid. In 1990, Nelson Mandela was released and all liberation movements were unbanned. In 1991, SANCO and NUSAS merged to form SASCO. In 1994, South Africa held the first democratic elections and the ANC was elected democratically to govern the country with Nelson Mandela as the State President.

The post-apartheid policies of cost sharing of higher education studies resulted in confrontations between student activists and university management and students embarked on perennial strikes against financial and academic exclusion, especially by students from poor backgrounds and previously disadvantaged universities. These were mostly poor students who could not afford to pay fees for higher education in the post-apartheid era. Consequently, the student protests against fees culminated in the #FeesMustFall movement in 2015 as students rejected any further increase of fees and advocated for fees to fall and free education for all.

The literature review demonstrated that student activism has manifested itself as a catalyst for social, political and economic change in the country.

The researcher also reviewed literature on university governance, with a particular focus on student participation in the institutional decision-making forums which encapsulate formal activism. The literature on student participation in the university governance entails the establishment of the cooperative governance approach by the government to include all stakeholders, including students in university governance. However, student representation in the university governance is a minority of students. This typically limited the student voice from achieving goals in the committees, as they were dominated by other stakeholder groups such as academics, professors and others. As a result of limited representation, students do not usually win their demands in the boardroom.

In order to understand the implications of student activism on university governance, the study responds to the following research questions:

- a) What is the nexus between student activism and university governance in the selected universities?
- b) How does student activism manifest itself in the university governance in these universities?
- c) Why does student activism manifest itself in the manner it does in these institutions?

In order to respond to the key research questions, the study employed a theoretical framework with was formed by the stakeholder theory, activist leadership model and university governance model. The framework was formed by combining different models to encapsulate all different forms of student activism manifestations that were prevalent in the selected higher educations. These included formal and informal activism. The conceptual framework was applied in a multi-case study to examine manifestations of student activism and its interplay with the university governance at University A, B and C between 2014 and 2016. A multi-case study of three selected universities provided rich data and different perspectives of responses about student activism manifestations, formal and informal, cooperative and oppositional, old and novel patterns based on participants' experiences of different forms and shapes of student activism in their campuses and its relations with the university governance.

The study identified gaps in the existing literature and this was achieved after a rigorous literature review. The gaps recognised showed that the literature on student activism in relation to university governance in the African continent including South Africa is limited. Most studies on student activism has focused on student activism in relation to national politics in the African continent. The literature provided limited studies on student activism in relation to protests against institution-focused issues and tended to be more on the role of student activism with wider socio-political issues.

The second gap that was identified in the study involved limited literature on the new ways in which students organise and mobilise to engage in student activism. The new modalities of protest movements, using social media to galvanise support present the new manifestation of student activism in South Africa. The third gap involves the general lack of models that provide conceptual clarity on the recent manifestations of student activism. These have changed over time and the conceptual model that encapsulates contemporary activism in South African universities is essential.

The study has been able to contribute towards bridging the above-mentioned gaps. Firstly, the study shows that the literature on student activism in South Africa has paid particular attention to national socio-political issues such as the struggle against the apartheid system. The literature has indicated that in the post-apartheid era, student activism in South Africa has shifted its attention to focus on university specific issues such fees, academic exclusion, shortage of accommodation and others. Secondly, the study has contributed to better understanding student activism in a democratic era. Thirdly, it has contributed to the literature to gain a deeper understanding of contemporary ways of engaging in student activism in South Africa in the form of protest movements, using social media to galvanise support. Lastly, the lacuna on a conceptual model that encapsulates all forms of activism has also been bridged, as the unbounded student activism model in South Africa has been developed in the study.

The research design and methodology adopted is a qualitative case study approach, a multi-case study, selecting three universities in South Africa with the pseudonyms University A, University B and University C. The researcher adopted various data collection methods, including semi-structured interviews, focus group interviews and document analysis. The chapter provides an explanation of the motive behind choosing these methods and selection of research participants and HEIs.

Semi-structured interviews included participation of students from diverse classifications and levels of student activism such as students from SRCs, politically-aligned student organisations, apolitical student organisations and student activists who were not in leadership or governance. All participants were registered students at the selected universities and at least 18 years old. The interviews conducted concerned manifestations of student activism between 2014 and 2016.

Furthermore, the semi-structured interviews were conducted with senior managers who were involved in dealing with student activism and university governance matters, and responsible for decision making in these areas. The university registrars and deans of students were selected as participants accordingly. Furthermore, these managers have authority to provide information-rich data necessary for the study. Also, focus group interviews were conducted with student participants to confirm and triangulate the semi-structured interviews. This method helped to validate the participants' responses during the semi-structured interviews.

All semi-structured and focus group interviews were recorded and transcribed and the material kept in a lockable cabinet. Document analysis was also conducted and played a pivotal role as a source of data. This source of data aided the study to triangulate the semi-structured and focus group interviews. Hence, the multiple data generation methods adopted assisted on the execution data sources' triangulation to ensure trustworthiness of the process and report on findings. During the semi-structured and focus group interviews, the researcher developed a rapport with student and management participants to make them feel at ease.

9.2 Summary of Findings

9.2.1 Motives to Engage in Activism

The findings show that students join student activism for a variety of reasons. Some had been activists since secondary school and when they enrolled at university they were motivated to participate in activism. The universities created a new space for activism to bring about change for the betterment of their fellow students and to better society at large. Others participated in student activism because they realised fellow students were frustrated, not being able to register because they were in debt to the universities. This served as a drive for some students to engage in activism.

The findings also indicate that universities are a microcosm of a wider society and what happens in the university also takes place in society. Student motives to engage in activism were driven by the desire to identify the needs and concerns of the community (student community) and to address them with management. The student population was viewed as citizens in a community who needed accommodation, proper food, proper facilities, improvements in the infrastructure and other services to be furnished. Thus, student activists were motivated by these challenges and needs which impelled student activism to address issues of concern on behalf of their fellow students.

Students were motivated to become involved in student activism to fulfil certain goals and address issues. Those issues were seen as posing potential injustices to students and student activists were determined to be at the frontline to resolve them. Hence student activists were motivated to engage in activism to act as a voice for the voiceless. They engaged through both formal and informal ways. An example is the #FeesMustFall movement in 2015 and 2016. Students embarked on a protest movement against fee hikes and used social media to mobilise students nationally to participate in this movement.

9.2.2 Issues Facing Students

The findings showed that students faced multiple university-specific issues such as unaffordable fees for poor students, insufficient student financial aid, inadequate and lack of conducive student housing, overcrowding in lectures, poor catering, concerns about academic programmes to be phased out, demand for management to go, demand for students to be released from jail and charges be dropped. However, the main issue that students confronted was the challenge of financial exclusion. Some of them were not given an opportunity to re-register in order to complete their studies due to outstanding fees and the inability to pay upfront payments required by the universities.

These findings indicate that students utilised a combination of formal and informal activism to address issues between 2014 and 2016. In the period prior to the 2015 protest movements, students utilised formal representation by the SRCs in decision making as well as organising protest actions in traditional ways. They participated in the university governance through their elected student leaders and used the negotiation process to raise and deal with student issues. Students usually made submissions to university management in the form of a letter or memorandum. Submissions were discussed at official meetings organised by management. In instances where there was disagreement and impasses, students opted to shift from formal

activism to informal activism by engaging in protest action. However, these shifts did not imply an absolute abandonment of formal activism – negotiations. Rather, these were strategic shifts in order to provoke management response to the student demands. Hence, students utilised a combination of formal activism and informal activism in their effort to pursue their goals.

In 2015, student activists introduced new forms of informal activism, displaying novel ways to mobilise protest action using social media. This included posting SRCs report-backs to students, communiques by management, notices on guest lectures and mobilising strikes. The study shows different social media Apps include Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, WhatsApp, Instagram and others. However, Facebook emerged as most used in the selected universities.

The findings show that social media enabled a large number of people to communicate easily and swiftly. Students not comfortable in stating concerns openly could hide their identity and raise concerns freely without fearing victimisation. Although, social media was commended as an effective mobilisation for a large number of people, there were some critics who believed social media to be a mere cyber or virtual space and not translating to feet on the ground. Hence, these critics viewed social networks as having a tendency to replace physical or real activism. It was criticised for promoting clicktivism and slacktivism. Further, critics indicate that social media does not mobilise new people, only those already on it. However, combined with other forms of media it can attract new members to join the social media groups. Nevertheless, the findings show that participation in the hashtag networked movements indicated that social media did assist in galvanising support.

The findings also showed that another form of student activism that manifested itself was what the researcher termed rival protest action. The nature of this form activism was informal in its shape and mobilised by a group of student activists, typically outside the SRCs, to gain popularity when the universities approached the SRC election period. They raised a particular issue of student concerns and projected themselves as spokespersons of students and the voice of the voiceless. However, in reality it was not meant to represent student needs, but send a signal to students that they were available to be elected to the SRCs. Those protests were found to be disingenuous and led by rival student groupings against the existing SRCs. The study noted that such groupings usually did well during SRC elections. In previous SRC elections, rival protest action was used by informal groupings as a ladder to ascend to the SRCs.

The findings showed that most of the issues raised by these informal groupings were ones that had already been raised to management and already in the pipeline. The activists from these groupings usually were able to mobilise students, using social media. At times these informal groupings demanded negotiations with university management, while ignoring existing formal structures. That potentially raised a legitimacy question on the proliferation of rival student groupings as SRCs were regarded as the only legitimate structure to express and mediate student concerns. In certain instances, SRCs were able to take over issues from these informal groupings and champion on behalf of students.

9.2.3 External Influence

The findings suggested that external bodies exercised a massive influence on how student activism occurs in the selected universities. This included the influence on who became an SRC member as well as who occupied portfolios of president, secretary general and others. Whereas the external mother bodies were positively viewed in some quarters by providing training and capacity building, political guidance, financial support to student activists, the findings show that they were mostly viewed as having a negative influence on student activism for numerous reasons.

Firstly, they tended to use student activists who ascended to the SRCs to sway the procurement and tender-bidding processes in their favour. Secondly, they had a tendency to influence student activists to go on strikes to fulfil narrow personal interests. Thirdly, they were inclined to promote factionalism which was divisive among the activists and the student body at large, and student activists with leadership potential were side-lined from the SRCs. Fourthly, although external bodies provided support to activists, especially during elections, they tended to demand something back from the ones they helped during SRC election campaigns. Finally, the external mother bodies provided funding to student activists to attend court cases surrounding charges against them for illegal protests and public violence. Moreover, they had a tendency to hire lawyers or advocates to provide legal defence for these activists when they appeared in court.

9.2.4 Institutional Interaction and Responses

The study indicated that the governance, leadership and management style of the selected universities was generally democratic and participative. However, there were instances where management would take decisions unilaterally. When the SRCs discovered that certain decisions that affected students were taken without consultation, they usually challenged those

decisions and threatened to embark on a strike. Generally, management tended to correct that by taking those issues back to the SRCs for their input. The governance leadership and management style was normally democratic, though there were concerns about insufficient student representation in the governance structures. The findings indicate that students have a minority in the committees that are dominated by professors and academics and when students raised certain matters, they tended to lose during voting. Consequently, students tended to utilise protests as a tool to pressurise management to consider their concerns.

Leadership in the selected cases tended to be participative and transformational to a certain extent as there were transformation initiatives in place to redress the imbalances of the past that were engineered by the apartheid government. The student populations of these universities have generally been transformed and the majority of poor black students have been enrolled in the selected universities. Where transformation in management and academic staff has taken place, there was still concern for the lack of black South African professors, as most of them in these universities were derived from foreign African countries.

It was found from the study that the selected cases adopted a combination of different types of university governance, including Community of Scholar, Stakeholder University, National Prestigious University and Market-Oriented University. However, the stakeholder university and market-oriented type of governance appeared to dominate the institutional governance of the selected university. While, these universities treated students as a constituency group advancing particular interests and believed that conflict of interest should be mediated through a negotiation process on one hand, the universities placed emphasis on efficiency and effectiveness as well as commercialisation of universities on the other. The universities have been more conscious about the quality of teaching and other student life activities and strived to provide their clients (students) value for money. Students generally have been treated as stakeholders with seats in the various decision-making forums of the selected universities.

The findings show that although the governance, leadership and management of the selected universities was generally participative and inclusive, decisions taken in the university governance usually took longer to be implemented and delays were attributed to limited financial resources. Nevertheless, the governance, leadership and management processes and structures, to a certain degree, have recognised students as important participants in university decision making in an effort to promote cooperative governance.

The relationships between student activism and university government were found to exist in the selected universities and were regulated by certain procedures, rules and regulations. However, the relationships have been paradoxical and difficult to categorise as fully cooperative or confrontational, and were usually dependent on, *inter alia* the stage of negotiations. At the beginning of negotiations, the relationship tended to be antagonistic, but then over a period of time as the negotiation process continued, it began to move towards a more conciliatory approach. Hence, the nexus existed between student activism and university governance. Also, through student activism, management agreed to student demands to allow those with outstanding fees to register, study and write exams without paying fees. The relationship was inconsistent as it was at times confrontational and other times cooperative and collaborative, thus making it difficult to make a general claim.

At times, the nexus depended on the type of student leaders that universities received every year. While student groups appeared to be self-serving in one year, others appeared to be accommodative to work with management. How to draw a picture, was dependent on the type of student leaders the universities had during a particular year. Hence, the relationship varied from one year to another. The selected universities had SRCs to serve for one year and thereafter a new group was elected. Accordingly, the findings exhibit that there was a change in the complexion, or composition of these groups as well as their approaches each year. Some were open to constructive input and criticism, and others were the other extreme i.e. confrontational. Therefore, the relationships varied and were never the same. Indeed, the nexus between student activism and university governance was evident as student activism contributed in shaping the policies and manner in which universities were governed. For instance, student activists influenced the registration fee adjustments, change in admission policies to increase access to higher education and other governance related matters.

Although, student activism effected particular changes on how university governance was shaped, the senior managers were expected to steer the universities into the right direction and held accountable to the government, students and other interested university stakeholders. The findings also showed that at times students tended to go on strike for no good reason and continued damaging property of the university, which affected the relationship and resulted in universities' regression. It was further found that the future of the university was dependent on the leadership of both management and students. Whereas management had been expected to provide leadership of the university direction on one hand, student activists were expected to

contribute to the shaping the university governance on the other, in order to enable progress as far as possible. Hence, the collaboration and cooperation between both student activist leadership and university leadership was immensely important.

9.3 Conclusion

The study can conclude there has been a nexus between student activism and the university governance in the selected universities and without this interplay, these universities would have been unlikely to survive. Moreover, this nexus requires to be strengthened to lean more towards the cooperative and collaborative end to ensure that both parties pull in the same direction at all times and university properties are not damaged when students embark on protests.

As the literature indicated, confrontational relationships have been costly as students engaged in violent protests which resulted in the burning of properties including libraries, laboratories, lecture halls and other facilities essential to support academic excellence. Furthermore, one thing that student activists have to be aware of, is that they give shape to the governance of universities. Through constructive engagement and protest action, student activism has shaped these universities in a particular direction in both positive and negative ways. The findings show that management has generally tended to listen to student demands after students embarked on a strike. Consequently, students used a popular expression, “what cannot be won in the boardroom can be won in the street”.

While the findings of this research have been viewed as pushing the frontiers of knowledge to understand the significance, impact and implications of student activism on university governance, they have also contributed to the theoretical and conceptual understanding of the recent manifestations of student activism and how they have interplayed with university governance in South Africa. Nevertheless, it is vital to note that the study has made a contribution to raising awareness on contemporary student activism in the selected universities. Whether using formal activism to raise issues through negotiations with management or engaging in collective protest movements (using social media) to address student issues, these have been of paramount experience for students who have faced a variety of problems, frustrations and dehumanising conditions inherited from the apartheid system.

These students have sought to access and succeed in higher education to improve their conditions, of their families and societies. The findings have shown that students have been frustrated when unable to register because they could not afford to pay their debts. Also, it

showed how student activists have committed themselves to be at the forefront to organise protests and protest movements in their effort to fight for access to higher education and improve student financial aid in their universities. Furthermore, NSFAS was paid late and some students waited for months before they knew whether they would be granted NSFAS funding. The NSFAS centralised system has not served the students well. Students had to stand in long lines, queuing for assistance in front of the student funding offices in the selected universities, hoping to be assisted.

However, students also attended classes to ensure that while they waited to finalise their registration they at least attended lectures so they were not left behind. The findings of the research respond to research questions and thus add towards improving the understanding of various ways in which student activism manifested itself in the university governance in the three selected universities, and the dynamics that caused those manifestations. Furthermore, the study responds to the understanding of the interplay between student activism and university governance in those universities between 2014 and 2016.

In closing, the analyses show that the recent forms of student activism were not encapsulated in the existing models and hence a new model has been developed. Thus, the unbounded student activism model was presented in figure 4.

9.4 Implications of the Study

The study showed multiple manifestations of student activism on university governance. The manifestations of student activism during 2014 and 2016 have certain implications on university governance as well as on how student activism and university governance relate to each other. Firstly, the emergence of student movements coupled with the leaderless and horizontal approach, presented a challenge to the university governance policies and procedures that the SRCs were the only governance structure to represent students' interests. Moreover, the rejection of SRCs by the student movements as their leaders and instead establishing *ad hoc* committees as well as student assemblies, has certain implications on how management is expected to interact and negotiate with students to address their concerns. Management would have to remain abreast of the emergence of these movements, including ways to accommodate them in the university decision making to help manage student issues. Furthermore, this also has implications for the SRCs on how they regain the support they erstwhile enjoyed among students in the post-apartheid era prior to the emergence of protest movements.

Secondly, the view shared by many student activists that “what cannot be won by students in the boardroom, can be won in the street” would also have implications on the interplay between student activism and university governance. This stands to reason that student activists are more inclined to embark on strikes when they believe that engaging in mass demonstrations will help them to achieve their goals. This can imply that management may be required to endeavour to address student issues before they reach destructive proportions.

Although the use of violence was generally rejected, violent student protest was found to be a tactic that student activists utilised in exerting certain pressure on the universities’ leadership to consider their position. Furthermore, the findings showed that when violence and destruction of property was used, management tended to respond faster to student protest in order to avoid further destruction of property. Hence, student activists may be likely to use violence during protest action in future as this may be viewed as an effective tactic to provoke management response to their concerns. Thus, management should be conscious about these implications and adopt a more proactive stance to deal with student concerns.

Nevertheless, the use of violence in protest action was regarded by most participants as hooliganism rather than student activism. Moreover, the use of violence, including the burning of property is a criminal activity and unlawful act which can attract serious sanctions in a university student disciplinary tribunal and court of law. During the #FeesMustFall protest movement, the use of violence resulted in suspensions from the universities and criminal prosecution of leaders of the movement. The implications of this could be that students who participated in a violent process were arrested, taken to court and even expelled from a university and unfortunately the future of these young South Africans could be shattered. Hence, students should be conscious of these implications and understand the consequences of engaging in violent protest action.

Thirdly, the supposed complacency on the part of university management could affect the nature and the scale of student activism. Ignoring student activism or not responding promptly towards it could result in the escalation of student protest action from a small peaceful scale to a large violent scale. Hence, the faster management responded to address the issues, the better the situation and higher the possibilities of preventing student protest to reach destructive proportions. This also applies to protest movements where there was no formal leadership and the informal leaders were not part of the university governance.

Furthermore, the alleged reluctance on the part of management to engage with the informal leaders of these movements may have contributed to the escalation of the protest movement action. Furthermore, management response to repress student activism by seeking court interdicts or deploying security services on campuses culminated in confrontation with students. Thus, crushing a student protest may not resolve problems. Rather, it may cause the possible re-emergence of student protest action at a later stage. This finding confirms the assertion that repressing student protest action may sow a seed for later protest (Altbach, 1991).

Fourthly, the mobilisation of students, by rival groups, to participate in a strike geared to make popularity statements ahead of the SRC elections was used as a tool to win the SRC elections. These protest actions have been termed in this study as rival protest actions, and student activists who are not in the SRC organised such protests and projected themselves as spokespersons of students to address their concerns. The findings of the study indicate that these activists normally did well in the following SRC elections that took place. Moreover, these strikes became a successful tactic for student activists to ascend to formal leadership. Hence, this could imply that universities may likely be inundated with these kinds of protest actions that were orchestrated by student activists to gain traction ahead of SRC elections, as they were deemed an effective tool to galvanise student voters' support.

Fifth, student activism in the selected universities was characterised by a variety of politically-aligned student organisations; namely ANCYL, DASO, EFFSC, NASMO, SADESMO, SASCO as well as YCLSA and that brought certain implications to the university governance. Management had to deal with fierce competition among the student activists from those organisations who contested each other during SRC elections. However, the benefits of SRCs could culminate in some undeserving students wanting to be in the SRC office, solely to gain access to those benefits rather than serving students. Hence, management would have to consider carefully on the pros and cons of providing these benefits to the SRCs.

Also, during the #FeesMustFall protest movement, the politically-aligned student organisations were visible in their political regalia. However, one could note that although different politically-aligned student organisations were members of the movement, there was contest and rivalry among them for dominance. Although participation in political activism contributed to the preparation of students for democratic citizenry, the purpose of student activism ought to promote the core purpose of teaching and learning rather than advancing the

political issues unrelated to the advancement of educational issues. Both management and student activists should be conscious about this notion to promote academic excellence and collaboration among university stakeholders with a common purpose to promote teaching and learning.

Sixth, the influence of external bodies on student activism also has certain implications on how student activism is manifested and its interplay with the university governance. The external bodies can exert influence and pressure on student activists to engage in strikes on matters unrelated to student issues, but aim to advance the interests of external mother bodies at the expense of students. Also, in some instances external political bodies have tended to show business interests in the selected universities. In the process, some student activists who served on the university governance structures were used to influence the tender awards in favour of their external mother bodies. Thus, student activism may be compromised by such actions.

Finally, the factionalism that existed on the selected campuses was a reflection of factionalism in political mother bodies in wider society and this has been divisive among student activists/leaders. The prevalence of factionalism on these campuses implied that student activism may operate along factional lines which may culminate in the best student leaders being excluded from the SRC precisely because they may not be in a dominant faction. This may deny these leaders the opportunity to contribute to the university governance and the development of a university at large. Subsequently, the university governance may be denied quality student leaders who can make an immense contribution to its development. Thus, this may negatively impact on the unity of the student body.

Furthermore, the findings indicate that student activists tend to spend much time defending leaders of their mother bodies' factional political leaders, when attacked publicly, instead of serving the interests of students. The implication is that the formally-elected student activists cannot serve students effectively when pre-occupied with the political agenda of external mother bodies. This can affect service delivery to students.

In conclusion, this study demonstrated that existing discourse and models describing student activism are incomplete in describing the phenomenon. Thus, this study described and exhibited research gaps in the studies of manifestations of student activism in South African HEIs. This includes the emergence of new modalities in which students organise and mobilise

participation in student activism and the limitations in the existing models to encapsulate the contemporary ways of student activism manifestations in South Africa. This addresses the significance of the study to provide a fuller understanding of manifestations of student activism in South Africa. Therefore, the study is expected to benefit institutional leaders, policy makers, other interested stakeholders and student activists themselves.

9.5 Limitations of the Study

The study is a qualitative multi-case study based on the three selected universities and hence may not be used to generalise the findings. While the findings of the study may offer a valuable point of departure to understand the manifestations of student activism and interplay between student activism and the university governance, this may highly likely be influenced by institutional and situational factors different from those at the other 23 public institutions. Therefore, it is believed that student activism manifestations in other institutions may show different forms of activism and thus may provide different understandings of the interplay between student activism and university governance. Nevertheless, the purpose of the study was not to generalise, but rather to provide a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of student activism and its interplay with university governance in the context of the three selected universities as suggested by Merriam (1998).

However, while the research did not attempt to generalise the findings from the selected universities to all universities in South Africa, additional cases could assist to confirm, refute or add more nuance to them. Hence for future research, studying additional contexts could provide a fuller and richer understanding of the phenomenon.

Also, the participation in the study was skewed towards male black Africans. Despite the particular effort to assemble a diverse pool of participants in terms of race and gender, it was apparent that historically, student activists in South Africa are predominantly male black Africans. Hence, the participation of females and other races was limited. Thus, student participants were mostly male black Africans and a few female black Africans. Nonetheless, the student activists who participated in the study were able and willing to provide the information-rich data about student activism and its interplay with the university governance in the selected universities.

Regarding participants from senior managers, out of six senior managers who were invited to participate in semi-structured interviews, five were available to participate, of which three were

male black Africans, one a female black African and one male Indian participant. One white male senior manager indicated willingness to participate in the study. However, one of the challenges experienced in the study included the unavailability of one participant (a senior manager at University C) for a long time after a number of attempts had been made to secure an appointment with him to conduct a semi-structured interview. Nevertheless, as Creswell (2005) suggests, the interviews conducted for the study reached a saturation point and there was hardly any new forthcoming information.

The study concludes with recommendations for future research and proposes that future research also requires a comparative study of student activism during apartheid (pre-1994), post-apartheid (post-1994) and the hashtag movement era (post-2014) to provide systematic analysis and investigation of the manifestations of student activism during these periods. Future studies could be conducted to include more cases to qualify the study for generalisation of findings. The future research could also investigate the multi-campus universities to provide an understanding on why student activism is more prevalent on one campus than another in those universities in South Africa.

REFERENCES

- Adi, H. (1997). *West Africans in Britain 1900-1960: Nationalism, Pan-Africanism and Communism*. Lawrence & Wishart.
- Ajayi, A.J.F., Goma, L. K. H., & Johnson, G. A. (1996). The African Experience with Higher Education. *Ohio University Press*.
- Ake, C. (1994). West African Student Union in Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone. In UNESCO (Ed.), *The Role of African Student Movements in the Political and Social Evolution of Africa from 1900 to 1975* (Vol. 12, pp. 51 - 65). Paris. UNESCO Publishing.
- Alence, R. (1999). Research report: Student protest and transformation at South African universities: An introduction to game-theoretic perspectives on conflict and governance. *Politeia*, 18(3), 122-139.
- Alidou, O., Caffentzis, G., & Federici, S. (2008). 'We no go sit down': CAFA and the Struggle Against Structurally Adjusted Education in Africa. *Journal of Higher Education in Africa-RESA*, 6(2), 61-75.
- Altbach, P.G. (1966). Students and politics. *Comparative Education Review*, 8(2), 137.
- Altbach, P.G. (1984). Student politics in the Third World. *Higher education*, 13(6), 635-655.
- Altbach, P.G. (1989). Perspectives on student political activism. *Comparative Education*, 25(1), 97-110.
- Altbach, P.G. (1991). Patterns in higher education development: Toward the year 2000. *The Review of Higher Education*, 14(3), 293-315.
- Altbach, P.G., & Cohen, R. (1990). American student activism: The post-sixties transformation. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 61(1), 32-49.
- Amoa, S.A. (1979). *University students' political action in Ghana*. Ghana Pub. Corp.
- Anthony, D.H. (1991). Max Yergan in South Africa: From evangelical pan-Africanist to revolutionary socialist. *African Studies Review*, 34(2), 27-55.
- Babbie, E.R. (2015). *The practice of social research*: Nelson Education.
- Badat, S. (1999). *Black Student Politics: Higher Education and Apartheid from SASO to SANSCO, 1968-1990*. Routledge.
- Badat, S. (2016). Deciphering the Meanings and Explaining the South African Higher Education Student Protests of 2015-16. *Pax Academica*, 1, 71-106.
- Barker, C. (2008). Some reflections on student movements of the 1960s and early 1970s. *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais* (81), 43-91.
- Bathily, A., Diouf, M., & Mbodj, M. (1995). The Senegalese student movement from its inception to 1989. *African studies in social movements and democracy*, 369-408.

- Beale, M.A. (1992). The evolution of the policy of university apartheid. In *Collected Seminar Papers. Institute of Commonwealth Studies* (Vol. 44, pp. 82-98). Institute of Commonwealth Studies.
- Beale, M.A. (1998). *Apartheid and university education, 1948-1970*. Doctor of Philosophy thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Blatter, J., & Blume, T. (2008). Co-variation and causal process tracing revisited: Clarifying new directions for causal inference and generalization in case study methodology. *Qualitative Methods*, 6(1), 29-34.
- Boahen, A. (1994). *The role of African student movements in the political and social evolution of Africa from 1900 to 1975*. UNESCO Publishing.
- Bohman, J. (2005). Critical theory. (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy).
- Booyesen, S. (2016). *FeesMustFall: Student revolt, decolonisation and governance in South Africa*. Wits University Press.
- Boren, M.E. (2013). *Student resistance: A history of the unruly subject*. Routledge.
- Bourke, B. (2014). Positionality: Reflecting on the research process. *The Qualitative Report*, 19(33), 1-9.
- Bryman, A. (2016). *Social research methods*. Oxford University Press.
- Bryman, A., & Burgess, B. (2002). *Analyzing qualitative data*. Routledge.
- Bundy, C.J. (1989). South Africa. In P.G. Altbach (Ed.), *Student political activism: An international reference handbook*. Westport, Connecticut. Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Bunting, I. (2006). The higher education landscape under apartheid. *Transformation in higher education* (pp. 35-52). Springer.
- Burawoy, M. (1976). Consciousness and contradiction: A study of student protest in Zambia. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 27(1), 78-98.
- Burrows, F. (2003). *UCT, Student activism and apartheid, 1957-1968*. University of Cape Town.
- Byaruhanga, F.K. (2013). *Student power in Africa's higher education: a case of Makerere University*. Routledge.
- Cartwright, C.A. (1995). Inquire. Learn. Reflect. The Evolution of Student Activism. *Educational Record*, 76(1), 26-31.
- Castells, M. (2015). *Networks of outrage and hope: Social movements in the internet age*. John Wiley & Sons.

- Cele, M.G. (2002). *From protest to participation – where is higher education student leadership headed?* Draft paper presented at the South African Sociology Association. East London.
- Cele, M.G. (2008). The contradictory and complementary relationship between student constructive engagement and protest strategies in South African higher education. *Department of Science and Technology*, 6(2), 77-106.
- Cele, M.G. (2014). *Student politics and the funding of higher education in South Africa: the case of the University of the Western Cape, 1995-2005*. Doctor of Philosophy thesis, University of the Western Cape, Bellville.
- Census. (2016). Census 2016. In C. S. T. Report (Ed.), (pp. 73). Pretoria. Statistics South Africa.
- Chapman, R.D. (2016). *Student resistance to apartheid at the University of Fort Hare: freedom now, a degree tomorrow*. Lanham, Maryland. Lexington Books.
- Chenoufi, M. (1994). The role of Tunisian student movements from 1900 to 1975. In UNESCO (Ed.), *The role of African student movements in the political and social evolution of Africa from 1900 to 1975* (Vol. 12, pp. 135 - 156). Paris. UNESCO Publishing.
- Chideya, N.T. (1989). South Africa. In P. G. Altbach (Ed.), *Student political activism: An international reference handbook*. Westport, Connecticut. Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Clark, B.R. (1998). *Creating entrepreneurial universities: Organisational pathways of transformation*. *Issues in Higher Education*. ERIC.
- Cloete, N. (2016). The third force in South African higher education activism. *Centre for Higher Education Trust*.
- Cloete, N., & Bunting, I. (2000). *Higher education transformation: Assessing performance in South Africa*. Centre for Higher Education Transformation.
- Cloete, N., Fehnel, R., Maassen, P., Perold, H., & Gibbon, T. (2002). *Higher Education Policy, Institutions and Globalisation. New dynamics in South Africa after 1994*. Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht.
- Cole, B. E. (2013). *The impact of institutional culture on student activism: A multi-case study in Christian higher education*. Doctoral dissertation, Western Michigan University, Michigan.
- Creswell, J.W. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods design*. Sage, London.
- Creswell, J.W. (2005). *Education educational research planning conducting and evaluation quantitative and qualitative research* (Fourth Edition ed.). Nebraska-Lincoln. Pearson.

- Creswell, J.W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Sage publications.
- Dahir, A.L. (2019, September 20). Raising the alarm. Africa's cities face the harshest outcomes of climate change and its young people know it. *Quartz Africa*. Retrieved from: <https://qz.com/africa/1712980/climate-strike-protests-in-africa-nairobi-cape-town-lagos/>
- Dauids, N., & Waghid, Y. (2016). FeesMustFall: History of South African student protests reflects inequality's grip. Mail and Guardian.
- Davies, R.H., O'Meara, D., & Dlamini, S. (1988). *The struggle for South Africa* (Vol. 1). Zed Books London.
- De Boer, H., & Stensaker, B. (2007). An internal representative system: The democratic vision. In *University dynamics and European integration* (pp. 99-118). Springer, Dordrecht.
- Denzin, N.K., & Lincoln, Y.S. (2011). *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research*. Sage.
- Department of Education. (1997). *Education White Paper 3: A programme for the transformation of higher education*. Department of Education Pretoria, South Africa.
- Department of Higher Education and Training. (2013). *White paper for post-school education and training. Building an expanded, effective and integrated post-school system*. Pretoria. Department of Higher Education and Training retrieved from www.dhet.gov.za.
- Edwards, R., & Holland, J. (2013). *What is qualitative interviewing?*. A&C Black.
- Etikan, I., Musa, S.A., & Alkassim, R.S. (2016). Comparison of convenience sampling and purposive sampling. *American Journal of Theoretical and Applied Statistics*, 5(1), 1-4.
- Federici, S., Caffentzis, C.G., & Alidou, O. (2000). *A thousand flowers: Social struggles against structural adjustment in African universities*. Africa World Press.
- Fletcher, A. 2005. *Guide to Social Change Led By and With Young People*. Olympia, WA. Common Action.
- Fomunyam, K.G., & Teferra, D. (2017). Curriculum responsiveness within the context of decolonisation in South African higher education. *Perspectives in Education*, 35(2), 196-207.
- Fourie, M. (1999). Institutional transformation at South African universities: Implications for academic staff. *Higher Education*, 38(3), 275-290.
- Freeman, R.E. (1984). *Strategic management: A stakeholder perspective*. Boston. Pitman.
- Freeman, R.E. (2004). The stakeholder approach revisited. *Zeitschrift für Wirtschafts-und Unternehmensethik*, 5(3), 228-254.

- Gillham, B. (2000). *Case study research methods*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Gillham, B. (2005). *Research interviewing: The range of techniques: A practical guide*: McGraw-Hill Education (UK).
- Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding reliability and validity in qualitative research. *The Qualitative Report*, 8(4), 597-606.
- Guba, E.G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. *Handbook of qualitative research*, 2(163-194), 105.
- Heffernan, A., Nieftagodien, N., Ndlovu, S.M., & Peterson, B. (Eds.). (2016). *Students must rise: Youth struggle in South Africa before and beyond Soweto'76*. NYU Press.
- Heher-Commission. (2017). The commission of inquiry into higher education training. Pretoria. Department of Higher Education and Training.
- Horrell, M. (1957). A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa. In South African Institute of Race Relations (Ed.), *The colonial system and its consequences: Popular resistance anti-colonial organisations* (pp. 269). Johannesburg. SAIRR.
- Horrell, M. (1976). A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa. *South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg*.
- Jacks, D. (1975) *Student Politics and Higher Education*. London. Lawrence & Wishart.
- Jacob, S.A., & Furgerson, S.P. (2012). Writing interview protocols and conducting interviews: Tips for students new to the field of qualitative research. *The Qualitative Report*, 17(42), 1-10.
- Jansen, J.D. (2017). *As by fire: The end of the South African university*. Cape Town. NB Publishers.
- Jensen, D. (2008). Access. In L. M. Given (Ed.), *The Sage encyclopedia of qualitative research methods* (pp. 2 - 3). Singapore. Sage Publications.
- Kaboub, F. (2008). Positivist paradigm. *Encyclopaedia of counselling*, 2(2), 343
- Kiiru, S. (2011). "Student, Democracy and Governance at the University of Nairobi". *Unpublished paper*.
- Klemenčič, M., Luescher, T.M., & Mugume, T. (2016). Student Organising in African Higher Education: Polity, Politics and Policies. *Student politics in Africa: Representation and activism*, 2, 9.
- Klopp, J.M., & Orina, J.R. (2002). University crisis, student activism, and the contemporary struggle for democracy in Kenya. *African Studies Review*, 45(1), 43-76.

- Koen, C., Cele, M., & Libhaber, A. (2006). Student activism and student exclusions in South Africa. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 26(4), 404-414.
- Konings, P. (2002). University students' revolt, ethnic militia, and violence during political liberalization in Cameroon. *African Studies Review*, 45(2), 179-204.
- Kotchy, B. (1994). The Federation des Etudiants d'Afrique Noire en France (FEANF): The cultural dimension of FEANF. In UNESCO (Ed.), *The role of African student movements in the political and social evolution of Africa from 1900 to 1975* (Vol. 12, pp. 95 - 108). Paris. UNESCO.
- Kuhn, T. (1962). *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* University of Chicago Press. Chicago. Google Scholar.
- Kulati, T. (2000). Governance, leadership and institutional change in South African higher education: Grappling with instability. *Tertiary Education and Management*, 6(3), 177-192.
- Langa, M., Ndelu, S., Edwin, Y., & Vilakazi, M. (2017). # Hashtag: An Analysis of the #FeesMustFall Movement at South African Universities. Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, Johannesburg.
- Levy, D.C. (1986). *Higher education and the state in Latin America: Private challenges to public dominance*. University of Chicago Press.
- Lewis, J., & Ritchie, J. (2003). Generalising from qualitative research. *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*, 2, 347-362.
- Lincoln, Y.S., & Guba, E.G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry* (Vol. 75). California. Sage.
- Lincoln, Y.S., Lynham, S.A., & Guba, E.G. (2011). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences, revisited. *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*, 4, 97-128.
- Lipset, S.M., & Altbach, P. G.(1966). Student politics and higher education in the United States. *Comparative Education Review*, 10(2), 320-349.
- Luescher, T. (2005). Student governance in Africa: Thematic summary of key literature. Centre for Higher Education Transformation (CHET). Retrieved August, 12, 2013.
- Luescher, T. (2008). Student governance in transition: University democratisation and managerialism: A governance approach to the study of student politics and the case of the University of Cape Town. PhD Dissertation, University of Cape Town, Cape Town.
- Luescher, T. (2010). From university democratisation to managerialism: The changing legitimization of university governance and the place of students. *Tertiary education and management*, 16(4), 259-283.
- Luescher, T. (2011). Student involvement in university decision making: Good reasons, a new lens. In *International Journal of Leadership in Education*.

- Luescher, T. (2013). Student representation in university decision making: Good reasons, a new lens? *Studies in Higher Education*, 38(10), 1442-1456.
- Luescher, T., & Klemenčič, M. (2016). Student power in 21st-century Africa. *Student Politics and Protest: International Perspectives*, 113.
- Luescher, T., & Mugume, T. (2014). Student representation and multiparty politics in African higher education. *Studies in Higher Education*, 39(3), 500-515.
- Luescher, T., Klemenčič, M., & Jowi, J.O. (2016). *Student politics in Africa: Representation and activism* (Vol. 2). African Minds, Cape Town, SA.
- Luescher, T., Loader, L., & Mugume, T. (2017). #FeesMustFall: An internet-age student movement in South Africa and the case of the University of the Free State. *Politikon*, 44(2), 231-245.
- Lulat, Y.G.M. (1989). South Africa. In P. G. Altbach (Ed.), *Student political activism: An international reference handbook*. Westport, Connecticut. Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G.B. (1999). The “what” of the study: Building the conceptual framework. *Designing qualitative research*, 3, 21-54.
- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G.B. (2014). *Designing qualitative research*. Sage publications.
- Maseko, S.S. (1994). Student power, action and problems: A case study of UWC SRC, 1981-92. *Transformation*(24).
- Massey, D. (2010). *Under protest: The rise of student resistance at the University of Fort Hare*. UNISA Press.
- Mazrui, A. (1995). The polity and the university: An African perspective. In Adjibolosoo, S.B.K. (Ed.). *The significance of the human factor in African economic development*. Greenwood Publishing Group.
- McKay, C.E.A. (2015). *A history of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), 1956-1970*. Doctor of Philosophy thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Merriam, S.B. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education*. Revised and Expanded from *Case Study Research in Education*. ERIC.
- Miles, M.B., & Huberman, A.M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. Sage.
- Mishler, E.G. (2000). Validation in inquiry-guided research: The role of exemplars in narrative studies. *Acts of inquiry in qualitative research*, 119-146.
- Mlambo, H.V., Hlongwa, M., & Mubecua, M. (2018). The Provision of Free Higher Education in South Africa: A Proper Concept or a Parable? *Journal of Education and Vocational Research*, 8(4), 51-61.

- Moodie, G.C. (1996). On Justifying the Different Claims to Academic Freedom. *Minerva*, 34, 129-150.
- Morozov, E. (2011). Response to Philip N. Howard's review of *The Net Delusion: The Dark Side of Internet Freedom*. *Perspectives on Politics*, 9(4), 897.
- Morrow, W. (1998). Stakeholders and senates: The governance of higher education institutions in South Africa. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 28(3), 385-405.
- Morse, J.M., Barrett, M., Mayan, M., Olson, K., & Spiers, J. (2002). Verification strategies for establishing reliability and validity in qualitative research. *International journal of qualitative methods*, 1(2), 13-22.
- Mouton, J., & Babbie, E. (2001). *The practice of social research*. Cape Town. Wadsworth Publishing Company, 871-890.
- Msila, V. (2016). #FeesMustFall is just the start of change. *Mail and Guardian*.
- Munene, I. (2003). Student activism in African higher education. *Teferra, D. and Altbach, P. African higher education: An international reference handbook*, Bloomington. Indiana Press, 117-127.
- Myers, M.D. (2013). *Qualitative research in business and management*. Sage.
- Mzamane, M.V., Maaba, B., & Biko, N. (2006). The black consciousness movement. *The road to democracy in South Africa*, 2, 1970-1980.
- Naidoo, P. (2006). 'Constituting the Class': Neo-Liberalism and the Student Movement in South Africa. *Asinamali: University struggles in post-apartheid South Africa*, 51-69.
- National Commission on Higher Education. (1996). A framework for transformation. In HSRC (Ed.), *National Commission on Higher Education Report*. Pretoria. CTP Book Printers.
- Nkomo, M.O. (1983). Student culture in black South African universities: Some factors contributing to student activism, 1960-1980.
- Noor, K.B.M. (2008). Case study: A strategic research methodology. *American journal of applied sciences*, 5(11), 1602-1604.
- NPHE. (2001). *Draft national plan for higher education in South Africa*. Pretoria. Ministry of Education.
- Ntloedibe, F.N. (2017). *The Road to Soweto: Resistance and the Uprising of 16 June 1976*. Taylor & Francis.
- Ntuli, M.E. (2019, December 14). Student activism and its role in achieving the SDGs. *University World News*. Retrieved from: <https://www.universityworldnews.com/post.php?story=20191214112317666>

- Ntuli, M.E., & Teferra, D. (2017). Implications of Social Media on Student Activism: The South African Experience in a Digital Age. *Journal of Higher Education in Africa*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 2017, pp. 63-80.
- Ntuli, M.E., & Teferra, D. (forthcoming). Towards an New Conceptual Framework of Student Activism in South Africa. *Journal of Higher Education in Africa*.
- Nyagava, S.I. (1994). The Influence of West African Student Union in East Africa. In UNESCO (Ed.), *The role of African student movements in the political and social evolution of Africa from 1900 to 1975* (Vol. 12, pp. 66 - 79). Paris. UNESCO Publishing.
- Olsen, J.P. (2007). The institutional dynamics of the European university. *University dynamics and European integration* (pp. 25-54). Springer.
- Omari, I.M., & Mihyo, P.B. (1991). Roots of student unrest in African universities. *Institute of Social Studies*. The Hague, Holland.
- Oxlund, B. (2016). # EverythingMustFall: The Use of Social Media and Violent Protests in the Current Wave of Student Riots in South Africa. *Anthropology Now*, 8(2), 1-13.
- Pabian, P., & Minksová, L. (2011). Students in higher education governance in Europe: Contrasts, commonalities and controversies. *Tertiary education and management*, 17(3), 261-273.
- Padgett, D.K. (2016). *Qualitative methods in social work research* (Vol. 36). Sage Publications.
- Patton, M.Q. (2002). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods* (Third Edition ed.). California. Sage Publications.
- Pavlic, R. (2017). *Policies, politics, and protests: explaining student mobilization in Latin America*. (Doctoral dissertation), University of Texas, Austin.
- Pickard, A.J. (2013). *Research methods in information*. Facet publishing.
- Pillow, W. S. (2003). Confession, catharsis, or cure? Rethinking the uses of reflexivity as methodological power in qualitative research. *Qualitative studies in education*, 16(2), 175-196.
- Rallis, S.F., & Rossman, G. B. (2012). *The research journey: Introduction to inquiry*. Guilford Press.
- Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., Nicholls, C.M., & Ormston, R. (2013). *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*. Sage Publications.
- Ropers-Huilman, B., Carwile, L., Lee, C., & Barnett, K. (2003). Student Activists in Higher Education: Exploring the Relationships between Perceptions of Culture and Change Strategies. ERIC.

- Rossmann, G.B., & Rallis, S.F. (2016). *An introduction to qualitative research: Learning in the field*. Sage Publications.
- Rubin, H.J., & Rubin, I.S. (2011). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data*. Sage Publications.
- Salerno, C. (2007). A service enterprise: the market vision. *University dynamics and European integration* (pp. 119-132). Springer.
- Sawyer, A. (2004). Challenges facing African universities: Selected issues. *African Studies Review*, 1-59.
- Selassie, B.K. (1994). Class struggle or jockeying for position? A review of Ethiopian student movements from 1900 to 1975. In UNESCO (Ed.), *The role of African student movements in the political and social evolution of Africa from 1900 to 1975* (Vol. 12, pp. 158 - 174). Paris. UNESCO Publishing.
- Sengupta, S. (2019, September 21). Protesting Climate Change, Young People Take to Streets in a Global Strike. *New York Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/20/climate/global-climate-strike.html>
- Shulman, S. W. (2009). The case against mass e-mails: Perverse incentives and low quality public participation in US federal rulemaking. *Policy & Internet*, 1(1), 23-53.
- Simons, H. (2009). *Case study research in practice*. Sage publications.
- South African Government News Agency (2016) Minister welcomes vice chancellor's stance on Rhodes statue, <https://www.sanews.gov.za/>
- Stake, R.E. (2005). In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (Vol. 3rd edition). Thousand Oaks, CA. Sage Publications Ltd.
- Stake, R.E. (2008). Qualitative case studies. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Strategies of qualitative inquiry* (pp. 119-149). Thousand Oaks, CA, US. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Stats SA. (2017). Mid-year population estimates - 2017. *Statistical release* (pp. 22). Pretoria. Statistics South Africa.
- Stenbacka, C. (2001). Qualitative research requires quality concepts of its own. *Management decision*, 39(7), 551-556.
- Switzer, L. (1993). *Power and resistance in an African society: The Ciskei Xhosa and the making of South Africa*. University of Wisconsin Press.
- Taylor-Powell, E., & Renner, M. (2003). Analyzing qualitative data. *Programme Development & Evaluation, University of Wisconsin-Extension Cooperative Extension*, 1– 10.
- Teferra, D., & Altbach, P.G. (2004). African higher education: Challenges for the 21st century. *Higher education*, 47(1), 21-50.

- Walter, R.J. (1969). The intellectual background of the 1918 university reform in Argentina. *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 49(2), 233-253.
- Worger, W.H., & Byrnes, R.M. (2012). History of South Africa (Part 2: The Republic of South Africa: 1961– present). Washington DC, Library of Congress.
- World-Bank. (1981). Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa. In W. Bank (Ed.). Washington, D.C.
- Yin, R.K. (1994). Discovering the future of the case study. Method in evaluation research. *Evaluation practice*, 15(3), 283-290.
- Yin, R.K. (2003). Case study research design and methods third edition. *Applied social research methods series*, 5.
- Yin, R.K. (2014). Case study research: Design and methods (Fifth): London, UK. SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Zeilig, L., & Ansell, N. (2008). Spaces and scales of African student activism: Senegalese and Zimbabwean university students at the intersection of campus, nation and globe. *Antipode*, 40(1), 31-54.
- Zeilig, L., & Dawson, M. (2008). Student activism, structural adjustment and democratic transition in Africa. *Journal of higher education in Africa*, 6(2-3), 1-31.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Ethical Clearance – Full Approval



2 June 2016

Mr Mthokozisi E Ntuli 214585765
School of Education
Edgewood Campus

Dear Mr Ntuli

Protocol reference number: HSS/0490/016D

Project Title: Implications of student activism on university governance: A multi case study in South Africa

Full Approval – Expedited Application

In response to your application received 29 April 2016, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

.....
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

Cc Supervisor: Professor D Teferra
Cc Academic Leader: Dr SB Khoza
Cc School Administrator: Ms B Bhengu & Ms Tyzer Khumalo

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building

Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000

Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3587/8350/4557 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4809 Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za / snymnm@ukzn.ac.za / mohupp@ukzn.ac.za

Website: www.ukzn.ac.za



Founding Campuses ■ Edgewood ■ Howard College ■ Medical School ■ Pietermaritzburg ■ Westville

Appendix B: Professional Editing Certificate

Kristine Melville-Rossouw
Consulting Editor
42 Stella Road
Plumstead 7800
SOUTH AFRICA
082 437 5767
krissie999@gmail.com

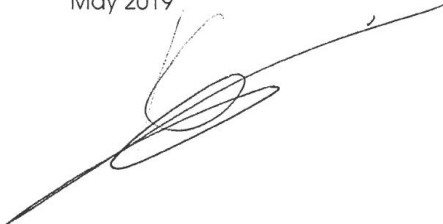
This is to confirm that during April, 2019, I Kristine Melville-Rossouw, a professional editor, reviewed and edited Mthokozisi Emmanuel Ntuli's dissertation, titled:

Implications of Student Activism on University Governance:
A Multi-Case Study in South Africa

If you have any further queries, please don't hesitate to contact me.

Kristine Melville-Rossouw

May 2019

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'K. Melville-Rossouw', written over a horizontal line.

Appendix C: Professional Editing Certificate (Final)

Kristine Melville-Rossouw
Consulting Editor
8 Kingston Tce East
North Adelaide 5006
S Australia
+61 448 236 320
krissie999@gmail.com

This is to confirm that during March 2020, I Kristine Melville-Rossouw, a professional editor, revised and edited the following dissertation:

Student Name: Mthokozisi Emmanuel Ntuli

Student Number: 214585765

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy in Higher Education

Title of Thesis/Dissertation: Implications of Student Activism on University Governance: A Multi-Case Study in South Africa

If you have any queries, please don't hesitate to contact me.



Kristine Melville-Rossouw

16 March 2020

Appendix D: Turnitin Report

Implications of Student Activism on University Governance: A Multi-Case Study in South Africa

ORIGINALITY REPORT

6%	5%	2%	2%
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS

PRIMARY SOURCES

1	uir.unisa.ac.za Internet Source	1%
2	Submitted to University of the Western Cape Student Paper	<1%
3	www.naaas.org Internet Source	<1%
4	www.hsrcpublishers.co.za Internet Source	<1%
5	ir.cut.ac.za Internet Source	<1%
6	unescochair.ubbcluj.ro Internet Source	<1%
7	Submitted to University of Cape Town Student Paper	<1%
8	unesdoc.unesco.org Internet Source	<1%
9	registrar.ukzn.ac.za	

	Internet Source	<1 %
10	www.slideshare.net Internet Source	<1 %
11	scholarworks.wmich.edu Internet Source	<1 %
12	www.sahistory.org.za Internet Source	<1 %
13	Philip Altbach. "Perspectives on Student Political Activism", Comparative Education, 1989 Publication	<1 %
14	gpwonline.co.za Internet Source	<1 %
15	bura.brunel.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
16	Submitted to University of KwaZulu-Natal Student Paper	<1 %
17	www.encyclopedia.com Internet Source	<1 %
18	Submitted to Regenesys Business School Student Paper	<1 %
19	Luescher-Mamashela, Thierry M., and Taabo Mugume. "Student representation and	<1 %

multiparty politics in African higher education",
Studies in Higher Education, 2014.

Publication

20	www.webafrika.net Internet Source	<1 %
----	--------------------------------------	------

21	"Transformation in Higher Education", Springer Nature America, Inc, 2006 Publication	<1 %
----	--	------

22	basu.nahad.ir Internet Source	<1 %
----	----------------------------------	------

23	archive.org Internet Source	<1 %
----	--------------------------------	------

24	ro.ecu.edu.au Internet Source	<1 %
----	----------------------------------	------

25	core.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
----	-------------------------------	------

26	www.ru.ac.za Internet Source	<1 %
----	---------------------------------	------

27	libres.uncg.edu Internet Source	<1 %
----	------------------------------------	------

28	alumniaffairs.ukzn.ac.za Internet Source	<1 %
----	---	------

29	Submitted to Michigan Technological University Student Paper	<1 %
----	---	------

30	eprints.nottingham.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
31	Submitted to University of South Africa Student Paper	<1 %
32	thierry.konstruktiv.li Internet Source	<1 %
33	www.uj.ac.za Internet Source	<1 %
34	Submitted to American Intercontinental University Online Student Paper	<1 %
35	Submitted to Azusa Pacific University Student Paper	<1 %
36	www.avetra.org.au Internet Source	<1 %
37	che.org.za Internet Source	<1 %
38	"The Statesman's Yearbook", Springer Nature, 2013 Publication	<1 %
39	Submitted to University of Witwatersrand Student Paper	<1 %
40	2.jsucdn.com Internet Source	<1 %

41	Leo Zeilig. "Spaces and Scales of African Student Activism: Senegalese and Zimbabwean University Students at the Intersection of Campus, Nation and Globe", <i>Antipode</i> , 1/2008 Publication	<1 %
42	etheses.whiterose.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
43	repository.up.ac.za Internet Source	<1 %
44	www.nmmu.ac.za Internet Source	<1 %
45	Wally Morrow. "Stakeholders and Senates: the governance of higher education institutions in South Africa", <i>Cambridge Journal of Education</i> , 11/1998 Publication	<1 %
46	Louise Morley. "Gender and Access in Commonwealth Higher Education", <i>Emerald</i> , 2012 Publication	<1 %
47	www.che.org.za Internet Source	<1 %
48	Bhekimpilo Mpofu. "The Contours of Rich and Poor: Student Socioeconomic Stratification and Academic Progress at a University in South	<1 %

Africa", Journal of Asian and African Studies,
2015

Publication

49	www.ehrea.org Internet Source	<1 %
----	---	------

50	uwispace.sta.uwi.edu Internet Source	<1 %
----	---	------

51	Submitted to North West University Student Paper	<1 %
----	---	------

52	"The Statesman's Yearbook", Springer Nature, 2014 Publication	<1 %
----	---	------

53	Cole, Brian E.. "Student Activism Within Christian College Cultures: A Symbolic Interactionist Perspective", Christian Higher Education, 2014. Publication	<1 %
----	--	------

54	"Flagship Universities in Africa", Springer Nature, 2017 Publication	<1 %
----	--	------

55	scholar.sun.ac.za Internet Source	<1 %
----	---	------

56	www.coursehero.com Internet Source	<1 %
----	---	------

57	theses.gla.ac.uk Internet Source	
----	---	--

		<1 %
58	Submitted to University of Venda Student Paper	<1 %
59	Abel D Alonso, Seng Kok. "A resource-based view and dynamic capabilities approach in the context of a region's international attractiveness: The recent case of Western Australia", Local Economy: The Journal of the Local Economy Policy Unit, 2018 Publication	<1 %
60	Submitted to Coventry University Student Paper	<1 %
61	Altbach, Philip G.. "Students and Politics", Comparative Education Review, 1966. Publication	<1 %
62	doras.dcu.ie Internet Source	<1 %
63	epdf.tips Internet Source	<1 %
64	mafiadoc.com Internet Source	<1 %
65	Submitted to Phillipsburg High School Student Paper	<1 %
Submitted to University of Westminster		

66	Student Paper	<1%
67	Submitted to Midlands State University Student Paper	<1%
68	Submitted to University of Abertay Dundee Student Paper	<1%
69	www.moneyweb.co.za Internet Source	<1%
70	Submitted to Hun School Of Princeton High School Student Paper	<1%
71	en.wikipedia.org Internet Source	<1%
72	Submitted to University of Ballarat Student Paper	<1%
73	Submitted to Higher Education Commission Pakistan Student Paper	<1%
74	espace.curtin.edu.au Internet Source	<1%
75	Submitted to Glyndwr University Student Paper	<1%
76	docplayer.net Internet Source	<1%

77	www.sahistory.co.za Internet Source	<1 %
78	nationfacts.net Internet Source	<1 %
79	file.scirp.org Internet Source	<1 %
80	Submitted to University of Pretoria Student Paper	<1 %
81	www.ukzn.ac.za Internet Source	<1 %
82	Submitted to University of Bath Student Paper	<1 %
83	Journal of Intellectual Capital, Volume 14, Issue 1 (2013-01-12) Publication	<1 %
84	Submitted to Middle East Technical University Student Paper	<1 %
85	Submitted to Laureate Higher Education Group Student Paper	<1 %
86	Submitted to Heriot-Watt University Student Paper	<1 %
87	Submitted to University of Zululand Student Paper	<1 %

88	usir.salford.ac.uk Internet Source	<1%
89	doc-test.utsp.utwente.nl Internet Source	<1%
90	www.saassap.co.za Internet Source	<1%
91	130.217.226.8 Internet Source	<1%
92	shareok.org Internet Source	<1%
93	Submitted to Universiti Teknologi Malaysia Student Paper	<1%
94	www.ros.hw.ac.uk Internet Source	<1%
95	www.allthingsplc.info Internet Source	<1%
96	apps.fischlerschool.nova.edu Internet Source	<1%
97	theses.ucalgary.ca Internet Source	<1%
98	www.chet.org.za Internet Source	<1%
99	B. Chapman, P. Tulip. "Financing of Higher	

	Education", Elsevier BV, 2010 Publication	<1 %
100	www.theseus.fi Internet Source	<1 %
101	pure.uva.nl Internet Source	<1 %
102	ir.uiowa.edu Internet Source	<1 %
103	www.che.ac.za Internet Source	<1 %
104	Rupert Taylor. " The Narrow Ground: Critical Intellectual Work on South Africa under Apartheid ", Humanity & Society, 2018 Publication	<1 %
105	cres.revues.org Internet Source	<1 %
106	pdfs.semanticscholar.org Internet Source	<1 %
107	Anja Osei. "Party-Voter Linkage in Africa", Springer Nature America, Inc, 2012 Publication	<1 %
108	d-nb.info Internet Source	<1 %
109	www.impgroup.org	

	Internet Source	<1 %
110	link.springer.com Internet Source	<1 %
111	www.tojet.net Internet Source	<1 %
112	diginole.lib.fsu.edu Internet Source	<1 %
113	www.greengazette.co.za Internet Source	<1 %
114	d-scholarship.pitt.edu Internet Source	<1 %
115	www.ideals.illinois.edu Internet Source	<1 %
116	www.milpark.ac.za Internet Source	<1 %
117	www.nu.ac.za Internet Source	<1 %
118	eprints.lse.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
119	abahlali.org Internet Source	<1 %
120	eprints.qut.edu.au Internet Source	<1 %

121	www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
122	propertibazar.com Internet Source	<1 %
123	"Mergers and Alliances in Higher Education", Springer Nature America, Inc, 2015 Publication	<1 %
124	sbffranktalk.blogspot.com Internet Source	<1 %
125	Warren Merkel. "Role Reversals: A Case Study of Dialogic Interactions and Feedback on L2 Writing", Journal of Second Language Writing, 2018 Publication	<1 %
126	calhoun.nps.edu Internet Source	<1 %
127	Anna Quitt. "Measuring Supply Management's Budget Effects", Springer Nature America, Inc, 2010 Publication	<1 %
128	R. Sooryamoorthy. "Sociology in South Africa", Springer Nature, 2016 Publication	<1 %

Exclude quotes	Off
Exclude bibliography	On

Exclude matches	Off
-----------------	-----