



Violent student protests in higher education institutions: Exploring the formations of violence and the socio-economic costs of violent protests.

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Dedication

I dedicate the work herein to my grandmother, Pulane Christina Ntholi and my Khiba family at large.

Declaration

I, **Teboho Aubrey Khiba**, student number: **2012163255**, declare that the dissertation titled: **Violent student protests in higher education institutions: Exploring the formations of violence and the socio-economic costs of violent protests** is my unaided work. However, I have acknowledged all the sources that were cited in this report through referencing.

Signature: _____  _____ Date: _____17/03/2013_____

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Abstract

This study investigated the academic and financial impacts of violent student protests on students and the University. Within this background, this study adopted an interpretive paradigm to understand the lived experiences of students who have participated in violent student protests. In addition, the study looks at how staff members are affected by violent protests in the discharge of their duties. The study comes against the background of an upsurge in violent student protests with adverse consequences for both students and institutions of higher education in South Africa.

The study adopted a qualitative design, and the sample included students from various political parties, student organisations, and staff personnel from different departments at the University of Free State (UFS). The sample of the study was made up of 15 participants. These included nine students and six staff. Of the total participants, two were females while fourteen were males. Participants were recruited using purposive and snowball sampling strategies. Data for this study were collected through online and face-to-face interviews using an interview schedule. In analysing data for this study, inductive thematic analysis was used. The theoretical framework used in this study included the theory of interpersonal violence, the Fanonian perspective on violence, and the emergent norm theory. The study found that lack of response, leadership, diverse agendas, individual selection, retaliation, as well as the presence of police and private security emerged as essential factors contributing to violence or violent acts during protests.

Moreover, the study found that restricted access to campus resources, loss of study time, and suspensions of some student activists were notable consequences encountered after protests. In addition, the study found that transport and legal fees were among some of the financial costs incurred by students due to violent protests.

Furthermore, the study found that services offered by the University, such as administration and academic services, come to a stop when protests occur on campus. This impedes staff members' duties as protests become a priority where substantial money is spent on acquiring extra security and replacing or fixing any damaged property due to student protests.

Key words: Costs: Court Order: Policies: Protests: Security: Violence.

List of acronyms and abbreviations

ANC:	African National Congress
DA:	Democratic Alliance
DASO:	Democratic Alliance Student Organisation
EFF:	Economic Freedom Fighters
EFFSC:	Economic Freedom Fighters Student Command
#FMF:	Fees Must Fall
#FMFM:	Fees Must Fall Movement
#WFMF:	Wits Fees Must Fall
FMF:	Fees Must Fall
FMFM:	Fees Must Fall Movement
NSFAS:	National Student Financial Aid Scheme
RMFM:	Rhodes Must Fall Movement
SAPS:	South African Police Service
SASCO:	South African Students Congress
SRC:	Student Representative Council
TUT:	Tshwane University of Technology
UCT:	University of Cape Town
UFS:	University of the Free State
UP:	University of Pretoria
UWC:	University of Western Cape
VC:	Vice Chancellor

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This study sought to explore the triggers of violent student protests in South African higher learning institutions and the consequences thereof. Since the dawn of democracy in 1994, South African students have struggled with access to higher learning institutions (Dlamini, 2016). Other problems faced by students in higher learning institutions include the perpetual academic and financial exclusion (Heleta, 2016). In response to these perpetual problems, students in higher learning institutions have resorted to protests, which have often become violent. Over the past decade, a wave of violent student protests swept across South African universities (Chiluba, 2019). According to Jansen (2017: 21), the “sheer ubiquity” of violence, its deadly intensity, and the accumulating costs ... of damage to university property is what makes student protests distinctive from the ones from the past. These protests led to the destruction of public and university property and the disturbance of academic programmes (Fomunyam, 2017). The violence at South African universities often involved smashing statues, and the destruction of buildings, leading to violent clashes between students on the one side and the police and security personnel. For example, at the University of Cape Town (RhodesMustFall protest), students burned vehicles, invaded residences, and petrol-bombed the Vice-Chancellor's office (Hall, 2016). This period seemed to mark the beginning of the end of universities as libraries, laboratories and vehicles were torched; artworks were indiscriminately destroyed (Habib, 2019). Vice-chancellors and other academic staff were either physically assaulted, threatened, pushed to resign or relocate, or suffered cardiac episodes to varying degrees (Nkomo, 2019). In addition, the violent nature of students' protests has often led to students clashing with heavily armed police leading to heartbreaking and undesirable consequences (Tandwa and Lizeka, 2019:1).

Violent student protests have implications for the university (destruction of property) and students (injuries, expulsion, stress). Students have always resorted to protests to show their frustrations with the higher education system. However, Odebode (2019) argues that protests are not the best approach to resolving student matters because cooperation, negotiation, and facilitation

are methods that could effectively affect the desired change for students. Furthermore, Ramsbothan, Miall and Woodhouse (2011) recommended collaboration and settlements as other methods that could be represented in council and other management meetings to avoid protests.

According to Kendall (2008), collective behaviour often brings social change. The #FeesMustFall protests are examples of collective behaviour bringing about social change. Discourse change is a type of change interlinked with collective behaviour (Kendall, 2008). Student protests contain various forms of collective behaviour, such as mass, crowd and public behaviour; therefore, it is essential to analyse the phenomenon in more detail—this is important as it creates a platform for communication, bringing new unheard voices and perspectives. The recent student protests are not a new occurrence; these protests have been prompted by poor student services, delayed student benefits, and spiking university fees, among others (Heleta, 2016). Jansen (2017) further argues that there is a strong relationship between campus politics and the external socio-political environment.

Student protests are just a mirror image of what is happening in the larger community. There is a relationship between community protests and student protests because we find the exact source of problems (such as transformation and widespread socio-economic challenges) (Fomunyan, 2017). Unfortunately, after 27 years of democracy, "South Africa is still fighting with issues of unemployment, corruption, inequality and poverty" (Lancaster and Mulaudzi, 2020:1). All these are linked to student protests as these issues always come up during protests, especially when tackling issues of race, inequality, and decolonisation. However, these protests were initially over issues such as fees but have moved to include transforming the essential nature of the higher education system. According to Booysen (2016), decolonisation is necessary for inclusive academic excellence.

Black students historically were restricted to university access due to racial problems of the time and that had an impact on how the higher education system was constructed and functioning. In the past, black students at historically white universities were restricted in terms of enrolment (limited

number) and which specific courses they were allowed to do (Becker, 2019). Even the established black universities of the time were restricted in terms of financial resources and academic autonomy (and the type of education offered) (Becker, 2019). The 1994 democratic elections brought a new era for students and society. This led to new education legislation and document policies to complement this newly turned leaf for the higher education department. Numerous policy documents, like the *Education White Paper 3: A Programme for Higher Education Transformation* (Department of Education 1997) (henceforth the White paper 3), the *Draft National Plan for Higher Education in South Africa* (Department of Education 2001), also the *Report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions*, were seeking to re-centre transformation and reform in higher education institutions. While there has been a visible transformation in the structure of the nation's ruling elite, other domains, involving social and economic frameworks, continue to be the same (Tella and Motala, 2020). This is apparent mostly in the country's higher education system, as South African universities continue to embrace international practices to be well-positioned in global university rankings (Dlamini, 2016). Ironically, concepts such as Indigenisation, Africanisation, and Decolonisation of the curriculum have become axioms, especially after the 2015 protests (Mahabeer, 2018).

The policies mentioned above were an effort to address some of the structural challenges faced by students. According to Crause (2015) policies aimed to improve access, training, and education. Unfortunately, more than two decades into democracy, students in higher education institutions still suffer from financial, societal, racial, and political injustices. The country's universities are hence perceived as places of oppression, where Eurocentric world-views and Western literature are prioritised at the expense of African positionality (Tella and Motala, 2020). Universities are, therefore, failing in their primary responsibility to enhance social change as higher education spaces continue to perpetuate marginalisation and exclusion (Kotze, 2018). These inequalities contributed to the rise of student protests in South African universities as students called for the shutdown of public higher education institutions in

displaying the intersectional and dialectical relationship between the fee increases, excluding language policies, continuing institutional racism and academic exclusion in universities that continuously render them as "space invaders" in the academy (Puwar, 2004). Student revolts in South Africa indicate a broader social turmoil (Lukhele, 2015), as apparently seen in the 2015-2016 #FeesMustFall protest actions.

These violent confrontations between students and universities often lead to undesirable outcomes for students and the police, leading to universities' responses to protests being questioned (Manzini, 2016). Furthermore, some violent student protests have associated consequences for the university (destruction of property) and students (injuries). Student protests usually lead to academic, financial, and health costs (Kohstall, 2015). These further contributed to more delays in resources and quality education as money that was supposed to be used for infrastructure and improved resources must be redirected to fix damaged property and buildings. Onivehu (2021) has suggested controlling and preventing violent student protests. He proposes the inclusion of negotiations, cooperation and constant communication. Taneki and Okolie (2020) indicate that most student protests erupt due to communication between management and students. Allowing input from student bodies can decrease student discontent since they will be more informed of the challenges that institutions face. Higher education Act 101 provides direction that the needs to be co-governance between student bodies and the university. The previous discussions can be applied to the area of study for this research, as such the researcher determined that the lack of accurate documentation and systematic evaluation of the socio-economic consequences of violent student protests at the university provided a gap to be addressed by this study.

Hlatshwayo's (2020) study of "*Being Black in South African higher education: An intersectional insight analysis*" reflects on the lack of adequate services to students and how those have always resulted in protests when students feel their voices are not being heard and absent from the formal decision-making processes of the university. Hence, they take to the streets to express their frustrations and make the public aware of injustices. Student activism in higher

education involves student protests, council negotiations with university management through student-led structures, and other means (Dentlinger, 2020). Griffiths (2019) stipulates that student activism allows many student leaders to learn, develop and eventually probe the type of environment they are in. Furthermore, student activism allows student leaders to challenge the status quo or any injustices facing the student community. Mbembe (2016) believes that institutions should be involved in beneficial relations with the student community since most students look up to universities to exercise democratic values, norms and principles. There is a legislation for student protests, as such institutions are required to engage with student bodies for co-governance since they are the overall management of the university. Some institutions even have their own legislation that governs how protests should transpire.

An examination of the student protests suggests that student engagement and representation were at the frontline advocating for fair democratic processes on issues faced by the student population. In 2015, protesters at the University of Cape Town (UCT) requested the removal of the statue of Cecil John Rhodes, including chanting the struggle slogan 'One settler, one bullet' (Manyathela, 2016). During the 2016 #FeesMustFall, students marched to the Union Buildings to prompt then-President Jacob Zuma to address their concerns. Kendall (2008) claims that student representation is an example of democracy in the works. It is apparent through activities by student organisations that include violent conflicts between them and law enforcement. Historically, student structures have played an essential role in liberating colonial powers and student integration (Kohstall, 2015). Student leaders have successfully challenged the status quo and raised serious engagements about the decolonisation of higher education institutions (Mbembe, 2016). As such student engagement and a representative have consciously woken many students to issues surrounding them and their environment (Mavunga, 2019). They have influenced many departments and institutions' policies and institutions by advocating for access for all students by fighting against academic and financial exclusions (Hlatshwayo, 2020).

Student representative bodies are an essential feature of democratic higher education governance worldwide. These bodies are significant in the polity, politics, and policies which influence student lives (Vandeyar, 2016). These student bodies aim to advance student interest and well-being as the student mandates them (Dentlinger, 2020). Their support base comes from students, making it easy for them to organise and rally students when university management and student leaders reach an impasse. Since the change of administration to a more democratic joint model of university governance, student organisations have been incorporated into all constituent parts of the management of universities (Heleta, 2016). As a result, student organisations are now involved in the university's decision-making processes and are better positioned to impact change. The SRC as the governance structure of students in most institutions forms part of the university council and management of the university, giving them a front seat to directly voice their issues to individuals involved in running the daily activities of the university.

Time and again, history has shown that most issues are brought to management through proper formal channels by student representative organisations, but the manner of response sparks outrage among students (Heleta, 2018). Students then decide to take informal measures to make their voices heard, resulting in protests. Thus, the degree of student organising is determined by the extent of issues that need to be engaged and the inclusion of student representative bodies in that course (Manzini, 2016).

Growing protest actions around the country in universities have foregrounded the need to challenge the deeply rooted marginality and coloniality still predominant in our institutions of higher learning hence the need for this study. Reasons for protests have been different in higher education, but one thing in common is that most have an element of violence in them (Le Grange, 2016). Therefore, research must identify violence triggers during protests; prior writings on student protests have neglected this aspect. Moreover, the study is unique in the sense that it provides an insider perspective of one university. The lack of precise documentation and systematic assessment of the socio-economic consequences resulting from violent student protests at universities offers a

basis for this study since protests results in damages to universities and injuries to students.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Studies have shown that violent student protests frequently occur among institutions, which is not good because violent student protests have numerous implications for institutions and students. One such report is one that was published by the higher education minister in 2021 which states for the year 2020 to 2021 South African institutions experienced well over ten violent student protests (Mahamba, 2021). The remnants of such actions motivate this study as these protests have socio-economic impacts on students and universities. When students feel like their voices are not being heard or excluded from the formal decision-making processes of the university, they take to the streets to express their frustrations through protests and make the public aware of injustices. Such actions have often led to damaging university and public property, disturbing academic activities and safety risks (Dentlinger, 2020). The results of such actions motivate this study as protests have led to academic activity delays and students' financial and health issues (Iwara, Iwara and Kilonzo, 2018). In March 2021, the Minister of Higher Education, Science and Technology, Dr Blade Nzimande publicised a report which showed the devastating impacts of student protests at universities around South Africa. The report showed that in 2020, and in early 2021 the amount of the cost maintenance for universities was R32, 791 397.00 (Mahamba, 2021).

In light of the above, it is evident that there is a need to understand the causes of violent acts during protesting, and the related costs that manifest as a result of student protests. In this study, three cost-related consequences were recognised, which are academic, financial, and health costs. These costs resulting from violent acts have many repercussions for students and universities. There appears to be very diminutive evidence, locally and on the African continent regarding the costs of violent student protests on the students and the university. Therefore, there is a need to examine how this

violence affects tertiary institutions and students, particularly concerning the above-mentioned costs (academic, financial and health).

These protests seem organised without fear of their socio-economic implications on the universities and student communities. This is why issues causing protests to surface should be given immediate attention to avoid possible violent manifestations (Dentlinger, 2020). Recently the University of the Free State (UFS) QwaQwa campus reported that on the evening of Monday, 4 April 2022, two buildings were set alight during a protest, with damage to both buildings estimated at R35 million (UFS, 2022). Such costs put a lot of pressure on the university to be able to provide services and function as now money will have to be taken from somewhere to fix the damage that occurred. This provides the impetus for this study to investigate the causes and socio-economic consequences of students' violent protests. Building on the limitations of prior research studies, the following research questions were formulated for this study.

1.3 Research Questions

- 1.) What are the triggers of violence during student protests?
- 2.) What are the academic and economic implications of violent student protests for students?
- 3.) How are students and institutions of higher learning economically affected by violent student protests?

1.4 Research aim and objectives

This research study sought to identify the triggers of violence during student protests and to further describe the academic and economic implications thereof. The study focused on the following specific objectives to accomplish this.

- 1.) To explore the triggers of violence during student protests.
- 2.) To determine the academic implications of violent student protests for students.

- 3.) To examine the students and staff members' views on how violent student protests financially affect students and institutions of higher learning.

1.5 Significance of the Study

In the past decade, South Africa has been characterised by having sporadic instances of violent protests throughout the country such as the #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall protests (Smit, 2016). Student protests have played an essential role in challenging oppressive powers and student integration. Violent student protests have transformed the landscape of higher education in the country (Kohstall, 2015). Therefore, sociologists must understand the drivers of violence during student protests as a critical change factor in our society, especially considering the cost of student lives due to protests and the substantial amount of money lost by universities and the state. Such costs put a lot of pressure on the university to be able to provide services and function as now money will have to be taken from somewhere to fix the damage that occurred. This provides the impetus for this study to investigate the causes and socio-economic consequences of students' violent protests.

This study sought to identify the triggers that lead to acts of violence during protests at tertiary institutions, the costs, and to contribute to knowledge about the research topic. This study is timely, given the challenges facing higher education that have resulted in violent student protests. The UFS has experienced violent protests in recent years, and thus it is essential to conduct research that strives to understand current societal challenges. This study pursues a broader understanding of the subject matter to find evidence-based solutions.

It is foreseen that the findings of this study will benefit students and university administrators to learn more about each other's experiences. The study will thus provide important information about the prevalence of violent student protests, including the costs that these protests come with. No study at the UFS has been conducted on the triggers of violent acts and the costs of violent student protests on the institution and students themselves. Furthermore,

through this study, students reflect on their roles and actions, and their participation in violent protests. Meanwhile, staff member's participation benefited the study since their participation has informed students and other staff personnel to enhance better ways of dealing with violent student protests. It is hoped that this study will lead to further social studies that would improve students and staff members' life in a more holistic way.

1.6 Organisation of the study

The report is presented in seven chapters:

Chapter 1 consists of an introduction to the study. First, the chapter introduces an overview of the background and rationale for the study. Next, the chapter describes the problem statement and objectives of the study. Key terms used in the study are incorporated to provide context. Finally, research questions are outlined, and this study's research design and methodology are introduced. The chapter also outlines the overview of the chapters in this study.

Chapter 2 deals with the literature review conducted for the current study on some of the dire challenges and effects of violent student protests in contemporary South Africa. The main objective of this chapter is to understand what other researchers have written on the topic under research. The chapter also highlights the various circumstances that lead to violent protests. This chapter provides an overview of the emergence of violent acts during protests in South Africa, elaborating on factors such as police and the presence of private security personnel on campuses, and the costs resulting from protests on students, and on the university. Finally, the chapter discusses the challenges faced by student leaders engaged in student activism and participating in protests. This chapter also explores the students' risks and effects due to protesting and possible solutions to student protests.

Chapter 3 introduces the theoretical foundations of the study. First, the chapter expounds on the theoretical framework by examining how violent students' protests manifest in South Africa, and in other contexts. Then, using Fanon, the chapter describes how violent acts occur during protests, their extent and

nature. Subsequently, through emergent norm theory, the chapter explores how social behaviour changes in crowds. Finally, it further explores how interpersonal violence affects individuals and its costs to those involved.

Chapter 4 discusses the study's implementation of qualitative research methodology, the sample and sampling strategy, as well as data collection and analysis techniques used. In addition, it explains why the selected methods were deemed appropriate to study the lived experiences of student leaders and staff members concerning protests. Finally, ethical considerations as part of the research process are also discussed in chapter four.

Chapter 5 presents the analysis and interpretation of the findings from student participants. This chapter aims to localise the phenomenon of violent student protests in the context of UFS, where research of this nature has not been conducted before. Furthermore, the chapter discusses and interprets the study findings, particularly concerning violent student protests by student participants participating in protests.

Chapter 6 presents the analysis and interpretation of the findings from staff participants. The focus here is on the staff members' experience and observation of students' protests. Thus, the chapter shows how student protests affect staff members and the university.

Chapter 7 includes the conclusion and recommendations. It summarises the study findings and recommends and suggests avenues for future research.

CHAPTER 2: VIOLENT STUDENT PROTESTS IN SOUTH AFRICA: A LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter reviewed existing research that focuses on violent student protests. The review of existing literature will assist in understanding how violent student protests have affected tertiary institutions and students. This chapter addresses three research areas related to violent student protests in higher education institutions. The first section gave a historical background of student protests in higher education institutions, focusing on studies that discuss factors that trigger violence during student protests. The second section discussed the cost implications of violent student protests in higher education institutions focusing on academic, economic and health costs. The third and final section discussed the ways to avoid and control violent student protests in institutions of higher learning.

2.2 Student protests in democratic South Africa

Protests are not foreign to South African universities and appear to be part of the universities' culture (Smit, 2016). South Africa has a riotous racial past; hence, it is not shocking that the function and place of violence in recent student protests have become contentious (Heerden, 2017). In this study, violent student protests refer to a protest staged by students for any reason, resulting in damage to properties, physical injuries and the disruption of the institutions' academic programmes (Hall, 2016).

The new waves of student movements in South Africa, such as the #FeesMustFall movement that was at its peak between 2015 and 2016, form part of the trajectory of popular forms of politics. Shutdowns, clashes with the police, as well as the destruction and burning of university property, characterise these new forms of politics. Student protests in South Africa are characterised by destruction and violent confrontations between protesters and the police (Kendall, 2008). This has been the case since the political peak of student activism was reached in the 1960s, which lasted until the mid-1990s, when student action was likely to be accompanied by demands for

democratic reform. In South Africa, university students have been frontrunners in protest through engagement and rebellion, demonstrations and strikes (Altbach, 1989).

Mazrui (1995) further states that in the 1960s and 1970s, students were often the frontrunners of democratic revolution activities in several African countries. Mazrui (1995) further adds that if there were no synchronised protests by university students in the period between 1970 and 1994 leading up to official party elections, South Africa would still be swallowed in single-party rule today. Students played a critical role prior to the 1994 democratic elections by resisting the then unjust governments' refusal to acknowledge black people as equal citizens which had a right to vote. Although the rights of black people were reformed, the South Africa's socio-economic inequalities remained. Unemployment, deprivation and dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs have led to mass protests in South Africa (Smit, 2016). South Africa has been labelled 'the protest capital of the world' (Bianco, 2013), with one of the highest rates of public protests in the world.

According to Holeta (2016), in the post-1994 democratic era, higher education institutions in South Africa have progressed slowly in transforming the epistemic past identity and inequalities in universities. As a result, Kamanzi (2016) argues that black South Africans remain isolated, excluded and institutionally segregated from academia despite achieving political democracy. This suggests that South African universities struggle to tackle and dismantle the colonial and apartheid logic that continues to underpin and anchor the academic space. Historically white universities were at the heart of socially constructing "Black students and Black academics as pariahs and natives of nowhere" who either conform as "safe bets" in the academy or reinforce the colonial institutional culture and its normative epistemic practices (Hlatshwayo, 2020:1). Although, this speaks to some universities not all, as some have taken major steps in implementing the transformation programme.

According to Kumalo (2018), historically some white universities continue to render Black ontological experiences as inferior, deficient, and threatening, making students to conform to colonial normative practices and alienating

institutional culture. Meanwhile, historically Black universities used education as a commodity in order to provide cheap labour and this was through the kind of programmes offered to black students. Griffiths (2019) argues that upon experiencing these injustices, University students, through their leaders, have embraced the democratisation process that gives them the right and power to protest, riot, and stand up for injustices.

2.2.1 Media coverage of student protests

Media coverage of student protests in South African institutions of higher learning has come under scrutiny for disproportionately focusing on former white institutions than historically black institutions. Most institutions that get media attention are historically white only institutions, whereas former black institutions don't get as much attention (Kendall, 20028). Protests in historically black universities receive little media attention compared to protests in historically white Universities, like the University of Cape Town (UCT), and the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) (Kamanzi, 2016). According to Gokay and Shain (2011), protests such as #FeesMustFall received comprehensive media coverage because they directly affected historically white universities. However, violent protests at historically black universities over similar issues had been going on for years without any coverage. Maringira and Gukurume (2016) argued that the lack of media coverage during protests in historically black universities pushes some students to resort to extreme measures to grab the attention of the media and the public to make their grievances publicly known.

According to Vilakazi (2016), from 2005 to 2010, the Tshwane University of Technology (TUT), experienced approximately 28 student protests related to insufficient funding, academic, financial exclusion, and essential services. However, most of these protests at TUT, where at the Soshanguve campus, and did not grab public attention such as the #FeesMustFall movement at historically white universities, such as the University of Pretoria (UP), UCT, WITS, and Stellenbosch University (SU), although the student grievances were the same. Yabagi (2017) critiques the selective coverage from the media, where

student protests in historically black universities only receive media coverage once they turn violent. According to Vilakazi (2016), it is concerning that protests in historically black universities only receive media coverage only when they turn violent; hence the students are portrayed in violent images, which depict mainly black students as violent and aggressive. Such negative depictions feed into racialised imageries that make protesting students look irrational in their acts of violent protests, which recentres race in the public imagery (Tabensky and Matthews, 2015). According to Omarjee (2016), these ways of naming student protesters as irrational criminals and hooligans are dehumanising. Their purpose is to criminalise students and prepare the scene for an onslaught of violence (Omarjee, 2016).

Such engagements raise enquiries about class, race and the university's status, which is a huge deciding factor in who gets the media exposure. Protesting students in both universities, TUT Soshanguve campus and the University of Venda (UNIVEN) said there had not been a 'real' transformation at these institutions. For students, disrupting academic activities at the universities mentioned above was a way of disrupting colonial structures, and the demand to decolonise the curricula at these universities (Iwara, Iwara, and Kilonzo, 2018). For Langa and Kiguwa (2017), the unsolved legacies of colonisation seem to be associated with the disruptions witnessed, and the violence particularly at historically white universities where black students were marginalised.

In the case of the #FeesMustFall movement, its disruptive protests brought the crises faced by students to public attention within a period of two to three weeks due to the amount of publicity they received locally and internationally (Smit, 2016). The movement achieved numerous positive things at different universities, including renaming university buildings, curriculum transformation, and insourcing general workers (Oxlund, 2017). However, mass media, students, and university staff personnel put the government under pressure. In response, the then Head of state, Jacob Zuma declared a 0% fee increase for the 2016 year. Subsequently, the government has further devoted itself to pushing additional funding into the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) to fund university students financially.

Correspondingly, with the help of media in showcasing the issues, students were raising issues in the country, and the world witnessed the difficulties students faced. According to Habib (2018), there is no doubt that the lack of adequate university funding by the government was responsible for the precipitation of this crisis. This put pressure on the government and universities to act on the matters raised by students. The government was also pushed to explore other options and models to fund higher education; the progress has been slow.

2.2.2 State contribution

Lack of financial support from the government has affected the operational costs of higher education institutions, making it impossible for universities to do their best by teaching, supporting their staff and students, and undertaking development-related research avenues (Butler-Adam, 2016). However, while fees keep going up, state contributions keep declining. This matter was strongly raised by Prof Adam Habib in a book by Jansen (2017) where he highlights that we are in this situation because of the socio-economic crisis we are facing in South Africa where we have a weakening in subsidise from the government to universities and at the same time experiencing an expansion of higher education. Furthermore, in the context of student uprisings, the Constitution states that everyone has a right to education (which presumably includes higher education) 'which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible' (Booyesen, 2016). This can be attributed to the global recession and the decline of the South African economy which forced universities to pass rising costs on students in the form of fee increases, which is the source of many protests in many universities. This is due to the decline of economic growth in the country. In addition, the wide-scale student protests triggered a complex combination of welfare, survivalist and ideological factors encapsulated in the #FeesMustFall movement (Hewlett, Mukadah, Kouakou, and Zandamela, 2016). In 2021, public spending on education as a share of GDP for South Africa was 6.6 % (Oxlund, 2017). Public spending on education as a share of GDP of South Africa increased steadily

after that. This combination of increasing student numbers and declining financial contributions from the state in conditions of a stagnant economy and demands for zero fees are indications of the kinds of pressures on higher education quality and delivery that have undermined the quality of higher education provision elsewhere on the continent (Molefe, 2016).

One way of measuring the state's contribution is to consider the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) percentage allocated to higher education (Lancaster, 2018). The percentage increased between 2004/05 and 2015/16, from 0.68 to 0.72 per cent and from some R9.8 billion to R30.3 billion (Ives and Lewis, 2020). However, this level of funding is low compared to several other countries. The proportion of state funding in universities' budgets has declined considerably since 1994. As a result, higher education access and success continue to be conditioned by social class and race (Luescher, 2021). Unlike in other countries, for example; Namibia is the highest spending country when it comes to education expenditure (Lewis, 2021). This is due to a number of factors which includes things such as number of enrolments, money available, etc.

A combination of inadequate preparedness for students and universities means that very few students graduate in the minimum chosen time for an academic programme. A matter was raised strongly by VC Dr Mabizela in a book by Jansen (2017) he further claimed that about 50 percent of students who enrol at universities come out of universities without a single qualification. This compromises equity of opportunity and outcomes for historically black universities, primarily from working-class and rural low-income families (Lewis, 2021). The severity of the backlogs at historically black universities as a legacy of apartheid-era inequalities and infrastructure funding has been insufficient to eradicate the range of situations that impact the quality of higher education delivery (Badat, 2016). To affect real change, history has to be taken into consideration, the environment and communities surrounding students.

2.3 Violent student protests and their triggers

According to University World News, from 2011 to 2015, South Africa was seen as the protest capital of the world (UWN, 2015). This comes after the rise in

student protests during that period, which saw many students take to the streets because of hikes in tuition fees and a lack of transformation in higher education institutions. According to University World News (2015), the biggest highlight of these protests was in 2015, with the start of #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall. This complements the earlier study of Zhao (2003) that in the last decade, students from universities worldwide have engaged in different forms of violent protests, often using it as a means for goal attainment. Some commentators have dubbed the wave of protest sweeping South Africa a revolution by the poor (Lancaster, 2017).

A critical question that gave rise to this research is - what triggers university students to engage in violent protest when resources are available for negotiation? Violent protest behaviour has become like an unstoppable "viral" disease spreading in some university environments (De Vos, 2018). In this context, protest is an expression of anger and a visible display of dissatisfaction (Jay and Templar, 2004:101). Most contemporary studies of social conflict indicate that violent protest is more likely to occur when the group at odds with the institution has had all other forms of expression suppressed when the group is poorly cultured, and when the group cannot trust the management to respond to its demands through non-violent protest or petition (Klaasen, 2020). However, the student's mistrust in the ability of management to deliver on students' grievances carries the risk of increasing violent protests (Mulaudzi and Lancaster, 2017). Protest action is an essential mechanism through which people, especially the underprivileged and vulnerable people acting together, can make their voices heard (Lewis, 2021). Although it is understood that in some cases, the university management does not act on student grievances until a protest is staged, it remains a sign of weak structures (Iwara, Amaechi, Tshifhumulo and Kilonzo, 2020).

It is essential to accept that protests are disrupting but not always violent. According to Duncan (2016), protests communicate grievances by disrupting existing societal arrangements and bringing problems to society's attention. Violence, by its outset, has trigger points, and so are protests. Porta (2013) believes that violence in protests is a product of aggressive police action. She further states that security services' aggressive policing and suppressive actions

can often turn the tide of peaceful protests and prompt violent acts by some protesters. For example, the presence of armed police or security personnel always has an intimidating feature which, by the slightest miscommunication, can lead to confrontations between the students and police. During this analysis, it has become apparent that the justification of aggressive policing is unchallenged by most liberal academics. This behaviour may have reinforced the increased belief that the use of violent strategies remains most effective for students to engage with the university management in the event of disagreements (Iwara, Amaechi, Tshifhumulo and Kilonzo, 2020).

According to Ives and Lewis (2020), protests are more likely to spiral into violence when they are poorly organised. Furthermore, Kiguwa and Ally (2018) submit that well-organised protests with identifiable leadership structures, logical objectives, and members who know one another are better positioned to keep violence-prone actors out of their activities. These factors contribute to the preservation of non-violent protests; as a result, poorly organised protests may be more vulnerable to violence. According to Kendall (2008), some students sometimes take advantage of protests and initiate violence when they see an opportunity to loot. However, at times it is not protesters who engage in criminal activities but rather outside people. While students attend many protests, community members sometimes get involved, mainly if a protest occurs outside the university (Lea, 2013). Individuals join in, and some have bad intentions or see this as an opportunity to commit crimes since it will be difficult to trace anything back to them, unlike students. Protests present opportunities for non-students to loot or do other unlawful acts, primarily career criminals who are always looking for occasions to commit crimes. Therefore, there are instances where external individuals come in a protest to disrupt and make it uncontrollable. This could be outside individuals joining in and taking part in the protests only to take advantage of or disrupt it (Smit, 2016).

Since protests are inherently disruptive, they can conscientise society about the urgent need for their social problems to be addressed and thus speed up the required social change (Maringira and Gukurume, 2016). For instance, the 2015-2016 protests, because of their disruptive nature across the country raised awareness about the lack of funding for universities and other issues students

face. According to Duncan (2016), "disruption is not, by definition, violent" even when protests and demonstrations are held on "private property" (i.e., university campuses). Therefore, the South African Police Service (SAPS) cannot arrest students on charges of "Public violence" and for violations in terms of South Africa's Regulations of Gatherings Act (Duncan, 2016). However, section 17 of the Constitution protects everyone's right to protest peacefully and unarmed. Protests are disruptive if they disturb or interrupt an event, activity or process (Kiguwa and Ally, 2018). The police will always intervene where there is a threat to life and property. For example, interrupting a lecture by entering the venue and shouting or singing may or may not be legally protected, depending on how severe and prolonged the disruption lasts. However, some interruption methods will ordinarily be legally protected. For example, singing outside a lecture hall or silently protesting during a lecture by holding up placards or signs without bringing a stop to the class (Maringira and Gukurume, 2016).

Actions such as preventing university students and staff from entering the university campus for a whole day could be seen as a severe disruption, but preventing people from entering the university campus for a short period or redirecting traffic from one entrance to another may be legally allowed in certain circumstances (Smit, 2016). However, if any form of violence or destruction of property is required to maintain a blockade that prevents entry to campus, whether temporary or permanent, the attempt to prevent access will not be legally protected in terms of the Constitution (Kiguwa and Ally, 2018). These activities and examples mentioned above fall into a grey area that is not presumptively unlawful.

Furthermore, disruptive, violent protests involve protestors in violent acts or criminal activities. They often lose their rights to protest as this no longer constitutes peaceful protests (Yabagi, 2017). If a protest turns violent and threatens people's well-being, it now involves the intervention of the police to protect university assets and non-protesting individuals. Such conduct justifies the police's intervention depending on the violence's seriousness and length. This right and protection are only lost if those gatherings do not intend to be peaceful. While violent protest is not protected under Section 17, the Constitutional Court has nonetheless found that a protester should be afforded

constitutional protection even if there is sporadic violence at the gathering, provided that the individual concerned remains peaceful (Karim and Kruyer, 2017).

In most cases, students have also used these disruptive tactics to shut their campuses down until their demands are met. Porta (2013) claims they are two contributing factors to protests being violent: escalating policing and competitive escalation (This is when protesters compete for space with political adversaries and other protesting groups). If the police and private security guards are too quick to use violence – which has often been the case with student protests- these interactions, make the protesters violent. Their actions create what sociologist William Gamson (1985) has called "injustice frames" around the state, where the state comes to be perceived as fundamentally unjust. The sad reality is that the authorities often ignore peaceful, non-disruptive protests. Instead, state repression creates solidarity among protest participants, who then justify the need for violence as a form of self-defence. As Porta (2013) puts it, violence emerges from violence in most cases.

2.3.1 Protests at historically white institutions

Violent protests formerly linked with the institutional culture of historically black institutions are becoming a norm in historically white institutions nowadays (Oxlund, 2016). For example, in the 'Rhodes Must Fall' movement in 2015, the hashtag #RhodesMustFall was a new form of student protest which began through social media activism with the launch of a protest movement at the University of Cape Town (UCT). In March 2015, this campaign used a Facebook group called RhodesMustFall and the hashtag #RhodesMustFall on Twitter to argue that a statue of Cecil John Rhodes should be removed from campus. The campaign symbolised the inevitable fall of white supremacy and privilege at historically white institution campuses, as the #RhodesMustFall movement described it on Facebook (Yabagi, 2017). From October 14, 2015, events intensified at UJ, Wits, where the administration agreed to hold discussions with student organisations to re-examine the declared tuition hikes (Oxlund, 2017).

These protests sparked international interest because, on October 23, 2015, the student protests that began in South Africa reached the United Kingdom (UK), where 200 protesters gathered outside South Africa House in Trafalgar Square, London (Luescher, Loader and Mugume, 2017). Meanwhile, outside the Union Buildings, protesting students were lining up in large numbers, and some set fire to a portable toilet and broke down a fence to make their way inside the building (Duncan, 2016). The police response was similar to the one adopted in Cape Town two days before — teargas, stun grenades and rubber bullets became part of the action, again contributing to the narrative that student protests can never be peaceful.

According to Langa and Kiguwa (2017), the unresolved legacies of colonisation appear to be implicated in the violence and disruptions witnessed, especially at historically white universities where black students demanded to be treated with respect and dignity. Over the years, historically black universities have been characterised by numerous violent student protests, well before the famous #FeesMustFall movement in 2015 and 2016. The difficulties of these historically black universities can be traced back to the politics of higher education funding post-1994, and the decision by the state to reduce higher education institutions from 36 to 21 through mergers (Jansen, 2003).

One of the critical reasons for merging institutions of higher learning was to facilitate transformation and to improve black students' access to higher education and financial support (Swartz et al., 2018). However, it appears that many of these ideals were not achieved post the mergers because many universities are still characterised by differences based on the material, cultural and social positions of their separate histories (Boren, 2013). For example, an analysis of Cape Peninsula the University of Technology (CPUT) shows that its merger with Cape Technikon, a former white institution, has resulted in inequalities between campuses, class on racial lines (Yabagi, 2017). These differences explain why protests at these universities tended to be more violent than on other campuses. Violence seems to have a correlation with the historical past of the institutions, supporting Le Grange's (2016) view that violence needs to be understood within its pedigree rather than its

symptomology. Mattes and Richmond (2015) further point out that the rupture of these violent protests needs to be seen as an effect of the failure of the post-colony to address the inequalities of the past and effect a 'real' decolonised transformation project. Aligning with Langa's (2017) view, it is vital to consider history when trying to understand the violent display that is taking place currently.

2.3.2 Universities' response to violent student protests

South African students face a complex relationship with university management. On the one hand, the university is committed to providing safety and security for all students and staff; on the other; it has to protect itself and its assets from the same groups. At times, university management sometimes makes decisions that affect students without following a transparent consultation process with students, and this often leads to protest action (Griffiths, 2019). During 2015-2017 the term 'university students' was associated with protests, fights, stone-throwing, riots and shutdowns, all in the absolute revolution at unpopular universities and government decisions (Klemenčič et al., 2015).

Following Von Holdt's (2013) report on the transition to violent democracy, the examples of TUT and CPUT are used as reference points regarding the ways in which university management responded to student protests. According to the report, student leaders argued that university management was often unresponsive to their requests, which often led to protests. Student leaders further reported that Vice-Chancellors refused to engage with student leaders and sometimes failed to attend scheduled meetings (Von Holdt, 2013). Such response to student requests typically results in students rioting, disturbing classes and causing disruptions on university campuses (Heleta, 2016). This goes with the belief by students that when university management shows a lack of effort to communicate with them and address them, it means they are not taking them seriously or their issues; as such, students get offended when the management does not show up on meetings with them.

According to Duncan (2016), university management often responds to protests by calling the police to campuses and soliciting court interdicts against the protesting students. This is done in a manner akin to what Althusser (1972) describes as evoking the repressive state apparatus to silence dissenting voices. Thus, the law is often used to silence voices of dissent, as many students get arrested for exercising their right to protest (Ndelu, Edwin Malabela, 2016). Whereas the manifestation of a protest is a sign of agency from students to highlight something is wrong. The report also found that student leaders at Wits University raised concerns about the management's hostility and reluctance to engage with students. However, Vice-Chancellors from some universities, including Rhodes University and UCT, tried their best to actively engage with student leaders during the 2016 #FeesMustFall movement. The outcomes were both good and bad depending on which side (students or management) you look at the matter from. Where engagements were held between student governance structures and university management, a consensus was reached and compromises were made. In some institutions, things got out of hand, and both parties could not reach any agreements, further inciting protests from students.

2.3.3 Student accountability

Section 17 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa protects the right to assemble peacefully and unarmed, and the Regulation of Gatherings Act 205 of 1993 permits the exercise of this right peacefully and with due regard to the rights of others (Karim and Kruger, 2017). However, generally, peaceful student protests have often involved serious unlawful activity and acts of violence, which can infringe on people's and universities' rights. Therefore, students must evaluate their behaviour and be responsible for their actions because these acts can include arson, intimidation and damage to property, as many such universities decide to get interdicts to restrain unlawful protest action. Protesting students need to be accountable for their actions and failure to reflect on violence as a strategy to advance their demands will only lead to more catastrophic outcomes for them. As adult citizens, students on campus

are expected to cooperate with university procedures, rules, and processes designed to develop safety and security and understand that actions that jeopardise the potential well-being of others are subject to disciplinary action (Tabensky and Matthews, 2015).

According to Heerden (2017), it is essential to acknowledge that tensions characterise riots. When individuals come together to demonstrate generally they may disrupt the rights of people who are usually not demonstrating.

2.3.4. Police and security presence

Due to security presence, private security and police on campuses, and confrontations with students, protests change from peaceful protests to violent clashes where university property typically gets incinerated (Kiguwa and Ally, 2018). For example, in September 2016, the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) Howard College's library was set alight, and several vehicles were incinerated at the Westville Campus. In such incidents, students often get arrested. Institutions use the services of lawyers to get courts to issue out interdicts for protests, meanwhile, students have to depend on civil society organisations (Luescher, 2021).

2.3.4.1 Police response

In many protests at the institutions of higher learning in South Africa, students often come up against heavily armed police leading to disastrous outcomes (Mbembe, 2016). Heleta (2016) suggests that police presence during protests makes protest violence more likely, especially when relations between the state and protesters are weak. Protestors see heavily armed police as violent actors (Dumako, 2019). Ives and Lewis (2019) argue that when the state feels threatened, it resorts to defending itself rather than its citizens. The deployment of heavily armed state police personnel to campuses indicates that the state is protecting the university and its management, and also sending a clear message to those who threaten it (Mbembe, 2016). In most protest situations, the primary task of the state is to protect university personnel and property.

These interactions between the police and students socialise the protesters into violence in many ways than one (Heerden, 2017).

Branch and Mampilly (2015) argue that framing police violence as reactive, required for law and order and depoliticising the student protest make it possible to justify brutal acts of police violence. In this context, institutional violence is about how the state responds to students' concerns, criminalising and delegitimising the protests.

In this context, police violence is validated and fabricated as required, while the constructs of student violence as part of protest are problematised (Heleta, 2016). Meanwhile, particular forms of violence are vindicated by members of the public who oppose student protests. These (vindicated) forms of violence are presented to be appropriate and needed when enacted by the police as a response to the "illegitimate" violence on the part of the protestors (Kiguwa and Ally, 2018).

Luescher (2021) further pointed out that the state often threatens or arrests peacekeepers and eyewitnesses. Calling the police, suspending or arresting student leaders does not solve the problem, as this further provokes the students and renders the relationship between the police and the student leaders and management more conflictual and antagonistic (Steven, 2015). As we have witnessed with many protests, students retaliate when attacked by the police. Unfortunately, in addition to stun grenades, teargas, and rubber bullets, the violent nature of protests meant persecution and arbitrary arrest (together with non-protesters) and, violent arrests, threats (including tailing well-known activists) (Luescher, Loader and Mugume, 2017). In most cases, the state militarily responds to resistance, further creating solidarity among protest participants, who justify the need for violence as a form of self-defence. As Porta (2013) puts it, violence emerges from violence.

The right to protest is not absolute and must be exercised with due regard for the rights of others and the university's rights (Karim and Kruyer, 2017). The Constitution of this country does not protect criminal conduct; we all have responsibilities as citizens to uphold and respect the law. As such, those involved in protest actions involving unlawful activities and interfering with the

rights of other students could forfeit their constitutional protection and be treated as criminals. Criminal charges can be brought against protesters who infringe on the rights of others or who take part in an unlawful protest action (causing damage to property, assault and intimidation). While not all disruptions will be constitutionally protected, not all forms of disruption will be illegal. As long as a person remains peaceful, his or her right to protest will still be legally protected (SERI, 2017).

2.3.4.2 Private security

Some universities have responded to student protests by adopting stringent security measures. This includes contracting the services of private security companies on campuses to deal with protests. After the 2016 student protests, most universities have increased the number of security guards on campuses as precautionary measures to prevent further protests. For example, WITS took this further during the peak of the #FeesMustFall protest by setting up security checkpoints at the gates of campuses and imposing curfews restricting students' movements on campuses (Hlatshwayo and Shawa, 2020). Although private security companies on campuses are not new, students and security personnel usually clash during protests, leading to security personnel using violent means such as electroshock weapons, gas, stun grenades, and shields to disperse the crowds (Kendall, 2008).

Regulations are one example of a university response that requires balancing different rights. For instance, curfews impact all students' rights to freedom of movement (Oxlund, 2016). However, even if intended to prevent unlawful protests, curfews make organising lawful protests and many other students' lives more challenging. In addition, security personnel are usually criticised for their heavy-handed approach when dealing with students.

During the curfew, students reported being harassed and attacked by police and security guards in their residences (Dumako, 2019). According to Hlatshwayo and Shawa (2020: 2), the university's security measures had created "an atmosphere that was not conducive to learning". Section 17 of the Constitution says that "everyone has the right, peacefully and unarmed, to

assemble, to demonstrate, to picket and to present petitions" (Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa, 2017). The Constitution, consequently, grants legal protection to a wide range of various protest actions. There are, nonetheless, two restrictions to the right to protest. First, the country's Constitution only protects non-violent and unarmed protests (SERI, 2017).

2.3.4.3 Courts interdicts

In recent years, universities have responded to student protests by approaching the courts to prevent students from protesting on campuses (Calitz and Fourie, 2016). This has been a measure employed for many institutions over the years where protests frequently occur. Unfortunately, in most cases, this has resulted in students being arrested and convicted. As stated above, Section 17 provides everyone with the opportunity to demonstrate peacefully and unarmed, to assemble, to picket and to present petitions (Smit, 2016). In this way, the Constitution grants legal protection to a wide range of protest actions only if they do not cause severe disruption; even then, the police must consult with protesters before dispersing them.

Many student activists feel courts are now being used to intimidate and instil fear into protesting students (Ndelu et al., 2016). As a result, student activists who continue to participate in protests have been interdicted and face suspensions from their institutions. In short, students asserted that the main aim of involving the police was not to disperse or end the protests but to instil fear and to make the protesters afraid of protesting, especially their leaders (Luescher, 2021).

The use of court interdicts has widely been questioned. For instance, Ndebele (2017) asserts that universities should think carefully before using interdicts to regulate protests because interdicts are not always the best way to deal with campus protests. At times suspensions of specific students only worsen the situation as more students are propelled to fight for their comrades to be brought back to campus, which can result in more disruptions to the extent of violent retaliation. Moreover, to avoid having a situation where we have students with criminal records every time they protest. Not only will that limit

students' prospects, but it can result in a shortage of students in specific faculties and programmes due to suspensions. Although criminal charges may be brought against those who commit crimes during a protest, interdicts are often seen as more effective because an interdict's application procedure is far quicker (Karim and Kruyer, 2017).

Even so, universities should not use interdicts to regulate student protests when they could lawfully control protests by adopting university policies on the protest. Because, unlike court interdicts, university policies apply equally to all students (as opposed to interdicts which apply only to the specific students that are mentioned in the court order). (Klaasen, 2020) believes that interdicts that restrain lawful protest and assembly, like those sought by UCT in 2016, are inappropriate and should not be granted.

Nonetheless, there are still two limitations to the right to protest. First, the Constitution only protects peaceful and unarmed protests: (i) Peaceful means that the protest does not involve physical violence against people or property (Lewis, 2021). A protest that causes bodily harm to people includes burning, destroying, vandalising or defacing the public (Iwara et al., 2018). Moreover, private property will not be legally protected in the Constitution: (ii) in some cases, the risk of violence alone will be enough to make a protest lose its constitutional protection. Nonetheless, protestors will not lose their rights to protest if there is a degree of violence from some protestors at a protest. If a person remains peaceful, their right to protest will still be legally protected (Smit, 2016).

A case in point is when Rhodes University took the University Student Representative Council to High Court in 2016 for protesting. The Grahamstown High Court said that disruptive protests are a form of political expression protected by the Constitution. Notably, the court noted that disruptive, noisy or loud protests are not an exception to the norm but precisely what the Constitution protects (Ndelu et al., 2016). The Constitution does not protect violent protests, but it does protect disruptive forms of protest. Protests are disruptive if they disturb or interrupt an event, activity or process (SERI, 2017). Although protests sometimes have to be disruptive to have a meaningful

effect without causing some disruption to the daily functioning of society, protestors may struggle to communicate their message forcefully and effectively (Nduna, 2015). Disruption is often the only way people ordinarily excluded from decision-making can have their voices heard.

2.4 Socio-economic consequences of violent student protests

The right to protest allows citizens to express complaints, speak directly to the community and their leaders, and endorse a change in unity with their views (Branch and Mampilly, 2015). However, protests can be violent, ultimately having disastrous and unwanted direct or indirect effects on students and higher education institutions. For example, in 2016, during a protest at the Tshwane University of Technology (TUT), the media showed students holding up mattresses to protect themselves from rubber bullets (Omarjee, 2016). Even recently in 2021 Walter Sisulu university (WSU) students engaged in a violent protests where a campus cafeteria was looted in the process (Oxlund, 2017). Firstly, the situation posed a direct threat of physical harm to students. Secondly, there was the destruction of the university's property, given that by replacing the damaged mattresses, the university would suffer financial costs.

Waters et al. (2005) described how violent protests have negative costs that go beyond direct victims, perpetrators and financial burdens on the host communities. Costs in this context refer to the negative after-effects of violent student protests. This further involves critically focusing on the impact these violent protests have on student well-being in all aspects. As stated in the introduction, and some sections, the three cost-related implications that were identified are economic, health, and academic costs.

2.4.1. Health cost

Violent protests usually carry higher risks of injury or even death in sporadic events (De Vos, 2018). These are always preceded by physical confrontations between students, law enforcement officials, or private security. This has been the case for many African universities. For example, violent student protests at

the University of Zambia led to the burning of tyres, blocking of roads and stoning of some vehicles. Subsequently, many students were injured while others were arrested by the security forces (Mfula, 2016). Odebode (2019) also noted that student protests have resulted in severe injuries, death, destruction of property, and disruption of peaceful co-existence within society. For example, on 10 and 11 April 2000, thousands of Gambian students took to the streets to protest against the death of a student who was allegedly tortured by members of the security forces (British Broadcasting Cooperation, 2000). This enraged the protesting students, and as retribution, the students attacked government buildings and set a police station on fire, and stores were looted. The police retaliated with live ammunition, killing at least 14 students and wounding more than 20 who had to be admitted to hospital, while countless others suffered light wounds (British Broadcasting Cooperation, 2000).

These confrontations sometimes have tragic effects on the well-being of students. South Africa is not an exception, as we have witnessed many instances where a student protest has led to a loss of life and injury to individuals involved in protesting. The hard truth is that excessive use of force, impunity, and efforts to circumvent transparency remain features of policing in South Africa (Viljoen, 2021). As a result of police reaction at times, people got shot at, whether or not they knew what was going on (Moloi, 2017). "I remember one day when we were having a meeting, the police came and started shooting without even asking any questions. We ran, but I remember falling because the air was too contaminated with teargas, and I had an asthma attack" (Moloi, 2017). Instead of identifying, naming, and holding responsible those who shoot students, such incidents often go unsolved with no one taking responsibility.

For example, when the UNIVEN students embarked on a protest in 2018, it resulted in health implications for students, just like many other protests. Protesters were exposed to continuous teargas and burning solid fuels, creating health issues (Mottiar and Bond, 2020). Due to the exposure to teargas, some students had difficulty breathing, leading to them being hospitalised. One student mentioned that he ended up in the hospital for asthma due to air pollution from the teargas (Mottiar and Bond, 2020).

Unfortunately, because of the nature of protests, students are exposed to unacceptable levels of violence, either perpetrated by students themselves or as victims of the violent reaction carried onto campuses by police and security services (Lancaster, 2018).

South Africa has a painful history of police using excessive force against protesters. Unfortunately, these clashes between students and police occasionally affect the general public, who are not involved in the demonstrations. For example, in one of the tragic incidents under the democratic government, on March 10, 2021, an innocent bystander got shot and died during a student protest outside the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) (Omarjee, 2016). One of the legacies of that terrible day is that no one was held to account. No one was ever held criminally responsible or civilly liable for the death. From this incident, it is clear that not only are students' lives in danger but ordinary civilians can get harmed during these protests. Violent protests often go beyond students and affect ordinary citizens, who get caught in the crossfire with dire consequences (Smit, 2016).

Meanwhile, students at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) in Cape Town decided to protest as they were unhappy about the high registration fees. Campus security used pepper spray to break down the protest (Mama and Feni, 2012). A female student collapsed after inhaling the pepper spray she had to be taken to Hospital (Mama and Feni, 2012).

The cases listed above have two things in common: lack of accountability and excessive use of police force. These instances are just some of many which have resulted in health problems or fatalities due to protests. Violent protests have dismal implications for those involved and might result in paying the highest cost to your life. This issue needs to be addressed moving forward since student protests are frequent, and the loss of one life; is one too many.

2.4.2. Academic cost

Many protests result in a total shutdown of the Universities, which might be for hours, days, or even months, leading to a complete cease of administration

and all academic-related activities (Lewis, 2021). This impacts the universities' programmes, such as lectures, examinations, conferences, graduations, and research (Klaasen, 2020). For example, in the 2016 #FeesMustFall protests, universities experienced shutdowns leading to the extension of the academic calendar and postponement of tests and examinations. The delays put students under pressure on their academics, and some failed because they could not handle the workload. Most affected universities could not complete their programmes, with the UCT Faculty of Health Sciences opting for a 'mini-semester' in January 2017 to facilitate the completion of academic work remaining from 2016 (Karim and Kruyer, 2017). Other universities proceeded with examinations in guarded venues during the final days of the protests, while still others seem to have used marks students had achieved up to the beginning of the protests as the final marks reflected on certificates (Dandara, Chimusa, Wonkam, 2017).

Student protests' academic effects manifest differently for universities and have several consequences for various societal stakeholders. Protests disrupt institutional activities and have contributed to poor educational standards as examinations are conducted without completing the course contents. There is the incessant closure of institutions of learning whenever there is a protest, which adversely affects the scope and curriculum of the programmes offered (Davies et al., 2013). Chiluba (2019) found that student protests at the University of Zambia often include violence and destruction of property, disruption of academic activities, and suspension and punishment of students and their leaders.

If universities cannot complete their academic years, some students may miss out on the chance to graduate on time. As a result, they may choose to drop out entirely rather than try to fund another costly year of study (Wingfield, 2016). Student protests further have a negative impact on research studies across South Africa. This has dire consequences for the entire country, considering that it is already struggling to produce enough skilled labour to meet demand. Furthermore, academics and students are likely to seek work or study opportunities elsewhere since any breaks in specific research programmes mean students have to restart many activities, often from scratch.

Some research programmes cannot be switched off for a day, week or month and then restarted where you left off (Wingfield, 2016). This results in submission delays, which is problematic as research is often done using grant or industrial funding. Granting agencies expect progress reports and researchers are expected to deliver on what they would have promised. Industry funding usually requires quarterly reporting, which can be cut if the research outputs are not achieved (Wingfield, 2016).

Undeniably, working and lower-middle-class students cannot access higher education without financial support. Hence, the loss of an academic year has dire implications for students since we have those students who have to graduate in just under a year or semester to do so; for them, that is an enormous risk of scarce financial resources since lack of money is one of the reasons for high dropout rates in institutions. Therefore, if students lose a semester or academic year, this can result in a loss of funding due to not meeting funding requirements or set deadlines.

2.4.3. Economic cost

Many protests result in financial costs for universities, as protesting students sometimes vandalise or loot university property (Czerniewicz, Trotter and Genevieve, 2019). For example, during the protests that kicked off in September 2016, buildings and vehicles at several universities mentioned below were burnt by rioting students resulting in substantial financial losses for universities. Unfortunately, where university property was damaged, it was often difficult to identify the individual culprits. As a result, universities had to bear the costs of rebuilding and replacing damaged assets (Lewis, 2021).

In March 2021, the Minister of Higher Education, Science and Technology released a report indicating that the estimated cost incurred by universities owing to vandalism and theft by protesting students was above R32 million (DHET, 2021). This responsibility to pay for the damaged properties solely rests on universities, as there are rare cases where students incur these financial costs. Universities are responsible for ensuring that all the resources required for the academic programme to continue are always provided.

The Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) reported two cases related to fire hoses and extinguishers that were damaged during student protests, and the repairs for these were estimated at R250 000 (DHET, 2021). In addition, CPUT reported suspected arson cases involving the burning of lecture rooms, with repair costs amounting to approximately R2.6 million (Mahamba, 2021). Rhodes University also reported minor vandalism cases due to break-ins, and the damages amounted to about R5 000 (Mahamba, 2021). Finally, the Central University of Technology (CUT) had violent incidences reported in 2020 during student protests at the Welkom and Bloemfontein campuses, and the repairs completed in 2020 amounted to about R1.4 million (DHET, 2021).

In addition, Sefako University reported six cases of vandalism during student protests in June 2020, with repairs that amounted to about R30 220 (DHET, 2021). The University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) had considerable damage to property and the burning of buildings due to student protests in 2020 (Mahamba, 2021). The repairs cost the university about 27 million to complete (Mahamba, 2021). The University of Fort Hare reported incidents of vandalism in March 2020 and December 2020, with repairs amounting to R400 000 (Mahamba, 2021). The University of Venda also reported vandalism during student protests in November 2020, and repairs cost the university a total of R133 227 (Mahamba, 2021). The minister called on the police to act decisively against acts of violence and property damage (Mahamba, 2021). Universities usually find themselves in these predicaments - the potential costs of staff being harmed, as well as property damage, and losing the academic year, are too costly to predict. Hence, universities have to act to protect their resources (Duncan, 2016).

According to Iwara et al (2020), these events may have reinforced the belief that using violent tactics remains the best strategy for students to employ in the case of disagreements with university management, even though it is acknowledged that university management does not act on student complaints in some situations until a protest of such nature erupts (Iwara et al., 2020). Students who engage in peaceful protests, such as silent marches, are not taken seriously. Hence, students believe that they have to do something dramatic to get management's attention. Moreover, protests cost universities

considerable resources (Mottiar and Bond, 2020). For example, in the case of the CUT 2020 violent protests, one staff member said during an interview that, "we have to assign contractors for repairs of damaged properties; it is an immense leakage given the financial crises the University is grappling with" (Klaasen, 2020). This shows the financial burden that violent protests alone have on institutions. According to Mahamba (2021), about 10 000 students could have been funded with the R32 million in damage done to South Africa's University campuses across the country by protesters. The University of the Free State (UFS), QwaQwa campus also on the evening of Monday, 4 April 2022, reported two buildings were set alight. The buildings, which housed the clinic and a computer laboratory, were almost destroyed, with damage to both buildings estimated at R35 million (UFS, 2022: 1). on Sunday 16 May 2016, at the university of Johannesburg (UJ) Kingsway campus the Salam auditorium was burnt, according to the university the costs of the damage amount to over R100 million (Oxlund, 2017).

2.5 Measures for controlling student protests

According to Onivehu (2021), there are ways to control and prevent violent student protests. Onivehu (2021) suggests the prominence of negotiations, cooperation and constant communication between parties involved in contested issues. Meanwhile, Taneki and Okolie (2020) argue that most student protests erupt due to a lack of communication between management and students. Allowing input from student bodies can decrease student concerns since they will be more informed about institutions' challenges. Etaneki and Okolie (2020) highlight that conflict management committees that immediately attend to student grievances can go a long way in preventing protests.

In addition, Adeyemi (2009) suggested that negotiation, signing memorandums of understanding with students and collaboration in decision-making were adequate to control measures for decreasing the occurrence of student protests at universities. Therefore, formal student representation, in this view, is a means to address crises of campus authority and create an

atmosphere of openness and trust (Iwara et al., 2018). This can be attained by granting students seats in the formal decision-making structures to better understand things from the institution's side. Although in some institutions this is already happening it should be practical just not in theory or paper. Etaneki and Okolie (2020) further established that student discontent could be controlled by effective management and communication. However, Ramsbothan, Miall and Woodhouse (2011) suggested using counselling to control student protests, specifically facilitating an amicable and productive relationship between management and students. Encouraging cooperation, negotiation, compromise, settlement, and mediation approaches in managing and controlling student protests can effectively curb protests.

Most times, university authorities have sanctioned non-constructive approaches to control student protests (Onivehu, 2021). For example, the deployment of security forces (which usually increases further tension in already unpredictable circumstances) to control student protests has been broadly condemned by specialists in the area of conflict management (Odebode, 2019). Students claim that most of the time, the use of security forces does more harm than good. Since higher education functions locally, nationally, and universally, universities ought to react quicker to student unrest as typically, these grievances are usually brought to their attention even before student's protest. History has repeatedly shown that most issues are brought to management through proper formal channels by student representative organisations, but their response sparks outrage among students (Swartz et al., 2018). Then, students decide to take matters into their own hands to make their voices heard, resulting in protests.

2.6 Conclusion

This literature review chapter was divided into three sections, where the first section discussed the literature on violent student protests and their triggers. Literature highlights that violent student protests are not a new phenomenon in South Africa. Thus, violent student protests have a historical origin dating back to colonialism and apartheid. Police and private security presence, and the militant response by these law enforcement officers emerged as one of the contributing factors to the increasingly violent nature of student protests in the country. The second section further discussed the cost implications students face from these violent protests, which not only make their lives at university challenging to navigate but also put them at risk of losing their lives. This section discussed three identified costs of violent protests (financial, health and academic). Economic costs which universities face are damage and looting of property. Students experience health costs due to physical altercations with the police or security. Third, due to the nature of violent protests, at times, universities are left with no choice but to temporarily close their campuses for the safety concerns of staff and students. Because of this, the universities' academic programmes are halted. The halting of university programmes has dire consequences for students and the university at large. The third section of this chapter finally considered the measures for controlling student protests which highlighted the importance of the use of constant consultations and communication. The next chapter deals with the theoretical framework that guided the study.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This study explores the factors that lead to violence during student protests, as well as the academic, financial and health costs that come with these violent acts on students and the university. The study draws on three theories as a framework for analysis. First, several factors lead to violence; using Fanon as a reference, the study explores these factors and the extent and impact of violence on students, staff and the university as a whole.

Interpersonal violence highlights violence's long-term social, physical, economic, and psychological consequences. In many circumstances, violent protests can lead to harm and even the death of students. Student violence is a frequent phenomenon that affects students and comes with costs to universities.

Too often, universities have overlooked the peaceful behaviour of students during protests but only notice and pay serious attention to students when they start acting out violently towards the university. Emergent norm theory stresses collective behaviour changes in crowds due to new behavioural norms in reaction to a precipitating crisis that usually creates solidarity among students. These theories support the study's objectives in describing how violence manifests and its consequences for those concerned.

3.2 The Fanonian perspective on violence

Using Fanon as a reference, South Africa is a colonial state that perpetrates structural violence against black Africans daily. Fanon (1963) argued that power has a dual relationship with violence and that violence is necessary for obtaining power. Violence is a tool used to obtain and maintain power since the colonial rule was maintained through violence and repression. Fanon points out that the colonial system was a system of violence, that everything under colonialism is done through violence, and that the police system is violent. For the oppressed to gain power, they have to use violence, as it is the only mechanism the oppressor understands. Violence is necessary to destroy a partial socio-economic system. Violence is necessary, not only to defeat a system of domination but also to restructure the mind of the colonised subject – specifically to eradicate those feelings of inferiority and fear (Fanon, 2004). Furthermore, for those who are marginalised and disempowered, violence offers an alternate strategy for reconfiguring the structures of power (Fanon, 1963).

In the Fanonian perspective, violence is oppressive and self-perpetuating because it strives to conserve the oppressive colonial structures (Stangor, 2011). Before 1994, it was understood that the government (the apartheid regime) regularly used violence against black students to reinforce white supremacy across the country. In the post-apartheid era, violence has manifested in different waves of student protests across the country in recent years, where issues such as decolonisation and colonial symbolism on university grounds have been brought to the surface to be resolved. As seen by past protests, students feel justified in their actions because they fight to dismantle a colonial system that keeps them in perpetual oppression. Nevertheless, most protests turn into violent clashes between students and the police. As Fanon (2004) argued, revolutionary violence represents a democratic and more transformative agenda to change relations of inequality and to configure new interactions between dominant and marginalised members. Violence, in this context, is a necessary and inevitable response to an already violent status quo.

Post-apartheid South Africa is a highly violent society, with high levels of violent crime and police violence. According to Fanon (2004), the colonial order is inherently violent from the moment of subjugation. It strives on violence and this has to be enforced on a daily basis. The government's agent is the police force officer or military, who uses a language of violence. The agent shows domination and oppression with a clear conscience of the law enforcer and brings violence into the homes and minds of the colonised subject (Fanon, 2004). However, it is often the ordinary people who suffer the most when violence surfaces. They are the ones whose bodies are injured and at the receiving end of police brutality.

According to Fanon, violence is a prerequisite to liberation as we have seen that for a society to change, there must be violence which will drastically turn the table of domination upside down. Fighting for liberation with non-violence will only turn to horror (Fanon, 2004). This has been the case in South Africa when innocent students organise a peaceful protest, only to be met with violence from the police and private security forces. From the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 (where about 575 people died across the country, 451 at the hands of the police) to the RhodesMustFall movement of 2015, in both incidents, police opened fire on unarmed crowds, wounding many and leading to the death of some students. Fanon (2008) noted that liberation without violence is a fabricated liberation. People must protect themselves when confronted as any liberation comes with a cost. Violence, or better still, revolution is a predecessor for social change; it is the only weapon that brings about total change (Fanon, 2004).

In response to the resilience and protest action of protests such as the FeesMustFall movement, different universities and the state exacted violence upon students and employees. Most protests across the country started peacefully; however, because of the brutality of the government police and private security on campuses, students soon responded. When students retaliated against the violence, the media labelled them violent and disruptive. Since state violence and structural racism exist, they are criminalised and problematised when the poor respond to structural violence. Therefore, like many student protests before, when the FeesMustFall student protesters

responded to the state's brutality, violent police and militarised campuses during protests, their violent activities in protests were a reaction to structural violence. This is a situation we often see in South Africa today, and Fanon believed that perhaps violence was an unavoidable by-product of decolonisation, given that colonisation itself was integrally violent. Viewed from Fanon's perspective, the students' violent protests were not just necessary, but inevitable to challenge the deeply entrenched system of racism and coloniality.

Fanon recognises the physical and mental implications of violence. The primary and most apparent negative feature of violence is the physical harm that it causes to individuals (Kendall, 2008). In all of Fanon's works, the physical and human cost of violence is bare, leading to the realisation that these costs occasionally go beyond bodily harm as people go through traumatic experiences due to violent demonstrations. Unfortunately, for protesters in many higher education institutions, it is business as usual after a protest occurs, without considering the psychological consequences of violent demonstrations on students. In subsequent violent protests, the trauma endured by students is neglected. They are expected to go back to lectures and write exams and tests as usual without considering their mental damage (Kendall, 2008). Noting the tremendous physical and mental consequences of violence, it becomes evident that violence cannot simply be an end to itself. Violence for Fanon must have a set determination and provide a valuable justification of violence's negative and positive costs on people.

3.3 Interpersonal violence

Violence affects almost every government division, public health, social services, finance, health care, education, justice, and law enforcement (Mercy, Hillis, Butchart, Bellis, Ward, Fang, and Rosenberg, 2017). The study of violence across numerous different disciplines is critical to understand the social dynamics of our current society and effective ways of preventing it thoroughly. Although violence in the university vicinity is not new, it has escalated considerably in the last decade. The impact of violence is pernicious

and results in disabilities and long-term physical, mental, economic, and social consequences (Waters, 2004). As such it important to have an understating of the effects violence has on individuals and broader society. To further gain insight into the consequences of violent student protests, I will draw on Waters, Hyder, Rajkotia, Basu, and Butchart's (2005) theory of interpersonal violence. This theory focuses on the socio-economic effects of youth violence, emphasising the consequences of violence beyond individual harm. The application comes after studying youth's collective violence in over 100 communities internationally, Waters et al. (2005) determined that violent protests negatively affect the host's well-being and economic burdens. The theory further points out that violent protests have direct and indirect costs. Furthermore, to interpersonal violence increases individual emotional, physical and behavioural problems. As such consequences of interpersonal violence is critical for policy development and reservation life.

Direct losses may include loss of lives, properties, and financial resources. For instance, the violent student protests at UNIVEN in 2018 caused the university millions of rands due to damages and property theft. Consequently, such financial responsibilities fall onto the university solely. Indirect costs include time, lost productivity, and compromised quality of life due to physical or mental problems (Mercy et al., 2007). For example, during the FeesMustFall movement in 2016, many universities experienced shutdowns for weeks, resulting in many institutions losing academic weeks and semesters. Both direct and indirect costs can be ascribed to violent exposure, and some consequences are not evident until years after exposure (Mercy et al., 2007).

Therefore, it is essential to strengthen our understanding of violence to better equip ourselves with the skills needed for violence prevention. Students and institutions feel the effects of violence through a loss of social cohesion, and financial savings, and the increasing problem with the well-being of students and the institutions' resources (Kendall, 2008). Moreover, the theory plays an essential role in facilitating our understanding of the costs of violent behaviour because South Africa has a predicament of frequent violent student protests across the country's institutions.

3.4 Emergent norm theory of Turner and Killian

Turner and Killian (1993) established the emergent norm theory of crowd dynamics to explain crowd behaviour. These researchers state that social behaviour is never entirely predictable, but distinctive patterns may emerge from the crowds if familiar interests draw people together. The Emergent norm theory offers a basis for understanding collective behaviour during protests, especially when students believe they must be more dramatic to get their point across. Since the theory suggests that crowds come together because a crisis occurs that forces people to abandon prior conceptions of appropriate behaviour and find new ways of acting, this will further assist in understanding student crowds on how they adjust their behaviour in reaction to the police and university to their issues (Turner and Killian, 1972).

The emergent norm theory is often associated with crisis; however, it can be beneficial in certain social situations, especially considering the frequent violent protests yearly. The theory posits that collective behaviour changes in crowds due to the occurrence of new behavioural norms in reaction to a precipitating crisis (Turner and Killian, 1993). That reaction to the situation may include sit-ins, marches, boycotts, and strikes (Kendall, 2008). According to emergent norm theory, people believe there is strength in numbers. Therefore, they may act together if they see it as the only way to fight those with greater power.

While emergent norm theory was initially applied to various forms of collective behaviour, it is most commonly trusted to help us understand the behaviour of large groups or crowds. For example, student crowds often display violent acts during protests, which the study is keen on identifying the motives behind. In particular, emergent norm theory is utilised to understand the behaviour of groups who experience a predicament and are forced to find new ways to respond (Lemonik, 2013). Although not all crowd members may agree, shared definitions and emergent norms rationalise violent action that would not be condoned under other circumstances. However, no matter how uncontrolled a crowd may appear, norms limit behaviour. In the past, demonstrations that draw much support in numbers have had a better chance of being taken

seriously (Kendall, 2008). This has resulted in better opportunities for starting negotiations about the matter. For example, during the #RhodesMustFall at the University of Cape Town (UCT) in March 2015, the unity of students brought about change; however small it was, a start to broader negotiations on student issues.

Moreover, the theory states that when people are gathered together in a familiar place or physical locality (such as on-campus), they tend to act in a manner they would not have if they were acting as individuals. For example, activities such as singing and dancing tend to be done in a group setting to express some passions on the side of students. Turner and Killian (1993) claim that new norms emerge from student crowds, and the participants adhere to new norms. New acts of behavior emerge which people adhere to in response to circumstances being faced. The theory further posits that student crowds make their classification of a situation and create norms for conduct that fit the circumstances. For example, acts of rebellion in protests become violent to fit the present situation; the hostility between demonstrators and law enforcement agencies can be categorised as a new norm that fits the current circumstances. As Turner and Killian (1987) point out, crowds have at least five kinds of participants:

1. The *ego-involved* feels personally involved in the event.
2. The *concerned* also have a personal interest in the event, but less so than the *ego-involved*.
3. The *insecure* care little about the matter; they join the crowd because it gives them a sense of power, security, or belonging.
4. The *curious spectators* also care little about the issue; they are curious about what is happening.
5. The *exploiters* do not care about the event; they use it for their purposes.

3.5 Conclusion

The theoretical lenses of emergent norm theory, Fanon, and interpersonal violence serve as the background that grounds this study theoretically and will assist in understanding the phenomenon being studied beyond through our biased and partial everyday perceptive. Furthermore, each theory assists in the discourse on violence by providing a viewpoint on the nature and costs of violence. These theories are intended to drive questions posed, guide analysis and inform discussions of the findings.

Fanon's theory on violence is critical because it allows us to determine the extent to which violence is used and where it emanates. He states that the rule of law is sustained by violence and repression. With violence as the 'natural state, those in power speak and understand the language of violence.

Waters et al's (2005) interpersonal violence theory apply to the aim of this study, given the emphasis it places on identifying causes of violence and its costs on violent student protests.

The emergent norm theory explains how collective behaviour has a long history of turning violent but also gives details on how violent behaviour develops in crowds and riots. Furthermore, the Emergent norm theory focuses on 'crowd behaviour', which believes crowds are normless. Instead, they create norms during protests that fit the current circumstances.

These theories all make a common point that the breakdown of social order leads to tragic consequences, and these costs can affect the physical and mental well-being of the individuals involved. This makes the chosen theories relevant to the study and. This comes after realising that the police system is violent with physical and human costs. However, these theorists also suggest that new norms develop when people try to do things differently to get the desired outcome; with that being said, the theories recognised further assist in the study research objectives in determining the triggers of violence and its costs as a result of violent student protests.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This methodology chapter aims to describe the strategies employed in collecting data for this research study, providing an overall work plan of how this study was carried out. This chapter will first outline the study area, which refers to where the study was conducted. The qualitative research design serves as the foundation of this research study. A qualitative research design was adopted for this study as it supports the researcher's interpretative stance. The narrative approach was elected for this research project as it offers the participants a platform to express themselves by telling their stories (relating actions, events, and activities).

Lastly, the ethical measures taken in this study and the validity of this research study will be discussed. This study explores the triggers of violent student protests, the academic and economic implications, and the economic costs the university endures due to violent protests. The chapter is separated into the following segments: study area, research design, population and sampling methods, data collection methods, data analysis and interpretation, and closes with ethical considerations.

4.2 Study area

The research site for this study was the University of the Free State (UFS) in South Africa. The UFS has three campuses: the Bloemfontein, South, and QwaQwa Campus. The Bloemfontein and the South campuses are both located in a metropolis in Bloemfontein, the capital city of the Free State Province in South Africa. The QwaQwa campus is located in Phuthaditjhaba, a rural area in the Eastern Free State. The QwaQwa campus formerly known as University of QwaQwa (UNIQWA) was an officially a black university mainly for teaching programmers, it was incorporated into the UFS in 2003. The distance between Bloemfontein and QwaQwa ranges between 319, 2 km to 335, 8 km, depending on the roads one uses (UFS, 2022).

The university has a predominantly black student population from previously disadvantaged communities. It offers residents and visitors a full range of recreational, commercial, and educational facilities. The campuses are kept lively with academic and social activities. The university has seven faculties, i.e. Economic and Management Sciences, Education, Health Sciences, Humanities, Law, Natural and Agricultural Sciences, as well as Theology and Religion, which offers full-time and part-time courses. According to university records for 2022, there are currently 34822 undergraduate students, 6403 postgraduate students, 1888 distance-learning students and 2581 permanent staff personnel (UFS, 2022).

The UFS, like many other higher education institutions, experiences violent protests regularly, but distinctively some protests have an element of race and inequality in them. In addition, some university protests have resulted in property damage. In the last two years, the university experienced over 12 student protests for various issues, including accommodation, registration, gender-based violence, and funding issues (UFS, 2022). Most of these protests have occurred on the QwaQwa campus. The university was previously called the University of QwaQwa (Uniqwa as popularly known locally) before 1994, but on 1 January 2003, Uniqwa became the QwaQwa Campus of the UFS and was merged into the University of the Free State (UFS) (UFS, 2022).

Since then, there has been a social, academic, and resource-wise gap between QwaQwa Campus and the Bloemfontein Campus, with the Bloemfontein campus being more advanced in these factors. Furthermore, due to the shortage of these factors, the QwaQwa campus is more prone to violent protests as students persistently require adequate resources on campus. Therefore, it is crucial to understand current societal challenges faced by students from this institution to find evidence-based solutions, something the study intends to do.

4.3 Research design

The qualitative research design was preferred for this study because it allows for an in-depth understanding of people's interpretation of events, circumstances, and experiences (Patton, 2002). Given that this study sought to explore the triggers of violent student protests, the academic and economic implications of violent protests and the university overall. As such the study employed a phenomenology research design. According to Kendall (2008) phenomenology is wide-ranging form of study where the researcher looks to gather information that explains how individual experience a phenomenon and how they feel about it. Qualitative studies fit well when a researcher strives to reveal knowledge or an understanding of the nature of reality about a social phenomenon (Merriam, 2014). The fundamental goal of a qualitative study is to gather and create knowledge while analysing and understanding human experiences (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). Also, qualitative research design enables the researcher to gain an insider perspective, and thus have a deeper understanding of the content, extent and features of violent student protests.

Creswell (2013: 44) argues that qualitative research "starts with assumptions and the use of interpretive or theoretical frameworks that inform the study of research problems and the meaning individuals or groups attribute to a human problem or social phenomena." Obtaining a deeper understanding of the triggers and implications of violent student protests was the core concern of this study. Therefore, a qualitative research design was appropriate because it enabled the researcher to understand how study participants make sense of their lives and experiences. Furthermore, the data obtained exposed some of these issues, including race and social norms that are adhered to during protests. The qualitative approach was employed because of its systematic, in-depth manner of capturing people's experiences and interpreting events and circumstances (Merriam, 2014). Research participants construct reality as forms of lived experiences. This reality is understood when participants communicate their different perspectives (Creswell, 2013).

The qualitative research design falls within the interpretive research paradigm. This paradigm emphasizes how people create and maintain meanings of their events, actions and human experiences (Stangor, 2015). The interpretivist

paradigm is relevant for this study because it considers the cultural, social, and distinct dimensions that affect people's lives. This approach is best suited when one seeks to understand the behaviours and attitudes of participants within their setting, as opposed to an artificial setting of experiments (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). The necessity for interpretation, inquiring, and understanding is at the root of an interpretivist approach. This paradigm's adoption assisted in exploring violent student protests with depth. Primary data generated in interpretivist studies cannot be generalised since data is deeply impacted by individual values and viewpoints (Bhardwaj, 2019). As a result, data produced through Interpretivist studies is associated with a high level of validity because data in such studies lean towards being trustworthy and truthful. Qualitative scholars can further eliminate threats to validity by relying on evidence collected during the research process to effectively dispute that any alternative explanations for a phenomenon are unlikely (Merriam, 2014).

According to Nieuwenhuis (2007), the purpose of the interpretivist research paradigm is to offer a viewpoint of a situation and to analyse the phenomenon under study, to offer insight into how a specific group of people make sense of it and the phenomena they come across. The interpretivist paradigm further helped make sense of the issues being studied and eliminate any bias, as it is subjective, which is the paradigm's disadvantage.

4.4 Population and sampling methods

4.4.1 Target population

The target population for this study included student leaders (e.g. executive members of student structures and associations), student representative council (SRC) members, and university personnel who directly deal with student affairs in the institution. The inclusion criteria for participants in this study were as follows:

Student participants were selected based on the following criteria:

- The participant is a registered student leader of a higher education institution (UFS).

- The participant occupies or occupied a leadership position that deals with and is linked with student affairs (student parliament, SRCs, etc.).
- The participant has been involved or taken part in a student protest.
- The participant has been involved in communications, negotiations and meetings with university management during their time of leadership.

Staff participants were selected based on the following criteria:

- The participant occupies a support staff or managerial position dealing with student organisations or structures (student parliament, SRCs, etc.).
- The participant is a student affairs or protection services staff member of higher education institution (UFS).
- The participant has been involved in communicating, negotiations, and meetings with students, student organisations or structures.
- The participant had to meet at least two of the above-mentioned requirements to participate in the study.

4.4.2 Sample and sampling procedure

Sampling is a procedure to select a sample from an individual or a large population group for a particular research aim (Bhardwaj, 2019). The sample in this study consists of staff members from management to support services and students from different student political organisations in and outside SRC structures. The sample for this study consisted of fifteen participants, which comprised of nine student participants and six staff participants from all three campuses. Of the fifteen participants, two of them were females, while thirteen of them were males.

In this sample, there was a disproportionate representation of males and females. Although gender was not a central analysis factor in this study, the sample reflects the disproportionate representation of females in student leadership. In addition, in most student protests, the number of male participants has always been greater than that of females, even though the University of the Free State and other institutions of higher learning in South Africa have more female students than male students.

I utilised my personal networks to find the first cohort of participants; based on my relationship with student leaders and staff personnel as a former member of the student parliament, facilitator, and student assistant, where I was engaged with some of them during student-based activities and organisations. Most of the student participants are affiliated with a political party on campus. The participants in this study were selected using two non-random sampling methods, namely, purposive sampling and snowball sampling. The reason for using purposive sampling was to select the initial participants who met the pre-set selection criteria.

In recruiting the initial participants, I also used personal networks. As a former member of the student parliament at the University of the Free State, I was able to use existing networks with student leaders and staff personnel at student affairs to identify initial participants who met the selection criteria. In addition, some participants (mostly staff personnel) were recruited through protection services, student affairs and its student governance structures that dealt with student leadership by sending a request invitation via e-mail to the relevant departments. Fortunately, participants were willing to meet with and share their thoughts and experiences. Purposive sampling is suitable when the researcher wants crucial data from a specific group of people to attain an in-depth understanding of their conditions (Miles and Huberman 1994). In this study, the purposive sampling procedure was used in identifying and recruiting initial participants who meet the study's inclusion criteria. The sampling method is intentionally used due to participants' ability to provide information as outlined and required by the researcher.

The snowball sampling procedure was also used because it was best suited to this research study. According to Bhardwaj (2019), the snowball process collects samples quickly and is cost-effective. Upon identifying and recruiting initial participants, the researcher asks to be referred to other participants who share similar characteristics (Neuman, 2012). After identifying the initial participants purposively, the snowball sampling procedure began. The initial participants identified were asked to refer to other participants who met the inclusion criteria. This process continued until saturation was reached. This study depended heavily on the involvement of identified information-rich

participants. Braun and Clarke (2013) confirm that snowball sampling involves recruitment through the researcher's and participants' networks.

4.5 Data collection methods

4.5.1 Semi-structured interviews

This study employed semi-structured interviews as a method to collect data. Nieuwenhuis (2007) defines an interview as a two-way conversation in which the interviewer asks the participants questions to collect in-depth data and learn about the participants' notions, views, beliefs and actions. The semi-structured interview is best for this research approach as it enables flexibility during the interview and can accommodate developing perceptions and notions that the researcher did not think of (Patton, 2002).

The advantage of this method is that the researchers can ask each question in the same way, giving the interviewer leeway while controlling the interview guided by the study's objectives. Furthermore, this flexibility allows the researcher to make decisions regarding the nature and content of the interview process (Bhardwaj, 2019). As a result, the researcher can make interpretations and begin her analysis during the interview. Additionally, the flexible nature of in-depth, open-ended interviews encourages the participants to give detail-rich descriptions of their stories.

Seven interviews were conducted online via Microsoft teams, and eight were conducted face-to-face. Online interviews were conducted due to time constraints and obligations the participants had due to their academic and work commitments. For that reason, some interviews were conducted at night as this was the only free time participants had to meet with me. An advantage of conducting an online interview via Microsoft teams is that the software has a transcription option which made things easier after interviews when I had to transcribe them. However, one of the disadvantages of online interviews is the loss of vital verbal cues.

The face-to-face interviews involved making appointments with the participants to visit them in their offices as this was to make things easier for

them and make them comfortable by conducting interviews in a place they are familiar with. I invited those who did not have offices to my office, and all face-to-face interviews were conducted on campus grounds. The advantage of face-to-face interviews is that the researcher can observe the participants' body language and verbal cues. The disadvantage is that individual interviews are time-consuming. The researcher has to spend time organising the interview, some participants were late for our scheduled interviews, and I had to spend time travelling to different buildings on campus. These are some of the main limitations encountered but they were managed effectively and timely (Kendall, 2008).

4.5.2 Interview schedule

In this study, an interview schedule was used as an instrument for data collection (see Appendix C). The interview schedule contained questions categorised into participation and experience in violent student protests. The interview schedule forms a structured process as it helps interviewers to know what to ask about and in what order. Furthermore, the interview schedule is helpful as it ensures that the participant's experience is the same for all respondents during interviewing, reducing the risk of bias in the interview process (Bhardwaj, 2019). According to Kendall (2008), an interview schedule advances the likelihood of gathering accurate data.

4.6 Data analysis and interpretation

According to Riessman (2006: 23), the process of data analysis "includes reading through your data repetitively and engaging in activities of breaking the data down" which normally included grouping, thematizing and building it up yet again through interpreting and elaborating. In this study, the data interview data were analysed using inductive thematic analysis, as espoused by Braun and Clarke (2006). This process involved the following stages:

Stage: 1 Data transcription

All recorded interviews were transcribed manually. In addition, interviews conducted on Microsoft teams were electronically transcribed using the

transcribe setting opt on the Microsoft Teams platform. The transcripts permit the researcher to concentrate on the participants' most important information without misreading it (Silverman, 2013). It was essential to capture word-to-word the stories and responses of participants as they are to give a clear picture of their experiences.

Stage 2: This stage involves immersing oneself in the data collected by reading and re-reading it to be familiar with the content of the interviews after transcription. This stage further involves identifying responses according to the order of the main theme. Having identified the theme, the next step is to go through the transcripts of all the interviews or notes and to classify the responses or contents under the different sub-themes (Kendall, 2008).

Stage3: Coding

Upon completing data transcription, computer-assisted qualitative data software (Nvivo12 Pro) was used to assist in coding data. Coding allows a researcher to label and group the data into meaningful chunks (Silverman, 2013). The researcher worked through the transcripts to classify codes and to create themes in relation to the research questions. Focusing on the repetition of responses presented by participants in the transcripts, the main ideas were identified and then allocated to initial groups of themes and codes. These included pre-protest channel of communications, protocols to be followed and drafting and submitting of memorandum of demands. Next, thematic data analysis is applied to identify key themes and patterns of meaning (Braun and Clarke, 2013).

These meanings are derived from spoken words and hidden metaphors. The groups with related themes were highlighted and then assembled to identify subthemes. Some themes reappeared more often than others, and the researcher then decided which themes were more valuable to the study. Then the researcher eventually ended with five themes categorised according to the study's research question. The themes are 1) the pre-protest phase, 2) triggers of violence, 3) student academic costs, 4) student economic costs, and 5) university costs due to protests.

Step 4: This stage involves assigning codes to the main themes and creating sub-themes. Assigning a code to a sub-theme depends on whether the information is helpful. Furthermore, the researcher examined the data in detail for shared ideas and polished accustomed themes as the analysis developed into components of meanings.

Step 5: Having identified the main themes and the sub-themes, the next step was to relate them to a specific research question to answer that question. This integration is further reinforced by including literature and theoretical concepts to respond comprehensively to the study's research questions.

This data analysis approach allowed me to make changes when new information appeared. Braun and Clarke (2006) explain that thematic analysis is an approach for data analysis in which a researcher studies the data in an organised manner to identify, examine and report specific themes from the research data. As such, the study adopted an inductive approach to thematic analysis, in which themes were created primarily from the collected data (Nyaradzo, 2013).

This was done by writing notes and grouping the main ideas and meanings from the data and organising the themes in the order of events. Each had sub-themes that served as the main discussion points under the main themes in addressing the research questions. In addition, I integrated reviewed literature and theoretical background into the data analysis process. Information from the literature and theoretical context enabled me to take a critical stance, as people can interpret reality in indistinct and inconsistent ways to suit their versions of reality, something I had to keep in mind throughout this study.

4.7 Credibility and trustworthiness

Credibility and trustworthiness are accomplished by regulating personal negative bias. As such, before the data analysis stage, the researcher participated in the interviews and data analysis workshops, through the University's Postgraduate School workshops on qualitative analysis, where he completed and received a certificate of competence in qualitative

methodology. To produce quality knowledge, a researcher needs 'intellectual craftsmanship' (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015: 73).

Interview techniques strengthened the credibility of this study, the amount of time spent with the participants (in-depth, open-ended interviews), and using the participants' original words through transcripts. Throughout this study, rigour was sought after in order to get trustworthy, credible and reliable data, as advised by Tracy (2010). Comprehensive data collection is attained through in-depth interviews to demonstrate rigour (Creswell, 2013). Besides, basic principles of hermeneutics, which also informed the researcher's data gathering, interpretation and analysis, allowed for the final results to be credible and reliable. Hence, the study contains thoroughly collected and analysed information to maintain credibility and trustworthiness. Credibility and trustworthiness are also managed by guiding and not manipulating data from respondents during the interviews.

Suri (2011) warns interviewers against controlling participants' views or leading them towards the interviewer's personal preferences. Interviewees were encouraged to tell their stories freely so that data could be gathered cooperatively and unrestrainedly. In so doing, the interviewees own their stories because they are given a 'platform' to voice their experiences (Riessman, 2008: 9).

Furthermore, the researcher transcribed the data verbatim, a method that enhances the trustworthiness of the data (Braun and Clarke, 2013). Uttered words in this study are transcribed as said and include direct quotes from interviewees in the findings. Boyce and Neale (2006) view the inclusion of direct quotes as a way of contributing to the credibility of the information presented. Ethical considerations for this study (as discussed in the next section), contribute to the trustworthiness of the research findings. According to Rossman and Rallis (2011), a study conducted ethically is a trustworthy study.

4.8 Ethical considerations

This study followed all the ethical guidelines prescribed by the University of the Free State for dealing with human subjects. Such research study requires the researcher to apply for ethical clearance. The researcher had to apply for ethical clearance from the Faculty of Humanities Scientific Committee and Ethics Committee at the University of the Free State; and the ethical clearance application was approved. **The clearance number is UFS-HSD2021/1456/22.**

Ethics should always bind social research. Mouton (2001) points out that the ethics of science indicate what is wrong and correct in research. Therefore, before starting the data collection process regarding the interviews, the researchers acquired permission from all parties involved in the research process so that all data collected from participants were acceptable and in good faith. This included sending a letter of clearance, consent form and information sheet (see Appendix A, B and H) that provided a detailed description of what was expected of them as participants, an outline of ethical issues and what was expected of the researcher. The participants read these, and where they did not understand, the researcher provided explanations to ensure that all participants understood and voluntarily signed the forms and agreed to participate.

In addition, before the actual interviews, participants were informed of the purpose of the study and all the dynamics of the interviews. As a result, all participants got involved out of their own will after the researcher had clarified the purpose of the study. This way, it became easier for participants to agree to the contents of the informed consent form as they were openly explained by the researcher. As such, all participants were in a position to give their consent to participate in the study, and participants were offered the opportunity to choose the language of their choice for the interview. All the participants chose English as their preferred language.

- **The participant's right to refuse to participate in the study and their right to withdraw their participation at any stage.**

Participants have a right to refuse or withdraw their participation if they feel discomfort or an unpleasant event being revived during the study (Neuman,

2014). An effort was made to ensure participants did not experience any emotional distress. Therefore, although no harm was anticipated, all efforts were made to protect the well-being of the research participants. Participants were given the interview schedule to inform and prepare themselves before the interview. Participants were told that they had the choice not to answer questions if the questions made them uncomfortable, and they were free to withdraw from the research study at any time. The written agreement (see Appendix A and B) outlined the objectives and procedures to be followed in the study.

- **Confidentiality.**

Bui (2014) perceives the issue of confidentiality as a vital ethical feature in protecting participants' identities and reporting findings. In other words, the research report should be written in a way that the participants cannot be traced back to particular people (Neuman, 2014). This practice was accomplished by omitting details such as names of participants and addresses. Pseudonyms have been used under all circumstances until the reporting of findings. The consent form openly highlights the declaration of confidentiality.

All participants' information was kept confidential, with only the researcher knowing the identity of the participants. In the written agreement (see Appendix A and B), participants were informed that all material and data collected would be encompassed only in the final report. Data was identified and stripped of all identifiers of personal information. No information directly linked the research participants to the data anywhere within the dissertation. Under no circumstances could the information have been able to be traced back to specific participants. No one can access the recordings saved on my personal computer except for me because the computer is password-protected. The research participants are protected, and confidentiality will always be maintained, even in succeeding publications.

- **No harm to participants.**

A direct ethical principle is that researchers should never cause physical harm to participants (Kendall, 2008). Participants did not endure any physical harm

in this research study. Although no form of harm was anticipated, all efforts were made to protect the well-being of the research participants (see appendix B and G). According to Neuman (2012), psychological harm involves anxiety, stress, and worry in participants was diminished. The informed consent form that was read out to participants at the beginning of each interview states that participants were free to leave the interview whenever it becomes overwhelming or uncomfortable. Furthermore, it was clearly stated in the consent form that if participants choose to withdraw from the study, they could do so prejudice. None of the participants raised discomfort as a concern during the interviews, and none withdrew from the study.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the research design and methodology that the researcher used in conducting this research project. First, the study adopted a qualitative research approach to understand the triggers of violent student protests, the academic and economic implications, and the economic costs the university endures due to violent protests. The approach is also suitable in fitting into the theoretical concepts chosen (Fanonian perspective on violence, interpersonal violence and emergent norm theory).

Secondly, this study used an interpretive paradigm adopted to understand how students experience and participate in student protests; this study is centred on understanding people's everyday life experiences and stories. Thirdly, the methodological account was provided, where data collected from was discussed. Data was collected using a semi-structured interview schedule with open-ended questions to answer this study's research questions. Lastly, this chapter discussed the ethical measures taken by the researcher to ensure the trustworthiness and validity of the study. The following chapter focuses on presenting, analysing and interpreting the research study's findings.

CHAPTER 5: STUDENTS' EXPERIENCES OF PROTEST ACTION AND IMPLICATIONS OF VIOLENT PROTESTS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the findings of this study. The findings will be presented following this study's three specific research objectives. The first objective of this study was to determine the triggers of violence during student protests. The second objective was to explore the academic implications of violent student protests for students. The third and last objective was to assess how violent student protests affect students and higher learning institutions financially.

The findings presented in this chapter are categorised into four themes. Each of the four themes has accompanying sub-themes. The first theme focuses on the formation of protests. The theme concentrates on how issues and concerns of students are communicated to relevant departments within the institution. In addition, the theme addresses the guidelines that students or student organisations follow when raising their issues and concerns. The second theme focuses on the triggers of violence. Participants related their thoughts on the possible causes of violent behaviour during student protests to this theme.

The third theme focuses on the academic implications of violent student protests. This theme looks at the effects of protests on the academic project, especially in the aftermath of the violent protests.

Finally, the fourth theme focuses on the financial implications of violent protests. Participants share their experiences of the economic consequences of the violent student protests in this theme. Table 5.1 below outlines the themes that emerged from the interviews conducted for this study. In addition, the table also presents the sub-themes that emerged from the interviews.

Table 5.1 Themes and sub-themes on the findings of violent student protests

Main Themes	Formation of protests	Causes of violence	Academic implications	Financial implications
Sub-themes	Methods of communication Lack of response	Lack of leadership Different agendas Individual selection Police and security presence Retaliation	Loss of study time Lack of access to resources Suspensions	Transport fees Legal fees

The following section will present findings on the formation of violent protests.

5.2. Formation of protests

The findings of this study show that the periods before the protests are characterised by student leaders and student organisations relaying the grievances of the student body to relevant departments in the institution of higher learning. Participants reported that they often encountered unwelcoming attitudes in their engagements with university officials who are responsible for addressing student concerns:

The student protests are always about the same issues. We know very well that come January, these are the issues that we will be dealing with, but you have got a finance department that is rigid in terms of their decision-making. They will only start to give in when the students go out to the street (Thato).

When I first engaged in a protest in 2020, during the first semester, we started and called people at the residences to start a conversation. This is what we need to take upon the university. Then a good friend of mine went to knock on doors, and we started to mobilise people. Then, they called something like a mass meeting with the finance department where that guy from finance was a bit arrogant, and they looked down on us (Marvin).

The above interview excerpts show that before the violent protests, students often attempt to raise their concerns through peaceful negotiations with relevant offices. However, their voices are often not heard nor given the necessary urgency. The findings show that university officials tend to be arrogant in their approach, instead of listening and responding to student grievances timeously. This lack of empathy agitates the students as they feel they are being disrespected and that their concerns are not being taken seriously. In this sense, Kendall (2008) notes that students often escalate the situation to other forms of protests that may include sit-ins, marches, boycotts, and strikes when their grievances are not dealt with urgency because of the unpalatable attitude of the officials.

Most of the participants in this study expressed their frustration with the bad treatment they received from the university officials. They reported that despite following proper channels to voice their grievances, officials failed to address them satisfactorily. The following interview excerpts demonstrate the students' frustrations.

When students constantly get ignored, they run out of options, so an aggressive approach is the only way they will frighten the management. Nevertheless, unfortunately, in most cases, students are affected by real issues (Marvin).

If all channels have been followed and we feel that issues are not being attended to, we then take the matters to the Institutional Student Representative Council (ISRC) and ask them to address these issues with the Rectorate. Then, if they are still not attended to or we feel that they are not addressing the issues to a level we want, that is when we call for a shutdown because our grievances are not being considered (Thasos).

The preceding interview excerpts suggest that a sense of urgency in addressing student matters can prevent campus protests. Some studies on social conflict show that a violent protest is more likely to occur when the group at odds with the institution has had all other forms of expression suppressed, and when the group cannot trust the management to respond to its demands through non-violent protest or petition (Klaasen, 2020). Etaneki and Okolie

(2020) further established that student discontent could be controlled by effective management, communication, and ongoing and reasonable fees increase. Meanwhile, Taneki and Okolie (2020) propose that most student protests erupt due to a lack of communication between management and student. Taneki and Okolie (2020) further argue that allowing input from student bodies can decrease student dissatisfaction since they will be more informed about the challenges faced by institutions. The protest action is an essential mechanism through which people, especially the neglected and vulnerable people acting together, can make their voices heard.

According to Griffiths (2019), when university management makes decisions without prior consultation with students or the governing student body, this results in students taking matters into their own hands. In this way, a lack of communication can result in many misinterpretations. Therefore, avoiding making such errors is essential for an effective communication arrangement.

5.2.1. Methods of communication

The findings of this study show that e-mails are the first communication channel used by students to communicate issues affecting them to the relevant structures or departments. The following excerpts detail the channels of communication followed by students and their representatives.

The recommended approach is that we should relate all of our queries, issues and all this stuff to the SRC, and then to the management. So, most of the time, we try and make use of e-mails, say to the faculty dean, but most of the time, we only get automatic replies, or “we will get back to you” (Neo).

We will reach out to the management or send an email. If the first email communication is not answered, then a memorandum of demand will be sent before we take any necessary action (Marvin).

According to the university policy protocols between the SRC and student affairs, e-mails are the first preferred method of communication. Both parties use this method, but students strongly believe that it is sometimes discouraging

as one will not know when they will get a response. Participants further pointed out that the use of e-mails is limiting as there is no instant reply to their issues and problems that need urgent attention. One participant said the following:

So let us say a student is being evicted at 10 pm, we do not send e-mails because some issues require urgency, but a protest is obviously after meetings (Ithabeleng).

Participants highlighted that sometimes depending on the urgency of the issue, they will use e-mails or go straight to the responsible department or contact person. Furthermore, some students feel that they have limited access to management. As a result, they struggle to communicate their issues effectively. This often causes a lot of problems and miscommunication among students:

I feel like the university limits how the student masses can communicate with management. I cannot contact the dean and say, "I have this issue". There is no way. Also, when it comes to management, there is a big gap, and there is no communication between us. So, I feel like if they could make ways for us to voice our suggestions and opinions, and properly engage with us when it comes to sorting out issues, there could be a big decline in student protests (Marvin).

Lack of communication can lead to misunderstandings and disagreements, and these can cause strain on the relationship between the parties involved. Onivehu (2021) suggests that the prominence of negotiations, cooperation and constant communication between parties involved can go a long way in dealing with disputed issues. This study finds that students prefer face-to-face communication or interaction over electronic methods as it is faster and more effective in obtaining a response. One participant said,

We (the SRC) preferred physical communication over electronic communication (Ithabeleng).

Students believe that face-to-face communication and interaction is the best way to address student issues as it is quicker to get a resolution. This also comes after the shared view that, at times, student e-mails are ignored deliberately

by those in charge, and this lack of response aggravates students into taking extreme measures to ensure that they get their message across.

5.2.2 Lack of response

The findings of this study show that lack of response to electronic communication (emails) and memorandum of demands have dire effects as students feel forced to take to the streets to get the necessary attention. Emails are usually the first method used, followed by a memorandum of demands as the last method to communicate grievances. A lack of response to the above-mentioned methods fuels students to be chaotic as they believe the issues presented in their communication are not receiving the necessary attention.

A delayed response and an acknowledgement without a resolution to the issues presented form could be considered as a lack of response, and this could have troubling circumstances as students believe that something a lot more dramatic must happen to get a suitable response from those in charge. Inadequate response to emails and memorandum of demands further leads to the mobilisation of students to gain support for their course as they feel that their grievances are not taken serious. Here is Rethabile's account relating to the above discussion when asked what method they use to communicate their grievances with university management:

When we strike, we strike, having submitted a memorandum of demands. So, that is where our starting point to our destination would be. Let us say it is a department or, for example; it is financial aid. In this instance, we will go to financial aid with a memorandum of demands that we are going to give to the directors of financial aid, make our demands entirely and give them a set time limit to achieve such if then the demands listed on the memorandum of demands are not met within the set time, or the response is unfavourable to what we actually want then that is when now a further plan of action is needed (Rethabile).

This study found that after exhausting all the existing recommended methods of communication, such as sending e-mails and submitting memorandums,

students resort to drastic measures to get management's attention if their efforts are ignored. Adeyemi (2009) points out that signing memorandums of understanding with students and involving them in the process is a good measure for decreasing the occurrence of student protests at universities. The present study also found that quicker communication and genuine negotiations with students can prevent unnecessary protests. The following quotes capture this interpretation:

The ISRC, which is the highest decision-making body in terms of student governance, are the last ones that we can consult before going to management in everything. When the management comes back to us and say that they have not been able to resolve an issue, we then start to mobilise students. So, at that point, we begin to mobilise students to say that we have these issues, and then let us draw up a memorandum of demands highlighting them (Tsheole).

Suppose those channels (e-mailing and submission of memorandum) have been followed, and we feel those issues are not being attended to. In that case, that is when as the campus SRC we call for a shutdown because it seems as if our grievances are not taken into consideration, or they do not even consider certain factors. So, we feel that everything must be at a halt because they are pressing issues to be attended to (Thasos).

The study finds that the inability of the IRSC (Institutional Representative Student Council) or management to respond to or resolve issues presented by the students leads to students deciding to take matters into their own hands to protest. The emergent norm theory of Turner and Killian (1993) states that to deal with new situations, new norms emerge from people who justify their actions that would otherwise be considered wrong. One participant said:

History has taught us that every time you send your memorandum, you send your issues based on student concerns to the SRC. In turn, if the SRC does not engage the management on those issues stipulated in the memorandums, it is perceived as a lack of leadership whereby students lose confidence in the SRC and management. Students then think it

would be in their own interest to represent themselves. If the SRC cannot ensure that the memorandum given to them is brought back with the proper feedback, then it becomes a challenge when students lose confidence and they decide to lead themselves (Bonolo).

The study found that when students feel that their voices are being silenced or not being heard by those in charge, they resort to extreme measures to ensure they are listened to. History has repeatedly shown that most issues are brought to management through proper formal channels by student representative organisations, but the response of universities often sparks outrage among students (Swartz et al., 2018). However, another finding in this study shows that protests are not the first resort by students as assumed:

Strikes come about when you have tried to engage with all the relevant stakeholders and offices, including the SRC itself, management at its peak and the Department of Higher Education (Thato).

Not responding to our concerns, that is, you telling me that you do not care, that after having exhausted all necessary measures and protocols, after I have observed every protocol possible, you are still unwilling to come to the ground and do what is right (Thelma).

The findings of this study suggest that when students feel like they have run out of options, protesting is the last option they have in their arsenal to get a response or solution to matters they are raising. One participant said that:

When people decide to take their grievances to the streets, you know that is them telling you that they have exhausted every measure possible to communicate their issues (Thato).

This finding is consistent with Von Holdt's (2013) report on the transition to violent democracy. In the report, student leaders from the University of Tshwane, University of Technology (TUT) and Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) mentioned that university management was highly unresponsive to their requests, something usually raised by protesters when asked why they resort to protesting. When protests occur, they should be addressed immediately to reduce the potential for violent manifestations (Fomunyam,

2017). Lack of response to student issues causes much frustration for students, and they vent out those frustrations through violent acts.

5.3 Causes of violence

This theme presents findings on what leads to violence during student protests. According to the emergent norm theory, new norms emerge from student crowds, and those crowds adhere to new norms (Turner and Killian 1993). The results of this study show that protests always start peacefully and only turn violent as a result of the way protestors are handled. Participants in this study expressed that when they participate in protests, their intention is never to fight but to make sure they are seen and that their issues are heard:

We have seen in almost all the higher institutions of learning the level of arrogance again that comes from the Department of Higher Education and management itself. So, it protests turn violent when students have exhausted everything, and even when striking peacefully, they are still not yet heard. So, it is unfortunate that the management and the Department of Education only want to listen when things have become violent (Thato).

Some of our protests are still within the laws. It is unfortunate that after we do things properly, we get an unfavourable response from management, which triggers us to be anarchists. Still, then, the nature of all our protests is peaceful, to demonstrate a bit and submit a memorandum, and that is actually all (Rethabile).

The findings of this study show that when students decide to protest, it is never to get violent and vandalise university property but to draw attention to their grievances. However, despite all that, various influences lead to violent behaviour how quick communication is and people`s attitudes which influence their actions. Collective behaviour inspires collective action in crowds due to new behavioural norms reacting to a precipitating crisis (Turner and Killian, 1993). The violence manifested by students at African universities is, therefore, the result of an inherited ideological trait which unfailingly manifests in the lives of those who inherited it (Fomunyam, 2017).

Badat (2016) argues that student protests mirror several features of contemporary South African society, such as protesting. Although not all crowd members may disagree, shared definitions and emergent norms rationalise violent action that would not be condoned under different circumstances (Kendall, 2008). Protesters see their actions as justified as they believe they are not taken seriously when they protest peacefully. As such, something extreme must take place to get their message heard. Unfortunately, the sad reality is that the authorities often ignore peaceful, non-disruptive protests (Oxlund, 2016). Protests with no apparent front-runners usually get into chaos more rapidly as protesters have no coordinated direction of what needs to be done. Aside from what students said were the causes of violence, what causes violence is that many of students' demands are 'unresolvable' because of lack of funding and other matters, says Jansen (2017). Lack of funding creates a dead end between management and students, as management needs money to maintain the academic project: research, paying lecturers etc., but let us hear what the students say.

5.3.1 Lack of leadership

The findings of this study show that the lack of leadership from the SRC and other student bodies during student protests increases the chances of violence. Participants in this study reported that when there are no specific individuals who are leading protests or guiding protesters on what they should do and not, things can get out of order:

There is a lack of coordination and marshalling from the protest organisers because if they are in the protest movement, they also have the emotions same as students are having (Neo).

When students have no leadership on the ground telling them where this is wrong and right, students get to do what they want to do. When we had a protest, we left them to lead themselves at night. In the following morning, windows were broken, fountains kicked, and everything. So, you see a lack of coordination and a lack of a proper plan of action leads to violence (Ithabeleng).

This study found that disorganisation and lack of control can cause many unintended difficulties for students and the university, as things can get out of control quickly. This finding is consistent with a study by Ives and Lewis (2020), which showed that protests are more likely to spiral into violence when they are disorganised. In addition, Kiguwa and Ally (2018) argue that well-organised protests with identifiable leadership structures, logical objectives, and members who know one another are better positioned to keep violence-prone actors out of their activities. In addition, the findings of this study indicate that in most cases, those who organise protests end up being responsible for the outcomes of the protests. Unfortunately, this has dire consequences, making them targets to the police or security officials as they become outstanding in the crowd.

5.3.2 Different agendas

This study found that students participating in student protests often come from different political associations and student organisations. As a result, their motives in the protests differ according to their varying affiliations. A view shared by Habib (2019) is that protests become divided by “student leaders’ own complicity in the political agendas of their respective political parties to capture the movement”. Therefore, sometimes there are hidden agendas from certain parties or individuals. Some of these have the potential to derail the purpose and momentum of a protest, as some people may engage in activities that fall outside of the decisions of the collective. The following excerpts demonstrate the frustrations resulting from multiple agendas during protests:

When you have people with different alliances and ways of thinking, that is where you find yourself in violent protests. For example, the last protest was a collective protest decision, but some guys came and burned down facilities. When you burn facilities, the first people they will come for are our student leaders, not random students, but most of the time, the call to destroy facilities does not come from student leaders, it is often just a

random person. In some cases, some people join protests to sabotage (Rethabile).

Let me say that a protest can be organised by Democratic Alliance (DA), but someone from the South African Student Congress (SASCO) comes to cause havoc wearing a DA t-shirt because you do not keep tabs on all these members (Neo).

The above interview excerpts suggest that it is not always the protesters who engage in criminal activities but external individuals who want to use such events to commit transgressions. This resonates with the findings by Kendall (2008), who states that protesters have emphasised that other unknown individuals sometimes initiate violence by taking advantage of protests to conduct criminal activities, theft, and looting when the opportunity arises. This has an element of sabotage, and student political parties, usually use such occasions to compete for constituents and increase their party's visibility. Such acts of sabotage take place to discredit another political party and their image in the eyes of the students or university management. Something Prof Habib (2018) mentions in his book that "political populism" has often been at play in most violent student protests.

As Turner and Killian (1987) point out, crowds have at least five kinds of participants, one being the exploiters. These individuals do not care about the event but use it for their own selfish purposes. This is the category where these individuals would fall into and become separate from the group as they do not conform to the collective beliefs.

5.3.3 Individual selection

The findings of this study show that during student protests, some student leaders are targeted by the authorities and sometimes get arrested. Participants in this study were of the view that separating and arresting specific student leaders during a protest sparks violence. In addition, the unfair targeting of individuals puts them at risk of being isolated from other protesters leading to cycles of violence.

As leaders within the institution, we have an unfortunate thing that when leading a protest, I am faced with now being identified and being isolated; in a sense to say that when protection services and your police services come, there is already a picture of me circulating throughout the offices to see that this is the individual that is leading the protest (Tsheole).

Porta (2013) noted that violence by its outset has trigger points, and so are protests. This study finds that one of those triggers for protesters is seeing the arrest of one of their comrades. One participant said:

An injustice to one is an injustice to everyone. That is the general way we do things, but now when you have a leader such as the president, and the police are arresting him, after being arrested, students are going to fight (Thelma).

The study finds that the isolation and arrest of specific student leaders create unity and solidarity amongst protesters, leading to unexpected acts of retaliation against those in charge or law enforcement. According to Steven (2015), calling the police and suspending student leaders does not solve the problem. This further provokes the students and renders the relationship between the police and the student leaders and management more conflictual and antagonistic. According to Heerden (2017), it is essential to acknowledge that tensions characterise demonstrations. The police and private security presence in one locality builds tension between students and them.

5.3.4 Police and security presence

The findings of this study show that private security and police presence during a protest causes tensions and difficulties. While the presence of police and security personnel on campus is supposed to assure safety for everyone, the manner in which they conduct themselves fuels tensions. This study found that police and private security confront students with too much aggression during protests. As a result, students end up retaliating as a way to protect and defend themselves. Fanon recognises the physical and mental implications of

violence. The following interview excerpts illustrate some of the student's experiences in their interactions with police and private security personnel during protests:

In my experience, protests turn violent because of the deployment of extra security guards from the institution and SAPS personnel. You should remember that when these SAPS personnel arrive at these protests, in most cases, what they do is exert pressure on students to move away. For instance, let us say the students are stopping all operations on campus. In most cases, the SAPS will make sure that they use tear gases and rubber bullets to ensure that students disperse at the point where they are gathering so that on its own leads students to retaliate (Bonolo).

We have seen the level of arrogance that comes from management when it comes to tendencies when students are protesting peacefully, especially at this university. You go and stand by the gate, and then in two minutes, the management calls the police on you. Then, when the police come, they start shooting at innocent students protesting peacefully, not even armed or carrying a placard. So that is when it turns violent because now students are fighting to defend themselves (Ithabeleng).

The role of police and private security has been found to be among the main causes of violence during protests. Kiguwa and Ally (2018) also found that the presence of police and private security on campuses during protests and how these groups confront students contribute to turning peaceful marches into violent incidents where university property typically gets damaged. Mbembe (2016) also found that in many protests, students often put up a resistance against heavily armed police leading to disastrous outcomes (Mbembe, 2016). As one participant said:

I have never in my entire existence, while I have been part of these protests, gone to a protest where instantly it was violent. Students are constantly triggered, and unfortunately, they retaliate in that manner, leading to violence (Thelma).

The findings of this study suggest that police and private security presence have a direct impact on the violent behaviour of students. Heleta (2016) found that police presence increases the likelihood of violence during protests, especially when there are weak relations between those in charge and the protesters. According to Dumako (2019), protestors perceive heavily armed police as undesirable and violent actors. In this study, participants indicated that the presence of police and private security on campus indicates management's lack of interest in having a meaningful and peaceful engagement with students. Instead of meeting students to hear them out, management opts to send police or security personnel to disperse them. As one participant put it:

Some few months back when the students protested, they woke up in the morning, the police were there. The police told them they were given the order to remove them. They were not even singing or doing anything. They were sitting on the road, standing still and nothing. So, the police came in and said this was the order they were given. You will be forcefully removed if you do not leave within this time (Rethabile).

The participants reported that the police action of coming onto campuses was perceived as an act of the state standing with the university against students. According to Mbembe (2016), deploying heavily armed state police personnel to campuses indicates that the state is protecting the university and its management and sending a clear message to those who threaten it. In addition, Heerden (2017) argues that these interactions between the police and students socialise the protesters into violence in many ways than one. This substantiates the study's findings that participants perceive the deployment of the police and security as a direct attack on them while they are being non-violent.

The heavy presence of security and police gets students at the edge. As you can see, whenever there is a protest, the university organises a security company. You know that company, if we are being honest, that security is the security for a riot. So, whenever they come to students, they are heavily geared for a riot, so obviously, it is going to trigger somebody

because I came here peacefully to talk. But, still, you bring me angry people, so I will eventually get angry as well. So, I would say that is pretty much seeing a heavy presence of police. So clearly, you are not willing to listen to us; instead, you want to shut us down (Neo).

The way management communicates with the students is as if we do things peacefully, they do not understand. Clearly, they understand violence because they respond with violence through the police (Rethabile).

Literature shows that the endorsement of police violence against students is fabricated as necessary, while the constructs of student violence as part of protest are problematised (Heleta 2016). Students have often had to endure violence in the form of stun grenades, teargas, and rubber bullets during protests. This has meant that by participating in a protest, students face persecution and violent, arbitrary arrests and threats of arrest (Luescher, Loader and Mugume, 2017). In the following interview excerpt, one of the study participants talks about her experience during a confrontation with private security guards who were called on campus to monitor a protest:

The SRC assigned us gates to block before 7 am so that no one can access the campus. The university was so strategic such that by the time we got to campus before 7 am, there were private security guards already in position. So, we thought the main focus would be the main gate. So, when we got to the main gate, as I said, the private security guards were in position, and I closed the gates. The security guards opened it. We closed it again, and then there was someone from protection services, and I cannot remember what happened, but that is when we started fighting. So, I asked him (private security member) "what are you here to do? You do not even study here? I do not know why you are here", and he is like, "no, I have been told to come here", and I am like, "who told you to come here?" So, to us, it is like, the Rectorate can speak to you but not us. So, we wanted a name like someone who deployed a private security company to intimidate us as students. I mean,

I believe that it is the university's responsibility to protect us instead of putting security on us (Thelma).

The findings of this study indicate that students are sensitive to the presence of police and private security on campus, which gets them agitated. Furthermore, this is influenced by how law enforcement approaches and the way they treat students during a protest. Although private security companies on campuses are not new, students and security personnel usually have violent clashes during protests. According to Porta (2013), violence emerges from violence. In most circumstances, the police meet resistance with force. This often fosters solidarity among protesters who retaliate and justify using violence as self-defence.

5.3.5 Retaliation

This study found that the acts of vandalism and destruction of property during protests are attributed to two things: (1) retaliation against acts of brutality from the police or private security, (2) it is a way to make the management to listen, and to take notice of students and their grievances. The following interview excerpt gives insight into the experiences of students:

Students vandalise because they are retaliating against the brutality of the SAPS and the security guards that are always present when students want to protest peacefully. Unfortunately, the management deploys these people (private security and SAPS), and it turns ugly. When students retaliate, they destroy things, and the unfortunate part is that every time this occurs, management listens. That is when they open their eyes and want to hear what the real issue are. Therefore, it is a big concern that every time students want to raise their voices that is the approach, they have to take for them to be heard (Bonolo).

Protestors see heavily armed police as proscribed and violent actors (Dumako, 2019). This correlates with the study's findings that seeing police and security personnel on campus during protests further antagonises students as they feel intimidated by their presence. Furthermore, the deployment of security forces

(which usually increases further tension in already unpredictable circumstances) to control student protests has been broadly condemned by experts in conflict management (Odebode, 2019). However, the study finds that some participants feel justified with the activities which contribute to the dismantling and burning of university property as they think they are not being listened to from the beginning, and that violent protesting is the only way to get attention from those in charge. Therefore, students believe that through these acts of violence when they get to be listened to:

If you are unwilling to listen to us, the simplest thing is to go for buildings and university property because if we are suffering, you will also suffer. That is what leads to the destruction of property. If you are not willing to sit with us and not have a word with us, okay, we will show you that there is no university without students, so we are prepared to take it down with us. If it persists to that level, you will not listen once, and we do this to make you listen to us twice now (Neo).

The other time earlier this year, students were protesting peacefully on campus; the institution then released a report saying a group of students was running around campus pretending to be protesting. You see, simply because it is not violent. Therefore, it is not a protest, but it is students who are running around disrupting classes. However, when it starts to become violent, it is a protest. Now, what does that then tell you? So, it tells you that no matter how peaceful you protest, it is not seen as a protest in their eyes; it is seen as students disrupting, but when you start to become violent, you vandalise, you do everything, and then it becomes a protest according to them. Then it brings me back to the saying that our institution or management has become an ancestor. Like an ancestor, you need to burn impepho (incense) first to have your voice heard; the institution as well is like one (incense) where you need to burn something for it to respond. It is therefore worrying and concerning at the same time (Thato).

The above interview excerpts suggest that it is a common belief among students that the management only responds and caters to their needs when they become violent. This belief further encourages students to act violently.

However, Holdt (2013) notes that some vice-chancellors refuse to engage with student leaders or do not attend scheduled meetings.

The study finds that the acts of vandalism do not always emanate from police or private security presence and clashes only, but result from the silence of those in charge and their refusal to communicate and engage with students. Violence is necessary, not only to defeat a system of domination, but also to restructure the mind of the colonised subject – specifically to eradicate those feelings of inferiority and fear (Fanon, 2004). Unfortunately, such a response to student demands typically results in students rioting, disturbing classes and causing all sorts of disruptions (Heleta, 2016). According to Iwara et al (2020), the continual manifestation of violent protests and their growing popularity among South African university students suggests that violence is the pivotal language that people within the university administration in South Africa easily understand. One participant said:

When the students have exhausted all possible measures, it is so unfortunate that it even gets to a point where they have to burn; I do not know if you have paid attention to this. You can go now and report an issue; they will not respond. However, when you have decided to go and burn something, that is when they want to come to the ground to talk and negotiate. The question now is why should there be something that burns for them to come to the ground and listen to the grievances of the students? (Tsheole).

Nowadays, students recognise historically that the oppressor understood violence through violent acts to be heard, valued, and taken seriously to reform and transform the higher education system (Kumalo, 2018). As Fanon (2004) argued, revolutionary violence represents a democratic and more transformative agenda to change relations of inequality, and to configure new interactions between dominant and marginalised members. However, the findings of this study show that although participants admit to the use of burning and vandalism as a tactic to grab the attention of the management, they do not condone those acts themselves as they believe they are not the right things to do but feel like they have no other options:

I do not condone vandalism. We can never condone any form of vandalism or any form of the destruction of property and all that because what that does is that destruction of property takes students twenty steps backwards. However, it is so unfortunate that students have to resort to violent measures for the institution to see that it is necessary to come to the ground (Marvin).

It always must go down to vandalism, and I do not support such, but it has been proven that it is the only way you get the attention of management (Bonolo).

These acts of violence during protests have dire consequences for students in many ways. One of them was the university's closure during protests, which led to many difficulties for academic services.

5.4. Academic implications

5.4.1 Loss of study time

This study's findings show that students lose study time whenever a protest occurs. This seriously impacts their performance and disrupts the rest of the academic calendar. The theory of interpersonal violence posits that violent protests have direct and indirect costs (Waters et al., 2005). Direct costs include loss of lives, properties, and financial resources. Indirect costs include time, lost productivity, and compromised quality of life due to physical or mental problems (Waters et al., 2005). Some participants explained that:

When a protest occurs, we know that there will be a halt in academics or that students will be blocked from attending classes. That happens because we are now seeking solidarity among students. After all, others cannot go to class while others are fighting for their issues. So, the question is, who must then go to the forefront and fight for you? (Thato).

Frequent protest disrupts the study schedule. As a result, students are bombarded with extra tests and assignment. This puts so much pressure on them. As a result, students fail, leading to academic exclusion (Bonolo).

The above interview excerpts show that after the protest, students suffer major setbacks regarding their studies. According to Lewis (2021), many protests result in a total shutdown of the Universities, which might be for hours, days, or even months, leading to a complete cease of administration and all academic-related activities. Moreover, protests impact the university's programmes, such as lectures, examinations, conferences, graduations, and research (Klaasen, 2020). Participants from the study explained that:

These protests lead to students failing because of the academic implications that are there. When you fail, NSFAS will never be able to fund you or any bursary while you are failing. So basically, that means that come next year, you will have to pay for yourself (Neo).

There have been so many protests on our campus this year, so we are not on the same path as the academic calendar set at the beginning of the year. We are way behind schedule. So students are bombarded with extra assessments and extra classes, which puts pressure on them. Students are going to be failing, and some be academically excluded (Ithabeleng).

Furthermore, this study found that student protests have implications for funding outcomes. For example, due to loss of study time, students may end up failing their modules, resulting in loss of funding and further putting students at risk of academic exclusion due to poor performance. Previous studies also acknowledge that they are implications that manifest as a result of protests. Violent student protests have costs beyond direct victims and perpetrators (Iwara et al., 2020). Cost in this context refers to the adverse effects of violent student protests (Tshifhumulo and Beata, 2020).

Findings for this study show that other participants believe that the academic costs that they endure are not that severe and that the people they are representing are not that much affected academically when protests do take place. Such beliefs were best captured in the following interview:

I would say there is a huge implication or a negative one on the part of students because if I do not have a meal allowance, it means I cannot concentrate in class. So having a protest and then the university closing

does not negatively impact the students we represent. And I need to emphasise that it does not have a negative implication on the students that we represent, but obviously, on the privileged ones. I mean, they do miss out on lecture time, but at the same time, those are privileged people who can catch up, you know, when a university is closed, they have textbooks (Ithabeleng).

The implications are that though they will not be classes, the implications are not going to be large because when the majority is not attending classes, the minority will also be implicated. So, therefore, it brings a halt to the entire thing (Thato).

The only thing I came here to do is study, and I am willing to risk it to show you that what is happening is incorrect. It is an issue for me, and it affects me (Neo).

Much academic time gets lost when protests occur, resulting in academic complications due to the closure of campuses. The closure of campuses also affect access to resources which students need for online learning and teaching.

5.4.2 Lack of access to resources

The study finds that classes get interrupted whenever protests occur on campuses, eventually leading to a temporary closure of the campus or university. Furthermore, this closure of campuses leads to lectures being moved online, which disadvantages students as this restricts their access to university resources such as computer laboratories, libraries and workshops. According to participants:

When we have violent protests, and the institution is forced to shut down momentarily, they move things to online learning. Online learning caters for other faculties but does not cater for other faculties. For instance, I am from the Natural and Agricultural Sciences (NAS) faculty, and sometimes you are not even given an extension. In the NAS faculty, we are supposed to do practicals, and most of our modules need face-to-face contact

learning. It is not easy to do online because some things must be written on boards; you have to explain to lecturers to derive certain equations. We are expected to do all these things online; we are expected even to do the practicals online. The lecturers are supposed to give you data, and then you analyse it now (Thasos).

The transition to online learning because of protests disadvantages other students as most students come from poor backgrounds. Students from poor backgrounds do not have resources such as Wi-Fi and facilities needed to conduct experiments, as mentioned earlier. Moreover, this further affects student mainly during this time, and they are not allowed on campus premises, meaning resources such as the library and computer laboratories are off limits while they are also expected to perform their work.

Even though the university's closure during student protests is meant to be a safety and preventative measure, it has consequences for academic activities. Even if intended to prevent unlawful protests, measures such as curfews, and restricting access to campus, make organising lawful protests, and many other students' lives more challenging (Oxlund, 2016). The study further finds that students who reside off-campus are categorised as violent and often the first group to be denied access to campus premises after protests. Thus, participants said:

In April, when we were protesting, the campus was closed for off-campus students because they were classified as, you know, violent students. Only students who reside on campus were allowed to use the campus facilities like our computer labs, and so students who were living off-campus were expected to attend classes online. So yeah, those were the conditions they faced; sometimes even, they were expected to write tests, do assignments, and submit them on time (Thasos).

It is unfair that a certain proportion of students are going to class, studying and passing and have all the materials, and others don't, but we are fighting for the same thing (Ithabeleng).

There is a perception shared among the participants that the university community sees off-campus residing students as more violent than those who

reside in campus residences. However, it is worth mentioning that most students in the institution live off-campus, meaning the majority are affected whenever protests occur. Off-campus students are more affected as they are usually restricted access to campus premises during protests or the closure of campuses. Because of this, they are often left out of accessing the university resources needed to do their academic work. They often have to wait until they are allowed back; meanwhile, students residing on campus had access to resources the whole time. Furthermore, students get denied because they are either suspended or accused of being the ones to influence other students into protesting.

5.4.3 Suspensions

The study finds that students are frustrated by the possibility of suspension from the university upon arrest or being identified as leaders of a protest. Furthermore, once a student is suspended from the institution, their academic career is directly affected. The following interview excerpt gives further insights into the students' frustrations due to possible suspensions.

When you have been suspended, automatically, you cannot be part of the institution. You are not allowed to perform academic activities or even be on campus. So already, those students are way behind, which automatically would lead them to fail. So, it is a problem. I do not know how it can be solved, but it is a huge problem (Bonolo).

When students are on suspension, they are excluded from academic activities and the campus itself, which puts them at risk of failure due to being absent. Furthermore, their absence from academics has further consequences involving time for completing a qualification and funding. Furthermore, the study finds that students believe their suspensions from academic activities and other activities on campus grounds are just a tactic that the university uses to discourage them and silence them from participating in student protests. Here is what some participants had to say:

We can never shy away from the fact that when there is a protest, certain leaders will be arrested to silence them. Not only that, but the management will always try to find ways to ensure that it pins the blame for the vandalism on such an individual who was part of that protest (Thato).

Some students get suspended or expelled with criminal records. It is a chain reaction; one thing leads to another. If we are honest, protests might lead to a positive outcome, but there are a lot of negative stories of students being made examples of. The biggest impact is when it comes to teaching and learning (Neo).

Many student activists hold the view that courts are being used to intimidate and instill fear into protesting students (Ndelu et al., 2016). The findings of this study suggest that being arrested is just a method that the university uses to make an example of students and scare anyone else who challenges the institution. Participants reported that some staff members advised them to leave politics and focus on their academic work if they wanted to finish their courses and graduate. As one participant said,

Let me give you a typical true-life scenario now. Three weeks back, I was also arrested, and after I got out, I was told to leave these things (student politics) alone (Thato).

The arrest of student leaders during protests is a common feature among universities, and students believe that this is done to scare the constituents that a leader represents. Also, the perception among students is that the arrest of student leaders is done to discourage other students from participating in protests once they see what happens to their leaders or those at the front. Finally, students believe the arrest of student leaders is a deliberate attempt by the university management to shut them down and make examples out of them. This belief is reinforced by the disguised hints from staff members to students.

In recent years, universities have responded to student protests by approaching the courts to prevent students from protesting on campuses (Calitz and Fourie, 2016). However, universities should not use interdicts to

regulate student protests when they could lawfully handle protests by adopting university policies on the protest because university policies apply equally to all of the students at a university (Klaasen, 2020). Unlike interdicts, which apply only to the specific students mentioned in the court order and bind those individually. Furthermore, the arrest of students has financial repercussions for many of them as they now must get money for bail applications and attorneys to represent them.

5.5 Financial implications

5.5.1 Transport fees

This study found that students are disproportionately affected during protests, especially students in campus residences, as they often must immediately vacate university residences when the university decides to shut down. This causes many problems for students as they have to get home, and most find themselves stranded as they often do not have money to go home because they come from different provinces around the country. Transport fees become a severe concern for students. In this context, students' parents who do not have money often send their children back to campus. Thus, some participants put it:

When the university management responds, it responds by evicting students, yet they know students do not have money to go home. Students do not even have money to rent outside (Ithabeleng).

Those students residing on campus are expected to vacate with immediate effect whenever they are violent protests. The institution does not even consider whether you have money or not, or whether you have a family nearby, or you do not. Mind you, most of the student population in our university on our campus are from rural areas. They have financial challenges and are expected to vacate, while they have already spent money on groceries (Thasos).

The sudden closure of the university during protests puts many residence students under enormous pressure as they have to make alternative means to

get home. Some find themselves stuck as they have no money to get home. The study finds that transport fees are the primary concern of expense for campus-residing students due to protests. As a result, students must make alternative accommodation arrangements without transport money to get home. As a by-product of not having transport fees, the study finds that students face another secondary challenge of finding alternative accommodation due to campus closure. For example, in a statement by the university on Tuesday, 22 February 2022, following the recent violent protest on the QwaQwa Campus, "the university management has decided to temporarily close the campus until further notice. This decision was taken after careful consideration and in the interest of the safety of students and staff. Accordingly, students are expected to vacate the campus by 11:00 on Wednesday, 23 February 2022" (UFS, 2022).

Many protests result in financial costs for universities as protesting students occasionally cause property damage, vandalise or steal university property (Czerniewicz, Trotter and Genevieve, 2019). As a result, universities implement such orders to minimise and prevent further protest-related damages (Lewis, 2021). If students cannot find transport fees, they have to find alternate accommodation. Some participants said:

When it comes to students, whenever there are protests, some have to vacate, and most of the time, it is in the middle of the month, and no one has money. I mean, we cannot afford it. So, you find students who become homeless, foodless, and stuff like that. They have to sleep in garages and gates. It is really sad. I remember that even when protests started, they stopped emergency residences. So, we had to accommodate students ourselves at our own accommodation. I remember one of my friends using a single room, but he had to sleep with five guys in a room simply because there was no way to pay for a guest house (Neo).

The financial implication is that you are telling students who are fighting for money to leave. You are not giving them money to go or alternative accommodation. Now that is a big problem. It just angers me. Also, the

financial implication is that you are not cognisant of the fact that most black students do not have money. In the middle of the month, parents cannot send their children money to get a taxi back home, and students are left stranded (Ithabeleng).

Due to mandatory removals from university residences, students endure stressful experiences as they feel abandoned by the university and, at times, find themselves deserted. This supports previous studies by Kumalo (2018) that suggest that in subsequent violent protests, there is a neglect of the trauma endured by students as they will be expected to go back to lectures, and write exams and tests as usual, without considering their distress. Other than the constant stress in relation to the need for transport fees, some students have to look for legal fees, specifically for those who get arrested during protests.

5.5.2 Legal fees

The study's findings show that some students sustain further economic costs from being arrested during protests. As such, students are required to obtain funds for bail applications and legal representation. Moreover, some participants reported having ongoing cases of public violence, vandalism of property and court interdicts posed on them by the university:

I was arrested, and luckily at home, we are financially okay. We had to ensure that I got a lawyer to assist me. That lawyer cost around R4000. I got bail of R500 rand. Now imagine if it was a student with no parents living off this NSFAS money. It becomes a problem because they do not have my privilege. My parents can assist me in ensuring that I do not get arrested (Bonolo).

We did not have anywhere to fall back on when we got arrested. Who is going to fund my legal fees? I had to ask myself, so it is a risk (Marvin).

Court-related fees resulting from one being arrested solely become the students' responsibility. As such, students must spend some time in jail as some cannot acquire bail money. Even before that, students must acquire lawyers to assist them, which requires money. Attending court cases requires even more money and constant legal representation. This becomes a massive

encounter for students as they cannot afford such costs. The inability of students to afford legal fees often leads them to spend time in jail. At times universities have responded to student protests by approaching the courts to prevent students from protesting on campuses (Calitz and Fourie, 2016). However, according to Ndebele (2017), universities should think carefully before using interdicts to regulate protests because interdicts are not always the best way to deal with campus protests.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter presented the findings of the study. The findings were presented following the research objectives that focused on identifying triggers of violence during student protests and the academic and financial costs of violent protests. The key findings of this study were that the lack of leadership presence during protests leads to students doing whatever they feel like since there is no guidance or direction from the SRC or student leaders from other political parties. Because of this absence, protests are likely to spiral into violence due to the absence of student leaders from the SRC or student associations during protests.

Furthermore, the lack of response to emails and memorandums sent by students frustrates them, leading to them taking matters into their hands in an attempt to get attention and make those in power attend to them their issues. This often leads to students organising themselves to protest. Unfortunately, there are individuals from various political organisations with different agendas from these protests. These hidden agendas usually lead to individuals taking advantage of a protest to disrupt or commit misconduct since it will be harder for those individuals to be identified, derailing the protest's primary purpose.

Furthermore, organisations compete for credit and fame from student constituents during demonstrations, which negatively impacts the purpose of the protest since sabotage occurs to discredit one another or the protest itself.

The Individual selection of particular student leaders during a protest has the potential to incite violence among fellow protesters. As a result, witnessing the

arrest of one of their students results in protesters' retaliation, which unites students. This is related to the discovery that the presence of the police and private security during student protests cause much anxiety among protesters. The presence of the police and private security personnel on campus is perceived as direct insolence from the University's management to the students because this act of violence occurs as a form of revenge.

Due to these protests, students often lose study time as a result of protesting, which leads to suspensions of classes. Some students end up being suspended from the institution because they are involved in protests. The shutdown of the university results in a lack of access to resources on the part of students, as they are now restricted to access campus. This restriction on resources can lead to a student's failure, which can affect their funding.

Lastly, transport and legal fees appeared as financial costs students encountered due to violent protests. Due to protests, the university often opts to shut down, meaning students who use campus accommodation have to vacate their residences. This often leaves students stranded as they have to find transport money to get home. Another financial cost related to protests is legal fees for lawyers and bail, specifically for those students who would have been arrested. Court processes cost money, which, most of the time, students do not afford. The next chapter will explore the university's financial costs due to violent campus protests.

CHAPTER 6: FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF VIOLENT PROTESTS ON THE UNIVERSITY

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the study's findings on the financial costs incurred by the university due to violent student protests. Using narratives from research participants who work for the university, the chapter also focuses on the implications of violent protests on the services rendered by the university. The chapter will focus on two sub-themes: financial resources and the provision of essential services. The sub-theme on financial resources focuses on the money spent to acquire private security personnel services. The sub-theme on the provision of essential services focuses on the services rendered by the university and how these are affected by student protests.

6.2 Financial implications on the university

6.2.1 Financial resources

The findings of this study show that the university incurs vast financial losses owing to vandalism and the destruction of property during violent protests. In addition, these financial losses result in the disruption of the daily functioning of the university. Such losses incurred by the university were best captured in the following interview with a member of staff in the university:

We have a limited amount of money as a university. Therefore, if we spend it on X, it means that we cannot do Y. This is the reality of where we are. We are in a difficult situation because other things will not be done due to unexpected expenditures because of student protests (Boitumelo).

Protests cost the university a lot of money as extra security measures must be implemented to protect staff members and students while trying to keep daily services running. According to DHET (2021), events of student protests at universities across the country during the year 2020 and in early 2021 amounted to R32 791 397.40 in maintenance that had been carried out or was being completed at the time. Waters et al. (2005) also argue that violent protests negatively affect the host's well-being and impose economic burdens. The

same can be said with UFS as violent protests have resulted in financial costs for universities. Many services provided by the university are affected, and even some services get discontinued as money gets reprioritised to urgent matters. For example,

the preliminary finding of the urgent investigation into the fire on the QwaQwa Campus of the University of the Free State (UFS) on the evening of Monday, 4 April 2022, indicates that the two buildings were set alight. The buildings, which housed the clinic and a computer laboratory, were almost destroyed, with damage to both buildings estimated at R35 million (UFS, 2022: 1).

Furthermore, the study also found that because of such incidents, university resources are often stretched thin due to violent protests. These unplanned expenditures often cause a lack of other services which have to be provided. As one participant said:

We spend a lot of money on protests and the damages caused to university property. This is a big issue as it is. So, if you do not have any violent protests or disruptive protests, the university will save enough money to ensure that a lot of other things get done (Masoeu).

The responsibility for costs due to damage to infrastructure and property solely rests on universities. It is uncommon for students to bear the financial costs incurred after a violent protest. Mahamba (2021) also found that after suffering massive financial losses, universities must ensure that all required resources for the continuation of the academic programme are provided. In the present study, staff participants expressed concern about the frequent acts of destruction and vandalism which are becoming a norm during student protests:

We need to call that out. We cannot allow people to burn down assets because we are here as custodians of the generation that comes after us (Nelson).

The events of the loss of these buildings deeply saddens me. However, I would like to use this opportunity to state that this exceeds the boundaries

of what can legitimately be described as exercising a democratic right to protest. This has far-reaching implications, not only in terms of finances and infrastructure but also with stakeholders. Staff and students have the right to work towards improving their lives in an atmosphere free from danger, fear, intimidation, and harassment (Ntho).

As a social institution, the university is responsible for providing and preserving a safe working, teaching, and learning environment for students and staff members. As such, measures will consistently be implemented to uphold that responsibility, even if it means taking legal action against their own or going against the majority's belief. For example, The UFS executive management will endeavour to implement all the steps necessary to ensure that the UFS, as an employer, complies with its obligation to create and maintain a safe working and teaching environment as required by legislation (UFS, 2022: 2). The study finds that staff members believe these are acts of criminality that it has nothing to do with protesting for student issues:

The university will institute the necessary disciplinary action against suspects who are registered students. Also, criminal charges will be initiated (Retshidisitswe).

It is a criminal act that affects our entire university community, from students and staff to stakeholders, alumni and donors (Nelson).

We must differentiate that there is a right to protest and commit a crime while protesting (Boitumelo).

Although staff members understand that protesting is a constitutional right of every student, they emphasise that it should be conducted in a non-violent manner and within the confines of the law and the UFS protest management policy. In support of this view, the UFS protest management policy emphasises that protests are welcomed at the institution as long as they are non-violent. For instance, "the university acknowledges and permits the following activities; non-violent protests, protesting, striking or dissenting on UFS campuses where students and staff members are aggrieved about a particular matter and seeking out the attention of the UFS executive management "(UFS, 2022: 3). The policy is used as a guideline for staff and students to inform them what is

allowed and not allowed to transpire during protests. As long as a person remains peaceful, his or her right to protest will still be legally protected (SERI, 2017). The introduction of such policies is an effort by the university to make sure that provision of essential services is still carried out during these periods of protests.

6.2.2 The provision of essential services

This study found that the disruption in the provision of services by the university during violent student protests emerged as one of the main concerns for staff. Staff members that were interviewed were of the view that students must carefully reflect on their common norm to refuse staff members access to campus during protests:

Violent protests are disruptive because it negatively impacts your ability to do your work, and in my specific case, let us say now we have a protest. However, at the same time, I have a robbery taking place, and it is off-campus. So, what is the priority? The university property and the students on campus come first. So, we leave the off-campus situation and focus on the ones on campus; the same applies to any other situation; we have to think about the protest first (Vega).

We must be honest with ourselves that someone with a sober mind decided that I am going to purchase petrol and I am going to target the campus clinic. Now, this is an essential service that's provided to students daily. Where are they supposed to go now? (Thelma).

Damage to university property and restricting access to campus have detrimental effects on both students and staff, as services cannot be offered to both parties. This becomes more complicated when the students destroy house services such as health and wellness or academic resources such as computer laboratories and libraries. These are all services that students will need at the end of the protests. Therefore, the students' act of destroying campus property that serves them is self-defeating because those are services and resources they will need when protests have ended. Because of such

events, the university now prioritises which services come first, where the money will go, and which services will have to be stopped momentarily to attend to urgent resources required. It is argued that by experiencing violent protests, institutions feel the effects of violence through a loss of financial savings (Waters et al., 2005). When you read books by Habib (2018) and Jansen (2017), you will understand that student protests are caused by systematic issues such as poor funding from the state, which often force universities to increase fees. So, the problem sometimes is not the management as many student organisations would want to make us believe. It is far much more complicated.

6.3 Conclusion

The chapter presented findings on the financial costs that the university incurs due to violent protests on campuses. Because it is the responsibility of the university to provide resources and services to its community, they are often liable for any damage occurred during protests. Financial resources and the provision of services emerged as factors that are affected mainly by violent student protests, making it challenging for the university to function optimally due to protests. Financial resources such as savings get used to address the aftermath of these protests since protests usually result in unexpected costs for the university.

Furthermore, services rendered by the university are disturbed by protests. This can be in the form of the provision of services or loss of physical resources. All these affect the university's ability to fulfil its duties and services because of violent student protests.

The next chapter will conclude the study by summarising the essential findings and providing recommendations for addressing some of the issues that emerged in the study.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

The study aimed to explore the triggers of violence during student protests, as well as the academic and financial implications of these violent protests on students and the University. The study adopted a qualitative research approach. Interviews were used to gather data for the study, and a purposive sampling strategy with features of snowball sampling was utilised to recruit student and staff participants. Furthermore, an inductive thematic analysis method was used to analyse the qualitative data. This chapter summarises the research findings and provides recommendations for addressing some of the problems and issues that emerged from the study. Lastly, the chapter will also explore future research avenues on this topic.

7.2 Summary of main Findings

The data collected was imperative, which allowed the researcher to find answers to the three research questions outlined in the first chapter of this study. In analysing the data, the researcher infused the theoretical framework and literature that focused on the studied problem. Below is an explanation of the research questions and the key findings from the study.

7.2.1 Research objective 1: The triggers of violence during student protests

The first question addressed the first objective: mainly focusing on identifying the causes of violence during student protests resulted in the emergence of the following five sub-themes: lack of leadership, different agendas, individual selection, retaliations, and police and security presence.

7.2.2.1 Lack of leadership

The findings of the study showed that a lack of supervision from recognisable leadership structures such as the SRC, student organisations, or organisers during student protests increases the odds of violent acts. Furthermore, data showed that protests are likely to spiral into violence due to the absence of student leaders from the SRC or student associations during protests. The

research participants' narratives reveal that lack of leadership structure presence during protests leads to students doing whatever they deem fit since there is no one to guide them and call them to order.

7.2.2.2 Different agendas

The study data showed that student protests consist of different personalities from different student associations and political organisations with hidden agendas for joining a protest. Other problems include non-students who use protests as an opportunity to commit crimes such as theft and vandalism of property. These hidden agendas (usually negative) lead to taking advantage of a protest to disrupt or commit misconduct since it will be harder for those individuals to be identified, derailing the protests' primary purpose. Furthermore, data showed that political organisations compete for credit and fame from student constituents during demonstrations, which negatively impacts the purpose of the protest since sabotaging occurs to discredit one another or the protest itself.

7.2.2.3 Individual selection

The study data showed that the separation and selection of specific student leaders during a protest for arrest sparks violence among their fellow protesters. As a result, witnessing the arrest of one of their companions leads to unexpected acts of retaliation from protesters, which inversely creates unity among them. This act of singling out individuals further enrages protesters as they perceive this as a method the management of the University uses to suppress their request.

7.2.2.4 Police and security presence

Private security and police presence during a protest cause much unease among protesters. Data showed that their presence on campus is seen as direct rudeness from the University's management to the students, as this means that there is now a barrier between students and their issues to the university management. The circumstance supports that private security and police always come to protests heavily armed with all sorts of weapons when students are gathered. As a result, the research participants' narratives show

that violence due to such confrontations between the two parties can trigger an instance. Moreover, the data showed that students see the police and private security appearance as a sign of attack on them as these are the people who are coming to address them, not the university management. Lastly, private security and police presence on campus grounds change the attitude of the protests as students feel they are being challenged, leading to them being in retribution mode.

7.2.2.5 Retaliation

The study data shows two sources of violent acts (1) its retaliation against acts of brutality from the police or private security, or (2) it is a way to make management listen and notice them and their issues. The findings of the study showed that the presence of police and private security antagonises protesters, leading to acts of violence if confronted, which result in acts of vandalism or destruction of university property. Furthermore, the data showed that these acts of retaliation make participants feel that their actions are justified as it is the only way to make the management of the University listen or take them seriously. On the contrary, ignoring student issues in the initial phase proves this. As a result, protesters retaliate with the mindset and belief that they must do something dramatic to make those in power notice them and attend to them and their issues.

7.2.2 Research objective 2: Academic implications of violent student protests

The second question addressed the second objective: identifying the academic implications of violent student protests led to the emergence of the following three sub-themes: loss of study time, lack of access to resources and suspensions.

7.2.2.1 Loss of study time

The research participants' narratives show that protests come with academic costs to them, and these extend to the student population. The findings of the study show that students lose class time, and some even miss out on completing assessments due to participating in protests. The data shows that due to violent protests, the University often chooses to close operations due to

the safety of staff and students. Unfortunately, this means academic activities have to stop resulting in students being unable to finish their academic programmes on time. Data has shown that academic costs surpass missed study time and lectures but can affect graduation and finishing programme times.

7.2.2.2 Lack of access to resources

The study showed that academic activities move online when protests occur due to the campus space being deemed hostile and unsafe for teaching and learning. Consequently, this poses many challenges for students, especially off-campus residing students, because the campus becomes off-limit for a while. Off-campus residing students get restricted due to safety concerns; as such, students cannot access university facilities and resources such as the library and computer laboratories. The University treats students residing on campus, and those residing off-campus differently, in that those living outside campus are often treated with suspicion. Restrictions are always put in place during protests to limit their access to campus in fear of violence erupting; at the same time, this disadvantages students residing outside campus from getting access to required resources.

7.2.2.3 Suspensions

Data shows that student leaders risk being suspended when participating in protests as they get identified or arrested for their participation, which often leads to suspensions. Unfortunately, arrests and suspensions impede the class time for those implicated as some participants get issued with court interdicts barring them from entering university premises and participating in protests on university grounds. This finding was not common among ordinary students who have no affiliation to any student organisation or structure, further corroborating student participants' narratives and belief that suspensions are a tactic the university management uses to scare them off (political organisations) from protesting than being an actual discipline measure.

7.2.3 Research objective 3, part 1: Financial implications of violent student protests

The third research question addressed the first part of the last objective: identifying financial costs for students due to violent protests, which produced the emergence of the following two sub-themes: transport and legal fees.

7.2.3.1 Transport fees

The study shows that when violent protests occur, campus-residing students are often asked to vacate campus residences within a short time. As such, students have to find other means to get home, with most not having money to get home, as protests can occur any time of the month. Students must find alternative accommodation when such a situation happens while giving themselves or their parents or loved one's time to raise the much-needed money to get home.

7.2.3.2 Legal fees

The findings of the study indicated that some participants endure legal fees due to having to attend court cases resulting from interdicts imposed on them by the University or being arrested. Data from student participants' stories reveal that many do not have the means to pay for legal representation. The responsibility for such costs usually rests on the individual involved alone, which puts much pressure on the accused student to make means to find the money needed for bail and attorney fees.

7.2.4 Research objective 3, part 2: Financial implications of violent student protests on the University

This section presents the last research question, which addressed the last part of the last objective: determining the financial implications of violent protests on the University; this enquiry resulted in the emergence of the following two sub-themes: financial resources and provision of essential services.

7.2.4.1 Financial resources

The findings of the study showed that violent student protests cost universities extensive money and resources. During protests, the University has to take

immediate decisions which might fall out of favour with the daily duties of the University because the priority becomes the protest on campus. Due to the occurrences of protests, much money is spent on acquiring extra security and later fixing or replacing any damaged property due to protests. These unexpected expenditures and prioritisation of protests result in neglect of other daily services provided to the university community.

7.2.4.2 Provision of essential services

The findings of the study revealed a shared concern among university members involving disruption to the provision of services by the University during student protests. Data showed that most services offered by the University, such as administration and academic services, must halt when protests occur on campus. This presents many challenges to staff personnel to do their work effectively. The frequency of shutdowns that occur whenever protests erupt on campus and the closure of resources resulting in staff personnel being unable to work and execute their duties and students not getting services.

7.3 Recommendations

Based on the study findings, the following recommendations are made:

- The university management needs to be more open to discussions of student issues without getting court interdicts at the first sign of student gatherings. It appears that universities use courts as the first point of call to justify summoning the police to maintain law and order within university premises. The university management needs to be more tolerant in their dealings with the students and understand the political dynamics and power struggles associated with these student structures, which can sometimes make negotiations difficult. This is important when it comes to issues which the university has no control over. This goes to my belief that university councils and management need to sufficiently equip themselves with the skills to deal with violent protests, especially at the tactical and strategic level.

- Student protest leaders need to know more about their responsibilities and duties to the University when organising protests within the University, especially in line with the protest management policy. Furthermore, this includes managing protesting students, so that they do not get violent, even in the face of aggravation. Student protests themselves are not a solution but a tactic towards a solution. Although this strategy student embarks upon they must remember that nothing gets solved in a protest but in a boardroom. Protests must be used to communicate, especially when university management is not prepared to engage with students fairly and transparently. Student leaders also need to be more reflective about the feasibility of their demands and approach negotiations with an open mind.
- Peace and reconciliation initiatives must be explored to repair relations post-student protests. In most cases, management becomes reactive to student protests while they are alternative ways to explore to prevent such situations. It appears that some departments and student structures remain highly polarised after protests. Genuine dialogues between university management, staff and students must ensure that existing hostilities are resolved.

7.4 Avenues for future research

Given the data discussed in this research study, the following three prospects for future research were identified.

Firstly, research interviews brought up the issue of race in how protesting students are treated and how the University responds to student protests if there are only black students in the protests. In light of this, there is a need for more research on whether race affects how protests are handled and reacted to if black or white students are concerned, especially considering the past racial incidents and issues the University has had.

Secondly, this study mainly aimed at understanding the experiences that students have towards violent protests and the academic and financial costs

that come with them; future studies could further investigate the health and psychological effects of violent protests.

Finally, this study only employed one measuring instrument, interviews; future studies could consider adding another measurement instrument, such as an observation practice for data triangulation. This will help the next researcher to modify their study to strengthen it.

7.5 Conclusion

The study highlighted some important insights regarding violent student protests. First, it is evident from the primary data and the literature discussed in this study that violent student protests will still be with us moving into the future. Hence, with the findings of this research, I hope they improve knowledge and understanding of the nature of student protests from the University and student perspectives since no other study in this context was identified in the literature review. Second, this study adds to the knowledge base on violent student protests, focusing on staff and student experiences, specifically in academic and financial cost contexts. Third, the study highlights the often overlooked violence triggers during student protests. Fourth, this study is qualitative and limited to a small group of students and staff members in one University; more extensive studies involving larger cohorts are recommended for more comprehensive findings.

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APPENDIX A: CONSENT FORM

Information sheet

Information sheet to participate in the following study: *Violent student protests in higher education institutions: Exploring the formations of violence and the socio-economic costs of violent protests.*

Dear Participant

My name is Teboho Khiba and I am from the University of the Free State, Department of Sociology. I am currently doing my Master's degree under the supervision of **Dr. Nzima**.

I am interested in hearing about your experience as a student leader in times of student unrest. This study will pay attention to how you were affected and experienced violent student protests.

Participation in this study is voluntary. Should you decide to participate you have the right to not answer questions and you can withdraw at any stage. Your real name will be substituted with a pseudonym to protect your identity and I will be the only one who knows your real name.

During the interview, I will ask open-ended questions and there are no right or wrong answers as I am interested in your personal experiences and thoughts. The interview will be digitally recorded and transcribed for analytic purposes. The interview session will take place in your place of choice, where you feel comfortable. Your participation will be highly appreciated. If you have any questions you can contact me on the following details:

8) PARTICULARS OF THE RESEARCHER:

Name: **Teboho Aubrey**

Surname: **Khiba**

Student Number: **2012163255**

Qualification: **Masters in social sciences specialisation in Sociology**

Contact: **073 385 7783**

E-mail: 2012163255@ufs4life.ac.za

Address: **237 Mangaung village, Mota road, Witsieshoek, 9870**



APPENDIX B

Consent Form

PERMISSION TO BE A RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

I **TEBOHO KHIBA**, student number: **2012163255**, currently enrolled for Masters in Social Sciences Specialising in Sociology at University of the Free State – QwaQwa Campus, working on my dissertation on *Violent student protests in higher education institutions: Exploring the formations of violence and the socio-economic costs of violent protests* would like to invite you to give consent and participate in my research. What follows is information about the research project so that you can make an informed decision.

1) PURPOSE OF THE PROJECT:

This project aims to explore violent student protests in higher education institutions: Exploring the formations of violence and the socio-economic costs of violent protests. You are being asked to participate in this study because you have been involved in a student leadership role and have participated in protests; therefore, your input is very much crucial for this study.

2) PROCEDURE AND INFORMATION:

If you agree to partake in this project, the following procedures will occur:

- I will ask you questions about your student leadership experience and your involvement in protests, all of which will be recorded and kept secret and safe and I will report on it **anonymously**.
- Only students who are **18 years or older are eligible to partake** in this research project.
- You will be **assigned a pseudo-name to protect your identity** during the research process.

3) RISKS/DISCOMFORTS:

It is not expected that you experience any risks or discomforts. However, participation is entirely voluntary, and you are allowed to withdraw at any stage during the research process.

4) BENEFITS:

By participating in this research project, you will have the opportunity to contribute to the advancement of teaching and learning in higher education. In addition, you might also benefit directly from applied teaching and learning interventions.

5) COSTS AND PAYMENT:

There will be no costs involved, and you will receive no payment due to your participation in this project.

6) QUESTIONS:

If you have any questions regarding the research project, you are welcome to **contact me; below are my particulars in bullet (8).**

7) FEEDBACK OF FINDINGS:

The research findings will be made available in various research reports, and you will also have access to the findings of this project.

8) PARTICULARS OF THE RESEARCHER:

Name: **TEBOHO AUBREY**

Surname: **KHIBA**

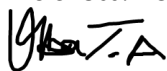
Student Number: **2012163255**

Qualification: **Master of Social Science in Sociology**

Contact: **073 385 7783**

E-mail: 2012163255@ufs4life.ac.za

Address: **237 Mangaung village, Mota road, Witsieshoek, 9870**



I hereby willingly permit to participate in the study mentioned above. I am not forced to participate, and I understand that I can withdraw at any time should I feel uncomfortable during the study. I also understand that my name will not be made public. However, I also understand what I might benefit from participation, and should I need more information, the researchers are available to assist me.

Student number: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

APPENDIX C
Interview Schedule-student

RESEARCHER: Khiba A Teboho,
E-mail: 2012163255@ufs4life.ac.za. / Cell phone: 073 385 7783,
CAMPUS ADDRESS: Postgraduate Residence, UFS-QwaQwa Campus

Project Title: Violent student protests in higher education institutions: Exploring the formations of violence and the socio-economic costs of violent protests.

Participation in this research interview schedule is voluntary, and it aims to answer the questions posed by the researcher in the study. There will be no rewards for participating in this study since it is conducted to advance knowledge in the discipline of sociology. Anyone taking part in answering the interview questions must feel free to withdraw when they feel uncomfortable continuing with the project.

The information obtained from this interview will be used for research purposes only, and care will be taken to ensure that data is treated with confidentiality and anonymity by all means. Please note the interview will be recorded. No one will be forced to enter their legitimate names, as false names will be used when reporting on the data.

Student Number: _____

Date: _____

Venue: _____

Time Start: _____ **End:** _____

The interview adopts an open and flexible approach in that participants will be granted an opportunity to convey their stories and experiences; nonetheless, the researcher has set some main questions, and potential follow-up questions should the interview need a bit more direction.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE PARTICIPANT.

1. May you tell me about yourself?



*Probes:

1. How long have you been a student at this institution of higher learning?
2. What leadership role do you occupy in this institution?
3. How many protests have you been involved in?

Student interaction with the university management

2. How would you describe your experience with the management of the university?



*Probes:

1. What are the main mechanisms do you use to communicate concerns with university management?

Drivers of violence during student protests

3. What are the key triggers of violence during student protests?

*Probes:

1. According to your experience as a student leader, at what point do you deem a protest necessary?
2. According to your experience, what are the leading causes of violence during student protests?



3. Why do you think prompts vandalism or destruction of university property during a protest?

Nature and extent implications of violent student protests among key actors.

4. What would say are the academic implications of violent student protests among key actors?



*Probes:
 1. In your opinion, what do you think are the academic implications of protests on students?
 Or
 2. As a student leader, what are your views regarding the academic implications of protests on students?

The economic effect of violent student protests on students.

5. How would you say students are economically affected by violent student protests?



*Probes:
 1. As a student leader, what would you say are the economic implications of protests on universities?

Any other comments?

Thank you for your time and cooperation.

APPENDIX D
Interview Schedule-staff

RESEARCHER: Khiba A Teboho,
E-mail: 2012163255@ufs4life.ac.za. / Cell phone: 073 385 7783,
CAMPUS ADDRESS: Postgraduate Residence, UFS-QwaQwa Campus

Project Title: Violent student protests in higher education institutions: Exploring the formations of violence and the socio-economic costs of violent protests.

Participation in this research interview schedule is voluntary, and it aims to answer the questions posed by the researcher in the study. There will be no rewards for participating in this study since it is conducted to advance knowledge in the discipline of sociology. Anyone taking part in answering the interview questions must feel free to withdraw when they feel uncomfortable continuing with the project.

The information obtained from this interview will be used for research purposes only, and care will be taken to ensure that data is treated with confidentiality and anonymity by all means. Please note the interview will be recorded. No one will be forced to enter their legitimate names, as false names will be used when reporting on the data.

Staff Number: _____

Date: _____

Venue: _____

Time Start: _____ **End:** _____

The interview adopts an open and flexible approach in that participants will be granted an opportunity to convey their stories and experiences; nonetheless, the researcher has set some main questions, and potential follow-up questions should the interview need a bit more direction.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE PARTICIPANT.

6. May you tell me about yourself?

*Probes:

- 4. How long have you been a student at this institution of higher learning?
- 5. What leadership role do you occupy in this institution?
- 6. How many protests have you been involved in?

Student interaction with the university management

7. How would you describe your experience with the management of the university?



*Probes:

- 2. What are the main mechanisms do you use to communicate concerns with university management?

Drivers of violence during student protests

8. What are the key triggers of violence during student protests?

*Probes:

- 4. According to your experience, as staff member what do you think are the leading causes of violence during student protests?
- 5. Why do you think prompts vandalism or destruction of university property during a protest?

The economic effect of violent student protests on institutions of higher learning.

9. How would you say institutions of higher learning are economically affected by violent student protests?



*Probes:

2. As a staff member, what are the economic implications of protests on the university?

Any other comments?

Thank you for your time and cooperation.

APPENDIX E

Participant's details

Student participants (pseudonyms)	Gender	Race	Affiliated structure /association/body	Protests involved in
1. Ithabeleng	Female	Black	Student leader	Five
2. Neo	Male	Black	Student leader	Four
3. Rethabile	Male	Black	Former student leader	Ten
4. Marvin	Male	Black	Student leader	Three
5. Thato	Male	Black	Student leader	Five
6. Tsheole	Male	Black	Student leader	Three
7. Thabiso	Male	Black	Former Student leader	Six
8. Bonolo	Male	Black	Former student leader	Four
9. Thelma	Female	Black	Student leader	Six
Staff participants (pseudonyms)	Gender	Race	Department/unit/faculty/ organisation	
10. Vega	Male	White	Protection services	
11. Ntho	Male	Black	Student affairs	
12. Masoeu	Male	Black	Unit for institutional change and social justice	
13. Nelson	Male	Coloured	Management	
14. Retshidisitswe	Male	Black	Student affairs	
15. Boitumelo	Male	Black	Protection services	

APPENDIX F



Office of the Director: Student Affairs

07 March 2022

Permission letter to conduct the research at the University of the Free State

Permission letter is hereby granted for Mr. Teboho Khiba to conduct academic research at the University of the Free State, QwaQwa campus.

Kind regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'CZ Dotwana', is written over a horizontal line.

Ms. CZ Dotwana

Director of Student Affairs



APPENDIX G

24 January 2022

Teboho Khiba

Student number: 2012163255

REQUEST FOR STUDENT COUNSELLING & DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

Your email request dated 24 January has reference.

We take note of your study and will assist students that might need psychological assistance. Please note that no students will receive preferential treatment.

Contact details at the Qwaqwa campus:

Nonhlanhla Moleleki

Lerato Makoba

sitholeNF@ufs.ac.za

makobaLT@ufs.ac.za

058 718 5032

058 718 5033

Best wishes with your study!

Kind regards

Dr M DUNN-COETZEE DIRECTOR: STUDENT COUNSELLING & DEVELOPMENT

APPENDIX H



GENERAL/HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (GHREC)

07-May-2022

Dear Mr. Teboho Khiba

Application Approved

Research Project Title:

Violent student protests in higher education institutions: Exploring the formations of violence and the socio-economic costs of violent protests.

Ethical Clearance number:

UFS-HSD2021/1456/22

We are pleased to inform you that your application for ethical clearance has been approved. Your ethical clearance is valid for twelve (12) months from the date of issue. We request that any changes that may take place during the course of your study/research project be submitted to the ethics office to ensure ethical transparency. Furthermore, you are requested to submit the final report of your study/research project to the ethics office. Should you require more time to complete this research, please apply for an extension. Thank you for submitting your proposal for ethical clearance; we wish you the best of luck and success with your research.

Yours sincerely

Dr Adri Du Plessis

Chairperson: General/Human Research Ethics Committee

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Park West Bloemfontein 9301 South Africa
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Tel: +27 (0)51 401 9337
duplessisA@ufs.ac.za www.ufs.ac.za



Dr Adri du Plessis

Digitally signed by Dr Adri du Plessis

Date: 2022.05.07

17:23:33 +02'00'