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Women students as political activists

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I would like to thank all the women leader participants who shared their stories and experiences unsparingly. I was challenged and educated through our conversations. My hope is that the work you have done will impact generations to come.

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This work I dedicate to all the girls fighting to be heard, the trailblazers and brave. Our time is now!

Abstract

The #FeesMustFall movement introduced a new era of youth uprising in South Africa; it is another example of the many social action movements wherein youth are the driving force and main voice for social change. An interest of this research project was to understand the ways throughout history that social action platforms have been utilized by those involved to assert their values and desires for social change. Social action platforms can be seen as one of the spaces in which humanity asserts its identity. Even during the #FeesMustFall protests in 2015 and 2016, it was evident that a number of identities were being mobilized; the black students' identities are examples of such and even more was the insertion of black women students during the protests. The heightened role of women students in leadership positions during the protests was explored, especially because women had previously been seen to occupy secondary supporting roles in movements of political change. The project investigated the ways in which these women students inserted their multiple identities that had previously been seen as non-complementary; these identities became a means to address the political agenda of the #FeesMustFall movement.

The methodology took a narrative approach to understanding the Experience-Centred narratives told by participants. Application of thematic analysis method produced recurrent narration of events; these particular incident narratives (PINS) (Wengraf, 2006) became important as focal points of analysis. The analysis of participants also revealed the impact of students' individual upbringing. The family, school and other important influences played key roles in the extent of politicization of participants; from these experiences, leadership qualities were also instilled. Hence during the #FeesMustFall protest, participants were able to engage the movement in the ways they did. Due to their particular background influences, these students were not afraid to lead; neither were they timid about resisting unjust systemic measures on campus or within the movement structures. In the end it was their bodies that curbed police violence on campus.

Declaration

Under the supervision of Professor Jill Bradbury,

I, ELELWANI MUDAU hereby declare that this research is my own original work and all external sources have been accurately reported and acknowledge. This work has not previously, in its entirety, or in part been submitted to any other university in the interest of an academic qualification.

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1. CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The study seeks to trace the experiences of women student political leaders during the #FeesMustFall. Throughout history, social action platforms such as #FeesMustFall are spaces where individuals make assertions of who they are in the world. However, these spaces have historically been gendered and dominated by men; the events of the 2015/2016 student movement in South Africa's institutions of higher learning offered interesting lenses as women political students and leaders fought as they inserted their voice.

This introductory chapter provides an overview of the history of the South African education system. It details some of the pivotal moments in the educational history that provided the firm ground for the #FeesMustFall student movement. Lastly, it looks at the ways women have been treated both in the educational and political institutions.

1.1. History of South Africa's education system

In South Africa, as in many societies, access to higher education institutions and universities in particular, is seen as a key political struggle. Higher education is viewed as a vehicle of social change and personal development, as well as mobility. Walker (2015, p280) quotes the Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) who asserts that "the evidence is equivocal: education saves and transforms lives." However, the distribution of education in South Africa, as in many other parts of the world, continues to be unequal, favouring men over women, and white over black; thus it is both gendered and racialised. For these reasons the education system has and continues to experience uprisings and contestations (Booysen, 2016; Waghid, 2002). The endeavour, as pointed out by Waghid (2002), is to achieve transformation, where transformation refers to "on-going change in the way educators and students approach the acquisition of knowledge and skills and relate them to broader context" (p459). For example, Ajayi, Goma and Johnson (1996) mention that western education has co-opted African societies and institutions to be adapted into the colonial mould. Subsequently, the struggle for education in Africa has largely been influenced by moves to decolonise the forms of education and knowledge reproduced in institutions (Schofer and Meyer, 2005).

In South Africa, the state of education was largely impacted by the persistent strong beliefs of a racial hierarchy which manifested in racial segregation by the government: from the 1650s Dutch settlers' language and political control (Probyn, 2005); in 1854 British colonial government's introduction of Anglicisation policies (Probyn, 2005); and the resistance during and after the Boer War (1899—1902) by Afrikaners rallying for Afrikaans to become the language for education (Probyn, 2005). In 1916 there was a charge to establish South African universities that were independent from their colonial authorities; as a result, the Universities of South Africa, Cape Town and Stellenbosch were established (Ajayi et al., 1996). The 1932 Carnegie Commission Report worsened racial segregation between black and white South Africans, influenced by the belief that the conditions of white people as the superior race in South Africa cannot be equal with that of the inferior black race (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011). The report's aim addressed the growing numbers of poor white South Africans at the time and provided ways in which the government could eradicate this poverty, thus further intensifying the racial segregation between black and white (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011). Implementation included realisation of unequal education to ensure that black people were not skilled and could not compete with whites for the same work opportunities (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011).

In 1948 the National Party aimed to intensify racial partitioning by formalising segregation into a way of governance (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011). Laws and policies were put in place, examples of which directly affecting the education sector included: *"The Bantu Education Act (No.47) of 1950—established black education departments and a curriculum that suited the 'nature and requirements of the black people'*, and *"The Extension of University Education Act (No. 45) of 1959—prohibited black students from attending white universities, with few exceptions, and established separate, inferior universities for black, [C]oloured and Indian students"* (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011). These laws deepened racism between white and black South Africans, and the distribution of education was deliberately racialised and unequal.

Initially most of the university institutions were strictly for white Afrikaner students; however, this was met with resistance from other communities. As pressure increased, Cape Town and Witwatersrand Universities among others tried to redress the imbalance (Ajayi, et al., 1996). They reported that in 1959 of the 5,000 students enrolled at University of Cape Town, only 39 were African, 416 were Coloured and 133 were Asians ("Indians"). Of the 5,000 students in the

Witwatersrand, 74 were Africans, 193 were Asians and 30 Coloured (Ajayi, Goma and Johnson, 1996). Thus although there were efforts towards an inclusive education system the inequalities kept reproducing. In response and counter to the apartheid rule by the National Party government, many black-led political organisations were birthed in efforts to fight for the dignity of black South Africans (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011). However, the National Party government did all it could to banish such movements so as to silence them.

In 1976 the National Party government attempted to make Afrikaans the medium of instruction in 50% of the school subjects (at secondary/ high school level). This raised resistance among students in Soweto which then spread to the whole country. The fight was to resist Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in education as the students favoured English; ironically, the colonial language English had become seen as the language for political liberation in South Africa at the time (Probyn, 2005). Waghid (2002) summarised the legacy of apartheid in reproducing unjust inequalities faced in higher education this way: uneven access between racial categories, significant differences between white students' success rate compared to other racial groups, and also in the underrepresentation of women.

In summary, the state of education in South Africa has always been a place of contestation with the different government regimes. Black South African students have always been disadvantaged, receiving little or no education. Even when there were moves to transform and cater for black South Africans, there were remnants that remained unchanged.

1.2.   The current education space

South Africa is still faced today with racialised unequal education opportunities due to the impacts and inheritance from the apartheid government (Walker, 2015; Modisaotsile, 2012; Lad, 2004; Wangenge-Ouma and Cloete, 2008; and Waghid, 2002). In South Africa, most black students are less likely to reach higher education level, and of the few who manage to get in; half never qualify and graduate with a degree (Walker, 2015). This has led to higher education institutions in South Africa being pressured by black students to increase access and further, particularly through the Student Movement of 2015 and beyond to decolonise education. Tlostanova and Mignolli (2012; p16) describe "decolonial thinking" as being involved with "formulating the epistemic, political

and ethical basis of decolonial options in the existing world order, which we all witness and take part in today." Accordingly, within a decolonial turn perspective, coloniality is seen as the underlying problem; decolonization therefore is the on-going process to redress colonial hegemonic world orders (Maldonado-Torres, 2011). As such, decolonisation involves challenging, resisting and unlearning colonial ways of living and interacting with the world (Tlostanova and Mignolli, 2012).

In 2013 the Council of Higher Education (CHE) reported that 983 698 students in South Africa were enrolled in institutions of higher learning, i.e. 20% of the whole population. This figure however conceals the raced disparities in participation. For example, 689 503 black students were enrolled in higher education institutions, that is 16% of the total black population (CHE, 2013; p13). The white enrolment headcount was 171 927, that is a total of 55% of the white population (CHE, 2013; p13). 61 034 Coloured students were enrolled, making a total of 15% of the Coloured race population (CHE, 2013; p13). Lastly, 53 787 Indian students were enrolled, therefore a total of 49% of the Indian population (CHE, 2013; p13). The number of enrolments by gender: 409 988 men and 573 698 women, thus 16% from the whole male population in South Africa and 23% of female population were enrolled (CHE, 2013; p13). The CHE (2013) revealed that African students had a success rate of 71%, Coloured students had 75% success rate, Indian students had 74% success rate and white students had a success rate of 82%.

The statistics above indicate the need for more action in South Africa against unequal access to education. As shown, participation and success rates are still highly racialised. The discussion that follows looks into some of the challenges that face students in higher learning institutions in South Africa: 1), Financial inclusion/ exclusion 2), Women's safety in universities to ensure that they complete their degrees or studies and 3), Epistemological access linked with racial inequality.

First, Cloete (2016) points out that access to higher education is seen by the privileged as a way of maintaining their privilege and by the less privileged as a means to redress their poverty. However, he notes that the exorbitant costs of both private and public higher education tuition prevents many people from gaining the necessary skills to confront the issues of inequality in South Africa. Over the last ten years the subsidy from the government has decreased from 49% to 40% and the contribution of student fees has increased from 24% to 30% (Cloete, 2016). Thus failure by government to assist poor students financially is increasing the inequalities in access and

participation in academic practices. Many South Africans are thus unable to access higher education, or if they do, are forced to drop out due to financial barriers.

Second, many South African institutions of higher learning have been found to have spaces that are gendered, favouring male students and excluding female students. Many spaces have been reported to raise anxiety and concerns from female students who find university spaces to be unsafe and alienating (Bradbury and Kiguwa, 2012). It is evident that spaces for academic learning have excluded women since their conception all over the world (Hutcheson, Gasman and Sanders-McMurtry, 2011), which resulted in the physical spaces and other academic systems favouring male students (Waghid, 2002). For women to successfully participate in academic practices they need to navigate the physical spaces in these institutions, but because they do not feel safe, this limits the extent to which they can participate. Thus although access for women has been achieved, there is a need to ensure the safety of all enrolled in these institutions so that they can qualify and be successful in this environment. Moreover, Waghid (2002) reports that women were underrepresented in professional programs, senior academic and administrative positions. Subsequently this speaks to the gendered nature in the acquisition and production of knowledge, therefore leading to homogeneity in teaching knowledge production (Waghid, 2002) and institutionalised discrimination (Schofer and Meyer, 2005).

Third, epistemological access refers to the ability of being able to participate and be successful in academic practices (Morrow, 2009). It refers to the unequal success rate or outputs between students in previously white institutions and others (Waghid, 2002). Epistemological access is thus influenced by modes of teaching and learning. In South Africa from the statistics above it is evident that student participation and success is determined by race. This reality is a result of the inherited consequences of colonial and then apartheid education systems. The NSFAS report in 2010, reported that of the cohort students (not studying in 2010) 72% had dropped out and only 28% of them had graduated (Wilson-Strydom, 2011). This indicates another type of exclusion. Even when the doors of universities are opened, a number of students, mostly black students, are unable to obtain the necessary qualifications. Thus, although access to universities has been increased, it is evident that social change and development are not being achieved. Waghid (2002) points out the unequal student-lecturer ratio, which impacts the number of qualifications; this has negatively affected the qualification rate of black students in previously black institutions.

The CHE (2013) reveals that male students are most likely to achieve in institutions of higher learning compared to women students. The low representation of women in academic spaces (Waghid, 2002) then affects the modes of teaching and learning further impacting on the rate of women students' qualification. Wilson-Strydom (2011) contends that although universities have focused on academic preparation (which can also be argued was done badly) from the late eighties, they rarely understood and considered socio-political and economic factors to ensure the success of students. The result of this is that many students have been left to drop out and get blacklisted when they are unable to repay study loans, such as NSFAS. As such, attaining access has led to other injustices such as dropping out with burdens of debt, no qualification and self-doubt (Wilson-Strydom, 2011).

Morrow (1994) suggests that any efforts to transform the educational institutions threaten to lose and demolish the system, therefore cautioning that the education system as it stands does not need to be restored or revived as it caters precisely to the needs of South Africans. However, this position is challenged throughout decolonial thinking. Maldonado-Torres (2011) outlines most of the work done to pin a decolonial turn by many scholars. A decolonial turn is concerned with questioning European philosophy, and endeavours to establish decolonial thinking away from postcolonial thinking, highlighting the epistemic decoloniality; it further links epistemology with ethics and identity (Maldonado-Torres, 2011). Even more within the decolonial turn, the task is aimed at shifting the geography of reason (Maldonado-Torres, 2011), challenging the beliefs that western knowledge is global and universal compared to other forms of knowledge (Tlostanova and Mignolli, 2012). Therefore, the educational institutions are not satisfactory, there is need to shift realities and create or adapt to other forms of knowledge representative of the people they cater for.

1.3.   #FeesMustFall

As a response to these challenges and seeing that the South African government post-1994 has been unable to fully redress these inequalities, students took it on themselves again to fight and resist a system that discriminates against people. Thus the year 2015 will have historical significance, marked by the fight against an unequal education system, in which black, poor and female students are discriminated against (Seepe, 2016). The movement, popularly known as #FeesMustFall (hash tag fees must fall) revealed the racist education system in the country. It

exposed white supremacy and it exposed the mismanagement of university institutions, and government's failure to redress inequalities (Seepe, 2016).

Langa (2017) highlights that students across institutions had done all they could to address these inequalities internally; other campuses such as TUT (Tshwane University of Technology) and UKZN (University of KwaZulu-Natal) had been protesting for many years before the 2015 student movement. But it seemed that most universities' management was unresponsive (Langa, 2017). For example, at the beginning of February 2015, Wits (University of the Witwatersrand) SRC (Student Representative Council) initiated the 1 month 1 million campaign, raising funds for students unable to pay registration fees (Malabela, 2017). In the same year #RhodesMustFall started at UCT (University of Cape Town) raising questions about decolonisation; it gained momentum spreading to Rhodes University and Wits under the #TransformWits (Malabela, 2017). #RhodesMustFall was a non-negotiable demand that the university must remove the Cecil Rhodes statue; coupled with this demand were talks about decolonising the university (Ndelu, 2017). Students began to speak about black pain and what it means to be black within institutions of higher learning. It was in these moments that students saw the intersectionality in their struggles and life stories, this informed the multiplicity in identities that later manifested during the #FeesMustFall (Ndelu, 2017). The protests/shutdowns at Wits were sparked after the decision to increase 2016 fees at the Wits council meeting on 18 October 2015.

An interesting aspect of this movement is the felt presence of women in the leadership of the mass action. Protests and mass action movements have historically been seen as a domain for men and as such women's involvement has rarely been described as vital in these movements. For instance, the #RUReferencelist movement sparked by cases of female black students who were raped on campus at Rhodes University saw women taking a stand to fight back the institution system that has been seen to violate women's rights and protect those who commit such acts. The women students at Rhodes University published on social media a list of 11 men alleged to be rapists; they demanded that the university act against all these allegations (Meth, 2017).

Thus within the #FeesMustFall spaces women found ways to express and push forward a conversation about the specific experiences of women within institutions of higher learning. Bradbury and Mashigo (2018) speak about the ways gender and class intersect creating lines of dis-identification and misrecognition for women who find themselves in political spaces within

institutions of higher learning. Women face the challenge of being seen as not serious or too unique. Women in general are always cast as less than men in terms of intelligence and their bodies are seen as objects of satisfaction for men (Butler, 1998). Thus when they interact with men in institutions of higher learning and political spaces they are forced to conceal their femininity as men get anxious and distressed (Bradbury and Mashigo, 2018).

It is therefore the aim of this project to understand the ways in which the #FeesMustFall movement mobilised multiple identities. The objective is to investigate through the participants' experiences the ways in which women within the movement manoeuvred through the politically charged spaces of #FeesMustFall. Understanding the work involved these women claiming a position and identity as being both politically active and as leaders going forward in their own right.

The questions and objectives of the study:

1. What were the experiences of these activists during #FeesMustFall?
2. What was the influence of the #FeesMustFall as a political space/platform on their identities?
3. What were intersections of gender, race and class during the protest action?
4. What were the intergenerational shifts in South African politics?

5. CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This section gives the theoretical frameworks necessary to understand the process of identity formation. Identity formation process gives insight into the ways people manoeuvre in their surroundings, as they choose either to resist identifying or else to belong; this therefore gives insight to the relationship between individuals and their surroundings. In this study, identity is understood as psychosocial, relational, multiple, and is told in narratives. These frameworks allow for investigating the process of identification as participants identify, challenge and resist modes of gendered and racial identification within the spaces of #FeesMustFall. Again, we are able to investigate the re-enactments of women as political activists in the spaces of #FeesMustFall. Identity is acquired through a back and forth process as the individual moves towards or confirms and negates certain aspects of their life (Ndlovu, 2012), the achievement of which is the formation of a sense of self. Therefore, identity never reaches the end and it is not one thing; the self keeps updating as contexts change. The resources to build a sense of self/identity are readily available within the historical, social and cultural environment. Thus identity is not a naturally attained attribute but a social construct.

The chapter will discuss the importance of narratives in the construction of sense of self as they help to order life experiences into sequenced forms. Cultural and political structures are vital to the formation of identity. The political institutions of family, education and law are important in informing the resources offered for identity formation. As such the psychosocial section will discuss the impact of South Africa's apartheid past, African family traditions and education systems on the meaning and experiences of blackness and gendered realities of women. If culture offers social roles, other people offer validation as they evaluate whether that role is performed well or inappropriately, (de)legitimising people in those roles. The relationality section will discuss the impacts of human relations formed within social contexts in the production of power relations. Therefore, this section gives light to the impacts of Othering, hate, patriarchy and racism on the experiences of young black women's realities. Lastly, the section on multiplicity will discuss the implications of an intersectional view on the ways students/ participants were able to construct themselves both as being women and politically active.

5.1. Narrative

Identity can be understood by studying the manner in which people interact and tell stories. The narratives constructed by people constitute a sequence; they have a beginning, middle and ending with each narrative consisting of a plot (Chase, 2005). The commonality between the autobiographical process and identity is that they are both concerned with positioning the self in time (Brockmeier, 2000). Firstly, time in autobiography functions to order a life into time modalities of past, present and future. For instance, people are able to draw on their childhood memories to account for the direction their lives have taken, and they are also able to project what the future will look like. Similar to participants' narratives, told memories trace significant moments from childhood until the days of the protests to make moral statements of who they are. In these narratives social structures such as schools and politics become the sources of resources that informed the political activist side of their lives. The relationships that participants formed within social structure also became important in helping participants forge their identities.

Secondly, autobiographical time shows the synthesis between individual, natural and cultural time (Brockmeier, 2000). For example, as South Africa's political climate changed from the apartheid era to a democratic government these changes impact people's social conditions. Family patterns, economic statuses and schooling opportunities have changed for example. The work faced participants is that they must make sense of their lives within each period, from past to present. McAdams' (2001) narrative concepts of synchronic and diachronic organizing principles offer insight to the ways identity is constructed as a function to locate the self in time. Configuring identity diachronically involves integrating contradictory and conflicting roles throughout the trajectory of one's life from when they were young to adulthood; thus through time (McAdams, 2001).

Thus the idea of autobiographical time works not only as an organizing principle of lived experiences but it also works to create a multi-layered sense of human temporality (Brockmeier, 2000). It is multi-layered because the self in narratives makes jumps – back and forth between past, present and future. Also, identity is configured synchronically by integrating all the contradictory and conflicting roles in one's life, to make sense in the here and now (McAdams, 2001). In this way narratives function as an evaluative tool, the self is re-presented to articulate and justify their moral and ethical convictions about the world. In essence, these configuring ways

of identity function to unify and make meaning of the many aspects of one's sense of self. This work allows multiplicity in identity. Narratives also link with Freeman's (1993) notion of "rewriting the self". He stipulates that autobiography is a work of interpretation and recollection to make and remake sense (Freeman, 1993). Even more, narratives function as agents where the self can insert its individuality or self-agency in society. Therefore, the narrator/self can violate normality in a fashion that still restores the norm (Bruner, 1990).

Brockmeier's (2002; p23) input on "frames" of memory gives reasons for the similar but diverse accounts of participants' experiences during #FeesMustFall. The idea is that memory is primarily organized in culture or social groupings and not in the individual mind. In a given society, there are practices which guide the ways memory is organized and then produce social frames (Brockmeier, 2001). As people move and interact in many different social groupings they acquire these practices and frames, teaching them different ways to communicate. This is primarily the reason people remember differently, in that one individual belongs to many other social groupings different from the next individual's groupings. The combination of different social frames of memory alters the events that each individual recalls at a given time (Brockmeier, 2001). This is why older South African generations may praise the ANC (African National Congress) but this generation is here to question that legacy.

In summary, this study focuses on narrated identities, exploring how participants unify their life experiences from childhood through to their adulthood as they know themselves today, and how they create coherences across the conflicting social roles they have occupied and continue to occupy. For example, how their ideas of femininity conflict with, or jell together with, the role of being a political activist within the spaces of a youth/student movement such as #FeesMustFall. The following sections discuss the psychosocial, relationality and multiplicity aspects of identity.

5.2. PSYCHOSOCIAL STRUCTURES

"The more we seek the inner core or true self, the more we find our culture with its expectations and patterns deeply embedded" (Billington, Hockey and Strawbridge 1998; p49). The economic, political, cultural and religious setups of any society have a way of influencing personal life to an extent where the difference between what is private and public is blurred. Althusser (2006) termed these cultural or societal factors 'ideological state apparatuses'. They are embedded in the religion, education, law and media systems of society (Althusser, 2006). For example, identity aspects such

as gender and race are historically hegemonic; their dominance in personal life comes across as though they are natural and not cultural constructions (Ndlovu, 2012). Thus even the choices that seem to be motivated by personal intuition are as much impacted by societal factors (Billington et al., 1998).

Collins (1998) mentions the use of family as a gendered ideological tool and as a way of organizing society. Within the era of industrialisation and nationalism, the nuclear family has been privileged over other forms/ patterns of family (Burman, 2008) because it was used as a principle of social organisation and political control (Collins, 1998). In order to foster cohesion and nationality, politicians have used family rhetoric. As a social organizational tool family rhetoric has been used to manufacture naturalized hierarchies of gender, age and race; therefore, through family rhetoric and particularly through the institution of marriage, power relations are established and maintained. For example, the social arrangement in a nuclear home is that the father is the leader fitting to receive a family wage (Burman, 2008), the mother plays a supportive role in domestic labour and the children are last on the hierarchy (Collins, 1998). The ideal nuclear family consists of a man, woman and children. Every other structure that is not nuclear and does not meet the western ideals of marriage is therefore constructed as abnormal. On the issue of race and state, the ideology of family is used to demarcate those who belong, versus those who are outsiders. As such the state/man is responsible for the citizens of the nation/family; the man is also responsible for his wife and children. In this way the woman and the children are bound to the man/state.

Butler (2006) also speaks to the use of gender constructions in ordering life. Gender as a social construct mirrors sex which is a biological aspect of one's body (Butler, 2006). In this way gender is lived as though natural and not socially constructed. The male gender is considered as the superior gender attracted to the other inferior female gender. This concept of gender privileges heterosexual relationships as the normal and natural way of being. Engraved within the gender constructions are gender roles which carry expectations through which the body is to behave. Butler (1988; p528) puts it this way: "Gender reality is created through sustained social performances." As such the man is expected to behave in particular ways different from the woman; in this way through embodiment gender is acquired.

For instance, due to their sex constructed as merely opposite to that of men, women are ascribed roles that are opposite to those of their counterparts. In this way, man is leader and woman follows,

regardless of that individual's intrapersonal qualities or personality. This testifies to the power of social construct such as gender in shaping people's understandings of their worlds. Consequently, deviations from the norm stand to face punitive measures by other members of that society. Furthermore, masculinity is associated with and shapes understanding of leadership; hence the right measure of leadership can only be certified by men. As such, women find themselves in this hard space where their biology or their lack of masculine qualities expels them from any position of leadership. Thus, they find themselves having to live up to masculine ways of leading; they have to scream more, be commanding so that they may appear powerful (Fine, 2009). As pointed out in Mavin and Cunningham (2010), however much they try to do leadership according to masculine standards women always fall short, and when they lead from a more feminine perspective their leadership goes ignored. In this way gender is used to constrain women from using their bodies in particular ways as they do not fall under the 'proper' modes of doing their gender.

In similar ways to gender, the construct of race functions in normative naturalized ways. In South Africa the African people have been subjected to a racial category that is inferior to South Africans of European descent. State policies stretching from 1932 were implemented to establish whiteness as the superior race by exploiting the labour of those considered outsiders (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011). This has impacted the lives of many South Africans; most South Africans born before the 1990s have multiple stories of their life experiences of growing up in a racially divided nation during the struggle years. As multiple ideologies impact society, so too are people affected by those ideological practices. The ongoing process of identification/ identity construction is about people moving towards social ideologies and practices as they distance themselves from others.

Subsequently, as society changes so do the ideas about personal identity. Therefore, identity is different things in differing social spaces; a well-adjusted sense of self in one culture can be viewed as maladaptive in another culture (Billington et al., 1998). This is the case when considering African and western family norms, gender differences and racial ideologies. For instance, the nuclear family is not a normal concept of family in African households where in one household three generations can exist (Burman, 2008).

Identity work gives insight to the ways in which previously disadvantaged groups of people adjust and re-identify after oppression. Burman (1994) speaks to the ideologies of child innocence

(especially girls) and how this idea is linked to westernised standards. Again, this links to the understanding and construction of the nuclear family as the natural and only social environment for child rearing (Burman, 2008). The critique offered by Burman (1994, 2008) of these ideas of childhood and mothering is that they fail to consider cultural differences and different social settings; these notions inscribe and perpetuate unequal power relations between men and women, and between adults and children. The 'child innocence' and 'women as the only suitable nurturers' ideologies imply that any deviation from the standard is unnatural and a failure on the part of mothers.

Billington et al. (1998) use the idea of roles to show the complex ways that society and individual agency interact to bring about personal identity. Roles are the frames through which people occupy and make meaning of life even as they achieve a sense of self (Billington et al., 1998). Within each social role are social scripts with expectations to be carried out by the respective individuals. For example, a state consists of the government and the citizens; in a nuclear family setting there are social scripts for husband, wife, and children; at school there are teachers and learners. In this way members of a particular societal system are well aware of their expected roles. As it follows, individuals are interpellated into the acceptable social roles they can occupy. Through 'hailing' the other is hollered into a role that they are expected to carry out, the one being hailed must recognise and accept those expectations (Althuser, 2006). For example, economic structures and the meanings attached to family shape the social order of life (Collins, 1998). The ideology of economics and family interpellate people to becoming active members within the ideology (Althusser, 2006).

For instance, Fanon (1986) offers two schemata through which black bodies are inserted into pre-existing meanings attached to their skin colour. When a black child is born she is inserted into the epidermal racial schema inclusive of her "blackness" and "ethnic characteristics", but when she enters into racialized contexts her black essence is immediately questioned as they insert her into the historico-racial schema (Fanon, 1986). The historico-racial schemata are the white narratives of what it means to be black (Fanon, 1986). These schemata function as social scripts through which racism is enacted such that it cannot be reversed; in this way blackness is not necessarily a choice but an imposed social position.

Symbolic racism is a social process that has historically worked to construct and maintain black people as inferior. Sears (1998) speaks about the invention of symbolic racism to replace old-fashioned racism. Democratic South Africa sees white and black people coexisting outside the frameworks of colonisation and Apartheid. However, Sears (1998) suggests that racism was not over but that it has morphed into something subtler than before. They note that symbolic racism is the mixture of anti-black affect and traditional values of western society (1998). As such white people have moved to: 1) viewing black people as moving too fast and using violence; 2) resentment towards affirmative action policies; and 3) denial that discrimination against black people still exists in education or workplaces. Lastly, Bourdieu (1979) speaks of symbolic violence as the product of ideological power. Thus the dominant class or group of people acquire power; the use of that power is to create a reality that supports and maintains their power position. Therefore, symbolic structures are utilised to serve the interest of the ruling class alienating and violating the rights and interests of those in the lower groups (Bourdieu, 1979).

The relationship between society and its people is such that as society impacts the individual, the individual also shifts certain aspects of that society. Thus the previous generations hand over social scripts to the next generation. However, the next generation has the agency to not simply replicate the previous one. #FeesMustFall is such a political context which resists interpellation into existing subject positions and the intergenerational transmission of oppressive structural forms through the reinterpretation of collective and personal identities. It is a student political movement geared at fighting for the rights of black and poor students within institutions of higher learning. Thus education becomes the organising principle where there are students, university management and government. Usually the spaces of youth politics call on male students but there was something about this context that saw women students pushing their way into political spaces. There is also the issue of class; but considering the history of South Africa poverty always implies black people. This is important to see the ways in which the students involved within the movement tapped into certain social constructs by distancing themselves from others.

5.3. RELATIONALITY

Identity is a social construct fulfilled as people interact with each other and their surroundings (Fay, 1996). The resources through which identity is formed come from the relations human beings form with each other; thus other people are important in the development of a sense of self. These

resources offered from the outside go on to inform the internal psyche as it helps the individual to form a distinct self from the rest. Fay (1996) highlights the human desire to be recognised by others in society. This desire is further cemented by the commitment individuals show in carrying out the social roles they are designated. First, the awareness that there are other people distinct from the self is a crucial step to developing personal identity (Fay, 1996). Second, the self is able to occupy specific roles in order to gain recognition from others as they help in ratifying and confirming (Fay, 1996). For example, on the topic of respect Campbell (1994) highlighted the view that the older generations in African traditions are seen as social guides because of their knowledge and experience. This is the guideline for the way younger generations should relate with those older. This highlights the held view of the past as an important source of tradition which holds wisdom relevant to the present life (Whyte, Alber and van der Geest, 2008).

The processes of identification and recognition that enable people to fulfil social roles in relationship with others are conversely activated by processes of othering and alienation (Hall, 1990). In the context of long histories of oppression, social roles and relations are highly conflictual and unequal. Miller (2017) points to the colonial patriarchal norms in South Africa and the exclusion of women in political spaces. For example, Burman (1994) mentioned that when speaking about youth politics the norm is that youth means boys. Despite constitutional protections of human rights for all, South African society is riven by raced and gendered othering. These processes are about establishing and maintaining power relations. The powerful must establish themselves superior to the subordinate. Jensen (2011) defined othering as the process of reduction and essentialization where negative characteristics are used to reduce the othered. Therefore, othering is about power – making known to the other who holds the power, it is also about constructing the other as abnormal and morally inferior, it is also about ownership – the powerful possess the knowledge and technology (Jensen, 2011). In hate, the discourse of pain is used to transform the other into the hated; therefore, the hated body is constructed to show the 'other' ordinary person as the hurt and injured by the invasion of the hated one (Ahmed, 2015).

5.4. MULTIPLICITY

"Identity is not one thing for any individual; rather, each individual is located in, and opts for a number of differing, and at times, conflictual identities, depending on the social, political, economic and ideological aspects of their situation" (Ndlovu, 2012; p9). To avoid a scattered and confused identity, it is suggested that social contexts mobilize certain identities, excluding or silencing others. Depending on the social roles, a life can be lived as though identity is a singular aspect. At this time, the other multiple layers of one's identity are concealed (Ndlovu, 2012). The concealed aspects are those that are contradictory and at times in conflict with the social role at play. On the other hand, there are those social contexts that mobilize multiple identities, allowing the self to be expressed in complex multiple ways at one time. Therefore, one aspect or layer is never sufficient to define that person. Ndlovu (2012) has argued that there are contexts wherein it is beneficial to seek 'singularity' in identity. An example is the stance that was taken by South African women post 1990—to let go of feminist ideals to focus on the critical tone of race (Meintjies, 2017). This stance meant that black South Africans could unite across gender and ethnicity to participate in the new possibilities for freedom and democracy. As such the women's movement in South Africa was reduced to a subsidiary role as they joined the ANC and become known as the Women's League (Hassim, 2002). Therefore, the talks to transition South Africa into a post-Apartheid society mobilized racialized identities, concealing gendered and class aspects of identity.

However, Hassim (2002) argues that this may have been a strategic error as it led to and supported the view that women cannot be politically involved in their own rights and for their own agenda. As a result, women's contributions into movements of social action have gone ignored. In fact, throughout history women in political spaces were always seen as partners to male comrades; they were always spoken of as the 'support structures'. For example, in South Africa black women have historically been ranked as the cheapest form of life, this is reflected in employment opportunities—they are either unemployed, domestic workers or at lower ranks of organisation (Canham, 2014). As a result, women roles in politics were seen as not equal to those of the few elite men within the organization (ANC) (Hassim, 2002). Women were excluded from strategic planning on the shape and direction of democracy in the new South Africa, further perpetuating

the narrow view that politics is men's business and women have only a supporting role (Hassim, 2002).

In light of this, Mahon (2000, p286) argues that, it is necessary for scholars writing for example, on blackness and black identity to "reiterate that there is no single black identity shared by all black people, that black people are not [a] monolithic group, and that multiple versions of blackness coexist". Belonging to a particular group is determined by multiple factors such as social positions, emotional attachments, and ethical and political values (Yuval-Davis, 2006).

Equally important is the work on Intersectionality by Crenshaw (1991). She argues that in order to sufficiently articulate the position and oppression of black women, feminism work has to appreciate the intersections of gender, race and class (Walby, Armstrong and Strid, 2012). The argument is that the specific ways that gender intersects with race positions black women as the most marginalized group in society. Thus, the oppression of black women can never be addressed by just focusing feminist work on gender. Crenshaw (1991) proposed three ways that gender and race intersect to produce the oppression of black women. The first is 'structural intersectionality', which speaks to the location of women of colour at the intersection of race, and gender where their life experiences are different to white women (Crenshaw, 1991). Second is 'political intersectionality' where the politics of feminism and antiracism have worked to overshadow the oppressive experiences of black women. Third, representational intersection speaks to the cultural constructions of black women (Crenshaw, 1991). Therefore, the process of identity formation or identification is never static but always in motion and context-dependent (Ndlovu, 2012).

6. CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

6.1. METHODOLOGY

This study has adopted a narrative approach. Hiles and Cermak (2008) posit that through narratives we are able to see the ways in which human experience is socially and culturally grounded. This is because the narratives told are shaped and borrow from culture (Phoenix, 2008). Even more, participants narrate their life experiences in view of a perceived audience; the researcher in this instance is one of those audiences (Riessman, 2008). Thus the narratives produced within the interview space are bound by culture.

Therefore, narrative inquiry was used to highlight the manner in which the participants in the study construct and maintain their personal identities in the context of the #FeesMustFall student movement. In this way, the influence of race, gender, and age will be made evident, showing the ways in which participants navigate these factors as they understand and explain their involvement in the Fees Must Fall movement. The analysis of the stories told by participants allows the researcher to investigate the process of identity construction. This involves interrogating the social, cultural, political, and historical contexts in which these stories of life and identity are told. The emphasis on contexts in narrative methodology is vital, and the research aims to create a context that allows narratives to be told in the participants' points of view and guide the tone and manner in which they are told (Ndlovu, 2012).

Riessman (2008; p54) posits that stories function not only to convey the meaning made by those narrating them but they also function to create "possibilities for social identities, group belonging, and collective action;" thus stories can function to mobilise others. Narratives do more than retell the events in the story. Thus the stories told by the participants are more than the narration of the events—they convey meaning and invite audiences.

Squire (2008) makes a distinction between stories as events and stories as experiences, highlighting the analytic benefits in examining stories as experience. Treating stories as more than the event enables three things. First, engulfed in the entire narration there is talk that might have no bearing to the event told but has more to do with the individual narrator. Thus as the narrator talks, she is also constructing her life story, telling the listener who she is (Squire, 2008). Second,

the narration functions as a representation which stands to change depending on the audience, time and context the story is being told (Squire, 2008). Last, Experience-Centred narratives highlight the co-construction nature of narratives; therefore the audience real or imagined becomes important in the analysis of the story (Squire, 2008).

Accordingly, the narratives collected as data are about personal experiences during the student protests, #FeesMustFall, theorising the identities of the narrator by considering the role of the audiences and contexts in which these stories are being told. Lastly, because of their changing nature, narratives are ways that human beings insert their agencies; they are also tools humans use to violate and/ or restore normality (Bruner, 1990). Therefore, through the narrative approach we are able to tap into the lives of those involved in the student movement as they resist the legacies of the injustices of the past; we are able to experience with the participants this historical moment called #FeesMustFall.

6.2. PARTICIPANTS

Narrative interviews were conducted with six participants. All of them were female students at Wits University and self-identify as "active" in the Fees Must Fall movement. Some of the participants were known by the researcher as she is also a student and was minimally involved in the movement's protests in 2015 and 2016. These participants were then asked to recommend other students who might be interested in the study, using a snowballing technique. Table 1 below provides a profile of the participants.

Pseudonym	Age	Political Affiliation	Time interview was collected
Zinhle	25	SRC/PYA	2016, October
Ammara	24	SRC/PYA	2016, November
Charlotte	25	SRC/PYA	2016, December
Ria	24	SRC/PYA	2016, November
Noni	26	EFF	2017, April
Thandeka	26	None—Radical black feminist	2017, March

Table 1: Profile of participants

6.3. Data collection

The study employed narrative interviews to collect the data. As per their consent (see Appendix A) participants took part in an interview session ranging from 40 minutes to 65 minutes. Through narrative interviews, participants and the researcher were able to coproduce the stories and exchange views in mutual ways (Hiles and Cermak, 2008). As such, participants were asked two broad narrative questions by way of telling stories about their experiences:

1) Tell me a story about a day or event that is particularly memorable for you that happened during the Fees Must Fall protests, 2015 or 2016.

2) Can you remember a story about something that happened in your childhood at home or at school that has significance for you now and that you think may be part of why you became politically active?

The interview setting then became a space through which a life story was constructed; as such the participants and the researcher occupy this space to coproduce the story together (Riessman, 2008). The interview process was action-oriented with an aim to accomplish a discursive task of producing a story through the collaborative efforts of the participants and the researcher (Berg, 2004). The participants gave detailed accounts of their lives as they answered the questions asked by the researcher who at the same time actively listened to the stories told (Reissman, 2008).

The interviews were audio recorded and then transcribed verbatim for analysis purposes. Participants gave consent for the interviews to be recorded (see Appendix B).

6.4. DATA ANALYSIS

The transcripts became the data as focus of analysis, using them to generate understanding of the unique stories that were told by participants. Firstly, the analysis looked at the stories produced by the participants searching for recurrent thematic narratives emerging across all participants. Here the focus of analysis was entirely on the content of the autobiographies; by analysing the recurring subject matter and presenting this material in terms of key themes (Phoenix, 2008). This phase of the analysis used a narrative thematic analysis method to first create thematic narratives of each participant (see Appendix C) and then to combine these across the transcribed data. Thematic

analysis focuses on the content of each story and then extracts themes across interviews, whereas narrative thematic analysis also seeks coherence in each story told in the interviews to see the ways in which the participants integrate their life stories across time and change (McAdams, 2001). With this in view, the investigation for symbolic meaning from the data was made possible, therefore being able to look for deeper underlying meaning in the narratives told by participants (Berg, 2004).

The analysis followed the six phases of thematic analysis suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006). In this way, the analysis section is able to analyse and report on the patterns emerging from the data. The six phases are: 1) familiarising yourself with your data; 2) generating initial codes; 3) searching for themes; 4) reviewing the themes; 5) defining and naming themes; and 6) producing the report. These phases were adapted to address narrative concerns of the coherence of each individual interview. In particular, in phase 2 the search for codes was initially done separately for each transcript. Afterward the recurrent emerging subject matter within each transcript was analysed to find recurrent themes across the data; from here on the themes were reviewed and named in phases 3 and 4 (see appendix D). Lastly for phase 5, themes were organised and named by temporally ordering them into: 1) Childhood: roots of politicisation; 2) 2015: the rise of the movement; and 3) 2016: the pinnacle of the movement.

The experiential approach to narrative analysis proposed by Squire (2008) is powerfully demonstrated in the analysis of what Wengraf (2006, p. 2) calls "particular incident narratives" (PINS). PINS are the small narrations within the entire story or interview told by participants; they are incidental because they are not the main story, but they erupt during the narration. These are relived during the interview, they are filled with memory and emotions. Figure 1 below presents the temporal theme childhood. The four PINS in Chapter 5 presented below in Figure 2 are some of the significant events that occurred during the 2015 or 2016 protests; hence they were central in framing analysis.
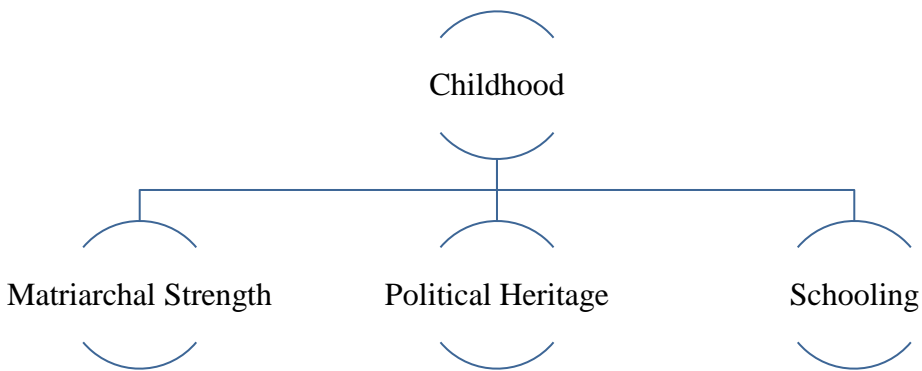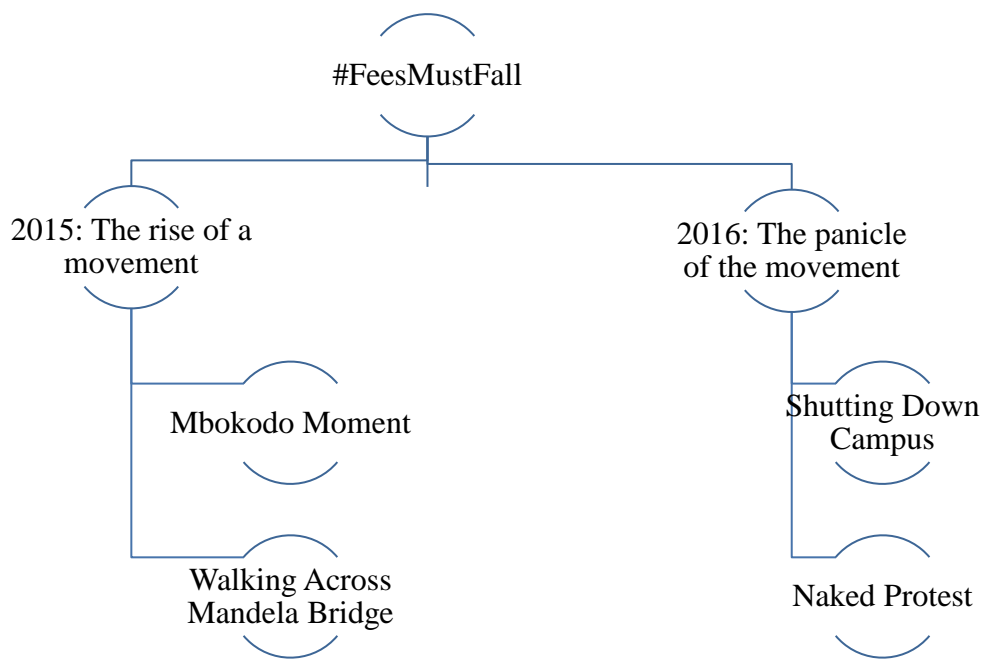
Figure 1: Temporal Themes—Chapter 4

Figure 2:Temporal Themes and PINS—Chapter 5

These PINS across the temporal zones of the larger story enabled a focus on specific themes of experience to highlight identity construction as psychosocial, relational, multiple and narrated across time. Therefore, the analysis looked for structural, political and representational

intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991). In this way the analysis was able to pay attention to the moments when participants identified, challenged and resisted modes of gendered and racial identification; the analysis also paid attention to the moments when these women re-enacted their activism during the protests. Such analysis provided insight into the identities of the participants, even as they stated their moral standings, emotions and justified (Phoenix, 2008) their associations with #FeesMustFall. Furthermore, the analysis shared light to the manner through which each story was employed as a tool to communicate #FeesMustFall.

This approach to analysis is grounded in the assumptions from the Experience-Centred method (Squire, 2008). The approach assumes that narratives of experience are sequenced with meaning and are seen as tools for sense-making; they are representations, and they are transformative (Squire, 2008). Thus the social spaces within which the story is being constructed facilitate the sequence and meanings of the told story. More so, the narrator and listener are both situated within these social settings. This means that both the narrator and the listener understand the function of the story—to make and transmit meaning (Squire, 2008). In this way a narrative can never be told the same way as audiences change and words gain or change meaning (Andrews, 2008). Thus a narrative analysis contributes critically to highlighting the interplay between the person and social change (Sherto and Ivor, 2011).

As a limitation, thematic narrative analysis tends to emphasise the meaning of the told stories and pays less attention to the performance activity of those stories.

6.5. Ethics

The matter of this study required participants to share their personal experiences which might have been psychologically traumatic for some and entailed a level of trust with the researcher, as these events and experiences were highly politically charged. There is a potential for "social injury"— as participants are required to share their own personal perspective about the #FeesMustFall movement, thoughts that might be different from the rest of the group; as such participants can be seen as "selling out" or seeking out individual praise (Berg, 2004).

In view of this, participants were not given incentives to be part of the study; the conditions for taking part were purely voluntary so that no one was coerced or coaxed to take part in the study.

As such, participants were personally informed at before their participation commenced about the aims of the study, thus achieving informed and implied consent (Berg, 2004). Participants were made aware that interviews would be audio recorded and that they are allowed to withdraw from the study at any point of the study before publishing. Anonymity of the participants was achieved by giving pseudonyms to the participants; the project did not conceal the identity of the student leadership figures who were already in the public domain. The challenge with confidentiality that might have occurred is particularly regarding trust between the researcher and participants and may have hindered data collection. Thus participants were allowed to specify the parts of their stories they were comfortable with being published in the research report. As such the recordings have been kept safe by and in possession of only the researcher and her supervisor. In case a participant might have been in need of psychological counselling after the interview sessions, the details of the CCDU (Counselling and Career Development Unit at Wits) were made available to the participant via an information sheet (see appendix E). The participants could thus easily access professional help on campus. As this project is part of the Masters programme of the University of the Witwatersrand, it has adhered to the ethical standards of the university.

6.6. Reflexivity

Narrative theory proposes that during data collection, the researcher does not only listen to the stories that the participant "happens" to narrate but they also invite certain stories (Chase, 2005; 661). The researcher was central to the process of co-construction of the stories which later became the units of analysis. It is important for the researcher to appreciate the collaborative role and the manner that this occurs. The researcher is a Masters student at the University of the Witwatersrand and a black South African woman. She was minimally involved during the Fees Must Fall movement protests in 2015.

Squire (2008) also points to the fact that the researcher is not neutral but part of the analysis and as such, does influence the data and the process of analysis. As such the researcher has beliefs and positions on race and gender, as well as beliefs about the student movement. As the researcher is a black woman, a student and was in support of the #FeesMustFall, this created a rapport with participants. Nonetheless, the conversations took place on the campus and this affected the

narratives told as participants might have felt the pressure to represent themselves or the movement in good light.

7. CHAPTER 4: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis focuses on the subjective dimensions of being a woman, black and a student political activist within the platforms of #FeesMustFall. As such, the discussion highlights moments of tension as participants simultaneously re-interpret the student movement and make meaning of their lives. Through their narratives, participants temporally order their experiences of life, specifically during the protests but, this temporal order is not simply chronological. As they narrate their experiences, participants make jumps between past, present and future (Brockmeier, 2000). In the narrations, participants juxtapose the South African racist apartheid past with the #FeesMustFall as a way of making moral statements about their association with the student movement. At the same time they borrow from their childhood in order to make meaning of their activism.

Participants use these narratives to distance themselves from the apartheid struggle generation as a way to forge a future and continue the struggle for the emancipation of the African people in ways that they feel the struggle against apartheid failed. Freeman (2003) suggests that narratives are not about a single truth, but multiple truths. Thus in their stories participants defended certain modes of protesting as they made claims about the anticipated future and outcome of the movement. The closeness of time between the interview sessions and the protests made it interesting to see the time evolving plot of the #FeesMustFall. Thus, these stories were told in closeness to their past which allowed for a window into the ways participants position themselves in time (Brockmeier, 2000).

In like manner, through these accounts of being involved in the student movement, the analysis is able to first, illuminate the self-construction process of women as political activists. Second, the analysis is able to investigate the representational purpose of these accounts, the meanings and moralities conveyed also expecting that their meaning can change as time matures (Squire, 2008). The analysis also brings to light the intersections of race and gender in shaping the experiences of these women.

These stories are not taken as representative of the events during #FeesMustFall; rather the analysis focuses on the experiential meaning of these events for participants themselves as narrated by

participants (Squire, 2008). The discussion is organised theoretically but includes extended extracts of data in order not to obscure participants' voices.

The discussion in this chapter is organised around the theme of Childhood. This theme investigates the roots of politicization of participants. The analysis of childhood memories highlighted the respective early onset of politicization of participants. Their upbringing, their surrounding environments and human relations were in some form politically charged. Participants reflected on the influences of their motherly figures, family set ups, and forms of schooling which informed their activism.

7.1. Childhood

In the telling of their childhood stories, participants spoke about their families, school and the respective cultures that impacted their childhoods; these are societal sources which have informed their identity construction processes. In tracing the life trajectories of these women, they can pinpoint significant experiences and aspects which shaped their politicization. The role of the family, school and (political/ current news) literature are spoken of as aspects of growing up which unearthed their leadership and political sensibilities. None of the participants felt that their political consciousness emerged only at university; rather, their activism was rooted in their lives. Encapsulated in these aspects is the belief that political activism is a calling; some feel that they were born for this, while others feel they had to throw away their dreams and respond to the call. Participants tell their childhood memories in order to make meaning of their present life as they simultaneously weave possible expected future realities. Also, these childhood narratives reveal the impacts of South Africa's apartheid past in shaping present realities.

7.1.1. Matriarchal strength

For the participants, the history of strong women in their family upbringing seems to have played a role in making leadership an acceptable role for women, contrary to the conventional framing of political leadership as the terrain of men (Hassim, 2012; Campbell 1994). All of the participants in their stories speak of their mothers, aunts and grandmothers as women "doing it for themselves".

As children, they were surrounded by strong women as role models. These narratives seek to break down and resist the patriarchal notions in the African culture which places men as the head of the family. For them, women in their homes transformed the ideals of gender roles in many different forms, as reflected in these extracts from Zinhle and Thandeka:

> *"I think for me, as I was just saying, it's also just tracking back to history, as that in my lineage of my family. I've seen women lead, so for me, already I already knew that it's possible, it's possible." —Zinhle*

> *"So I didn't grow up in a typical family structure where there'd be mom, dad and kids. Uhm, my parents separated when I was really really young. I think I was 3 or 4 when my parents separated, and then I was raised by my mother's side of the family. So we all stayed in my grandmother's house. So they had my aunts there, and my mom, and all those kind of things, and their kids, and me and my brother…"—Thandeka*

Most of the participants, like Thandeka, were not raised in heterosexual nuclear family traditions and this had consequences for gender roles in the home and for their own imagined future roles as adult women. These participants spoke of far more complex and variable family forms. The structures of family or household identified by the participants are as identified by Ziehl (2001): the nuclear family; single-mother headed; fostering; and multi-generational. For example, this participant had this to say about growing up in a single-mother headed family:

> *"For the longest time she has been a single mom, that is helping us out with everything. So for me, there is nothing she can't do. There is nothing she really can't do. You know, like normally when you go to other houses you'll find that, oh the dad is the one that does the gardening, and the brothers are the ones that maybe carry those heavy loads, and they're the ones that fix the T.V or the remote control when it's not working and all of that. The ladies are the ones that are washing; the ladies are the ones that are cleaning the house and all of that. But then when I'm at home, my mom does everything."—Ammara*

Likewise, Thandeka tells of how her aunt became a self-sufficient independent woman:

"There's this aunt of mine, my aunt, the oldest one, she's late now. She never got the opportunity to go to school but she was like, but I need an income but I don't want it from a man, if I should put it that way. She started her own business."—Thandeka

This competency of adult women and the lack of gendered division of labour informed expected roles and tasks for participants as children. As Ria says:

"My mother never liked, looked at us, as in like you're a girl so you have your excuses that, or you, you can't do something. Or you're a guy so you can't wash dishes. No, you the female can wash the car as much as the guy can also clean the the house. So there was my, basically no excuse for life. I get no excuse. My mother would never accept excuses."—Ria

Ammara and Ria reflect the ways in which in their homes there were not roles for boys or girls, whatever needed to be done was done by anyone despite their gender. Also in Thandeka's household women were generating an income for the family. In this way, their upbringing conditioned them not to fear any form of role or responsibilities. For example, within the ideologies of industrialisation and nuclear family, masculinity and race (western norms) are privileged; the men are constructed as the rightful breadwinners (Collins, 1998; Burman, 2008). Further, under apartheid a racial hierarchy was created which impacted and transformed black African families through migrant labour and under other oppressive racial laws of the government (Madhavan and Schatz, 2007). In South Africa both African and Western apartheid patriarchal norms have shaped the ideas of family. Therefore, it is significant to note the ways in which these young women's childhood homes challenged these family patterns.

In Ammara, Ria and Thandeka's narratives, men were 'missing' and in their single-mother headed homes, mothers were both the breadwinners and nurturers, changing the gendered roles for themselves and their daughters. The increase of labour migration due to freedom of mobility after the apartheid state in the country saw men and women leaving their homelands and families seeking better work opportunities (Madhavan and Schatz, 2007). In the case of Ria, her mother's quest for better employment opportunity meant trans-national migration and Ria was left in the care of her boarding school. She reflected on the ways she had to grow up and learn to be self-reliant as her mother was not close enough to nurture her daily. This is what she said:

"... almost like growing up by myself. Uhm, my mother was a single parent and uhm, she lived across the country. So she was in Mozambique while we were in South Africa. Uhm, she raised me for a while until I had to go to school, and then I went to a lot of boarding schools... I grew up fast and I also became strong in the sense that, like, I would stand my ground ya. Based on the fact that my mother didn't have time for me to tell her, like listen, so and so is bullying me, I needed to sort it out."—Ria

In Ammara and Charlotte's cases, as their parents or mothers sought better work to better their lives, they were left at the care of different relatives at different times of their childhood. Madhavan and Schatz (2007) spoke to the impact of migrant labour on the transformation of the multi-generational family and forms of fostering in the African setting. For Ammara, she stayed with aunts or uncles at different times. Below they reflect on their experiences:

"I grew up around my family but not necessarily with my mom. I would live with my aunt and my uncle at different times. So it was through those times that I sort of - I didn't want to do things that I'm not supposed to do, because I'm like, yoh, this is not my mother's house."—Ammara

For Charlotte, at one point she stayed with her maternal grandparents, then she stayed with her father's other family and still later she stayed with her mother. Below she reflects on the impact of her family setting:

"I had to be independent growing up. I knew how to cook when I was very young. I'd make my own eggs when I was 6, I'd make my own breakfast, I'd make my own lunch box, uhm, I'd make, I'd do my own thing. So I was very independent from a young age. I knew how to climb the bus, like from the age of a very young age"—Charlotte

Charlotte speaks of the ways she had to learn household chores and self-care when she was a little child. Ammara shares similar sentiments of feeling that she had to develop self-independence because the relatives with whom she stayed were not her mother. In relation to these experiences, western and nuclear family norms views participants' childhoods as abnormal (Burman, 2008; 1994). However, from the participants' accounts of growing up in their family/household settings and away from their "suitable nurturers" fostered a sense of self-reliance. Thus, it became

important for them to grow up quickly and not to be burdensome to their relatives. For Ammara it became a push to always learn first so that she could teach her cousins:

> *"I must be able to wake up on time, make sure that my uniform is clean so that they don't have to shout at me and all of that. So all those things, like, I need to know how to make food and all of that. Those sort of small things, to me, it's what happened. From there, I started now helping out their kids in doing those things"—Ammara*

These experiences may have fostered in these women what Marvin, Bryans and Cunningham (2010) identifies as leadership qualities: agentive, assertiveness and independent, usually associated with male leadership qualities. In the stories of these women we find these qualities fostered in their upbringing so that taking on leadership roles in political spaces seemed less frightening. Instead of shaming their mothers and women of the older generation for neglecting their nurturing roles at home they spoke of them as brave and awe-inspiring.

For Noni, she stayed with her parents but also speaks about the influence of her maternal grandparents. In her family her maternal grandmother and paternal grandmother had different socioeconomic status from that of her parents. As she visited them there were different lessons she received from each of them and she cites these lessons as informing her politicization. Below she reflects on her grandmother's life:

> *"uhm, but for me it would be my grandmother. My grandmother was a teacher. My grandmother on my mother's side, uhm, and on my father's side. Funny enough, uhm, on my father's side, my grandmother was, and is, uhm, my lived experience. And by my lived experience, I mean she, she was the mother of about nine children, my father being one of the nine. And she lived in abject poverty, and she was able to raise her nine children by herself, with no assistance from a state grant, with no assistance from her neighbours, with no assistance from anyone. Uhm, she used to sell, uhm, she would make clothes, and she would, uhm, make curtains, she would make, she just used to make a lot of things. So, she was an entrepreneur more than anything—Noni*

Here is Thandeka's view of her aunt:

"my aunt… you know I remember when she was telling that story, I laughed so hard. She fell pregnant with her first child. She was… Uhm, I don't know if it was first year, and on the day, I think she had a test or she had something. She was a Wits student. She was doing education, and she says she literally went to hospital, and I think she might have been admitted over the weekend, gave birth in the morning, came home, left her son in bed, and got on a taxi, and came to school. Like for me, that is wow, and she continued, and she finished her studies, and she got her bachelor of education with honour's, yah."—Thandeka

This also speaks to the idea of multiplicity, that a woman is not one thing and she is not limited by her gender. Instead of Thandeka shaming her aunt for leaving a new-born baby to go and write an exam, she finds this act amusing and brave. Her aunt can be educated and a mother at the same time. Accordingly, these participants were offered by their parents and women family members, social scripts which seemed to ignore more traditional and restrictive gender roles.

7.1.2. Political heritage

South African family settings have been shaped and impacted by the apartheid conditions. Political struggles became part of the family's agenda as black people sought ways to defy and change their living conditions under a racially divided and unequal society. Political debates echoed around dinner tables and family homes became refugee camps. Here are Zinhle's and Noni's accounts below:

"I grew up in a home vele, that was very politically inclined. So I grew up reading about the struggle, reading about MK. I grew up watching documentaries, and I grew up seeing my parents perform politics in front of me. And,… and that for me was, uhm, it was hard adjusting to it. Cause meaning it was, it meant that our house was open to anyone at any time. Uhm my parents would have late meetings inside the house." - Zinhle

"my family being a hard core ANC family, we used to discuss politics at the table. My, my father would be like, you can talk about anything, uhm, anywhere, anytime, but when we're at the dinner table, we talk about politics. So he'd be like, did you see the news today? What did the president say about this? What did the minister of this, this? So he

would, he would constantly check as to whether we were aware as to what was happening politically in the country" – Noni

For many participants activism had been part of their families before they were born. Becoming an activist in some form seemed inevitable and they felt the duty to continue their family legacies. Here we see the interpellation of these women into the politics of the country. Below Thandeka reveals that before the interview she didn't pay attention to the ways her parents' (both mother and father) politics impacted her life. She said:

"you know my dad refuses to speak English, and it's only now that I actually realise the importance of all these little things they were doing that back then did not make sense. And then, I, so it's sort of like, it's something that I got accustomed to because of the type of mother that I have you know. And even to this day, my mom does not wear a bra. Like she probably owns one or two. Like if you were to buy her a gift, don't buy her a bra because she's not going to wear it you know. So it's in terms of body positivity, that has helped me lot.....It's something that I got accustomed to because of the type of mother that I have you know. And even to this day, my mom does not wear a bra. Like she probably owns one or two. Like if you were to buy her a gift don't buy her a bra because she's not going to wear it you know. So it's in terms of body positivity that has helped me lot, because it's your body, and let it be, and there's nothing you can do, and you know, and just be comfortable in your own skin. So when I look at it, it's a thing of, it actually influenced me to being comfortable in my own body. That's why I didn't even think twice of my stretch marks when I went topless you know."—Thandeka

Thandeka speaks of the 'little' things her parents did to which she didn't pay much attention when growing up but these 'little' things have become the cornerstone of her politicization. Here today she is fighting for women's voices in political spaces and for free quality decolonized education. In a way she is borrowing and continuing in her own way what was modelled by her parents. Therefore, she uses her parents' narratives of fighting the 'system' to tell her own story of being part of current struggles. Below Noni and Zinhle tell similar stories:

"my parents, uhm, used to serve in Umkhonto we Sizwe. Then uhm, then after that, they, they got into intelligence. Uhm, so, on, on that level, so I was, I was inclined, and I was

well aware of politics in the home, because my home was a very, very hard-core ANC. Wooo Jesus, it was a hard-core staunch ANC house, and I had been brought up under the ANC, and the gauge of the ANC, and the principles of the ANC."—Noni

"Sometimes I'd stay up and I would listen to what was being said, and how things were being said, and I'd help out. Cutting of pamphlets, and doing of things, going to town hall meetings at age four, five. I knew what an HM was, a BGM was. I knew procedures of meetings" —Zinhle

Noni's and Zinhle's parents were also part of the struggle against the apartheid system and government. Politics was part of their dinner table chats; their houses were meeting places. For Zinhle the ANC was her obvious political home, for she grew up knowing their traditions and the ways they performed politics; this was also her gateway into student politics.

"And for me, the vision was to see the children of South Africa, the real rainbow nation, not the rainbow nation that everyone forced us to participate in. The real rainbow nation have access to a better lifestyle through education, through the access of basic services, and access of opportunity. That for me, has and is still the vision." – Zinhle

However, for Noni the failures of ANC to deliver on their visions, means that she has separated herself from this political home (and from her family home) and embraced a new politics through the EFF[1] (Economic Freedom Fighters). In the participants' narratives, they kept reflecting on the difference and similarities between this movement and the previous struggle movement against the apartheid regime.

"I had been brought up under the ANC, and the gage of the ANC, and the principles of the ANC, which from a very young age, I found very problematic. Like, I'd from, as young as I can remember, I just used to think the ANC is a contradiction of itself, and only later on, when I started doing history in school, I would discover that, actually you're right, you're not wrong, you're actually right. But now, my job was to convince the rest of my family, which I haven't been able to do successfully because their blood, according to them, is green, yellow and black."—Noni

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[1] The EFF has the majority sits in the 2018 SRC

The African notion of respect holds the past as a source of wisdom (Whyte, Alber and van der Geest, 2008); older generations are therefore qualified guides as they have experience (Campbell, 1994). In this framework, young people should recognize the older generation's authority and valuable insights. The #FeesMustFall protests across the country echoed different views to these suggested above. There seemed to be intolerance and frustration with the work done by previous generations; therefore, much of the protest seemed to have been about correcting the wrong done or failures of the previous struggle generation. Zinhle's account denounces the view of the rainbow nation as coined by Nelson Mandela. Noni's account directly criticizes the ANC and its principles. Although Noni's parents see themselves as part of a family under the ANC, Noni is a member of the EFF. As such Noni has removed herself from her family's political home as she feels the ANC is not what is used to be.

At hand is the generational conflict that Whyte, Alber and van der Geest (2008) observe across Africa. The conflict is about power, it is the question of who possess the power to control the direction of the community. Zinhle and Noni are expressing the view that much of the work done by the ANC government hasn't achieved the purpose of raising black people from poverty. Even more, they express the view that the ANC has let down its youth; hence, they feel it is up to them to correct these wrongs. As such, they speak of the continuous apartheid heritage and its impact on the life of black people. Therefore, they must revisit and question certain victories of the past to discontinue the resilient impacts of the racist apartheid government.

7.1.3. Schooling

As participants told their stories without mention of the specifics, they did reflect on the ways education and the surrounding environments in which they were raised influenced their politicization. Post 1994 South Africa was making moves to integrate across racial groups. The apartheid government had worked to segregate races and thus created a racial hierarchy in the country. With the new democratic government, many African parents strove to send their children to well-resourced schools in the previously white areas (Ladd, 2004), ensuring that they received better education. Obviously, not all African families were able to do so but there was a lot of movement from the townships or from rural areas to the urban areas as parents sought better schooling opportunities for their children. Also during this time, due to freedom of movement

some African families were able to move to the previously white suburban areas. Most of the participants in this study went to private or 'Model C' schools suggesting that their families belonged to this small upwardly-mobile group. However, even when the participants were receiving better education, they never disconnected with their African communities. They were coexisting between the affluent spaces and the poor spaces of South African society. The experiences or hardships faced by the majority of black people at the time of their early schooling influenced participants differently. It also impacted the ways they received and engaged with the knowledge they were taught at their schools. Below Noni reveals the fear she had whenever she went to visit her grandmother:

> *"and for me, what I mean by "she's my lived experience" is that, everything that she went through for me, was everything I had foreseen myself going through at some point in time, and that terrified me. So I loved her, and I appreciated everything that she did, and everything that she was, but I didn't want to become her."—Noni*

Noni speaks of the hardships faced by her grandmother and the way she feared that her life would also end in the same way. This fear seems to plague many African children; for the participants it informed their motivation to stay at school, get an education and better their life circumstances, based on the belief that education qualification leads to economic success (Piketty, 2014). Education is seen as a vehicle to escape family histories of poverty, the means to attain better material conditions (Barbarin and Richter, 2001). Noni further asserted that the motivation was a selfish one at first. She continues:

> *"and in me, not wanting to become her, I started engaging my society, and people around me. I started noticing that I wasn't the only person who was afraid of being like my grandmother. There were other people as well, who today, have become like my grandmother. And for me, it was to say, if I could do anything, and it started off on a very selfish note, if I could do anything for myself that would prevent me from getting there, I'm definitely going to do it. And, and the dream from then on became, I'm going to study medicine, and I'm going to be a doctor. And when I'm a doctor, I'm definitely going to have a job, I'm definitely gonna have money. And started from a more, on a more, you know, uhm, personal, more individual level. And when I, I got to meet my grandmother on my mother's side, who was a teacher, uhm, she instilled in me the value of reading. Oh*

my gosh, that woman used to make me read all the time. I used to read her a bedtime stories." – Noni

Similarly, all the participants had plans to become something different, but this was imagined as individual mobility. Piketty (2014) points out that the meritocratic system is guided by the belief that poor people are poor because they are lazy; hence through hard work, the poor will rise. However, for the participants in this study, this individualised interpretation of educational opportunities was always accompanied by a sense of collective responsibility and by a realisation that this notion of meritocracy was a flawed explanation for racialized poverty in South Africa. At first, the desire to pursue lucrative professional opportunities motivated university study, at times supported by their parents:

"my parents used to, well, were raising me to be a lawyer. That was their intention, (laughter), but life happens."—Zinhle

"My first year I wasn't really active, I was an off-campus student who stayed at "Clifton Heights". And what happened was, I had a plan in my head I was going to be a business woman. I was going to conquer the world, I was going to get my degree, I was going to do it all before I came into Wits. Oh, first year made me realise, nah girl, that's not how."—Charlotte

It would seem the politics bug was at some point going to bite and there was nothing these women could do to stop it. In these narrations there is a sense of self-abandonment, they had to sacrifice their personal dreams to pursue the greater purpose of emancipation for "the African child". In the stories of their childhoods, two aspects of their lives seem to be responsible for this process of conscientisation: school and black thought literature. The value for literature was initially instilled in participants by either grandparents or teachers at school. For example, Charlotte, Noni and Zinhle said this about the moments they were introduced to black thought literature and current affairs:

"my grandfather from my mom's side was the first black manager at FNB bank. My grandmother was a nurse, both of them, and my other grandfather was a lawyer. Very educated people who read, who were well read. So they'd buy newspapers. Uhm, I'd get

gifts like reading books, uhm, stuff like that. Uhm, so my love for politics came from my reading. Uhm, I loved reading"—Charlotte

"She had always taught me the value of literature and learning. And it was through learning and literature that I realized that my grandmother was one of millions of people in this country. And I think that's when I moved from being, uhm, an individual, to thinking on a collective basis, to say, even though I succeed as an individual, I just can't just succeed by myself. And me succeeding by myself is, is me in isolation, because that means I'm there, and everyone else is here, and there's distance between me and my people. I started engaging in, you know, black literature, and what it meant to be black, and the black panther movement, and I was obsessed with ASATA. And this is me at like eleven, I was at eleven years old, uhm, my mother has, like this weird video of me, uhm, doing the black panther march. I was marching around the house doing the black panther thing, went to the back barrier, took my grandmothers black beret, and I was like, I was ready, and was like, yes, revolution, revolution, and they're like, no, no, we live in a democratic South Africa."—Noni

The more they read, the more their eyes were opened to the conditions of other black South Africans. For instance, Noni accounts for when and why her dreams changed. Seeing and understanding the struggle of black South Africans made her aware of the selfishness of her dreams and persuaded her to seek for an inclusive dream where she and all black people will benefit. Noni's sentiments are similar to those of all other participants in that they all felt the "call" to serve their communities. As they read more newspaper articles they saw the black communities plagued by poverty and many other unjust conditions. Here is Zinhle's account:

"Then I think came my high school years. Started learning about Economics, and every day, our teacher would, grade eight, would tell us to go read the news. Every day, you must come back with something from the news, and every day, I started reading, and every day, I'd get depressed. This has happened in rural KZN, that has happened in rural Limpopo, that has happened in rural Eastern Cape, where I was just like why, why is it happening there and not in these other places? And I started reading a lot on politics, and once in class, we'd just once started a debate. Uhm, I think I was in grade nine at that

time, started a debate about DA winning over our little small towns, and when I started the debate, I, I saw how passionate I was for the working class."—Zinhle

The sentiments about the call to politics seem to be tied with feelings that because of their better schooling opportunities (compared with other black children) they were indebted to their communities. Community in African societies are the cornerstone, the good of a person is only attained whilst they pursue that of their community (Lutz, 2009). Consequently, it led to the sentiment that as the few fortunate Africans they are not truly free until their community at large is made free; thus, bestowed on them the duty to lead as they are the first generation to achieve a higher level of education.

Conventional schooling traditions of prefects, debate/ public speaking, and subjects such as economics, were also reported to ignite and polish the qualities of leadership. In tertiary education, residing on campus accommodation exposed them to house committees and school representative councils (SRC). All these traditions further confirmed participants in their belief that they were born to lead. Charlotte said this:

> *"I moved to Venda in 2010. Going back to Venda in 2010… I went to a better-off private school. When I was in Pretoria, it was a catholic school… The first thing when I got there, the walls were dirty. It didn't make sense to me. It wasn't part of the environment. And I was from an all-girls school, so there were boys in the class, and I was like, yoh, okay. And they'd steal your pencil, and they wanna borrow all your pencil case. Okay, and you're just like, okay, it's a different environment. I went to the bathroom, there were no bathroom doors. I was like, went to the principal's office, I'm like, it does not make sense that you have a girl's bathroom but it doesn't have bathroom doors. What do you expect a girl to change a pad or her tampon, cause today I had to, and there was no door? So how do girls go about that? So you're principal of the school? I was at the principal's office. I was known for not being in class cause I was in the principal's office talking to the principal about issues I had about his school."—Charlotte – check punctuation in the data extracts*

Charlotte speaks to the burden of existing between urban and rural communities. Yuval-Davis (2006) speaks to this crisis of belonging arising from being positioned in multiple settings that differ in power relations. For the individual belonging to a categorical position there are implications to their identity and the performativity of such identities. For instance, to be black in South Africa means that one belongs to the most impoverished racial group in the country. However, in the case of Charlotte whose grandparents are well off (a privilege for few black people), she finds herself in two different worlds. As a result, from her private schooling experience she immediately noticed the difference between her former school and the new school she was starting at. The infrastructure is unequal. She is also surprised that students steal each other's stationery. The walls are not adequately painted, and the lady's toilets do not have doors. This is a reality in many black schools in South Africa where home for most is in the rural area. This is a heritage from the apartheid times where schools were not equally managed and funded, a trend which persists even today (Ladd, 2004).

As such Charlotte and other participants felt the need and responsibility to do something to redress this challenge. These were the moments when their fighting spirits emerge as they could not sit and ignore the dignity of black children ridiculed. Furthermore, other aspects of the schooling traditions instilled leadership qualities in the participants. Zinhle spoke of her economics teacher who would always put her in the spotlight to the point of putting her in the debating team of the school. She said this:

> *"my other teacher, my Economics teacher, when I got into grade eleven, I got twelve. She started encouraging me, debates out of me. So she'd teach and teach in class, then always be like, (person's name), what do you think of this, and I'd give her my opinion in front of the whole class. And for me, I think what she was trying to do, is saying that, you have a passion for something, but I wanna teach you in how to channel your thinking and understanding, and also get an opinion from everyone around you in order to grow you."—Zinhle*

> *"It was when they started giving out awards. That was like towards grade 7. They started giving out awards, and they'd be like, our leaders at the school. They'd say these people always stand out, they are always there to assist. They like shape- that thing of like, you're changing, while everyone is laid back- you're there helping out. In previous, I'd get those*

certificates, but I'm thinking it's just a gift that you're getting for helping out. They're just recognizing you for helping out. And then in grade 7, I then realized that no man, there's something different. You are sort of seen in a different light when you are getting these certificates and what not. It's not like a normal thing to do, it's not a normal thing to have."—Ammara

In Ammara's case, receiving an outstanding certificate at school alluded to her 'natural' gift for leadership. It was from this point she started noticing and seeing herself in that light. Despite her gender the school was recognizing her unique abilities to lead. For other participants becoming school prefects was indicative of their leadership skills.

7.2. Conclusion

In summary, the first theme of childhood analysed experiences of mothering, upbringing, and schooling. These explored the influences of ideologies of family, economics, schooling, and politics in identity formation. These themes traced participants' roots of politicization from their childhoods. The maternal figure in their lives acted as crucial role models in toppling down the notion of men as natural leaders. Growing up with working mothers meant that some of the participants will either stay with family relatives or stay at boarding schools. These experiences fostered a sense of self-reliance and responsibility as participants learned to stand on their own. Also, in their families there are histories of political struggle as their parents shared stories of growing up and resisting the apartheid government system. It was from these stories that participants got informed on politics and party politics in South Africa. For some participants these stories of resistance set a precedent for their current politics, and for others they chose to discontinue certain aspects of their family's history.

For participants schooling become a significant period in their lives; it was in schools that participants chose to follow the political activism route. The subjects at school informed them about the impoverished conditions of black South Africans. For other participants it was the experience of co-existing in urban and rural spaces due to their schooling. These movements from rural to urban explicitly exposed the difference between white and black South Africa. It was in those moments that participants realised their privileges and feelings of indebtedness and

responsibility to making African life experiences better. The role of academic achievement and taking on school leadership roles informed the belief that they were born leaders, or it helped carve leadership skills.

8. Chapter 5: Results and Discussion

The organisation of this chapter follows the timeline of the lives of the participants from the period of their childhoods—the personal past, to the times they were involved with the #FeesMustFall— the recent past, until the present time of the interviews as they reflected back on their experiences. The discussion is organised around three main themes: childhood; 2015— the rise of the movement; and 2016—the decline. The second temporal phase of narration focuses on the rise of the movement in the events of the #FeesMustFall 2015 protests traces some of the significant moments that led to the birth of the historic 2015 students uprising. The final phase of the analysis focuses on the 2016 iteration of the protests that confronts some of the significant events that led to the violent nature of the protests, thus highlighting some of the toxicity that negatively affected the movement. Therefore the analysis discusses the temporal order of narratives marked by resistance as participants inserted their identity as politically active women.

8.1. 2015: The rise of a movement

Each of the events presented as PINS in this section addresses some of the critical challenges faced by student protestors during the 2015 protests. They also highlight the revolutionary act of these events as ways student protesters decided to answer and address the challenges faced. Two key events or happenings during the 2015 protests at Wits were talked about by participants as significant turning points of great symbolic value. These are recounted with visceral emotion as recollected experience rather than merely temporal events. The first PIN is called "the Mbokodo Moment"; it speaks to the experiences of being women with the #FeesMustFall. Through this the participants spoke about the hardships they faced as women leaders. It also highlights the ways these women chose to challenge and resist gendered identities. The second PIN is called "walking across the Mandela Bridge"; it speaks to the themes of age and race. The section addresses the ways age was used to ignore and ridicule the work being done by students and how they resisted and challenged older forms of the anti-Apartheid struggle. The section further shows the political climate of the country during the 2015 protests highlighting the ways the government chose to respond to students.

8.1.1. The Mbokodo Moment: intersections of gender and race in the movement

Participants spoke about the internal gendered marginalisation that occurred within the students' movement. Unlike the strong female role models in their families, women's voices were mistreated and misrepresented within the movement. These themes speak to the resources offered by platforms of mass political action in mobilizing marginalized identities in efforts for empowerment. They speak to the ways women political activists recognized their marginalized positions in the student movement and their demand for equality. This section focuses on the experiences of women in a politically charged up space such as #FeesMustFall. The participants give detailed accounts on the problematic nature of patriarchy and the ways it shapes what it means to be a woman. Participants discussed the hurdles they had to jump over in order to claim their right as political activists. The discussion details gendered identities—their re-enactment and their confinement within social settings. Thus, showing the ways gender as a social construct constrains women, and the ways in which those occupying such identities accept and resist some aspects. As the participants recollect these memories they can analyse the points of contention that their gender imposed on them and also find ways to reconfigure gender in relation to other dimensions of their identity.

Mbokodo Moment:

> *"I think it was more of… How they played out, is that… we came from Sunnyside singing, looking beautiful in our Doeks, and coming, you know… into Solomon House. When we arrived there, there was an immediate divide, where it looked like we came to outshine someone. When the truth is, we just came to embrace what democracy does to leadership, and how it's changed it. That we now can say, "oh wow, my SRC president is black, and she is female", "my SRC president is Indian… and… she is Muslim and she's female," and we were very in love with that picture, and we wanted the world to see that picture. That not only saying transformation here or change there, but we are practicing it, look at how we are practicing it. And I just felt as if, like there was this, (claps hands against each other), block, immediately by the Great Hall stairs of, we wanna shut down this idea, we wanna shut down these two faces. Because, I felt like it was more of the intimidation coming from patriarchy of, "if these two faces are embraced, that means that we are*

losing our political will on this campus." And as the events went by, even when we had entered into Solomon House… we were secluded, and we were closed out by singing men. And we were told to stand at the back while we wait for a male axed president, while our female presidents were in the hall and could address students legitimately so."—Zinhle

Within the protests much talk was around black pain and the exclusion of black bodies from institutions of higher learning and the gender toxicity remained over-shadowed by this exclusive focus on race until women students decided it was enough! On the day of the Mbokodo Moment, women students decided to dress their bodies fashionably; this moment was seen on the media as iconic and beautiful. Women comrades dressed stylishly by matching blue jeans and white t-shirts; they also accessorised by wearing big African heard wraps and earrings. This way of dressing as noted by Miller (2017; p273) symbolically screams: "we are here, and we've been invisible for too long". They were doing so because they felt that the two women SRC presidents (2014/2015 out-going and 2015/2016 in-coming) were being pushed to the side lines by other male comrades. These ways of dressing were their active and conscious stance inserting their bodies within the spaces of #FeesMustFall.

It seems all was well when these women were invisible but when they chose on this day to style their bodies in particular ways the divisions in the movement became visible. It was for this reason that the Mbokodo event became part of the #FeesMustFall moment. This is the event when the woman body became a text within the spaces of the students' movement readable to all; thus, the body was seen carrying histories and shifting realities (Butler, 1990). For Zinhle above, she saw this as a beautiful event saying women comrades were: "*singing, looking beautiful in our Doeks*". For her it was a celebratory act making visible the women activist part of the entire movement. Below she also reveals the meaning behind their choice of dressing and choosing to come out as a collective aside from the student mass:

"The truth is, we just came to embrace what democracy does to leadership and how it's changed it. That we now can say, "oh wow, my SRC president is black, and she is female", "my SRC president is Indian… and… she is Muslim, and she's female," and we were very in love with that picture, and we wanted the world to see that picture."—Zinhle

However, not everyone celebrated this moment; this was surprising considering that everyone knew that the SRC presidents were women; it would seem that the problem arose with their visibility. The sentiments from most students were that a woman cannot lead a student movement or protest action. These sentiments were intrinsic in the movement where participants found themselves "leading" from the back; these were the suitable roles women are meant to carry. Initially, participants were occupying such roles within the movement; they were carrying supportive roles at the background:

> *"... because I was so busy with logistics, I wasn't really sure what was happening inside at the mass meeting. I wasn't sure who was saying what, and when and how…"—Zinhle*

> *"I always played a background role in 2015, and I was just like obsessed with the logistics of making sure that everything went right if we had to march from somewhere. I was obsessed with making sure that I knew how many police would be there, how students are going to get water, how they're gonna get fed, what route we were going to use, and all those things. Uhm, which leader is going to do what interview for which TV channel? Like, so, I was obsessed with the logistics, and for me, it was my way of serving, and I said I'm going to serve."—Noni*

Therefore, although in the earlier phases of the movement participants accepted this construction of women as playing a support role, they came to see that this was not serving them. Here again, we find the ideology involved in the normalising of a heterosexual nuclear family where women are assigned secondary and supportive positions to men (Collins, 1998). Also, from Burman's (1994) insight, women were being told that their identities do not fit in youth politics. Zinhle observed:

> *"...our leadership roles as women, like took a back sit. And when Habib arrived, the men turned. They… they dominated. I am not sure what it was… For me, it was kind of like, oh now the other alpha male has arrived, I've got to be alpha male as well." —Zinhle*

Billington et al. (1998) alert that whenever women enter spaces there are already made social scripts and expectations on how they should behave, and other people in one's life are important in providing resources that allows the individual to walk on par with their script (Fay, 1996). In

telling their narratives, it became evident that the identity/script for political activist cannot be taken upon by women, more so with the combination of leadership. This was observed:

> *"There's a particular cheer. Enthusiasm. I'm taking about male leaders when they address the crowd. Boys are the ones that charge up the crowd, girls cheer, it's cool." —Charlotte*

This was the reality these women students were going against; a task which seemed difficult as they were constantly reminded of their "rightful" places. Participants noted this:

> *"The space was very toxic. It was very patriarchal, at the same time, and very sexist because we hadn't gotten into the whole intersectionality part of the movement…"—Noni*

> *"Just a smell of dominance and patriarchy as well for me. Ya, and as they day went by, I saw it manifest more and more, and more. Where students were being receptive to a certain type… or style of leadership, and they were not being so responsive to another certain type of leadership, especially the differences of gender." —Zinhle*

Participants noted the ways in which the spaces of the #FeesMustFall marginalised women bodies as illegitimate political leaders. It became quite visible to participants that they were being marginalised within a movement that was addressing other forms of marginalisation; black women were being excluded within a movement that was supposedly fighting for their rights. As Zinhle observed, the violence was also in the ways women bodies and presence were received during the protests:

> *"The violent doesn't need to even get to bloodshed. It just starts with the entering of the space and how you are received." —Zinhle*

Therefore, the Mbokodo Moment saw these women embarking on a project of not only constructing identities but they were also shifting social scripts; a task which as they observed was met with violent resistance. This is because, in family rhetoric (Collins, 1998; Burman, 2008) and African traditions (Campbell, 1994) a woman is supposed to be subordinate to a man and in the entire community, her voice and perspective is not of importance. Crenshaw (1991) speaks of political Intersectionality as the position where black women or women of colour find themselves

in the middle of racial politics and gender politics. Black women's challenges are often over-shadowed by the agendas for feminism – seeking an inclusive agenda, and their issues come second when fighting for black lives. As Zinhle mentioned, this was a difficult position in which to be found:

> *"I think I was torn between a rock and a hard place that day. Where people were like, aah, you guys are separating us, don't do this, don't do that, why did you guys come here like this? And I think people immediately made it a thing of divide, without us not even saying anything because we just arrived there and started singing. And us arriving there, and started singing, we got a negative response, and it was just very awkward for me, where I was just like, ok... Here on the other side, I have brothers and comrades who I do love, who I do understand and respect their leadership. And here on the other side, I have my female comrades, as well."—Zinhle*

Hassim (2002) and Meintjies (2017) note the huge mistake by women political activists during the pre-1994 government transition as women's agenda never seemed to reach the priority table. Instead they made room for racial issues and a smooth transition. As a result, women's activism declined as women were now busy with government work. It is not astounding that when they take leadership roles in any sphere they are met with resistance and hurdles. Charlotte observes that although there are gender equality policies, the culture in political spaces is so that women are constantly reduced to trivial and secretarial positions even though there has been work done on gender equality. It still feels wrong to allow women positions of power. Below Charlotte talks about this:

> *"I mean, in the political structure or spaces that we, we work in, the spaces we, uhm, yeah. The spaces we contest, the spaces that we speak in, women are generally not taken seriously. You look at in the ANC, you look at it in SASCO even, you look at it even in COSAS, and you look at it even the youth league, even in the EFF, it's the same thing. I mean, I've never existed in the space, but you can see its very challenging, in the sense that, even when women are contesting positions. I'll take it for example, uhm, there would, the guys would always take the chairperson and secretary, being the most powerful positions in SASCO. We have a 50:50 gender quota, where the executive must be 50:50 in the whole, or whatever structure it is. It must be 50:50, and whatever we're doing must be*

50:50, but men always have a way of saying we're taking the most important. Y'all can have the rest. It's still 50:50." —Charlotte

As Collins (1998) observes political unity has always been achieved at the expense of the marginalised. These women students were found in that place where they were being pushed to the margins by a movement meant to fight for their rights. Upon this realisation women students introspected and resolved that they will not make the same mistake made by women in previous years; they were not going to be sacrificial lambs again. This was a sore point as observed by Thandeka:

"We need to talk about how we pledge allegiance to men in our political organizations. And they continue to do crappy stuff... confronting one of the women to say that the reason she was given a mic or the loud hailer is because we showed up. And if it wasn't for us, you were not going to have been given the loud hailer, to also show that they don't recognise you."—Thandeka

As women comrades insisted on being rightfully recognised through events such as the Mbokodo moment the resistance continued. The ways that men and women defend masculinity are not always overt; at times they can be subtle disguised under the banners of "unity", and all these were also evident on the day of the Mbokodo Moment. There was an immediate divide between men and women student comrades; men were singing their songs and women were also doing their own thing secluded away from majority of the students. As mentioned in Meintjies (2017) the gender order has benefits that both men and women are unwilling to let go of. Charlotte below reveals that although she was part of the "*Imbokodo cluster"* she hated that moment. She said:

"I remember there was this day where there was an imbokodo cluster, I was part of, and invited on a Whatsapp group. And wearing doeks and stuff, like, there was something slightly ignorant. But there was something I really hated about that experience I got there."—Charlotte

She gave reasons for feeling this way. She said:

"I get there. Okay, fine, someone grabs the mic. I think, uhm, Lebo [another SRC member] talks something like that, they start singing a song they had made up, no woman no cry. I

was just like la ri bora waitsi (you are boring us you know). We didn't come for that you know. What I'm saying, I understand the need for woman voices but there's a way to it. Because, then now, it seems like I am one person who says don't fight for something like, kari wa bonohala gore (it is evident that) you're fighting for it. It looks desperate, it looks petty, it makes you look weak, and I felt that day in me that… I was very pissed off actually."—Charlotte

During the interview, Charlotte suggested that these sentiments are sometimes blinded by ignorance when women are the subject matter. She said:

"...maybe it came from their stem of frustration, about the lack of woman voices in that space. I think that's where it came from, and maybe that was my ignorance." —Charlotte

8.1.2. Walking across Mandela Bridge: intersections of age and race in intergenerational stories of struggle

This section pays attention to the ways in which historical and contemporary articulations of race and racialization intersect with structural, political, and cultural factors in producing the marginalization of black students within academic institutions. First, the analysis shows the history of institutionalized racism in South Africa. Thereafter, showing the ways in which, the universities and the state responded when black students took a stand to challenge these institutions. Second, the analysis shows the difficulties in the political stance or position taken by black students to fight against a black democratic government. For some students, this was even harder as they had to negotiate between their student politics and party politics positionality. Third, the analysis looks at the representations of youth and blackness in South African society and the ways these representations worked at one point to propel the movement but at the other turn functioned to undermine the struggle of these marginalized bodies. The PIN that provides the focal point for this analysis is Noni's story of "Walking across Mandela Bridge".

Walking across Mandela Bridge:

"Uhm, I think it would have to be when, yeah, when we were marching across the, uhm,

the Mandela bridge. We were coming back from Luthuli House, uhm, and for me, when we were on that bridge, and you must understand were talking about not hundreds but thousands of students, uhm, including civil society as well, in that speaking of the public, and, uhm, we were walking across the bridge and the bridge started shaking. An entire Mandela bridge started shaking, and I think for me, that was a very big moment, and the significance, because, for it symbolized, uhm, you know the shakiness of Mandela as a legacy, uhm, and us occupying that bridge. Cause I think we stayed there for about twenty minutes. We wouldn't move about twenty minutes. Us occupying that bridge was also like, uhm, an in-depth look from my perspective, into Mandela's legacy, and how we had gotten to the point that we're at, to fight for free, equality, decolonized education. And I think for me, that moment when the bridge was shaking, at that point in time, uhm, I had hoped that it was going to collapse. So I understand the fact that, like, I am on this bridge. That I am hoping is going to collapse (claps hands), but for me, symbolically, that would have meant the collapse of, uhm, Mandela's reign, as this deity, and this god, uhm, that we cannot question when we speak about free, equality, decolonized education that we cannot question when we speak about how the ANC did not fulfil, uhm, all of its promises you know." – Noni

The Mandela Bridge, a commemoration of the forefather of our democracy, here, after being let down by ANC seniors at the Luthuli House, students find that the promises and proclamations of our father cannot endure and sustain their struggle. The students' quest was delegitimized by those they thought would understand; all they sought to do at the Mandela Bridge was to lay the weight if their cry, but it seemed that the Bridge was unable to withstand. The Mandela Bridge shook. To Noni, it was symbolic that perhaps theirs was a different proclamation that cannot stand on the foundations laid by the older liberation generation. This moment served as a realisation that perhaps the legacy of Mandela is the very hurdle that seems to prevent the conversation about free education in South Africa.

Noni is making claims that the ANC-led government has failed students, she is making the claim that the struggle generation has failed to deliver their promises on education. She argues that it was up to the students themselves to collect what was due them. In this story, Noni uses the experience of walking across the bridge as a metaphor to ask the question: Are we truly free? The metaphor

of the bridge usually signifies a point of connectivity, from point A to point B. It symbolizes succession and optimistic possibilities of bridging to new territories or places. On this day students were marching back to campus (Wits University) from Luthuli House, the headquarters of the governing party (ANC). Students went there to hand in the memorandum to the ANC which was received by the secretary general Gwede Mantashe. The memorandum was making demands that the ANC must put pressure on government to ensure that there are no fee increments (Makhafola, 2015).

Noni makes mention of this instance to clarify the context where this narrative is taking place and justify the reasons for the student protests thereafter. The ANC government once promised South Africans free education. The right to education is inscribed in the Freedom Charter and the promise of free education is included in the ANC's 1994 manifesto and electoral campaigns. The students are thus being positioned in Noni's narrative as legitimately within their democratic rights to protest, to demand delivery of this promise and also to keep the ANC government accountable. The response received by students to these demands highlighted three insights which participants spoke to: 1) the fear of youth/students by the older generation; 2) the problematic nature of political parties; and 3) continuing or discontinuing legacies of the past. Before we can discuss and understand the significance of the 'Walking across Mandela Bridge' event it is important to outline the events that preceded and have informed the student movement.

There was active resistance to Apartheid in student politics at universities, particularly through the 1980s (Everatt, 2016), and the difficulties of financial and epistemological access for poor black students has been a persistent struggle even since the ostensible deracialization of higher education that came with democratisation. However, the 2015 #FeesMustFall represents a critical moment, producing national and global visibility for these struggles and fundamentally changing the relations between students, university management and the state. Initially moves were being made at small scale; they were separate to each institution and also at times on different campuses. For example, Wits SRC initiated the 1 month 1 million campaign (Malabela, 2017); the #RhodesMustFall started at UCT spreading to Rhodes University and Wits under the #TransformWits (Malabela, 2017). It was after the decision to increase 2016 fees at the Wits council meeting on 18 October 2015 that the SRC president and her SRC committee decided to organise a protest demanding the decision to be reversed (Malabela, 2017). Below Zinhle, a

member of the 2015 SRC, speaks to show that the students had a plan and motive behind their protest action:

> *"The original vision Mila [another woman SRC member] and I had, was to get government thinking about a way in… a way of pursuing free education for us. The vision was creating a corridor of access."—Zinhle*

Wits students initiated a shutdown under the #ZeroPercentIncreases that later morphed into the national movement #FeesMustFall. The idea of the campus shutdown came as a last resort. Although the students through the SRC have a seat on the Council of the university, they do not hold sway on the decision-making processes. As Everatt (2016, p 128) puts it: "when young people storm the barricades or take up weapons as part of broader struggle (such as apartheid) they are lauded; but when the struggle moves out of the trenches and into the boardrooms young people are reminded that they are meant to be seen but not heard, and are shifted (more or less politely) aside for adults – usually older men – to take over." However, at the beginning of the 2015 shutdowns at Wits Campuses the students were called names and irrational. Thandeka observed this:

> *"When we started shutting down, in the beginning stages, people called us hooligans. But then, the day we marched to Luthuli House, how, suddenly, oh look at these future leaders of our country. Because what we were doing, we were marching against a black government you know, so that was an anti-black government sentiment. So I was like, no fam, keep your sympathy." —Thandeka*

Students protests in 2015 were seen again put at this disjuncture where at one-point youth are called the "lost generation"; in the same breath they are referred to as "young lions" (Everatt, 2016). At the beginning of youth uprisings, youth are met with sentiments of fear and the desire for older generations to control them. Usually their bravery is only counted after long periods of them picketing or once they've achieved their goals; this is when older people will refer to them as heroes/fighters (Everatt, 2016). As with Thandeka's case, youth consistently must prove beforehand that they have rationally thought out their actions, even when they have a legitimate cause to resist and protest. However, Thandeka goes on to show that the students have a legitimate cry that is not solely based on or influenced by populism. This was the case on the day they marched to Luthuli House, because they were marching against a black-led government as

Thandeka echoed. It became evident that the support for youth is governed by the benefits and losses that the older generations imagine will be derived; only when the older generation of civil society can see the links between their daily struggles and youth uprisings will they support the youth. In South Africa, this support is highly racialized and influenced by the unequal hierarchy of higher educational institutions in the country.

For example, the financial exclusion protests at the TUT's Soshanguve campus and UKZN had been on-going for some time before the 2015 #FeesMustFall action (Langa, 2017). However, they seemed to never receive the same attention granted to UCT and Wits Students. Thandeka and Noni affirmed this idea that the #FeesMustFall did not begin in 2015:

> *"...to say that #FeesMustFall is also, didn't not start with us at Wits, the hashtag, yes. Because, we needed it but then, TUT students have been doing this, UNIVEN students have been doing it, UKZN students have been doing it." —Thandeka*

> *"When you look at institutions like UKZN, uhm, when you look at institutions like University of Free State, and all the black institutions, not the IV leagues like Wits and UCT, those ones started protesting long before we did. I think by the time we started Fees Must Falling here at Wits in 2015, they had already been protesting for about three weeks, and they had no media coverage. They had no public sympathy, they had no engagement from the state, they had no engagement from, uhm, the council of university vice chancellors." —Noni*

Thandeka and Noni allude to the fact that students are not treated equally and that certain bodies are not legitimate to raise certain issues. The 2015 protest revealed society's perceptions that students' protests are acts of hooliganism and are judged as merely sentiments of entitlement. They alluded to the fact that whenever black youth stand up to oppose structures of authority they are silenced because their voices are not meant to be heard (Everatt, 2016). More so, it would seem that not all youth were equal. Students at TUT and UKZN were always side-lined and their contribution to the student movement overshadowed. Part of the reason was that student bodies at these institutions are entirely black. Students' voices are suppressed because they are viewed as

risky and unreliable; hence they are feared and the constant need to control then by university management and government (Everatt, 2016).

This had been a reality for many students from previously black institutions. Their protest actions were always construed as misguided and lacking political thought. Even more, students or youth who have gained access to the elite universities of the country such as Wits and UCT, often through 'Model C' schooling are often seen by the older struggle generation ANC government as entitled, spoilt, young and impatient (Booysen, 2016). Whenever students stood to raise their challenges with delivery and transformation, the government's response was always to spew them with facts about the "long way we've come" and the small victories won to control them (Everatt, 2016). Considering this, students had to come up with ways to ensure that their voices were heard. The 2015 shutdowns were also symbolic in alerting and making the entire university community aware how it feels to be excluded from studying (Malabela, 2017). Other measures were observed by many as haphazard as student leaders fought to maintain their will power on the campuses. Zinhle observed similar sentiments:

> *"So it was very hectic. We were being bossed around. I wasn't sure what was happening, I... I was very confused. One minute we are at the gate, next minute students are taken into Senate House, Vice-Chancellor is locked in Senate House with students and not being allowed to leave." —Zinhle*

Zinhle here speaks of the event where students demanded that Vice-Chancellor Mr Adam Habib and some members from the University's council board sit down with the students (Nkosi, 2015). This day resulted in victory as the council signed and agreed to rally behind the students to compel government to do something about the fees challenges. Zinhle below interpreted the victory after the conversation between students and university's management as the beginning of the movement. Saying that it was the end of a protests and the beginning of a movement, below she explains the meaning behind her sentiments:

> *"It was… in the beginning it was a protest, it was still… When you are protesting, you are still in the process of getting… the person's attention or oppressor's attention. Once you've gotten the person's attention and there's an agreement of some sort to fulfil*

something, then it becomes a movement because you are overseeing it unfold. Because the protest is… it's a… it's more of a plea to hear me, but a movement is more of a plea to put it into action." —Zinhle

On the day of marching to Luthuli House, students also demanded that Gwede Mantashe (then Secretary-General of the ANC) should sit down with them. This demand was criticized by many people saying that it was a sign of disrespect in African culture and; the Secretary General initially refused to comply with the students. Beyond the issue of respect, the marching of these black students to the ANC's Luthuli House was/can be seen as a sign of discrediting the work done by the older liberation struggle. At play here are two generations standing face to face as they struggle to move South Africa forward. To the older generation, the students are just spoilt children who do not understand the amount of sacrifices that went into affording them their expensive education and accents. However to the students, their request was to simply demand the older generation to rethink and reflect. They were pointing the older generation to the new challenges peculiar to the new generation. This was a strategy repeated with university management with the Vice-Chancellor of Wits, Prof Adam Habib, being coerced to sit on the floor in discussions with students. Noni revealed the reason behind students making leaders sit down with the students.

"I interpreted it, and for my part, the reason why I wanted him to sit, was because I wanted to gauge, uhm, what level of faith he was going to interact with us. Was it going to be the level of good faith, in the sense that, he's like, okay, I understand that you guys are disgruntled, and you're angry. Uhm, I'm willing to sit down as others have sat down, uhm, because we made Habib sit down as well as others have sat down. And we can have a fruitful conversation and a discussion, and an engagement around the issues that you have brought to Luthuli House." —Noni

This move by students was to break down the power barriers between the students and the university management and the government. Sitting down together signals equality, mutuality, and unfiltered communication; refusing to do so, indicated the ways in which students are continuously being undermined by institutions whose manifestos preach democracy and equality. This also links to the African traditions during "Lekgotla", where the king or chief and his people/servants sit

together down to discuss and resolve any challenges the village might be facing (Keevy, 2008). On the other hand, Noni shared her sentiments on the refusal to sit down by the ANC Secretary General:

> *"I mean, other people would interpret it as very disrespectful. For you to ask an elder to sit down, and, uhm, I am well aware of it, and I understand it. But at that point in time, we had not come to him as an elder, and that was not the hat that we had come to him and expecting him to wear. We were expecting him to wear the hat of an official, a servant of the people, and at that point in time, when you're a servant of the people. You can't regardless of old, you adhere to the call of the people."* —Noni

However, it became apparent that not everyone agreed with this thinking and the African traditions of respect underlie these reasons. In the traditional African social relationships, young people are to recognise the authority and give respect to elderly people (Campbell, 1994). The democratic government (and the ANC as a party) continues to use family rhetoric to establish a hierarchy of gender and age so to compel cohesion from the public; thus, governmental structures are organised by legitimising this family rhetoric (Collins, 1998). Following the African traditions and the democratic governance, students as the youth therefore occupy the position of children within the hierarchy of age.

As it follows, asking older male figures to sit down is a violation of this rule since children are considered underdeveloped and do not have the same power as adults (Collins, 1998). In fact, throughout the course of the protests, students were referred to using the hierarchies of age. For example, Gwede Mantashe represents the victory of black South Africans in governance as he is part of the liberation generation. For the students to then pose as opposition shows their lack of respect for these sacrifices of the struggle generation and is interpreted as reflecting a sense of entitlement. To the students however, his refusal to sit down with them showed lack of leadership in that the Secretary General was only concerned about his personal image, forgetting that he was a servant to the students. Here students were communicating by asking him to come to their level to show that the ANC has left its initial position—to serve its people. Thus, for students it confirmed that the government and the ANC did not care about the students' cry for free education; Noni said:

"I think when he didn't sit down, I think for me that, that for me, was not only a red flag to say he does not only represent his own view, but that of the ruling party. And if he's not willing to do something as small as sitting down just to appease us, imagine us asking for free education. And for me, it was in that moment that I realized that it's not going to be as easy as we thought it would be." —Noni

As students were walking back from Luthuli House they were disappointed and as they approached the Mandela Bridge it started shaking; to Noni this had symbolic meaning. Usually the metaphor of the bridge is utilised to show points of connectivity, but students felt the bridge moving under their feet, found shaking under the weight of the large number of protesting students. For Noni, this experience seemed to suggest that the legacy of Mandela (as the reconciliatory bridge in South Africa) was not as solid as it might have seemed. If his legacy had secured freedom, how is it that the generation referred to as the 'born frees' is here protesting for free education? After the Luthuli House debacle, the Mandela Bridge also facilitated an important conversation about the movement itself. Students reflected on the reasons their leaders failed them. They reflected on the problematic and dividing nature of political parties. The refusal by the ANC Secretary General was perceived as a failure in that student leaders did little to ensure its success. Thus, students were able to dismantle the dividing nature of political parties, at least for a short time. Noni and Zinhle said this:

"it was in that moment that students started to look at a problematic nature of political parties and political representations in Fees Must Fall. And it was from that day on, that if I'm not mistaken, students then started demanding that people shouldn't wear political regalia because they are then confined by their political parties, and they can't act in the interest of students." —Noni

"...obviously, the vision was there when it started out, but when more people join a protest, now people fight for the voice of the vision." —Zinhle

The movement was gaining momentum and growing across the country, but there were also elements of conflict caused by differing voices. Students therefore decided at the Mandela Bridge

to put away their political regalia as a sign of unifying under the name of the students away from individual political standings. As it followed, the call and fight for free education was not an easy one indeed. Nonetheless, in 2015 students were able to get government support for their call for a zero per cent increase in their 2016 tuition fees.

8.2.   2016: The pinnacle of the movement

Two PINs are selected as focal for analysis in this section both pivotal moments in defining the direction of the student movement and for participants to articulate themselves in these experiences: "Shutting down campus" and "the Naked Protest". Both these stories are utilised to show the efforts by students to topple structural racism within institutions of higher learning. Even more, these stories show the ways the university structures fought back through fear of their institutional power being crumbled by the students shutting down the academic programme. With the help of the law and police, students' rights to protest were suppressed in favour of maintaining the functionality of the university. In the Naked Protest event, women used their bodies to mediate peace between the police force and the students' force.

8.2.1.   Shutting down campus: intersections of race and class

Shutting down campus

> *"It was important because as part of Fees Must Fall, at that point what we wanted, ok… was to stop all academic activities on campus. Stop everything looking like its ok business as usual. So then we had to come up with strategies because number one, we had a lot police and a lot of security so we needed to be strategic in how we're approaching the disruptions. And therefore, what then I decided to do was that because there are a lot of police and security looking at us, there's gonna be a few people that are singing outside the Great Hall. And then everyone else just keeps disappearing one-by-one, in bits and pieces, to whatever venue we need to go to. And then when we got to that venue we disrupted classes. We disrupted that in a k manner that by the time security comes in its too late because everyone is out now or whatever it is. Whether it was a test or whatever it*

was it's disrupted. So for me that was a success because we managed to stop classes. And I think two hours from after we had started doing the rounds we then received an email that school is cancelled until further notice and all of that."—Ammara

The 2015 protests ended abruptly with many divisions among the student body. It was only after the workers' efforts that students were able to mobilise again and continue the protests. Thandeka revealed that it was only the workers' efforts beginning of 2016 which helped to bridge the gap between the divisions in the student movement, particularly between ANC- and EFF-affiliated students. She observes:

"because there was also that divide between PYA members and Fees Must Fall and all those things we had a meeting it was called by the workers and they said okay you guys we think you need to talk and you need to reconcile" —Thandeka

In the above PIN Ammara asserts that despite the partial victory of the zero per cent increase, the situation on campus hadn't changed and the lack of an increase for 2016 did little to change the circumstances of poor black students who couldn't afford the fees in the first place. It was therefore decided that the next phase of action required a complete shutdown and the purpose of the student protesters was to stop and disrupt the academic program. Ammara uses the phrase "business as usual" suggesting an unchanging state of being or affairs even when there are serious difficulties in that state. This happened after institutions of higher learning had pledged to support the plight of the students and after the government announced that the 2016 tuition fees would not be increased. The 2016 protests were further motivated by the realisation that the needs of black students were not about fees alone. Ammara is then making claims that the need to discontinue academic traditions that have been working to marginalize students propelled the student movement. She is also stating that because of police presence during the 2016 protests the students needed to find ways to penetrate the hedges put across to thwart their voices. To continue to articulate a vision of hope for the future, they felt a need to continue disrupting certain aspects in the systems that work to continually depress and oppress black students.

The 2016 protests saw a decline in public sympathy, support from University and the government. This was a difficult place as the numbers of students active in the movement and supportive of this new more aggressive strategy had also dropped. Students also had to individually reflect on the

danger and sacrifices that were associated with the movement as campuses became even more militarised; and this affected the morale of the movement going into 2016. Noni said:

> *"people had time to reflect on them being arrested and spending nights in jail they had time to reflect on them being teargased and stun grenaded and rubber bullet shots and all these other things and that for them it increased the amount of fear and the conviction to some degree it just went downwards"* —Noni

In addition to the university and government fighting back, Noni revealed that the academic break also influenced the decline in numbers of student protesters. This became a challenge in 2016 as students felt tired and the numbers were affected.

Noni said:

> *"it became difficult in 2016 because you know we went home December parents were then like what are you doing you're getting shot instant grenade and forget this thing of free education outside of that uhm you know we were promised that there won't be a fee increment so we were just like no we will engage through legislation to uhm other legal processes of protesting and I mean it it the two month break of everyone having to go home demobilized us more than it did us justice in the sense that we got to rest a bit"* – Noni

Speaking of the 2015 protests Seepe (2016) states that the student movement was able to expose the racist education system, government and university's inability or unwillingness to address black students' needs. It did not matter to the university management that the solution given by the president did not adequately address the true needs of the students; instead they also persisted to continue a radically unequal system. Similarly, Langa (2017) reports on the lack of responsiveness from university management at times when students raised their issues. The response by management was to hire private security and police showing that black students were not considered legitimate members of the academic community with the university defending itself against its own students. Noni and Ria reflect on the aftermath of the 2015 movement and the reassertion of the status quo at the beginning of 2016:

> *"I couldn't believe why they would think a zero per cent increment was a victory I didn't understand on what earth a zero per cent was a victory"* —Noni

"...but it was fascinating to actually see government, the police and private sector working so well. I won't say united this year but we never expected like police to come back at us and also the university to fight back so much." —Ria

Black students were told to be patient and wait on legislative processes and not to be violent, they were told to endure the symbolic violence of higher education for a while longer. During the protests students were told many things to deter them from their actions. Students' activism that had been celebrated in 2015 was now seen as impatient and violent. The university management used this popular swing against students and the protests as an excuse for their unresponsiveness to continuing legitimate demands and resistance to continuing forms of racialized alienation on campuses. Sears (1988; p55) terms this "symbolic racism: when racism moves from blatant to more subtle forms that are experienced as "polished racial slurs". The university's unresponsiveness may even be interpreted as suggesting anti-black attitudes through ignoring or delegitimising students' racialized experiences.

Moreover, through court orders and voting polls or referendums on campus, the university worked hard to undermine students' claims about the systemic and symbolic violence faced by many black students on campus. The university management chose to ignore or be complacent with the fact that the zero per cent increase did little to solve the dire socio-economic circumstances of the majority who continued to face financial exclusions either at the point of entry or by being refused readmission and carrying considerable historical debt. Instead, they devised means to portray this minority group of students as the ones violating the rights of the majority of students who wanted to go back to class. Thandeka said this:

"... the VC [Vice-Chancellor] *decided to say he's gonna start a referendum to find out who wants to come to class and who doesn't and that thing is illegal we have a student body that is supposed to speak on behalf of student." —Thandeka*

The argument for the voting polls was based on a manipulation of the idea of pain (Ahmed, 2015); with the university claiming that protesting students were causing pain for the majority of students who wanted to continue their academic programme. However, the majority group was inclusive of students with the means to afford tuition fees and other poor black students mostly at their final year of study, many of whom were in a state of extreme anxiety about the completion of their

studies so as to go out to work and support their families These were the real challenges faced by students in mobilizing and sustaining political action after the brief victory of 2015. Subsequently, protesting students were portrayed as invading campuses and hurting others. This justified whatever action taken by police or private security, and the university seemed justified to ignore the cry of the few in favour of the 'hurting' majority.

From the above story told by Ammara, she makes the claim that the shutdowns were disruptive in nature and therefore violent, as they do not consider the needs of the entire student community. This is the battle of human rights; through their right to protest students were expressing democratically their needs but they were also portrayed as infringing the rights of others (Langa, 2017). Nonetheless, Ammara makes the statement that the 2016 student protesters had to be strategic about the disruption considering the resistance from the university and from large numbers of the wider student body and academics. Black students in institutions of higher learning continue to face multiple challenges in completing their studies successfully: Financial inclusion/exclusion, epistemological access linked with racial inequality, the unchanging forms of knowledge and women's safety on campuses. These were the reasons students felt that the protests should continue because these challenges were not new and had indeed not been removed by the partial victories of the 2015 movement, but the university managements and the government were not seeing the urgency. Participants said this:

> *"... this has got nothing to do with politics like guys nyan nyan (honestly speaking) this is serious we need this free education where we can't pay our fees we can't graduate—Noni*
>
> *"you can't tell us that we must go back to class when we can't even afford to go back to those classes you know what's the point of going to write if I'm not even going to get my exam results or even come back next year." —Thandeka*
>
> *opposing registration we were like no we can't register what are we registering for we're registering for debt and essentially we were going back to you know the the issues that we had faced in 2015—Noni*

Participants are speaking about the reality that black students continue to be faced with the challenge of financial exclusion that also impacts on their academic performance. As Wilson-Strydom, (2011) contends, although universities have focused on academic preparation (which can

also be argued that it has been done badly) they rarely understand and consider social and environmental factors to ensure the success of students. Students are unable to fund their education. For these students it couldn't be "business as usual" because black students are not able to pay registration and tuition fees, they do not have money to buy food to pay for printing assignments and they often cannot afford accommodation. Moreover, it speaks to the challenges of academic exclusions that many poor black students fall prey to. This is an issue of unequal schooling opportunities (Cloete, 2016). It also highlights the need from #FeesMustFall for not only free but also *quality* education. Here epistemological access (Morrow, 1994) is compromised. This is because students do not have the means to fund being in academic institutions, they are unable to fully participate in academic programs and often must do so without textbooks or printing funds. Some students sleep in libraries and toilets (Peter, 2017; Smith, 2016; Jinabhai, 2011), and they can't concentrate because of hunger (Staff reporter, 2016; Gumede, 2015). Ria said:

> *"I'm self-funded so I find my brother calling me and saying like why are you going to the streets? For me it was actually a moment because I thought well just because like you are on a bursary or you can afford your fees who's to say that if bursary drops you tomorrow that you won't be like any other ordinary student that sleeps in the library that goes to WCCO in need for food so that for me was like very enlightening. I could easily do that but I felt that was just so selfish it was just so selfish to do." —Ria*

Ria uses this account to show that she actually did not need to be part of the protests as she can afford her studies; she chooses to participate for ideological reasons. She is using this account to show that the protests are valid and should be supported by all. Therefore, this leads to the question: who is being violent to whom? For student protesters the shutdown is a necessary evil to compel the state and university to see things from students' the point of view. Students here are positioned as very agentic, but also feel as if they are left with few options in the exercise of this agency. Because of their suffering, they felt they had no choice but to disrupt the normal. For instance, before the protests begun, students at the University of the Witwatersrand had used all the diplomatic ways to raise the issues of financial inclusion using the internal structures (Malabela, 2017). This is the reason students did not believe the legislative processes route was going to help. Thus, in this narrative, the Shutdowns of the campuses are presented as a last resort as students' more reasonable engagements had been ignored throughout by University management.

The shutdowns are an invitation to rethink and re-imagine the future for academia; it is a cry to discontinue certain traditions and seek new ways to forge the way forward. Can we truly have academic institutions in South Africa that are not affected by its colonial past? Until there is engagement at these levels we cannot continue. It is a cry for decoloniality, where decoloniality implies seeking solutions that will sustain African people by freeing their souls from their colonial pasts (Walsh, 2015). It was revealed that the idea of decolonisation did not mean the same thing for all students across the country. Ironically, for many students at predominantly black and poorly resourced universities, #FeesMustFall was seen as a way to press for similar education standards as that of universities of Witwatersrand and Cape Town (Langa 2017), the very education that protesting students at these institutions demand be decolonised. University management and academics have vested interests in protecting the established traditions of knowledge and pedagogy. However, was the management morally correct to employ police on campus? Langa (2017) suggests otherwise, saying that the presence of police has been linked to the state's power employed across time to achieve and maintain the political domination of the ruling class. As such, police presence may also serve to incite acts of physical violence to overcome symbolic violence. In this way students claim that they are justified in that they must disrupt the norm and question whether it is truly normal.

The mandate of the Wits University management (legitimized through polling the student and academic bodies) was to ensure that the 2016 academic year would not be affected like in 2015. So, they devised many ways to force students to go back to class. The University of the Witwatersrand further employed voting polls to justify private security and the presence of the South African police on campus. All this was done to justify the violence and brutalization of the black bodies that was to come; this was a setup of a "*war zone*" as said by Charlotte. Here are participants' observations during the protest period of 2016:

> *"I don't know but res just became a hospital and what was confusing is that we didn't know why the police were actually shooting at res or around res. The people that were outside res, the few that were there, weren't really doing anything that could be considered harmful or that could put anyone or anything in danger. And then when everyone started flocking inside the res, the police started shooting inside the res. They started throwing the stun grenades and then people were everywhere. People left their rooms and all of that*

because there was teargas around the whole house." —Ammara

"Like the fact that even though like I remember there was a day when we were protesting uhm in front of Great Hall and then a few of like the feminists women started taking off their tops and for some reason uhm the assumption was that the police won't do anything because I'm a naked woman and I'm in front of you and I'm topless I'm vulnerable I'm in the most vulnerable position and then it still the police attacked and that for me was quite like a it was quite shaking so ya." —Ria

"we tried to talk to them tried to talk to them then they like no we should totally move out the street no actually they were closing the gate at medical school so we then moved to that gate if I remember correctly and the police were like no we should get off from the street you should get off by the gate all those kinds of things I see police cocking their guns and I'm like that's meant for me it's meant for all of us and I don't know who it's going to hit ey I was like trying to emotionally prepare myself for whatever it is that's coming they threw stunt grenades onto campus and that was the first time and it was like here not even far away students were falling like I just felt like a crack I don't know how to explain it ke ori (it's like…) it was a crackling sound of some sort aketse (I don't know) and I was just so confused it was like a war zone in slow motion" —Charlotte

To Charlotte's surprise the guns were meant for all of them and there was no negotiating with police; either students stopped protesting or got fired at. The university seemed to not care that students were being shot at as they carried out the mandate of other students. Charlotte and other protesting students were met with the brutal truth that University management does not care about their cry as representative of poor black students (and beyond this, those who cannot even gain access to the institution at all). The University was not going to relent in the marginalisation of black students on campus. This is her observation:

"it was like a war zone in slow motion are you okay hey! Hey! whatever and they threw like two or three and then the dean of medical school was there I was so pissed that day I remember I was so emotional I went up to the dean I'm like you stood there while they threw stunt grenades at students who weren't being violent and you have nothing to say as a dean of students I mean not a dean of students but as a dean of your faculty and whatever

and you just stood there and you said nothing and you kept quiet what are you doing about it are you happy that this is happening to your campus you know I was so pissed I was crying I was hysterical I was in his face and I was like it's unacceptable on any given day its unacceptable" —Charlotte

The students' felt that the university did not care as black students' bodies were transformed to hated bodies (Ahmed, 2015); the negative connotations of causing pain on other students worked so well to remove any emotional investments from the violence and brutalization they faced before and during the protests. Students residences were invaded by police's stun grenades, and women were shot at for seeking peace and ways to communicate with police. However, participants remained puzzled that the police were attacking black students in that way. This was observed:

"Ironic because considering the contexts that South Africa has come out of, you'd think police would also have this idea that actually had we also fought for free education we'd be in a better position." —Ria

"we don't understand how you're shooting at us if you're also the people that are gonna benefit from this crap because you are underpaid and your kids are in university." —Thandeka

Ria and Thandeka speak into the police dissonance—the lack of recognition that the students they are shooting at are fighting for change to move black South Africans ahead. They both echo sentiments by Ndebele (2016) that black lives only matter when they are being shot at by white people, but any other day they do not have a say. Even more at play here are the intersections of race and age. First, black people are not important to be included or listened to when they are speaking about the quality of democracy and achieving the great common good for everyone (Ndebele, 2016). Second, these students are viewed as young and naïve; they don't know what they want and they cannot appreciate the opportunities they have been granted by both the government and the university. Furthermore, participants felt that most of the casualties were women. It raised concerns about the gendered norms within university structures. Many spaces have been reported to raise anxiety and concerns from female students who find university spaces to be unsafe (Bradbury and Kiguwa, 2012). This was also the case during the protests, they observed this:

"Even if you are in your most vulnerable position the police would still attack. That whole saying of like only cowards shoots you in the back." —Ria

"So now this police wants to fight her and then the guy grabs her… so we immediately run out so we can grab her back… the police hit me bad with the baton. He hit me to let go of her and I couldn't because it was a thing of why should she get arrested number one, number 2 why should a woman get arrested, where are they gonna go with her?" — *Thandeka*

At play here are the intersections of race and age together with gender. In the midst of all the chaotic scuffling between students and police, participants found that these exposed more women to danger. Women stood exposed to many forms of violence as police did not look twice at the object they aimed at. Furthermore, other than risking the danger of being arrested, women students risked the dangers of being physically abused.

It seemed to matter not whether students were peaceful. The fact was that they were disturbing and disrupting the status quo, they had to be stopped. It seemed that the university was going to deploy all the systemic structures to dismantle the will of the protesting students and to further alienate black bodies within academic institutions. Thus, black students and women were reminded that they do not belong in these spaces, they were never meant to be there. Therefore, the academic structures were going to work as they always had regardless of the oppression they experienced within those structures. Again, the university worked to protect the privilege and power of white students on campus together with the privilege of the few black students who either came from well-off families or were motivated by anxiety to complete their studies. Thus, the university used the law and policing to reassert control of the campus. It was then left to the students to find ways to make peace with the police and find ways to minimise the violence that was taking place.

8.2.2. Naked Protest: intersections of race and gender

Naked Protest

"… I bump into Itumelemg, and she's crying so bad, and I'm like, "Itumeleng what's wrong? She's like, "I'm just so tired. I'm just sick." And I'm like, "yoh, you and I both.

Let's ask the police to cease fire. Me, I'm thinking we go topless." She's like, "yoh, sure, let's do it. Let's post on WhatsApp, and see who can come." So we post on WhatsApp group like, guys let's meet at the church, we need to discuss something. We thinking of going topless to ask the police to cease fire. And then people came, a few. It was like, maybe 5, 6, 7 of us. But then, we proposed this thing, people looked at us as like we're mad. They were like, hai, yoh! Topless? Me, I'll see you. But then like, they were like, I don't know, coz we were like so fucken fed up of what was going on, that I don't know. Maybe other people found it exciting. I know I didn't find it exciting. I don't find brutality exciting you in as much as it's something that you have to go through to get to what you want. But then, if there are ways where you can mitigate and do away with it, you know, you can do that. And another thing, I remember I was telling this one, and I was like, if you noticed, most casualties of these protests have been women. If you look at the bulletin, that one burnt. On Facebook, that one burnt, the other one, the thighs were burnt, and all those kind of things. So, it is us. So if anything, we have to be the ones that are gonna ask for this to stop. And then after that, I remember it was me and Dorcus and Itumeleng. We went to Amila and we told her that, Amila was with Naomi, okay, we are thinking of going to ask the police to cease fire. Okay, cool. And then at first we wanted to go immediately, but then they were like if we go immediately, we might provoke the police, the… So we need to talk to the crowd to stand back. So we went to the front. We spoke to Duma and Fezile, and we were like, okay, we want to go topless now to the police so they cease fire. So you need to hold students back, because if all of us go there it's gonna seem like we are attacking them, and we're just asking them to cease fire. And then, that happened. And then we told them, and then after, that I don't, yah, I don't remember how we undressed (giggles). Like I don't remember how we undressed. I don't even remember who had my phone. And then it happened. And then like this, we went to the police. We were like cease fire…"—Thandeka

Thandeka is narrating an event that became pivotal as the violence on black bodies increased on campus. At this point students were hurt and frustrated. The police were not relenting. There were moments when a group of students decided to offer flowers to police personnel as a way to make peace (Pather, 2016). That gesture did not achieve peace on campus. Also, students sought help from civil society and the church but to no avail. Thandeka said:

"at some point there was some communication that was going on. So now, the civil society people are trying to collect the students back, and they talking to the police, like, but these kids didn't do anything, so we don't know what you doing." —Thandeka

It was a group of women that found a way to negotiate peace between students and police. The irony of this is that women were being ridiculed the entire time during the 2016 protest. As the 2015 gendered conflicts continued, the student body realized the divisions (between women and men leaders) were affecting the protests; suggesting that the gender wars were done away within the #FeesMustFall. However, it soon became apparent that it was all under false pretences. Ammara observed this:

"People give you A because they want B. People would like sort of give you space to speak, in like, during the mass meetings and what not… to sort of be the leader of that meeting, because they want a favour from you after that." —Ammara

She observed that men student leaders will validate the leadership of a woman to gain some form of a reward. Men students demanded food parcels, interviews with media personnel during the protests and political contacts from women students. Another aspect that participants spoke about was the reduction of their efforts to mean nothing. It seems there is a difficulty in culture; a woman cannot be spoken of as a leader. Jagarnath (2017) points to the historical absence of women political leaders, women have been reduced to their partnership with their husbands and/ or male comrades. The media also plays a role in this aspect; their representation of women political leaders informs and reproduces gendered notions of leadership (Marvin and Cunningham, 2010). Thus, emphasis is put on how well/ badly they do their femininity; emphasis is on what they are wearing and their functionality as secondary. These sentiments filtered through to the spaces of #FeesMustFall. As Zinhle observed:

"I think that's what disappointed me the most, and how again? Uhm,… the black woman was idolised as just a face, and you had an Indian woman who was idolised as the one who does the administration, works hard, and you had males who these two followed. YA!" – Zinhle

These sentiments from Zinhle follow another event where one of the SRC presidents was made a cover face for one of the magazines in South Africa (Zimela, 2015). Much of the reaction to the

cover was that she sold out the movement and made it look like it was her own and that she wore the ANC headscarf. The ANC headscarf was problematic as students felt that the student movement was not linked at all to the ANC political party. However, this moment was also used to nail and show that women are not eligible political leaders. Subsequently, the disingenuity of the student body became apparent in one of the debriefing meetings held on campus during 2016. The meeting was meant for accountability so that students could forge the way forward into the 2016 protests. In this meeting, it became apparent that certain people had privileges which protected them from any form of accountability. Thandeka observed this:

"it's very easy to attack a black woman for something that she would, she did not do, or was partly only responsible for, instead of actually going to the person that was responsible for the whole thing, you know… None blamed Ronald [male leader] for any shit that day. No one blamed Khomo [male leander] for any shit, but then, it had to be Mila and Lebo. And Lebo had it worse because she was the black woman." – Thandeka

Even more, the women leaders quickly realized that their leadership was only acceptable if it resembled the mode of their male comrades and concealed and subverted their femininity; they needed to be good administrators and morale boosters. Charlotte remarks that gender troubles are attached to the physicality of women's bodies:

> *"There is a certain expectation that women need to be more masculine when they address the crowd. I am a girl, I can't help it… I don't have a deep voice… We sound the way we sound. We are still women, we are feminine… I don't know if there's a certain expectation that women need to be more masculine when they address the crowd."—harlotte*

> *"This year, I found myself having to scream a lot more. Having to be louder, you know, for my voice to be heard, or stern. And sometimes, taking on characteristics that are more manly in order to be actually taken seriously." —Ria*

> *"But that thing of being hard headed, that's what you need, to start acting like you're hard headed even when you're not. You need to force your way into these spaces. It's never just a given, like a man. Like they can just stand up and be given platform, but for you, it's some sort of, they need to hear you speak once or twice and say, oh, okay, I think she can*

speak in these kind of platforms. They now set parameters of when you can lead and when you cannot lead." —Ammara

For the participants their leadership was always censored, they were made to feel inadequate and they always had to scream to be heard. From masculine discourse women are seen as weaker to men (Butler, 1999), so they cannot be afforded certain positions in society. Thinking about gender in this way is very limiting as it drives the tendency to polarize social roles. Even further, gender not only describes the biological differences, but it is also used to describe and define leadership (Fine, 2009). Thus, from a gender role perspective, men (high in masculine traits) are seen as task-oriented or agentic (Mavin and Cunningham, 2010). On the other hand, the feminine traits of women render them a leadership style which is interpersonally oriented and communal (Mavin and Cunningham, 2010). On one of the days of the 2016 protests aparticipant was told that she cannot lead the mass meetings because she couldn't handle the crowd, she said:

> *"This other guy, the other day, said that, the crowd was a lot and I don't think that you were gonna be able to handle them. I was then like, 'Ok, alright.' Because at first, it made sense to me what they said, because yah, sure, maybe my voice is not like loud enough and all of that. But then I realized that, no, my voice is actually quite audible. I can sing and people can hear. It's just they are not taking me serious and not seeing me as their equal— because, we are in the same structure." —Ammara*

This was the reality for participants, they would make suggestions, and no one would listen because it is a woman who said it. It is as if men are always in panic mode when a woman is leading. As such male comrades felt a need to contain the situation before 'she' messes things up. Participants spoke on the hardships of leading with male comrades, but they always fought not to succumb even though they stood to face backlash. Ammara asserted that although there were pressures to become male, they fought to lead as themselves. As such participants had to resist the pressures to be what they are not. She said:

"We try, we try to not just act as men but to act as ourselves, and lead from what we know and how we know." —Ammara

As such participants speak on how they had to stop seeking to be liked and being validated by male comrades. They had to find strength within to face and fight against the gendered conceptions they were meant to be and behave like. Ammara and Zinhle said:

> *"Because for me, it would make sense for them to see me as their equal, but they don't. They really don't. And what I've got to learn from that, is to stop asking for their validation to do things."—Ammara*

> *"It also propelled me to be very strong, especially as a woman. That I am going to butt heads with other women in future, in my leadership. But I am also going to butt heads a lot with patriarchy, because I want to dismantle it, obviously. So I must face it head on. I mustn't shy away when it comes in its dominance, but I must also be very assertive when it attacks" —Zinhle*

The Naked Protest was a desperate measure at a crucial moment during the 2016 protests, students tired and frustrated from the police violence. Civil society had done all and the church had tried to plead peace from the police who were not willing to listen until students were dispersed. Here they were, at the moment of desperation fighting to be heard but the police were a big barrier between the students and whoever they wanted to hear their cry. The same bodies that were being ridiculed and pushed to the margins were the same bodies which managed to accomplish the impossible task of negotiating peace on campus. The woman body became a powerful tool for protest (Sutton, 2007). Before this moment a lot of backlash and disrespect of women leadership had gone down. Students were not willing to listen to any other voice unless it was a man speaking. Women protesters were inviting attention to the social ills that the clash between the police and students was causing. By approaching police topless with their hands lifted high they were communicating their pain, they were showing students as human beings and not targets to be shot at. They were saying: "under our skin we are all equal, we are all human" (Sutton, 2007, p.140).

8.3.   Conclusion

In summary the analysis of the Mbokodo Moment incident narrative discussed the construct of gendered modes of identity, discussed the ways they were imposed on participants and the ways participants resisted, challenged and accepted these constructs. Moreover, the analysis discussion

showed the negotiation of identity during a political heightened moment. The analysis of walking across the Mandela Bridge showed the ways black students challenged the struggle or liberation generation and a black-led government. Here the emergence of the constructs of age and race during the protests were discussed giving insight to their impact in constraining and marginalising people but also to show the ways participants and the student movement as a whole manoeuvred those constrains to further their course.

These two narratives follow some of the significant moments during the 2015 protests that led to the rise of a movement that we know today as #FeesMustFall. The narrative of shutting down the campus shows the living realities of black students within institutions of higher of learning; the analysis shows the ways in which the lack of responsiveness from the university serves to maintain the status quo without addressing the cries of those marginalised.

Lastly, the narrative of the Naked Protest shows the realities of black and women students; here the analysis gives insight to the intersections between race and gender and the ways they were utilised by women to emancipate the marginalised bodies of women. It is evident that from their childhoods these women have been shifting and re-negotiating realities and identities. At every stage of their lives, their surroundings conditioned them to be the women that we see today. Their mothers, aunts and grandmothers were role models teaching them that women are not dependent on men. Attending schools in urban areas introduced them to their call fighting for the emancipation of black lives. It was here that they would grow with a sense of debt towards other black people who did not have similar opportunities as them. It was inevitable that as #FeesMustFall began these women will be found amongst the groups of those initiating and furthering the call for free decolonised education. Their backgrounds taught them the art of defying odds and although they were met with hurdles during the course of the movement they saw to it that the movement felt the strength of a black woman.

9. CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this research project explored the stories of six women accounting for their experiences during the #FeesMustFall. Narratives were important in collecting participants' experiences for analysis. Squire's (2006) Experience-Centred approach guided the analysis of these narratives. With their narratives participants were able to construct their life story, they were able to make moral statements and they were able to represent themselves and the student movement as a whole. The analysis discussed the political, cultural and historical contexts within which these narratives are constructed. Accordingly, as participants construct their narratives so their identities or sense of self was constructed and re-interpreted and reflected upon in the interview talk. Their childhood stories located their roots of politicisation and the platforms of #FeesMustFall further re-enacted their political activism. Thus, participants were able to cohesively configure their lives in time and across different life stages.

Their childhood stories highlighted the importance of the other, as participants spoke a great deal about the maternal figure in their lives. These women were spoken of as role models for women's independence. Their mothers, aunts and grandmothers displayed a strength that conditioned participants' self-reliance and sense of responsibility. The family settings they grew up in allowed their maternal figures to rise and show strength in ways not necessarily possible in a traditional western nuclear family or in traditional African patriarchal family structures. Participants grew up in multi-generational households and single parent headed households. The setup in these households left little room for male dominance, so most of the participants grew up knowing women as leaders of the family and their communities. Their family settings were strongly influenced by African family traditions and the effects of the South African political climate on families, particularly internal migration and the early mobility of the rising black middle class into previously white suburbs and schools. The childhood section/chapter speaks to the complex and at times overlapping roles between one's family and the world at large. These overlaps allowed participants to use what they learned from their homes in the different spheres of the world where women are consistently being reminded that they are not meant to be heard but are meant to follow the leadership of men.

The political climate in South Africa shaped the surroundings and types of schooling participants experienced growing up. Growing up in South African blackness meant poverty and being inferior. Fighting unfair and unjust systems of governance was entrenched into participants in their childhood as they heard and saw their parents fight the apartheid system; politics became dinner table conversations. Political and current news literature became bed time stories and birthday presents. With the eradication of apartheid schooling systems participants' families made sure to afford better schooling for them. As a result participants became the few black children attending former 'Model C' schools, receiving a better form of education compared to the rest of their black communities. The content of their education made them even more aware of their privilege and empowered them to overcome the impoverished realities of many South Africans. This privilege formed a sense of indebtedness towards the entire black communities as participants became aware of the material conditions of their families and communities. It was also here in their schooling that leadership qualities were fostered even more, as participants took on debating and prefect duties.

In 2015 the #FeesMustFall became a moment we could see participants' political activism, even more their leadership. Moreover, it became a place participants could merge their education, political activism and leadership identities. It quickly became evident to participants that their gender constrained them to be fully women political activists and leaders during the protests. It also became evident that patriarchal norms on leadership and political activism did not make room for a woman to occupy the identities of political leader. Their leadership was rejected and pushed back but participants came up with ways to ensure that their presence was felt.

The status of women within political spaces did not change but the discussion on the Mbokodo Moment revealed the way these women manoeuvred within these spaces hostile to their presence and leadership. There were pressures for them to lead as men do, but participants were adamant to lead as women. They came out to mass meetings wearing colourful head wraps, looking fashionable and beautiful. In this section, the discussion showed the ways participants and other women during the #FeesMustFall challenged and resisted gendered notions of being a woman within political spaces. The work involved individuals taking agency in transforming social scripts, as well as acceptable social roles within political structures. These women enforced the recognition

of their multiplicity. Although it did not always translate smoothly, participants embraced their multiple identities.

The 'walking across the Mandela Bridge' narrative speaks to the stance that students as a whole body took to face and place accountability on the ANC-led government. The aim for students was to get the government in conversation with students, to hear their challenges and for the ANC to deliver on their promise for free education. The intersections of race and gender posed a hindrance as the government further imposed negative youth constructions. There is a history of government rejecting or ignoring students' protest action, assuming that because they are young and black they are not meant to talk or question the government. Here a hierarchy of age stemming from family rhetoric was implied rendering students as young and the government as older and wiser. The African notion of respect ("ukuhlonipha") was in place rendering students as disrespectful for questioning the older generation in governance. This became a bigger hurdle that students could not fully resolve, as government sought ways to tame and control the momentum of the protests. Political affiliations posed a grip on student leaders as most struggled to loosen away. Even after measures to ban political party regalia from the spaces of #FeesMustFall, it seems the ANC's grip was tight as some student leaders were accused later on during the protests of being bought/ paid by the ANC to stop the campus shutdowns. Obviously, this caused a divide within the movement that seemed to have plagued the 2016 protests as students could not agree on the direction and political stance they needed to adopt.

In 2016 students were not only faced with internal division challenges but the institutions teamed up with government and the general public to fight back against the work done by #FeesMustFall. The aim for the movement was to push for transformation within institutions of higher learning. Students found a way to communicate their challenges, they were fighting for free, quality and decolonised education. However, they did not plan for the oppressive forms of state and institutions' fightback. The institutions relied heavily on court interdicts, referendums and voting polls to justify police presence and violence that took place on campus. Participants saw these moves by University management as unjust.

The discussion showed that by turning student protesters into the ones inciting violence the University management was able to damage the morale and force of the protests. Nonetheless, the discussion on the narrative on shutting down campus showed the ways participants sought ways

to draw attention on the gross violence that black students faced everyday within university spaces. The discussion also showed the difficulty when attempting to transform a long-standing social structure, that those marginalised are further pushed to the back when they try to voice their oppression. Furthermore, participants reflected on other factors that led to the decline in high morale for #FeesMustFall and the messiness of the 2016 protests. Participants observed the toxicity that existed within the spaces and the personal sacrifices as students stood the risk of being arrested and expelled from campus.

However, it was the police brutality on black bodies which pushed participants and other women to initiate a Naked Protest. It was a desperate move as students sought ways to ask police to cease fire, to forge peace on campus and to further the aims of the movement. The analysis and discussion of these PINs provided three insights. First, although the intersections of gender and race have worked to marginalise black women, here these women used their position to further and fight for the emancipation of themselves and others. Understanding identity formation process granted a framework to see the ways individuals negotiate their sense of self within any given social setting.

Second, for participants the #FeesMustFall was not only a space to address racial challenges faced by black students, it was also a platform to highlight the intersections of these challenges and to find ways to represent all the intersectional identities and articulate themselves. There is more to be gained when multiplicity and diversity is celebrated. This was the irony in that the bodies that were being pushed to the corners as they were seen as unfit political leaders had now become the only weapon to forge peace between students and police. Here these women showed that leadership does not equal male, they did not need to be masculine to further the course of the movement.

The concluding remarks on the analysis of this PIN speak to the loss that political action movements stand to suffer when gendered modes of leadership are narrowly maintained. The Naked Protests played a role in communicating the serious resolute spirits of the students in their call for free, decolonised education. As a result, in 2018 free education is a reality.

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Appendixes

Appendix A

University of the Witwatersrand

School of Human and Community Development

Department of Psychology

Consent form for participation in qualitative phase of research project conducted by Elelwani Mudau for the degree of Masters in Psychology

<u>Statement of Consent:</u>

I, _____, have read, understood and agreed to participation in this research. In particular I understand that my participation is completely voluntary and I have the right to withdraw at any time prior to submission/publication.

- I am not obliged to answers questions I do not wish to.

- Direct quotes from my interview may be used but will not be presented with any identifiable information.

- The interviews will be audio recorded with a tape recorder and then transcribed by the researcher to facilitate the research.

- There is no payment or reward for participating in this research.

SIGNED: _____

DATED: _____

Appendix B

University of the Witwatersrand

School of Human and Community Development

Department of Psychology

Consent to be Audiotaped

This consent form gives permission to audio record my research interview for data analysis and transcription purposes. This is simply a method that is used to maintain the integrity of the data and to make analysis easier.

I have noted the following:

1) My identity will be protected and I will not be required to give out my name in this recording.

2) Access to these recordings will be restricted to the researcher. No other persons will have access to these recordings.

3) The recordings will be kept safe, in a private location known only to the researcher, and will be stored in password protected files.

4) The recording will be destroyed after 2 years if the study is published or after 6 years if it is not published.

5) These recordings will **not** be presented publicly or as a part of the study results.

6) All identifying information will be removed from the transcripts and although direct quotes from the transcripts will be used in the final write-up, these will not be linked to any identifying information and will be used in conjunction with quotes from other participants.

If I have concerns or queries regarding the audio recording of this interview I can ask the researcher before we begin the interview so that he may clarify them for me.

I, (name) _____ give permission for my research interview to be fully audio recorded with a full understanding of the above statement.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Appendix C
Thematic Analysis – Horizontal analysis:

Analysis 1: Zinhle

1. Women supposed to follow, their leadership styles were not responded to, decisions made by a chosen few: "our leadership as women like took a back sit and when Habib arrived the man turned, they… they dominated." "black women was idolized as just a face and you had an Indian women who was idolized as the one who does the administration, works hard and you had males who these two followed." "students responding to a certain a certain type of leadership style… especially the differences of gender."

2. Emotionality

3. The danger of leading a crowd that is not conscious: "#FeesMustFall being an immediate response to a crisis, we didn't get enough time to conscientise students on why we do things as SRC."

4. Wits setting a trend of students participating on their own right, instead of being bombarded with politics. Setting a trend for the whole nation to respond to the call. The 17th October – 8 hours to get university to lobby for 0% increase on fee increase

5. The violent spaces of #FeesMustFall, Facing patriarchy head on, be strong, you'll butt heads: "facing the dominance of patriarchy head on," "the violent doesn't need to even get to bloodshed, it just starts with the entering of the space and how you are received." "First I don't have access because of my skin, now I don't have access because of my gender" women seen as a threat to patriarchy therefore rejected and told to stay at the back. Intersectionality, it's visibility in leadership met with hostility.

6. Fighting for the voice of the vision: "when more people join a protest, now people fight for the voice of the vision." The initial vision of the protest from the reigning SRC at the time was "to get government thinking about a way of pursuing free education, for us the vision was creating a corridor of access."

7. Leader of the mass: "what consumes you the most? Is it the vision or is it the fame?" as a leader you don't, you never subscribe to conformity, you never subscribe to being away from mass and what mass represents and that's uniformity."

8. Entrusted with the role to lead, teach, and empower people: to whom much is given, much is required. Education from school, exposed to debating team and public speaking.

9. Born to lead: a lineage of women leaders, political family, and personal sacrifices to choose to fight for the poor instead of pursuing careers that pay a lot of money.

10. Exposure to black literature, exposure to black pain.

Analysis 2: Ammara

1. When people are now in danger that's when they started taking us seriously.
2. Because also I was outside, I was just there as a normal student just standing there but then the environment reminded me that you're a leader now and you need to start acting. I sort of tapped into the leadership role unexpectedly because I was waiting for someone else. Every time I walk on campus everyone has stopped looking at me as just a normal person but as a leader, and I'm now expected to always act that way and conduct myself that way, always provide leadership.
3. This other guy the other day said that the crowd was a lot and 'I don't think that you were gonna be able to handle them'. What I've got to learn from that is to stop asking for their validation to do things. When I want to lead I need to start leading even if it means that I need to force things. I do until it gets to a point where they just have to listen. I foresaw that you disagreeing and wanting us to do A is going to lead us to a very bad situation where people are hurt and all of that. I was just talking to my colleagues letting them know that ok let's do this but then they didn't listen to me. Then I stood on top of this thing other thing at men's res. Then I started shouting out the instructions.
4. But then at times because I am not seen as an equal to my male colleagues, it's a bit tough to push my agenda or what I'm thinking or what I see and all of that. It's like each and every time a woman wants to say something they need to force into tat thing. So they kind of have to seem like they are hard headed in order for them to be heard. We try to not just act as men but to act as ourselves and lead from what we know and how we know. You

need to force yourself into these spaces. It's not just a given like a man… they now set parameters of when you can lead and when you cannot lead. Later that day they were like no, when we make decisions we must make collective decisions. And even when you think it's the right decision that you're taking but it must be collective especially if you consult and then we disagree.

5. People give you A because they want B. people would like sort of give you space to speak in like during the mass meetings and what not. To sort of be the leader of that meeting because they want a favour from you after that.

6. A liking of leadership from a young age. Always went first, then start to teach other. Help teachers, class rep,

7. Award receiving made me aware that helping out was actually leadership. Leadership spoken as though it weren't a normal thing. Work to mould leadership skills. Reading about leadership.

8. Single mom, raised by uncles, aunts… "this is not my mother's house". I need to learn so I can teach others. Comfortable with "not always being in the forefront."

Analysis 3: Charlotte

1. Emotional roller-coaster experience because of police and university's handling students. 2016 was a violent period compared to 2015. I was in his face and I was like it's unacceptable on any given day it's unacceptable.   This year was a hot mess from last year.

2. I was really panicked cause I'm not violent, I'm not confrontational. I just felt like a crack. I was confused; it was like a war zone in slow motion. I was so pissed, I was crying, I was hysterical. I was just like I'm tired this protest makes me cry so many times. There was something slightly ignorant there, something I really hated about that experience… the day where there was an Imbokodo cluster… we didn't come for that you know, what I'm saying I understand the need for women voices but there's a way to it because then now it seems like I am one person who says don't fight for something, like kari wa bonahala gore you're fighting for it, it looks desparate, it looks like petty, it looks weak… it made us look weak.

3. I had never been so scared because a lot of people were dependent on me at that particular time. There was a need and I felt like I had a certain set of skills or thongs I could contribute that could make life easier. I felt that people went sometimes given their all and sometimes

it was discouraging. But I am still trying to figure it out where am I standing and do I still want to do this. Is it still productive?... when I say something and people don't take it seriously do I still keepn on fighting for people to take it seriously as well. I am still trying to find my space my place in the movement.

4. Women are still not taken seriously, it's a very hyper-masculine space. Mcebo – he's got a certain particular charisma. There's a particular cheer enthusiasm, I'm taking about male leaders when they address the crowd. Boys are the ones that charge up the crowd, girls cheer its cool. There is a certain expectation that women need to be more masculine when they address the crowd. I am a girl, I can't help it. I don't have a deep voice. We sound the way we sound. We are still women we are feminine,

5. All politically charged spaces are the same. ANC, SASCO, COSA, youth league, even EFF you can see these challenges. Man always have a way of saying we're taking the most important, yall can have the rest. It's still 50/50. And I don't think that was the intension of the quota.

6. People were hogging for the spotlight, they were hogging for information and it played to the demise of the strike. I feel like government understood that and I feel like the university understood that very well. A contestation of egos (D, fantastic 6) – one is pulling this way another one is pulling that way.

7. A normal childhood, not extremely happy, not extremely poor either. Not bad not great either. Rich grandparents, poor parents. Moved around a lot. Lived with step-mother. Forced to be independent and learn to do things for myself. Sexual abuse.

8. Grew up knowing stuff as a result of staying with grandparents. Newspaper, educated grandparents, books as gifts.

9. Private schooling, debating about politics, dreamt of being SRC, a plan to become a business woman before joining politics.

10. Fighting for better sanitation at rural schools.

Analysis 4: Ria

1. Police brutality on female bodies. Constant fear that was quite traumatizing this year compared to last year. Even if you are in your most vulnerable position the police would still attack. That whole saying of like only cowards shoot you in the back. Ironic because

considering the contexts that South Africa has come out of, you'd think police would also have this idea that actually had we also fought for free education we'd be in a better position.

2. But there isn't that, it doesn't click to them that we're also fighting for your kids. Cause I mean let's say you have three or four kids you can't afford on a police budget. But you think society would unite

3. But it was fascinating to actually see government, the police and private sector working so well. I won't say united this year but we never expected like police to come back at us and also the university to fight back so much.

4. I think the fascination for me that people were fascinated by the fact that they were naked and there's this like ooh ah but I mean it's a body right.

5. Last year my voice was more represented perhaps cause a lot of the female leadership I could identify with them and the roles that they were playing. This year I found myself having to scream a lot more having to be louder you know for my voice to be heard, or stern and sometimes taking one characteristics that are more manly in order to be actually taken seriously. And I kept on saying and I was like stern within the mass meeting however another male came had come on and just said no we're going and crowed just moved and I my role actually after I had said this then had become to actually make sure the ambulance was there make sure that students were safe.

6. Last year there was a set line I think there was more leadership was clear, this year I'd say leadership kept on changing. You'd find there's fantastic six this side there's SRC this side and there was just like a bit less organization honestly. Students they'd gotten tired of being in the Wits environment and now we need to move broader. They wanted us to go out into Braam and the idea was that like we'd come out in Braam and we'd go to like your Rosebank colleges and your small colleges. However you know you can't just do that you have to get police permit and I kept on explaining that we can't do that students are going to get shot. One person could just say uhm something that appeals to the crowd especially when they being bored they bored of sitting and discussing

7. When in reality there's a lot of things to be discussed like what is our view of 8%? What are the next steps from here because you can't say you're having a revolution but you don't actually plan and mobilize accordingly in order of it to be successful? At times it was whose

voice is the loudest? And who actually appeals? Sometimes when there is a lot of people like it's excitement it's frustration.

8. To just feel closer to people to other students and like hearing their plight and actually relating to them cause there were times where like cause uhm fees must fall for me is not necessarily uhm it's not like I won't say like free education won't benefit me it would but at the same time like I'm self-funded so I find my brother calling me and saying like why are you going to the streets? For me it was actually a moment because I thought well just because like you are on a bursary or you can afford your fees who's to say that if bursary drops you tomorrow that you won't be like any other ordinary student that sleeps in the library that goes to WCCO in need for food so that for me was like very enlightening. I could easily do that but I felt that was just so selfish it was just so selfish to do.

9. Growing up by myself, my mother was a single parent, she was a strong mother, raised me to be smart and not just a pretty face.

10. Boarding school, grew up fast and became strong, stand my own ground. My mother taught me to care about people especially people more less fortunate than I am. Caring about people, being a strong character and always like never letting excuses actually define me.

Analysis 5: Thandeka

1. I was proud that three women literally got to stop whatever shitty thing that you guys were doing and you thought you can wanted to so it without us you know. We need to talk about how we pledge allegiance to men in our political organizations and they continue to do crappy stuff. Confronting one of the women to say that the reason she was given a mic or the loud hailer is because we showed up and if it wasn't for us you were not going to have been given the loud hailer to also show that they don't recognise you. It's very easy to attack a black woman for something that she would she did not do or was partly only responsible for instead of actually going to the person that was responsible for the whole thing you know. None blamed A for any shit that day no one blamed B for any shit but then it had to be C and D and D had it worse because she was the black woman. Men were happy with the violence that was happening we were not. I grew up in a household without

a man so you cannot now come and tell me that a man has to be head of the household because there was no man in my household.

2. I remember I think the title or hashtag of the statement was not my FMF not my fees must fall because we then spoke about how this revolution was going to be bulshit if it's not going to intersectional it's not going to happen you know if it doesn't have queer women if it doesn't have uhm feminists if it doesn't have disabled people you know it's going to be intersectional so then a slogan that came up to say the movement will be the revolution will be intersectional or it will be bulshit. It's a thing of normally we like talking about people disrupting spaces as black people but then it becomes a problem when other black people disrupt a black space you know and it gets to show or it gets to tell how selective we are of this disruption. as black people we not equally marginalised you know. That in as much as you are a woman you're still human being and you can be evil you can be good you can be silly you can be all those things.

3. Sexual abuse in these spaces. That form of resistance talking about rape and "men were like no you guys must also watch what you wear." thing there's this obsession people have with women's bodies that for one they sexualise your body instead of seeing you as a human being. You get sexualised as a woman you know whatever you bring to the table whether it be your education or your money whatever it is that you bring you know. breasts are sexualised they are also expected to look a certain way you know without stretch marks they must be a tennis balls you know that kind of thing I have chest hair for example there must not be any hair it must be all creased out you know how media sells breast. a history of naked protests in Africa, an unconventional way of protesting something we were fed up with as women. When negotiations have failed. there's also that thing of respectability in politics where maybe let's say for example I go there and I'm wearing these long pants of mine and then I'm wearing a jersey and all those things and they like oh she looks so kept sort of thing whereas if I'm to go there wearing my jumpsuit or my short dress it would be arg who is she she's looking for attention. I'm here in my short dress and it doesn't mean you must rape me. and I know I have big thighs and I'm fat you know and all those kind of things but it's my body and it's the way that it is and nothing or no-one should tell me otherwise.

4. We still to find a way to reconcile because there was that PYA and FMF divide… and all of us were frustrated then because things were not working out as we wanted them to in the university but then we had the scapegoat that we could just blame everything at. An accountability meeting was called. Certain people didn't show up. it was easy to make her a scapegoat and she didn't have to be because now people were talking about what happened after the zero percent instead of saying the ANC interfered that's why we couldn't continue. I went home crying because I was hurt and I was frustrated that this is where fees must fall is and we are fighting each other it's okay that we fight each other but it looks like we don't see what is the beyond point.

5. I wrote her the letter to say I'm sorry for the whole meeting that it ended up as if we were persecuting you. I'm sorry that you were meant to feel that way, and you were also an easy target you know. It's a form of what the people have termed black radical love you know I think that even when you disagree with someone you must tell them.

6. when he announced yah we shutting down which I was like arg oh my God we don't just do that you don't wake up and say last year's shut down when it happened referring to 2015 it's not like someone decided in the morning to wake up and say we are shutting down but then planning went into it you know.

7. The VC decided to say he's gonna start a referendum to find out who wants to come to class and who doesn't and that thing is illegal we have a student body that is supposed to speak on behalf of student. There was also a lot of resistance we got to a point where we lacked public sympathy we no longer had public sympathy. But also we had gotten to a point of but also we had gotten to a point I think it's because we had just been through so much that you see public didn't not do anything for us in the first place. we don't even need it right now because your sympathy does not show up when I don't have food to eat your sympathy does not show up when I'm unable to print an assignment your sympathy does not show up you know. in the beginning stages people called us hooligans but then the day we marched to Luthuli House how suddenly oh look at these future leaders of our country because what we were doing we were marching against a black government you know so that was an anti-black government sentiment. you can't tell us that we must go back to class when we can't even afford to go back to those classes you know what's the

point of going to write if I'm not even going to get my exam results or even come back next year.

8. Police were brought into campus after the voting polls results. Private security hired to chase student out of Solomon Mahlangu House. Then police were like actually you guys are not supposed to assemble in here in groups. They were like actually you can't sing. You can't have scarfs around your face. So now this police want to fight her and then the guy grabs her… so we immediately run out so we can grab her back… the police hit me bad with the baton. He hit me to let go of her and I couldn't because it was a thing of why should she get arrested number one, number 2 why should a woman get arrested, where are they gonna go with her? It was chaotic. I was crying. The church as a shelter and place to strategize next step after the police shooting. Guys nna I'm tired of being shot at I'm tired of being teargassed I'm tired of stunt grenades we need to do something about this to ask the police to cease fire. We don't understand how you're shooting at us if you're also the people that are gonna benefit from this crap because you are underpaid and your kids are in university.

9. Parents separated, raised at her maternal grandmother's house. With aunts and cousins. They normalised single women. Mother doesn't wear a bra. Father refuses to speak English. Talkative child, partially involved in RCL, never liked being a role model. Vocal about issues. Joined political organisation on campus.

10. we don't even understand when people come to us and tell us they'd say feminism is a white thing it's always been at home our mothers have been going to work. We have our grandmothers that instead of saying that patriarchy just say that you *amadoda* you know because that is actually them speaking on the action that men do. fees must fall is also didn't not start with us at Wits the hashtag yes because we needed it but then TUT students have been doing this UNIVEN students have been doing it UKZN students have been doing it. Then again we must be very careful to not then become this exclusive thing.

Noni-Analysis 6: summary of stories, most occurring stories/ subject matter.

1. The Mandela Bridge: "It facilitated an experience that I don't think would happened anywhere." Questioning legacies, active resistance of what we call normal. Occupying spaces we are not invited to. The academic programme.

2. Political figures and leadership: to lead is to serve. The ANC government as the enemy towards students. Refused helped from the ANC during protests.

3. Problematic nature of political parties. More than just clothes, allegiances that people have. We stop being free thinking students.

4. Setting lines of demarcation: the lack of commitment from student leaders that did not match the student voices.

5. Preferring to serve at the back, logistics. Caught by surprise when called to lead. Personal sacrifices. Heart broken, emotionality.

6. Active leadership roles in primary and secondary schooling. Born to be a leader

7. Comparing the 2015 and 2016 protests. The demobilizing project. The ways reflection worked against the movement.

8. Toxic spaces in #FeesMustFall. Chains of command, patriarchy, sexist, ignoring other struggles within the struggle. Leadership is serventhood.

9. The voice of the movement. Who owns the movement? Wits' spoilt brats. Other universities. The role of the media to undermine other campuses in S.A.

10. The role of grandparents, school, parents, and literature in shaping one to become a leader. Politics as inherited,

Appendix D
Vertical analysis: across all narratives

1. Women activists.

    1.1. Rape culture

    1.2. Violence on the female body

    1.3. Black woman as scapegoat

    1.4. Black woman as a meal ticket

    1.5. Black woman as less than, not intelligent

    1.6. Black woman as feeble

2. A war zone in slow Motion

3. The demobilizing project

4. Intersectionality

5. Voice of the movement

    5.1. Fighting for the voice of the movement Wits vs. the rest

    5.2. Problematic nature of political parties SRC vs. Fallists

    5.3. Contestation of egos

6. Childhoods

    6.1. Disruptions of the nuclear family unit

    6.2. Continuing legacies, the role of grandparents

    6.3. Black thought and literature

    6.4. The role of the schooling system

    6.5. To whom much is given, much is required

Appendix E

University of the Witwatersrand

School of Human and Community Development

Department of Psychology

Participant information sheet

Dear Potential Research Participant,

My name is Elelwani Mudau and I am currently enrolled as a Psychology Masters student at the University of the Witwatersrand. As part of the requirements for my degree I am required to submit a research report on a particular topic. My research is aimed at investigating the women students' experiences during the #FeesMustFall protests.

I would like to invite you to participate in the qualitative aspect of my research. In order to participate in this phase you will be required to participate in a one-on-one interview with the researcher. The broad topic of the interview will be your experience during the protests as a woman and also your childhood memories. The interview will last about 1 hour 30 minutes.

The interviews will be audio recorded with a tape recorder and then transcribed by the researcher. The audio recordings and transcriptions will be kept in locked draws and password protected files that only the researcher will have access to. The only other person besides the researcher who will have access to the transcriptions is my supervisor, Professor Jill Bradbury (lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand). All data will be kept for a period of 2 years (should publication of the results occur) or 6 years (should no publication occur). After this time, all data will be destroyed or deleted.

All identifying information will be kept strictly confidential. In the final report (and any subsequent publications) your anonymity will be protected by using a pseudonym such as Participant A, B etc. Also the identity of all extraneous persons mentioned by you will be kept anonymous through the use of pseudonyms.

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary and you are free to withdraw at any stage prior to submission/publication for any reason. You are also free to abstain from answering any question in the interview that makes you feel uncomfortable.

If you experience any emotional distress during your participation in this research, please be aware that you can call the toll free Life Line number 0800-150-150

If you have any further questions, please contact me on proph.elle@gmail.com or you can contact my supervisor Jill Bradbury on jill.bradbury@wits.ac.za. If you agree to participate in this research, please complete the consent form attached to this document.

Thank you,
Elelwani Mudau