

**Understanding Violence within Protest:
A Case Study Investigation of the Rhodes Must Fall Movement at
the University of Cape Town (2015 – 2016).**



by
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MTMMAP001

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This thesis has been submitted to the Turnitin module and I confirm that my supervisors have seen my report and any concerns revealed by such have been resolved with my supervisors.

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Dedication.

For my love, Ndumiso,
my light, Langa,
and
my beloved Gogo.

Abstract.

South Africa is regarded as one of the most violent countries in the world. This statement is supported by news reports and crime-statistics both locally and internationally, despite contestation as to what exactly constitutes 'violence', including, how it manifests in South Africa and what it may be an expression of. Further to this, South Africa has also gained a reputation for being the protest capital of the world, with many of these labelled as 'violent'. South Africa's legacy of 'violent' protest has endured throughout the country's Colonial-Apartheid history and continues, despite a transition to a democratic state in 1994. Despite the prevalence of this phenomenon, there has been little done by way of research to understand how and why 'violence' and protest continue to occur both in and of each other and remain characteristic of the South African context. The Rhodes Must Fall (RMF) movement at the University of Cape Town (UCT) in 2015-2016, was criticized for enacting 'violent' forms of protest. Conversely, student activists, staff, and workers within RMF, surfaced institutional racism and patriarchy at the university as 'violence(s)' Black people continued to be subjected to, as evidence of coloniality within the institution. These seemingly opposed perspectives of violence in the context of protest informed the selection of RMF at UCT (2015-2016) as a case. This study was particularly concerned with the various ways 'violence' manifested during the RMF protests at UCT and the conditions that might explain how it found expression, shifting focus from the *act* of violence to the less investigated structures, relations, practices, and processes that manifested 'violence'. Further to this, the discipline of occupational science (OS) and profession of occupational therapy (OT) have yet to investigate 'violence' within protest from an occupational perspective, despite the global prevalence of these co-occurring phenomena and their impact on individual and collective health and wellbeing.

This study aimed to describe and explain both the manifestation and expression of violence during RMF at (UCT) 2015-2016. The case was investigated within a Qualitative research design and informed by a critical-decolonial perspective. This study adopted a Case-Study approach and incorporated Narrative Inquiry methods to gain a comprehensive understanding of what RMF was a case about, for and of. Data sources included narrative interviews and key informant interviews, photos of physical artefacts and the review of relevant archives and documents. Data was analyzed using narrative analysis and a thematic framework approach. Findings are presented in the form of five student activists' stories and a comprehensive case-narrative. Violence during RMF at UCT (2015-2016) was revealed as a process through which coloniality was applied and/or resisted. Furthermore, violence manifested as context (characterized by coloniality), as protest (preceded and provoked by coloniality) and as denial of coloniality. These manifestations of violence within the RMF protests were read as expressions of colonial sovereignty and an intention to heal/reclaim being through protest as an enactment of occupational role subversion. Lastly the consequences for participation in RMF for the health and wellbeing of student activists,

revealed experiences of criminalization and punishment characteristic of South Africa's Colonial-Apartheid history of repression of protest, calling for a reframing of health and wellbeing as a synthesis of access, representation, and agency.

The study findings indicate the need to a) further investigate violence within protest from an occupational perspective, b) revisit and critique core philosophies, concepts and theories of human occupation, health, and wellbeing from a critical-decolonial perspective and c) interrogate the role and scope of occupational therapy as it pertains to the duty of care the profession carries towards activists as potential service-users.

Key words: violence, protest, Rhodes Must Fall (RMF), context, coloniality, human occupation.

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List of Abbreviations.

RMF	Rhodes Must Fall.
CJR	Cecil John Rhodes.
FMF	Fees Must Fall.
UCT	University of Cape Town.
OT	Occupational Therapy.
OS	Occupational Science.
SAPS	South African Police Service.
POP	Public Order Police.
PASS	Professional Administrative and Support Services.
WHO	World Health Organization.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Background to the Study¹.

1.1. Introduction

The Rhodes Must Fall (RMF) movement at the University of Cape Town (UCT) (2015-2016), through a series of protests, brought to the fore issues of institutional racism and patriarchy within institutions of higher education in South Africa. RMF student activists framed these issues as violence(s) characteristic of coloniality within the University. In so doing, they raised critical questions about how violence is defined, understood, and framed, especially as this pertains to protest. Protest and violence are both identified as phenomena with long, enmeshed histories within the South African context. This characterization has prevailed in Post-Apartheid South Africa, despite the country beginning its transition into a democratic state in 1994. While protest is a democratic right and legally sanctioned practice as per The Regulation of Gatherings Act (1993), many of these protests have been criticized by the media and authorities for the use of 'violence'², without interrogation of media portrayals of protest and how these potentially inform perspectives of what is considered 'violent' protest. 'Violent' protests have been used to rationalize instances of police brutality in alleged efforts to disperse the crowd or for police to defend themselves against 'aggressive' protestors. It is of concern that the expression of a constitutional right is deemed 'violent' and is met with 'violence' as a response within a Democratic state. These events seemingly support the argument that South Africa has maintained repressive tactics, characteristic of both Colonial and Apartheid rule (Duncan, 2016).

The conceptualization of what is termed 'violence' within the context of protest is problematized throughout this study, highlighting the contested nature of this term, including a lack of interrogation regarding the conditions, events, and incident(s), often described by authorities and the media as 'violent'. Recognition of 'violence' within protest as a contested experience, suggests that to gain a deeper understanding of

¹ Portions of this chapter have been published in (Motimele, Ramugondo & Matebeni, 2024).

² Please note that I have at times placed the term 'violence' or 'violent' within single quotation marks ('violence'/'violent'), to signal to the reader that there are/were contestations regarding what exactly constitutes violence within the context of protest that includes, but is not limited to tangible acts of violence.

what constitutes violence within protest, how it manifests, and what it may be an expression of, one may need to investigate this phenomenon from various perspectives within real-life contexts. It is equally concerning that the impact of participation in 'violent' protest on the health and wellbeing of activists is minimally explored in occupational science (OS) and occupational therapy (OT) literature, suggesting a gap in OS theory and OT services for these potential service-users. Potential reasons for this gap are discussed in *Chapter 2*.

This study aimed to understand 'violence' within the Rhodes Must Fall protests at UCT (2015-2016) as a unique case, that may share similarities with other westernized institutions of higher education in South Africa, operating within coloniality and reporting incidents of 'violent' protest. In this chapter 'violence' within protest is identified as a prevalent phenomenon with a long and continued history in South Africa. Thereafter, society's dominant focus on 'violence' as a physical/tangible act, is critiqued for potentially occluding invisible forms of violence such as institutional racism and coloniality. 'Violence within protest' is framed as 'violence' within the context of protest, that includes, but is not limited to tangible acts of violence. The importance of studying 'violence' within context is emphasized foregrounding Fanon's (1967) framing of violence as an expression of human relations within the context of coloniality, that reflected dehumanization or a reclaiming of one's humanity, depending on the situation. The research question considers how 'violence' manifested during RMF (UCT) 2015-2016, and what it was an expression of. The study objectives were to identify the ways in which 'violence' manifested during RMF(UCT) 2015-2016, to analyze the conditions which may explain how 'violence' found expression during RMF(UCT) 2015-2016 and to investigate and analyze the consequences of participation in protest during RMF(UCT) 2015-2016 for health and well-being.

Chapter 2 offers a review of relevant literature under five sections. The first section identifies characteristics of the Post-Apartheid context and positioned Post-Apartheid South Africa as a violent and wounded context. Thereafter the concept of 'violence within protest' is introduced, noting repression of protest as characteristic of the Post-Apartheid context. The second and third sections explore the concept of 'violence' through consideration of various definitions, forms, and perspectives of violence with emphasis on how they might find expression within protest. The fourth section

explores the consequences of participating in protest on the health and wellbeing of activists and questions the responsibility of the OT profession and discipline of OS towards these potential service-users, and/or research population. The final section addresses the notable silence of OT and OS with regards to research and/or practice that considers 'violence' within protest from an occupational perspective, despite potential insights offered.

Chapter 3 outlines the study's research design and methods. The research question was investigated using a qualitative research approach and a critical-decolonial framework. This framework was developed to offer a more nuanced lens through which to explore the case and focused on issues of power and agency as determined by a context of coloniality towards decoloniality. A critical-decolonial perspective allowed for recognition of hegemonic conceptualizations of both 'violence' and protest, centering them as contested, historic and political phenomena embedded within coloniality. This framework situated the colonial matrix of power as foundational towards understanding and explaining how dominant structure(s) within and beyond the institution afford or constrain agency and identified the social groups oppressed within this social order.

The study design and methods are described in *Chapters 4*. Case study and Narrative Inquiry were selected as the most suitable methods to investigate the case. These methods undertaken within a critical-decolonial framework allowed me to resist epistemological violence through centering the voices, perspectives, and interpretations of those who occupy the zone of non-being, inviting collaboration through storytelling. These methods within a critical-decolonial framework acknowledged student activists as knowers and generators of knowledge, situating them as experts towards interpreting and understanding the case.

In *Chapter 5*, Amandla Nkani, Rekgotsofetse Chikane, Sandile Ndelu, Chumani Maxwele and Alex Hotz tell their stories of participation in the RMF protests and experiences of 'violence'. These stories are written in the third person and include direct quotes from the narrative interviews. The combination of third person and verbatim accounts is an attempt to offer authentic stories and acknowledge student activists as co-constructors of these stories. *Chapter 6* presents a comprehensive

case report/narrative, this is structured using a conversational style, allowing for the contribution of multiple key informants and sources of data towards understanding the complexity and contentions that characterized the case. Due to wordcount restrictions I have presented the majority of the quotations in a table (Appendix I).

The study findings are discussed in *Chapter 7*. Violence during RMF at UCT (2015-2016) was revealed as a process through which coloniality was applied and/or resisted. Furthermore, violence manifested as context (characterized by coloniality), as protest (preceded and provoked by coloniality) and as denial of coloniality. These manifestations of violence within the RMF protests were read as expressions of colonial sovereignty and an intention to heal/reclaim being through protest as an enactment of occupational role subversion. Lastly the consequences for participation in RMF for the health and wellbeing of student activists, revealed experiences of criminalization and punishment characteristic of South Africa's Colonial-Apartheid history of repression of protest, calling for a reframing of health and wellbeing as a synthesis of access, representation, and agency.

Chapter 8 outlines the main contribution of the study, focusing on key disruptions to understandings of violence, protest and human occupation within OT and OS. Thereafter the study's limitations, and implications for further research and practice are discussed. Lastly, I discuss my experience of doing research concerning violence and offer my closing thoughts.

1.2. Background to the study: Violence within protest, South Africa's continued and contested history.

Protest often described as civil resistance, riots, or strike action, is generally understood as action taken by social movements, and is recognized as both a form and means of political expression (Kurtz, 2010; Lancaster, 2016; Duncan, 2016). Protest is understood as any "expressive act(s) that communicates grievances through disruption of existing societal arrangements" in order to bring these grievances to public attention (Duncan, 2016: 1). Although this phenomenon occurs frequently around the globe, protest has a particularly long and continued history within the South African context. In addition, protest within the South African context has gained a

negative reputation for what is commonly described as 'violence', resulting in the repression of protest as a common practice in efforts to avoid this (Duncan, 2016).

The 'violence' described within protest includes injury to persons and/or damage to property, and refers to destructive behaviour such as theft, vandalism, arson, and stone-throwing (Runciman, Maruping & Moloto, 2017). These behaviours or demonstrations are generally grouped under the broad category of 'public violence', drawing attention away from the issues informing the protests that may be experienced as 'violence' (Lancaster, 2016). Injury to persons within protests is varied, and often results from confrontations between protestors or between protestors and security personnel such as police and private security who are often armed with tear-gas, rubber-bullets, and/or live ammunition. Notably, the conditions warranting protest action are described and experienced as structurally 'violent' (Morake, 2019), warranting deeper investigation into the social arrangements and power-dynamics that influence situations resulting in protest that is described as 'violent'. These conditions often remain after the protest has been quelled, provoking reflection on the situations that manifest protest, the strategies undertaken to initiate and engage in it or those taken to suppress it, including how these may be experienced or viewed as 'violent'. Media descriptions and reports of protests generally refer to any public disturbance during protest as 'violence'. A lack of interrogation regarding the conditions, events, and incident(s), described by authorities and the media as 'violent' encourages a continued vague, obscure, and possibly skewed perception of what exactly violence is.

1.2.1 Defining violence.

'Violence' is defined by the World Health Organization (WHO) as; "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development or deprivation" (Krug et al, 2002: 5). Although this definition is useful in framing the act and consequence of violence, it falls short in two aspects. Firstly, the consideration of 'force' or 'power' is limited to physical force or power, ignoring power-relations and imbalances that may

reflect this. Secondly, it does not provide any insight into how understandings and descriptions of violence might be informed by social convention(s) and key historical events within varied contexts. An example of this is corporal punishment. In Apartheid South Africa, corporal punishment was a legal and socially accepted method of discipline within the school system even though it resulted in learners' physical and psychological harm, entrenching 'violence' as a legitimate expression of power and authority (Veriava & Power, 2017). Corporal punishment was formerly abolished by the Constitutional Court in 2019, after 25 years of South Africa's first democratic government, illustrating the preservative influence of socio-historic events, policies, and practices.

Fanon (1963) recognized the central role of context in defining violence by considering violence within the context of coloniality. In so doing, he argues for violence as an expression of oppressive human relationships: as determined by colonial configurations of context that are inherently 'violent'. These expressions reflect either an intent towards dehumanization through maintaining colonial power structures, systems, and relations, or a reclaiming of one's humanity through efforts to resist and/or dismantle them. Fanon's analysis reveals the complex, multi-dimensional and situated nature of 'violence'. This perspective was particularly helpful when conceptualizing 'violence' within protest as it highlighted the links between (colonial) structure(s), systems, and behaviour and the processes through which they endure as 'violence'.

My previous research on the role of occupation(s) in the healing journeys of those disabled by violence framed violence as a collective occupation with the intention towards social dysfunction that "...perpetuat[es] ill-health, poor quality of life, segregation and occupational injustices" (Motimele, 2013: 110). I am curious as to how this framing may change with consideration of 'violence' and protest as occupations within the context of coloniality.

1.2.2. 'Violence' within Protest.

'Protest violence' briefly discussed earlier, is understood as damage to property and/or injuries to persons during protest (Runciman, Maruping & Moloto, 2017). Protest

violence is generally understood as direct violence almost always enacted by the protesters against objects or things, namely, property, buildings, and/or structures. In response, state-sanctioned violence is meted out to 'violent' protestors, via brutal arrests, physical assaults, tear-gas and shooting of rubber or live ammunition. Considering violence in the context of protest (i.e., violence and protest as phenomena that occur in and of each other rather than separate or co-occurring incidents or events), however, suggests that in South Africa, those that maintain and enforce constraints and violent social conditions are not implicated in the discourse of 'protest violence' or 'violent' protests. In consideration of this, the term '*violence within protest*' is used throughout this study to refer to 'violence' within the context of protest, including, but not limited to tangible/visible acts of 'violence'.

1.3. Sustained 'violence' within protest across key political shifts in South Africa.

As the nature, causes and frequency of protests within South Africa are varied, protest is considered within key political shifts within South Africa's history. These have been grouped to consider; the period before Apartheid was formally instituted (pre-1948), the period during Apartheid (1948 - 1994), and the post-Apartheid period during which South Africa became a Democracy (1994 to present day). Of particular interest within each era are protests that have been historically labelled as 'violent', the description of said 'violence' and the situations/context in which these 'violent' protests took place. The protests discussed below have been selected due to reports of 'violence' from protestors and those in authority. The historical eras selected (pre-Apartheid, Apartheid and Post-Apartheid) broadly reflect South Africa's long history of racial oppression, segregation, and dehumanization of Black³ people as daily social practice. It is therefore unsurprising that Black people form the majority of 'protestors' in South Africa.

1.3.1. 'Violent' Protest Pre-1948.

³ I have used the label 'Black' to refer to all those who continue to be subjected to dehumanization as a result of coloniality.

Before the formal implementation of Apartheid in 1948, racial segregation and the marginalization of Black South Africans by the white British government was common practice (Kurtz, 2010). South Africa became a union in 1910 yet was still regarded as a British colony until 1961 (Oliver & Oliver, 2017). Media reports of incidents of protest were predominantly centered on inadequate housing, forced removals and poor access to dignified work. The Mineworkers' Strike of 1946 is a well-known strike that saw mass action and is well-known for what is described as 'violence'. Although outside of the higher education sector, this strike is evidence of the historicity of the "contradictions and conflicts" (O'Meara, 1975: 146) surrounding violence within protest in South Africa and highlights the multiple constraints that Black people remain subjected to, specifically limited opportunities for higher education, dignified work, and decent wages.

The Mineworkers strike in Johannesburg, during August 1946, involved the gathering of more than a thousand Black mineworkers in Market Square. Mining was recognized and condemned as work with an inherent risk to safety, which depended and thrived on cheap and exploitative labour practices (Webb, 2012). Mineworkers' grievances were concerned with wage disparities between white and Black workers, with white mineworkers being paid up to 12 times more than Black workers at the Witwatersrand gold mines (O'Meara, 1975; Webb, 2012). Grievances expressed at this massively attended gathering included personal experiences of the hardships (such as pass-laws) that forced workers into migrant labour, supporting their demand for wage increases. Eventually, the strike was to have spread from the West to the East Rand, resulting in over ten thousand mineworkers downing tools. The strike reportedly turned 'violent' when the State deployed police to "break the strike" (O'Meara, 1975: 143), using live ammunition to disperse crowds, chasing workers down mineshafts, and carrying out brutal arrests. Thousands of Black mineworkers were injured, between nine and 12 were killed; hundreds were arrested, and some tried and imprisoned. 'Violence' on the part of mineworkers consisted of skirmishes and intimidation between workers in attempts to prevent those who were ready to work from doing so. Reports of the strike progressions and incidents of 'violence' on behalf of the mineworkers are contested by the Abram Fischer Papers (1946). In these papers, it is alleged that vicious beatings and arrests were endorsed by the State to force striking Black workers back to work and compares the levels of violence at the time to a war, rather than a

labour dispute. The police were accused of provoking violence and acting 'irresponsibly' (Abraham Fischer Papers, 1946: 94), conversely, there are no reports of mineworkers being armed.

1.3.2. 'Violent' Protests during Apartheid (1948 - 1994).

Protests during this era were centered on the demand for the abolition of Apartheid and racially discriminatory laws that oppressed and marginalized Black people across multiple sectors. Incidents of protest were referred to as 'resistance', 'unrest' or 'strikes' and were described as either violent or non-violent (Kurtz, 2010). Those described as 'violent' occurred predominantly in the townships. Key events within this era include the formation of Umkhonto We Sizwe, the military wing of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1961, in response to ineffective peaceful campaigns, further constrained by the State's repression of any political resistance from the ANC through banning the organization under the Unlawful Organizations Bill of 1960 (Kurtz, 2010). Well-known protests described as 'violent' included the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre and the 1976 Soweto Uprisings.

The Sharpeville Massacre took place on the 21st of March 1960. The grievances expressed were the dehumanizing, undignified and repressive conditions that Black people lived under during Apartheid (Maylam, 2010). On this occasion, mass organization and mobilization organized by the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), led by Robert Sobukwe, called for non-violent, peaceful defiance of the Natives Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents Act of 1952 (Maylam, 2010; Summers, 2013). The anti-pass campaign strategy encouraged Black people to leave their pass documentation at home and march to the nearest police station and demand to be arrested. At its peak, just over 20 000 men, women and children had gathered at the police station. Police report that the 'mob' was aggressive and threatened to attack the police station, and therefore deployed armored vehicles and air force jets (Marzui, 2011). What was described as 'violence' involved singing, shouting freedom slogans, ululating and gestures of power and solidarity (Maylam, 2010; Summers, 2013). Some 'commotion' at the station gates resulted in massive rounds of live ammunition being fired at the crowd. Those who were injured and could not flee fast enough, were detained against the wishes of medical personnel. Sixty-nine people were killed and

over 180 people were wounded; of the casualties, more than three quarters were shot in the back (Marzui, 2011). Similar massacres on a smaller scale took place in Langa, Cape Town. Protestors were said to have thrown stones at police who baton-charged the organized meeting and two protestors were shot. There is no report of any police casualties, although there were reports of some policemen's houses being looted and burnt along with municipal buildings (Maylam, 2010).

The Soweto Uprisings of 1976 saw protests led by Black school-age youth against oppressive Apartheid Education policies such as the Bantu Education Act of 1953. Under this Act, Black students received inferior education, and attended poorly built and staffed schools with Afrikaans as a medium of instruction – making Apartheid conditions even further intolerable for the youth (Ramoketsi, 2008; Ndlovu, 2011). Although petitions and memorandums had been submitted by teachers, schoolboards and parents, the government would not budge. Learners and teachers adopted various means of resistance such as boycotting classes to attend mass meetings, mass resignations and burning of books and other educational material (Simbao, 2007; Ndlovu, 2011). A key strategy was a march organized to Orlando Stadium where protestors would gather and then continue the march to the regional office of the Department of Bantu Education and hand over a memorandum of their grievances (Ndlovu, 2011). Police, who had stationed themselves near the stadium report that learners displayed aggressive behaviour by throwing stones at them as they were moving towards the stadium. Police responded with tear-gas canisters, dogs, and baton-attacks and eventually with live-ammunition from machine guns as the crowd refused to disperse and continued throwing stones. Fear of aggressive crowds was continually cited as reasons for the mass shooting of school children that day, although none carried weapons and most were shot above their belts, suggesting an intention to kill (Simbao, 2007; Ramoketsi, 2008; Ndlovu, 2011).

1.3.3. Protests Post-Apartheid (1994- present day).

After South Africa's first democratic election, won by the ANC, South Africa witnessed an increase in protests, especially service-delivery protests. Service delivery grievances included a lack of access to basic services such as housing, water, and electricity for Black citizens, as well as a lack of redress following the abolition of

Apartheid (Langa & Kiguwa, 2013; Twala, 2014). Additional sectors that saw high incidents of protest, included wage-disputes within the labour sector, land and housing disputes linked to issues of human settlement and access to quality education within the higher education sector. These grievances suggest continued challenges for Black citizens towards institutional, social, and structural redress (Twala, 2014; Muswede, 2017). 'Violent' protests within the Marikana miners' strike, Abahlali baseMjondolo shack-dwellers' movement and the Rhodes Must Fall (RMF) movement at the University of Cape Town (UCT) are very briefly discussed as 'violent' protests within the above-mentioned sectors.

An infamous labour-related protest that shocked the world was the Marikana miners-strike of 2012 and the ensuing massacre of more than 34 Black mineworkers at Lonmin mines in August of that year. The massacre occurred following wage increase demands and disputes between striking mineworkers and Lonmin management. Striking miners demanded a living wage, shining a spotlight on the dehumanizing conditions in which they had continued to live and work in Post-Apartheid South Africa, matched by equally poor pay. The issue could not be resolved through existing mine union negotiations and eventually resulted in a confrontation between Black workers and predominantly Black police. It is reported that four miners, two security guards and two policemen were killed during the series of protests leading up to the massacre on 16 August 2012 (South African History Online Website). On the day of the massacre, police shot and killed 34 mineworkers and injured 78. Although police cited self-defense, there were no police injuries or casualties reported on the day.

Abahlali baseMjondolo is a well-known shack-dwellers' movement that campaigns for public housing and against land-occupation evictions. Their slogan 'Umhlaba, Izindlu neSithunzi' (land, housing, dignity) encapsulates Black people's continued poverty and struggles to secure land and housing as per their constitutional right to a dignified life, amidst spatial constraints (Abahlali baseMjondolo, 2006; Pithouse, 2017). The 'violence' reported within these protests included: arson, destruction of property, illegal land occupation and accusations of murder on the part of the shack-dwellers and allegations of intimidation, assault, arson, threats, and assassinations on the part of allegedly corrupt ward councilors. 'Violence' reported on the part of police included assault, brutal arrests, shooting of live ammunition and destruction of erected housing

structures (Singh, 2017). These reports of 'violence' during protests are wide-spread and re-occurring when exercising the right to protest as part of the movement. The government is often accused of adopting routine mobilization of violence when governing the poor and working-class Black people within protest and responding to migrants as criminals (Pithouse, 2017). Police stations, prisons and migrant detention centers are recognized as sites of regular abuse of protestors linked to the movement, including torture and murder (Abahlali baseMjondolo, 2006). The violence against the movement and on the part of the movement continues, fueled by the ongoing housing and unemployment crisis in South Africa (Singh, 2023).

Since the introduction of a democratic government in 1994, South African universities have been charged with the massive task of transformation, in response to the legitimized exclusion and marginalization of Black citizens from the Higher Education and Training sector. Student activism on university campuses indicates that restrictive socio-economic and institutional conditions continue to oppress Black students, preventing their access to high-quality tertiary education, maintaining Black people's historically subordinate positions within occupational structures (Muswede, 2017). Four key areas that continue to thwart any significant move towards transformation include: "inequality and limited access to higher education; inadequate financing systems and material resources; racial integration and language issues and the outsourcing of services" (Muswede, 2017: 203).

The Rhodes Must Fall (RMF) movement emerged at UCT in March 2015. RMF demanded that the University remove the statue of colonialist Cecil John Rhodes (CJR) as the first step towards addressing coloniality within the institution. Perhaps the most memorable image is that of Chumani Maxwele, a Black student, throwing feces from a porta potty onto the now removed statue of colonialist CJR. This statue sat above the UCT campus rugby fields, overlooking the Southern Suburbs of Cape Town. RMF challenged UCT's commitment to the social transformation of the University. Transformation, although recognized as effective for creating opportunities for Black students to gain access into the UCT, was viewed as having failed to transform the structures and processes characteristic of institutional culture that (predominantly Black) students experience as oppressive, discriminatory, racist, and 'violent' (UCT Rhodes Must Fall Mission Statement, 2015). Student activists demanded a

commitment to 'decolonization' instead, which called for "radical pedagogical, disciplinary and institutional change" (Bhambra, Gebrial & Nişancıoğlu, 2018).

Student activists adopted various methods of protest, that drew widespread criticism from the media for the use of 'violence', these included: occupation of university spaces, blockades of University entrances, performance art, marches, and online activism. The 'violence' referred to included: vandalism of university property, aggression towards campus protection personnel, disruption of the everyday running of the university and the use of vitriolic rhetoric (Hodes, 2015; Singler, 2016; Tandwa, 2016). Reports of 'violence' on the part of the University included forcible restraint by Campus Protection Services (CPS) and security personnel and management's application for interdicts that criminalized protesting students and justified police presence on the university campus. 'Violence' was also reported internally, within the movement and included an allegation of rape during the RMF occupation of Avenue House (UCT Campus Announcement, 2015). In addition, Black queer womxn and (trans) gender diverse students exposed gendered violence within RMF that manifested through misogynistic attitudes and tendencies within the movement that undermined their contribution and central role within the movement (Ramaru, 2017).

It is noteworthy that student activists were predominantly Black and that standard, normalized and accepted university practices were experienced as 'violent', almost three decades after Apartheid was formally abolished, supporting a perspective of violence as a historical, inter-generational and institutional phenomenon. In addition, the above suggests that any attempt to fully understand violence within protest demands an analysis of the historicity of violence within respective contexts and the structures that perpetuate it (Dwyer & Damousi, 2017). Furthermore, research that centers first-hand accounts of the experience of violence within protest from the perspective of activists should be prioritized and should include a critical, intersectional analysis of how their experiences were (and continue to be) shaped by dominant social structures and power-relations between the relevant social actors.

The above section highlights 'violent' protest as characteristic of South Africa's context despite developments from Colonialism to Apartheid and then a Democratic state. What is described as 'violence', whether on the part of protesting citizens, institutional

authorities, or the state, has prevailed from one generation to the next. It is also of interest that Black people, oppressed under colonial and Apartheid rule, have continued to form the dominant group engaging in protest. This suggests that the oppression experienced by Black people before, during and Post-Apartheid is embedded and sustained within the structures and cultures of institutions today, maintaining Post-Apartheid South Africa as a site of coloniality and anti-Blackness (Sithole, 2015).

1.4. Research Focus.

1.4.1. Research Interest.

Both protest and violence have been identified as phenomena with long, enmeshed histories within the South African context. This characterization has prevailed in Post-Apartheid South Africa, despite the country beginning its transition into a Democratic state in 1994. South Africa's National Development Plan (NDP) for 2030 aims to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality, through collaborations between state officials and public citizens, with a specific intent towards correcting historical inequities (NDP, 2030). Two key areas within the goals of the NDP supporting the need for this research study are improving the quality of education and building safer communities.

The education sector is recognized as a vital partner towards building an inclusive society in which equal opportunities and poverty reduction are potentially realized. Education is seen as critical to the attainment of most of the goals outlined in the NDP, including health challenges. Protests on educational sites have occurred beyond the university to include colleges, Technikons and secondary schools. Staff, learners, students and at times parents have been involved in education-linked protests, highlighting education as a 'site' greatly impacted by social injustices, but also holding potential to support socio-economic redress and reduce poverty.

While protest is a legally sanctioned practice as per the Regulation of Gatherings Act (1993), some of these protests have been described as violent. Violent protests have been used to rationalize instances of police brutality in alleged efforts to 'disperse the crowd' or for police to 'defend themselves' against aggressive protestors. It is a concern that the expression of a constitutional right becomes violent and is met with

violence as a response within a Democratic state. It is equally concerning that these events seemingly support the argument that South Africa has reverted (remained?) a repressive state, characteristic of both Colonial and Apartheid rule (Duncan, 2016). The many incidents of protest violence extending beyond institutions of learning and across key sectors within the broader Post-Apartheid South African context indicate deeper issues that warrant further research. Research with the specific aim to identify how violence manifests and what it may be an expression of, within the context of protest, holds potential insights that may inform strategies undertaken by relevant authorities, stakeholders, and members of the public to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality towards the objectives outlined in the NDP.

1.4.2. Research Question.

How did violence manifest during RMF (UCT) 2015-2016 and what was this violence an expression of?

1.4.3. Research Aim.

To describe and explain both the manifestation and expression of violence during RMF (UCT) 2015-2016.

1.4.4. Research Objectives.

- To identify the ways in which violence manifested during RMF (UCT) 2015-2016.
- To analyze the conditions which may explain how violence found expression during RMF (UCT) 2015-2016.
- To investigate and analyze the consequences of participation in protest during RMF (UCT) 2015-2016 for health and well-being.

1.4.5. Research Purpose.

The findings of this study can be used to inform Transformation and Decolonization agendas within institutions of Higher Education in Post-Apartheid South Africa. Furthermore, it is a specific purpose of this study to inform understandings of violence

and protest as human occupation(s). These findings will potentially inform the role and scope of occupational therapy within contexts characterized by violence. Lastly, in recognition that there is a predominant focus on 'positive' occupations and a lack of scholarship on more 'negative' forms of human occupation, this research intends to contribute to theory developments from the Global South within the discipline of occupational science.

Chapter 2: ‘Violence’ within Protest: A review of the Literature⁴.

This chapter offers an overview of the various components of the research issue. Firstly, I identify the characteristics of the Post-Apartheid context and position Post-Apartheid South Africa as a ‘violent’ and wounded context. Secondly, the concept of ‘violence within protest’ is revisited, noting repression of protest as characteristic of the Post-Apartheid context. Thirdly, I explore the concept of ‘violence’ through consideration of various definitions, forms, and perspectives with a particular interest in how they might manifest within protest. Thereafter, I explore the consequences of participating in protest on the health and wellbeing of activists and questions the responsibility of the Occupational Therapy (OT) profession and discipline of Occupational Science (OS) towards these potential service-users and research population. Lastly, I address the notable silence of OT and OS regarding research and/or practice that considers ‘violence’ within protest from an occupational perspective, despite the potential insights such a perspective may offer.

2.1. Establishing Context.

Context is defined as “an envionring experienced world (situation)” that is generative of action (Cutchin et al., 2008: 161). This framing recognizes the power context holds to shape or determine human action, whether supporting and/or constraining it. Of particular interest to this study is how human agency is experienced within and influenced by context, more specifically how it shapes and is generative of social action (Motimele, 2022). Agency is understood as “a temporally embedded process of social engagement, informed by the past, but also oriented toward the future and toward the present” (Emibayer & Miche, 1998: 962). Consideration of human agency as demonstrated collectively, extends this process beyond the individual to consider the social realities of groups/groupings within context. Such a perspective holds potential to yield valuable data relating to the social groups/groupings under consideration and aspects of context that may not otherwise find expression from a purely individual perspective (Heron, 2008).

⁴ Portions of this chapter have been published in (Motimele, Ramugondo & Matebeni, 2024).

The need to define the Post-Apartheid South African context is informed by the transactional relationship between person and context within occupational science literature (Dickie, Cutchin & Humphrey, 2006). As this study aimed to understand human action within context - a transactional perspective of context allowed me to consider persons and contexts as co-constitutive entities.

2.1.1. Violence within the context of Protest

'Protest violence' has been discussed in the introduction of this study and is understood as damage to property and/or injuries to persons during protest (Runciman, Maruping & Moloto, 2017). Protest violence is generally understood as direct violence almost always enacted by the protesters against things, namely, property, buildings, and/or art. In response, state-sanctioned violence is used to respond to violent protestors, through deploying tear-gas, shooting rubber/live ammunition and at times brutal arrests. It seems, therefore, that violence is 'co-constructed' by protesting persons and law-enforcement bodies such as the police. Considering 'violence' in the context of protest, however, alerts us to the point that those that maintain and enforce constraining and violent social conditions are not implicated in the discourse of 'violent' protests.

2.1.2. (Repression of) Protest as Characteristic of Post-Apartheid South Africa

If indeed context is generative of action (Cutchin et al., 2008), then it becomes imperative to understand how the Post-Apartheid South African context influences and/or impacts protest action within institutions of higher learning such as UCT. To find a definition for the term 'protest' proved a challenge. Other terms used to refer to protests included picketing, demonstrations, and social movements. Most suitable for this study is a definition offered by Duncan (2016; 1) in her book *"Protest Nation: The Right to Protest in South Africa"*, defines protest as any "expressive acts that communicate grievances through disruption of existing societal arrangements". Interestingly, the Regulation of Gatherings Act 205 of 1993, still enforced today - does not contain any mention of the word 'protest, but rather 'demonstration' and 'gathering'. A 'gathering' within the act is defined as,

“any assembly, concourse, or procession of more than 15 persons in or on any public road as defined in the Road Traffic Act, 1989 (Act 29 of 1989), or any other public place or premises wholly or partly open to the air:

- (a) at which the principles, policy, actions, or failure to act of any government, political party or political organization, whether or not that party or organization is registered in terms of any applicable law, are discussed, attacked, criticized, promoted or propagated; or
- (b) held to form pressure groups, to hand over petitions to any person, or to mobilize or demonstrate support for or opposition to the views, principles, policy, actions or omissions of any person or body of persons or institution, including any government, administration, or governmental institution” (SAPS website).

Protest can therefore be understood as *any action taken in objection to unjust ideologies, structures and institutions that result in and/or perpetuate social inequality*. Protest therefore potentially becomes a potent weapon for those who do not have access to legitimized forms of power and who are ignored by those who do.

Protests in South Africa have ranged from issues of land, housing, racism, labour, gender, health, education, and service delivery. Although there have been some that were peaceful, the majority have escalated towards what is described as ‘violence’ from either the state (enacted by police), protestors themselves, or both. In some cases, protests have resulted in the loss of human life. This information paints a picture of participation in protest as a potentially high-risk, life-threatening exercise. Statistics and records that give exact numbers of protests, whether ‘violent’ or otherwise, were not readily available online. South African Police Service (SAPS) records do not explicitly mention protest but instead refer to ‘crowd-related’ or ‘public order’ incidents, as ‘peaceful’ or those of ‘unrest’, lacking specificity in terms of incidents of ‘violence’ (see table 1). Unrest related incidents refer to “uprising, looting and persistent civil disobedience” (SAPS annual crime report, 2020/2021: 60). From the table below, we see that unrest-related incidents were on the rise with a drop in 2019/2020 and 2020/2021 periods. These drops are attributed to COVID-19 restrictions in the beginning of 2020 that prohibited and then limited public gatherings until 2021. Surprisingly, peaceful incidents increased in the 2019/2020 period, despite COVID-19 restrictions, warranting further investigation into the meaning and purpose associated with individual and/or collective participation in protest, the methods chosen within the South African context and the situations that result in these being deemed ‘violent’.

Table 1: Crowd-related Incidents (SAPS Annual Crime Report 2020/2021).

Type of crowd-related incident	Numbers 2017/2018	Numbers 2018/2019	Numbers 2019/2020	Numbers 2020/2021
Peaceful incidents	11 058	10 322	12 244	5068
Unrest-related incidents	3583	4277	3636	2680
Total	14 641	14 599	15 880	7748

Mbele (2016) argues that protests are an expression of political consciousness and an attempt or opportunity for the Other⁵ to voice their experience of injustice, demanding acknowledgment, and recognition of presence as (de)valued members of society, through inclusion in any initiatives that concern them. This view differs from that of a previous police commissioner Khomotso Phahlane, that ‘unrest’ as a result of protest action was “taking the police away from what they are supposed to be doing: dealing with serious crimes” (Jordaan, 2016: para. 3). This statement is particularly telling as this implies that the police do not identify social inequality as a ‘serious crime’ and may have limited insight into the inaccessibility/ineffectiveness of existing structures that deter protesters from expressing their grievances ‘responsibly’. Policing then potentially becomes about surveillance and repression of protest rather than “a people-oriented service...for the community by the community with the emphasis on the fundamental rights of all the peoples of South Africa” as per the SAPS mandate (SAPS Website, 2016, para. 2).

Poor and ambiguous record keeping of protest incidents is flagged here, as a point of concern. Alexander, Runciman and Maruping (2016) in their review of the usefulness of police data (gathered within South Africa’s Incident Registration Information System (IRIS) database) within protest analysis, raise a number of concerns regarding interpretations, understandings, and use of the data. These include the lack of differentiation between protest and public order incidents or crowd eventualities. They caution that any interpretation(s) of the data should be done “judiciously” (Alexander

⁵ Other: “Otherness in postcolonial criticism refers to colonized peoples who are marginalized by the imperial and identified by their difference from the center” (Dimitrijovska-Jankulovska & Denkovska, 2023: 47).

et al., 2016: 9) to prevent misuse due to misinterpretation. The issue of 'violence' within crowd-related incidents or protests is identified as a particular area of contention where misuse and misinterpretation of data is rife. The controversy regarding interpretation of the data lies within the (mis)use of such data to criminalize non-violent protest and to justify 'violent', repressive responses from the state and/or relevant authority bodies in protests described as 'violent'. Conditions warranting protest often remain after the protest has been quelled, calling for investigation of the situations that demand and manifest protest, including the strategies implemented and actions taken by those in power to respond, encourage or repress protest.

2.2. Understanding Violence.

2.2.1. Forms of Violence

Johan Galtung, a Norwegian sociologist best known as a principal founder of Violence and Peace Research defines violence as; 'the avoidable impairment of fundamental human needs or life which makes it impossible or difficult for people to meet their needs or achieve their full potential', including the threat to use force (Galtung, 1990: 292). He differentiates between structural, cultural, and direct violence and in so doing gives voice to both visible and invisible manifestations of this phenomenon, clearly outlining the role and influence of context. These three aspects were useful in framing the scope of this research and were used to flesh-out a comprehensive understanding of violence.

Direct violence involves physical force, including verbal threats (Galtung, 1990). This definition encompasses the action-focus emphasized by the WHO's definition and is both personal and visible. Galtung (1969) proposes that direct violence is linked and, in most cases, caused by structural and cultural violence respectively. Structural violence occurs when discriminative practices and unequal favour are characteristic of the social systems that govern immediate communities and larger societies throughout the world and is defined by Galtung (1969: 170) as occurring when: "violence is built into the structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances". Structural violence is characterized by a lack of a clear subject-object as within direct violence; therefore, no recognizable action is evident, thereby making it harder to recognize, or articulate within a specific incident. Cultural

violence sees the interplay between individuals and structures and is defined as “those aspects of culture that can be used to justify or legitimate the use of direct or structural violence” (Galtung, 1990: 291). If culture is understood as a shared set of basic assumptions and values, with resultant behavioural norms, attitudes and beliefs which manifest themselves in systems and institutions as well as behavioural patterns and non-behavioural items e.g., art and artefacts (Livesey & Lawson, 2008) then we see how violence can become normalized and accepted as a characteristic of context. Considering the concepts of structural and cultural violence within Post-Apartheid South Africa affords recognition of latent hegemonies rooted in past Colonial and Apartheid eras, as context.

Epistemic and Epistemological are related constructs that expose violence concerned with discourse and knowledge construction. Epistemic violence refers to violence inflicted by the active obstruction of non-Western approaches to knowledge (Spivak, 1988). Epistemological violence refers to “the interpretation of social-scientific data on the Other and is produced when empirical data are interpreted as showing the inferiority of or problematizes the Other, even when data allow for equally viable alternative interpretations” (Teo, 2010: 295). With application to institutions of higher education within the Post-Apartheid South African context, these concepts need to be explored together with the concept of power to expose the violence of domination. Power is defined by Flyvberg (1998: 319) as “knowledge” and vice versa. He argues that power and knowledge are terms that cannot be separated if one is to understand them fully, including how they contribute to and perpetuate domination, “power procures the knowledge which supports its purposes, while it ignores or suppresses that knowledge which does not serve it” (Flyvberg, 1998: 319). If the university is considered an institution primarily concerned with knowledge production (Castells, 2009), one has to interrogate the purpose of the university within Post-Apartheid South Africa, including an analysis of what the procured(preferred) knowledge implies about existing power-relations within the institution and the broader Post-Apartheid context.

Forms of violence allow for the contours of violence to emerge, but still do not offer an explanation as to what exactly various forms of ‘violence’ might be an expression of. Exploring perspectives of ‘violence’ allows for further consideration of what violence may embody, symbolize and or represent. These perspectives were equally

considered to avoid compartmentalizing violence, through consideration of a singular perspective or form, rather than considering the complex processes that link various perspectives and manifest various forms of violence (Krause, 2019).

2.3. Perspectives of Violence.

2.3.1. Social Perspectives of Violence.

Jackman (2002) in an article critiquing the narrowly focused exploration of violence in sociology provides a seemingly vague yet contextually reflective understanding of violence. She defines violence as; “Actions that inflict, threaten or cause injury. Actions may be corporal, written or verbal. Injuries may be corporal, psychological, material, and social” (Jackman, 2002; 405). This definition is useful as it allows for the intent, action, and consequence of violence to be analyzed within context. Violence from a social perspective is understood as a social phenomenon, shaped by a historical context, and reflecting power relationships (Blume, 1996; Muehlenhard & Kimes, 1999). Such a perspective allows for interrogation of violence as a dominant social strategy, including the social structures that make it possible and the meaning derived for those who use it (Jackman, 2002; Wieviorka, 2014).

Although ‘violence’ has and continues to occur globally, a social perspective of violence allows one to foreground context in efforts to understand *social situations that create and/or fuel violence*. More specifically, the predominant focus does not lie with reasons for the occurrence/existence of ‘violence’, but rather with why this “naturally occurring, socially undesirable activity happens more in some circumstances than in others?” (Blume, 1996: 9). From a social perspective, individuals are understood through their shared experiences, whether cultural, familial, or societal, emphasizing a focus on common experience within context. Such a perspective demands the analysis of shared experiences that result in South Africa’s culture of ‘violence’ (Hamber & Lewis, 1997) and subsequent ‘violent’ society. This perspective, unlike biomedical perspectives of violence, regards violence as a natural human behaviour and addresses the role of social influences in shaping expressions of violence and the associated meaning (Blume, 1996; Jackman, 2002), implying that ‘violence’ is relational in nature.

Below, I revisit Jackman's (2002: 405) definition in relation to the RMF protests at UCT. In so doing I highlight insights gained as well as remaining questions that warranted further study.

‘Actions that inflict, threaten or cause injury.
Actions may be corporal, written or verbal.
Injuries may be corporal, psychological, material, and social.’

With application to RMF, this definition of violence enables consideration of various forms of violence (direct, structural, cultural, institutional, epistemic etc.) removing focus from its physical manifestation and the narrow framing of power as physical force. The following questions arise: What constitutes a ‘violent’ action? How might ‘violent’ actions manifest beyond a physical/tangible form? Are complex processes of dehumanization considered as a set or sets of actions? What constitutes injury? Where does injury lie? Who determines the injurious nature of actions deemed violent? What is the distinction between ‘inflicted, threatened or caused’? What are the dominant social values and norms inherent in this framing? In short – how did ‘violence’ as a social phenomenon manifest and find expression within the RMF protests? How were manifestations of ‘violence’ within RMF shaped by South-Africa’s historical context and how might these manifestations reflect existing power relationships?

Consideration of the ‘processes/es of violence’ rather than merely ‘actions’ allows for context to emerge as a key role-player in the quest to understand ‘violence’ as it manifested during RMF at UCT. Secondly, although Jackman’s definition (2002) begins to unpack how ‘injury’ may manifest corporally, psychologically, materially, and socially, there are key aspects of the experience and impact of violence that are overlooked. More specifically, she neglects the human spirit as a site of injury or violence. Considering spirituality in the investigation of ‘violence’ within RMF required that I acknowledge both the social and spiritual dimensions of human relations and how these manifested what was experienced as ‘violence’.

Wieviorka (2014: 62) calls for a new focus within studies concerning violence that place the subject central to analysis. He argues that in so doing one is able to explore both the meaning of violence for the subjects who use it and how this meaning may

relate to “processes of subjectivation and desubjectivation”, that inform violence. Subjectivation and desubjectivation refer to the construction and deconstruction of the individual subject (human-being) as influenced by and experienced within context. Both processes are recognized as dynamic and are influenced by dominant forms of knowledge and techniques of power. Therefore, to understand how ‘violence’ manifested within RMF, I had to consider how the subject (RMF student activists) negotiates being and how their context allowed or constrained this pursuit. I also had to consider their experiences of UCT as an institution to identify the norms and values that were experienced by RMF student activists as violent. Lastly, while reviewing relevant literature, I noticed a lack of first-person narrative accounts of experiences of violence within the context of protest from various social actors. I recognized that this may be due to the risk of prosecution and/or victimization and was prompted to consider how I might collect first person narratives of experiences of violence within the RMF protests at minimal risk to my participants. This is further unpacked in Chapter 4.

2.3.2. Political Perspectives of Violence.

A political perspective of ‘violence’ considers “the deliberate use of power and force to achieve political goals” (WHO, 2002). Sousa (2013:170) frames political violence as closely related to structural violence as both are social structures of inequality and oppression that constrain the ability of social groups to realize their “full human potential”. This perspective identifies the struggle for power as a characteristic of violence and is concerned with resistance against systems of oppression and/or state repression of resistance movements, portraying ‘violence’ as a form of political power or agency (Munck, 2008; Sousa 2013). A political perspective of violence emphasizes violence as a tool within the ‘game’ of oppression and liberation, and positions violence as an expression of authority and a potentially justified necessity towards self-defense and/or resistance (Wintemute et al., 2023, Bernhard & O’Niel, 2020). Within coloniality, power is recognized as a structure of dominance and control organized around a matrix (Quijano, 2000). This colonial matrix of power is responsible for the continued “...produc[tion of] marginal societies, cultures, and human beings” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2016: 55). It was therefore important for me to investigate the oppressive conditions

within UCT and resistance against them within coloniality to reveal the politics of violence as they manifested during RMF.

‘Political violence’ also refers to forms of violence that occur during political demonstrations and/or are related to governance, political events, election-campaigns, and tensions between political parties. Examples of this in South Africa include “election-related violence” (Yusuf & Mutereko, 2019:179), service delivery protests, police brutality and vigilantism (Thomas, 2018), “terrorist activities” (Claasen, 1994) and assassinations linked to corruption and/or factionalism (Krelekrele, 2018), human rights violations and protests (Davenport et al., 2019). The role of the media is problematized for narrow and partial framing of what is considered political violence and how it is understood (Smith, 2009; Radu, Morwe & Bird, 2012; Jacobs & Wasserman, 2018). It was therefore important to consider media reports that framed the RMF protests as ‘violent’ in order to determine how these may have influenced dominant understandings and perspectives of ‘violence’ during the time.

Considering the research issue and interest, a political perspective of violence is particularly helpful towards understanding manifestations of violence within the context of protest, especially as this relates to the politics of identity and recognition and the distribution of material resources (Boswell, 2020). Sikweyiya and Nkosi (2017: 1), argue that public protests are the result of limiting political and socio-economic conditions, that reflect a “gendered division of public and private spaces”. They draw attention to the fact that gendered perspectives of violence within public protest remain poorly researched despite the influential role of gendered identities and structures towards how violence within protest continues to manifest in South Africa.

2.3.3. Gendered Perspectives of Violence.

A gendered perspective of violence considers the ‘Othering’ and dehumanization of both women and men as a result of social and historical gender relations (Salo, 2005). What is most disconcerting is the prevalence and legitimization of the subordinate status of women and girls in society, both publicly and privately. This exposes the disempowerment and social control of more than 50% of the world population as a result of issues of identity and power (Mama, 2001). Gender is a social construct that

reflects binary articulations of “socially determined ideas and practices of what it is to be female or male” (Reeves & Baden, 2000: 30). Of particular interest when considering a gendered perspective of violence is the process of gendering itself, more specifically how this process is “shaped in and through violence” (Salo, 2005: 2).

Martin (2003) argues that gendering processes are enacted, enforced, and perpetuated in two closely linked processes: the practicing of gender and gendering practices. The practicing of gender refers to social processes that shape identity and determine demands and expectations of behaviour based on one’s gender markers or sex, whereas gendering practices refer to “a class of activities that are available...for people to enact in an encounter or situation in accord with (or in violation of) the gender institution” (Martin, 2003: 354). Gendering is a ‘violent’ process for several reasons: firstly, on the grounds of exclusion and denial of presence. The binary male or female categories assigned do not consider those who are neither male nor female. Intersexed and transgendered individuals are excluded from general society if they cannot adopt either a male or female identity expressed within gendered parameters. This population is therefore denied existence, identity, and power because of unyielding binary boundaries. Violence against this group of individuals is also legitimized through classification of intersexed and transgendered persons as symptoms of mental and physical pathology. Kaggwa (2011: 231) in his piece ‘Intersex: the forgotten constituency’ shares his experiences of being born into an ‘atypical body’ as exclusionary and dehumanizing. His reflections outline the struggle to conform into the assigned female gender and the multiple forms of violence and levels of disempowerment this exposed him to. Perpetrators of ‘violence’ in this case ranged from institutions such as the church, health, and education systems, to the public, public spaces, family members, friends, and lovers. What is perhaps most profound about his reflections is the recognition of his experience as one of power; more specifically the power ‘normal and popular’ structures have on one’s experience of diversity, agency and of being (Kaggwa, 2011).

Secondly, gendering is ‘violent’ for its central role in perpetuating hegemonic sexuality and sexual hierarchies that dehumanize, pathologize and exclude those who do not identify with a heterosexual identity (Artz, 2009). Mama’s (2001: 67) argument that “identity is all about power and resistance, subjection and citizenship, action and

reaction” is especially evident with regard to issues of gender and sexuality. Lastly, gendering is violent because it results in ascription to hegemonic violent masculinities and the socially entrenched practice of policing and controlling femininities (Connell, 1995; Salo, 2005; Ratele, 2011; Gqola, 2015). In so doing, these processes sanction and perpetuate gendering practices and the practicing of gender as normal and acceptable ways of relating. Within the Post-Apartheid South African context, this manifests in high incidents of gender-based violence including intimate-partner/domestic violence, sexual harassment, assault, and rape, (Artz, 2009). These expressions of ‘violence’ are informed and perpetuated through patriarchal notions of power (within relationships, families, and institutions) that are harmful to women, children, and men themselves. Gender-based violence, is therefore committed by men against women as an enactment of power and as an expression of hegemonic masculine identity (Artz, 2009; Ratele 2011). In reference to RMF, the gendered conflicts and sexual violence that were reported during the occupations and other RMF activities, signaled that it was important to recruit participants that could speak to the gendered dynamics during the RMF protests that manifested and were experienced as ‘violence’.

2.4. Violence within Protest: Consequences for Health and Wellbeing?

‘Health’ is a contested concept without a single, universal definition (McCartney et al, 2019). ‘Wellbeing’ is an equally contested term and a multifaceted phenomenon, understandings of which are closely related to and interchanged with health and informed by professional training. Wellbeing or ‘being well’ is generally considered as one’s quality of life, or the human need “to live a life of quality” (Ng & Fisher, 2013: 308). The WHO (1948) has maintained its definition of health as: “a state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity”. While progressive, this definition omits the often-complex process through which efforts towards health and wellbeing may be negotiated. Recognizing health and wellbeing as negotiated situates people within their contexts and recognizes the influence each has on the other.

Recent theory development from occupational therapists in the Global South argue for health as a dynamic process, negotiated through daily occupational engagement

within context, recognized for its individual and collective dimensions (Ramugondo, 2017). This perspective affords analysis of the consequences of everyday doing such as participation in protest and associated 'violence' for individual and collective experiences of health and wellbeing. The consequences of 'violence' within protest for collective experiences of health and wellbeing have been minimally explored (Sousa, 2013), especially within occupational science and occupational therapy in South Africa (Young, 2021). Studies within the discipline or profession that do consider the consequences of violence for health and wellbeing generally do so from the consideration of particular forms of violence namely, Gender-Based Violence (GBV), sexual violence, youth-violence and political violence and often do not consider the multiple forms of 'violence(s)' people experience during protest, and the often collective and cumulative effects on health and wellbeing over time, such as in the case of collective trauma (Rivara et al., 2019; Mthembu, 2021).

The Ottawa Charter for Health promotion (1986: para. 3) describes health as "a resource for everyday life, not the object of living. It is a positive concept emphasizing social and personal resources as well as physical capabilities". Although recognizing health as a means, or a form of 'capital' allowing people to experience daily life, it does not consider one's context and how its configuration may afford or constrain experiences of health within daily life. Boyd (2000) recognizes that concepts such as disease, illness, health, healing, and illness may be elusive and difficult to define due to associated value-judgements needed to recognize and name them as such. Who decides whether one is healthy? How is such a state embodied, embedded, or expressed? These questions encourage analysis of socio-political aspects of context and the consequences for those negotiating these aspects for their experiences of health and wellbeing.

Ni et al (2020) conducted a systematic review of mental health during and after protests, riots, and revolutions, recognizing that although protests and riots were common occurrences across the globe, the impact on mental health remains largely unknown. Some consequences included Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and major depressive episodes. Gender, low socio-economic status, and exposure to 'violence' were key risk factors for poorer mental health. Contrary to this, few studies reported participation in collective action as reducing depression and suicidal feelings.

In her discussion on the impact of activism on health and wellbeing, Cox (2014) shares the results of a survey that collected 151 accounts of activists' experiences. One of the questions was concerned with how participation in activism affected individuals' experiences of health and wellbeing. Cox (2014) found that positive and negative responses roughly mirrored each other (table 2), supporting the need for research that would be able to consider this topic with its multiple, interrelated complexities. Although providing some insight, the survey participants were concentrated in Australasia and had a significant bias towards non-indigenous people, warranting further investigation into the experience of indigenous/ first people within their respective contexts. In addition, no specific mention of 'violence' experienced within protest was made outside of trauma from clashes with police, highlighting the need for research that investigates what is meant and understood by the term 'violence' and how it manifests within situations of protest in South Africa specifically.

Table 2: Positive vs Negative consequences of activism on individuals' experiences of health and wellbeing (Cox, 2014).

Positive Consequences	Negative Consequences.
<i>A sense of empowerment, purpose and confidence.</i> Participants felt empowered, inspired and positive around the activists they worked with. The opportunity to offer and learn skills built their confidence and contributed to a sense of purpose and achievement, gained from campaigning and positive outcomes.	<i>Stress, exhaustion, burnout and trauma.</i> Participants reported feelings of helplessness, depression and fatigue. Activism work often required long hours outside of regular working hours and family demands and commitments, resulting in exhaustion and burnout. Experiences of trauma were attributed to clashes with police and vicarious trauma from the 'daily weight of despair' from their respective environmental situations.
<i>Support networks, community and friendships.</i> Participants felt validated and inspired through gathering and spending time with those in the activist community and with close friends with whom they shared passions. They viewed this sense of	<i>Internal conflicts and identity politics, bullying and discrimination.</i> Participants reported dysfunctional group dynamics, resulting from conflicts linked to identity politics, bullying, discrimination, not debriefing after intense actions and poor evaluation

community and support as essential to their health and wellbeing.	measures within activist communities. This resulted in feelings of anxiety, fear and depression as a result of exposure to abusive/predatory people within activism.
<i>Resilience.</i> Participants were motivated to be strong and resilient through exercise, good food and emotional support. They recognised the importance of self-care and finding balance towards maintaining health and wellbeing. This was seen as crucial to being an effective activist.	<i>Less time for self-care, family, friends and life-maintenance.</i> Participants reported activist culture that encouraged deprioritizing individual health for campaign needs. This resulted in less time for activities that maintain health e.g. sleep, exercise, family-care, time with friends, intimate relationships and ensuring home-order.
<i>Healthy habits.</i> Participants who were part of peer group and organisations that prioritised and supported the health of their members, reported low levels of stress because of being physically active and eating healthy, less-processed foods.	<i>Unhealthy habits.</i> Peer cultures within activism that had a negative effect on individuals' health and wellbeing included: demands outside of worktime, smoking, excessive drinking, poor eating and a lack of exercise and routine. This raised feelings of overwhelm and stress.

Liu et al. (2020) explored the effects of political protests on youth, human capital, and wellbeing in Egypt. They found that even with the high prevalence of protests in the region, few studies examined the effects on and consequences for population health, especially for the youth, who were exposed to and participated in protest more frequently. The consequences uncovered included increased stress due to uncertainty about the future, decreased social trust and poor experiences of mental health. Davenport et al. (2019) explore the political and economic consequences of contention, in reference to genocide, civil war, state repression/human rights violation, terrorism and protest. They too call attention to the lack of research on this topic and the need for further investigation for consequences beyond democracy and economic development, including health.

The #Asinemali protests in the higher-education sector in South Africa have highlighted police brutality as the biggest threat to health and wellbeing during protest that turns 'violent', resulting in multiple consequences for participants, especially mental health issues. This is often due to the trauma from 'violence' witnessed and experienced during protest. In contrast, Khambule et al. (2019), in their article discussing the social cost of 'violent' and destructive service delivery protests in South Africa, problematize the destruction of social infrastructure by protestors, arguing that this compromises or undermines the capabilities of the people in the relevant community or institution, through destroying what they need. Destruction of schools or places of employment during service delivery protests that turn 'violent' is recognized for its negative impact on access to amenities, employment, and education for those living in the affected communities, negatively impacting experiences of health and wellbeing.

Fees Must Fall (FMF) activist Tshepiso Modupe, flags that there has been insufficient attention given to the trauma FMF activists experienced during these protests. She describes the toll of participation in protest on her health as an experience of "mental degradation" and trauma, which had her hallucinating and feeling "completely out of touch" and resulted in admission to a psychiatric hospital (Modupe, 2018: 123). UCT, in May 2022, hosted "The Aftermath Exhibition: Violence and wellbeing in the context of the student movement." followed by a panel on "Restoring Wellbeing after Protest" (UCT News, 2022: para. 3-4). Although 'wounds' were acknowledged, there was no active engagement with management from the represented institutions with regards to how the insights gained from this research and panel discussion might inform institutional culture, student wellness services and initiatives and responses to student protest in future.

The contradictions, contrasts, gaps, and varying perspectives pointed out in the above sections calls for a more thorough interrogation into what exactly constituted 'violence' within the RMF protests and investigation of the consequences of participation in protest for activists' experiences of individual and collective health and wellbeing.

2.5. Violence within Protest: The notable silence of Occupational Therapy and Occupational Science.

OT is a profession concerned with meaningful occupation at both the individual and societal levels (Rege et al., 2017). Occupational therapists promote health and well-being through the therapeutic use of occupation, adopting intervention strategies that focus on collaboration with individuals, groups and/or communities “to enhance their ability to engage in the occupations they need to, want to, or are expected to do” (WFOT, 2013: para. 1). Intervention strategies can also include modification of the occupation or the environment to facilitate and support occupational engagement (WFOT, 2013). Occupational Science is a scientific discipline concerned with the “systematic study of the human as an occupational being” (Clark et al., 1991: 300). While occupational science expands the conceptual scholarship base for occupational therapy, occupational science in turn draws on occupational therapy’s practice-focused scholarship for further theorizing, outlining the importance for the discipline and profession to stay in close conversation regarding human occupation.

Violence is a minimally explored construct within both occupational therapy and occupational science. Twinley and Addidle (2012) in their opinion piece “Considering Violence: The Dark Side of Occupation” attributed this to a lack of understanding of violence as an occupation, a focus of occupational therapy on the individual, a foregrounding of health-promoting occupations and a higher focus within treatment on the rehabilitation of survivors of violence rather than the perpetrators of it. The authors encourage further exploration of violence as an occupation, through narrative, in order to understand the meaning(s) derived from participation in violence and the influence of context on one’s participation therein. While supporting their view that narrative might be a useful starting point to understanding violence as an occupation, a point of contention lies in Twinley and Addidle’s (2012) representation of ‘violence’ as anti-social and criminal. Such labels express a value-judgement that takes a blanket consideration of context and maintains research foci on tangible expressions of direct violence, minimizing invisible forms of violence, such as structural violence, that may be legal and/or socially accepted, often having long-lasting and indirect consequences. To consider violence as an occupation is to consider violence as a potential resource that is both “contextually embedded and embodied” (Kronenberg, 2018: 44). This perspective affords a lens through which a clearer understanding of

violence may emerge, including how it manifests within various contexts (such as protest) and what it may be an expression of.

Mthembu (2021), in his commentary on occupational justice and occupation-based community development frameworks for social transformation, reflects on the Marikana event and the applicability of these frameworks for communities that have experienced collective trauma. He recognizes the families of those who have experienced loss because of violence within protest as potential service-users who have not yet been considered within community-based occupational therapy interventions. Protest as an occupation is unpacked, situating it as an occupational justice issue that has implications for the health and wellbeing of involved and affected communities. These implications included stigma associated with being related to those involved in protest and the stress and grief of losing a loved one and breadwinner. Families of the miners killed during the Marikana event were further traumatized by re-witnessing the killings through media images and news broadcasts. Mthembu's work emphasizes the far-reaching consequences of violence within protest on the health and well-being of activists and their families, within communities. Occupational therapists are recognized as uniquely positioned to collaborate with communities towards implementing community-based programmes that "redress neglected problems and occupational injustices related to conditions of social reproduction" (Mthembu, 2021: 74).

In the past two decades, there has been a growing critique of research and interventions informed solely by biomedical frameworks, towards scholarship and practice that considers socio-political contexts and frameworks of human occupation and how these may shape occupation and influence people's experience(s) of health and well-being (Townsend & Wilcock, 2004; Pollard, Alsop & Kronenberg, 2005; Kronenberg & Pollard, 2006; Laliberte Rudman, 2010; Galvaan, 2012; Ramugondo & Kronenberg, 2013; Motimele & Ramugondo, 2014; Frank & Muriithi, 2015; Ramugondo & Kronenberg, 2015; Galvaan & Peters, 2017; Motimele & Peters, 2017; Laliberte Rudman et al., 2018; Sondag, Ramugondo & Kathard, 2019; Leadley et al, 2020; Gonçalves & Malfitano, 2020; Laliberte Rudman, 2021; van der Merwe, 2023). More recently, there are shifts in scholarship in occupational science and occupational therapy towards addressing the coloniality of human occupation and the implications

of this for further research and practice in OS and OT (Pollard, 2016; Ramugondo, 2018; Dirette, 2018; Kronenberg 2018, Galvaan, 2020; Guajardo Córdoba, 2020; Simaan, 2020; Emery-Whittington, 2021; Mthembu, 2021; Pooley & Beagan, 2021; Huff et al, 2020; Motimele, 2022; Akrofi et al., 2023; Peters et al., 2023; Ahmed-Landeryou, 2023; Mthembu et al., 2023). The many reports of violence within protest within higher education and the broader Post-Apartheid South African context indicates that this is an area that warrants further research within occupational science, with a specific focus on the implications of this phenomenon for the individual and collective health and wellbeing of participating activists. Furthermore, considering the relationship between OS and OT, any insights gained from such research has potential to inform the profession's scope of practice beyond individuals' occupational limitations experienced through disability to include interrogation of "the coloniality of doing" towards a "decoloniality of doing" (Ramugondo, 2018: 87).

Recognizing coloniality within the discipline of OS and profession of OT is necessary towards understanding why neither violence or protest have been investigated as expression(s) of human occupation, even though such scholarship has the potential to yield new insights into the complexities of both violence and protest as part of the broader human experience within context. The dominant Western ideologies informing the origins, history and trajectory of OS and OT, have surfaced the coloniality of power to prescribe the scope of research in OS and practice in OT without interrogation as to how the profession and discipline may be 'institutionally racist' (Ahmed-Landeryou, 2023: 32; Akrofi et al, 2023). It was therefore important to consider the coloniality of power within OS and OT, and how this continues to privilege the lived experience(s) of some while constraining, denying, ignoring, occluding and/or erasing the lived experience(s) of others.

2.6. Conclusion.

This section reviewed literature concerned with understanding violence within protest in Post-Apartheid South Africa. The various definitions, forms and perspectives of violence offered insight into the nature of 'violence' within protest and offered some important considerations required to gain a better understanding of how violence

manifested within RMF at UCT (2015-2016). These are discussed in more detail within Chapter 3 and 4.

Chapter 3: Developing a Critical-Decolonial Framework.

Paradigms or philosophies are shaped by ontological, epistemological, and methodological concerns (Asghar, 2013). The context in which they are developed is of vital importance when selecting an appropriate framework as it directly influences how the phenomenon under study is understood and approached by the researcher, including the interpretations made. Theoretical frameworks play a crucial role in the knowledge construction process and are foundational towards understanding the key variables and circumstances that inform phenomena of interest. Due to recognized issues of power and social justice inherent within the issue of 'violence' as witnessed within protest, I had initially considered either a Critical or Decolonial perspective as appropriate lenses through which to explore the issue(s).

Critical theory seeks human emancipation in circumstances of domination and oppression and should be simultaneously explanatory, practical, and normative (Nel, 2018). It is a tradition that offers a means to grasp social realities, identifying and making sense of societal ills (Thompson, 2017). A critical perspective considers social systems as constructed from the interaction between social identities and institutions, locating human action within issues of power and dominance as a reflection of social reality (Barker-Ruchti, 2012). 'Critique' lies at the core of this paradigm, calling for 'examination of both action and motivation' within people's social conditions, influencing the phenomena under study (Budd, 2008: 175). A particular strength of critical theory is its ability to recognize and analyze the social processes that constitute and influence individual and social life (Thompson, 2017), including the contestations, conflicts, and contradictions that are characteristic of it. Despite the suitable aspects described, for this study, a critical lens fell short in that critical theory does not establish a specific context, potentially occluding relevant historic and geo-political relations of power and efforts to maintain or disrupt them as context (Gordon, 2011), which may be central to understanding the case. Geo-political aspects of context extend beyond geography or physical location to acknowledge the colonial project and its central and continued influence on what is considered as knowledge, who are identified as knowers and who is positioned as a problem within society (Gordon, 2011). Of particular interest to this study was how human agency is experienced within and influenced by context and how it (context) continues to shape, disrupt and/or limit

social action. Without an explicit framing and labelling of context, the centrality of context towards understanding 'violence' within the RMF protests, is potentially missed and places critical theory at risk of reproducing the very same conditions it critiques.

Decolonial thinking emerged as a "counterpoint" at the same time as modernity/coloniality (Mignolo, 2011: 46) in response to the social order created by colonization and sustained through the creation of the modern world and subsequent coloniality. A decolonial perspective emphasizes coloniality as a foundational layer of context that is an ever-present influence on the conditions in which people live. This perspective recognizes the 'colonial matrix of power' (Quijano, 2000) as context and locates the nature of reality, knowledge and being within a 'power-differential' (Mignolo, 2013). Such a framework is inherently resistant to accepted and legitimized ways of knowing and being, recognizing their role in the creation, constraint, silencing, and dehumanization of the Other. Instead, this framework calls for the exploration of phenomena from the perspective of the 'non-being' (Fanon, 1967) within context, thereby enabling researchers to capture the voices of those denied voice, in their research area (Gautum & Luitel, 2013). A decolonial perspective aligned with descriptions of context and the demands outlined by RMF student activists at UCT and was a crucial lens towards establishing and framing context.

The intention behind developing a critical-decolonial framework was not merely to merge two perspectives but was rather an effort to simultaneously recognize, consider and center each framework's individual strengths to offer a more nuanced reading of the dynamics of power as shaped/influenced/determined by coloniality as context (and vice-versa) and how this interplay between power and context shapes social realities. More specifically, a critical-decolonial framework is sensitive to and critical towards issues of power and agency as determined by a context of coloniality towards decoloniality. This perspective exposes colonial configurations of context, while equally highlighting the need to critically interrogate structures, practices and processes that have become normalized, legalized, and accepted as potentially complicit in sustaining and reproducing this social order. A critical-decolonial perspective emphasizes the need to critically appraise hegemonic conceptualizations of truth, power, knowledge and being, within socio-historic events and conditions that explain how they were formed and how they endure, despite counter-hegemonic

resistance. The core considerations of a critical-decolonial framework are outlined in the table below. Thereafter, each aspect is briefly discussed, outlining how this framework enabled a comprehensive understanding of ‘violence’ as it manifested within the RMF protests.

Table 3: Key aspects of a Critical-Decolonial Framework⁶.

Key Aspects of Critical-Decolonial Framework	
Nature of Truth.	Contested. Multiple. Pluriversal.
Nature of Social Reality.	Configured. Contradictory. A collective and subjective experience.
Nature of Power	Productive and/or Oppressive aspects. Asymmetric. Hegemonic.
Nature of Being.	Authorized or denied. Relational.
Nature of Knowledge.	Historical. Political. Self-recognition as either colonized or colonizer.
The Researcher-participant Relationship.	Embedded. Complicit. Ideally co-constructors.

3.1. The Nature of Truth.

⁶ Please note that discussions regarding the nature of truth, social reality, power, being and knowledge in this chapter do not reflect the full philosophical depths of these aspects, but instead offer a brief description of how a critical-decolonial perspective conceptualizes each aspect. In addition, it is worth noting that both OT and OS are yet to articulate a framework of human occupation that addresses the nature of truth, social reality, power, being and knowledge. Instead, theorists within the discipline and profession have drawn from relevant philosophers to frame these aspects in relation to the aspect of human occupation under study (Larivière & Quintin, 2023).

Critical theory encourages interrogation of issues of power and justice in society that perpetuate singular, dominant perspectives of truth, questioning which social group's socio-historic experience is positioned as the truth (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2011). Hira (2016), in his article "*Decolonizing the Mind - A Theoretical Framework for Decolonizing the University*", argues that Western science has resulted in the production of lies which perpetuate coloniality. He explains that Western science can exercise and sustain these lies and dominance through manipulation of knowledge and facts. This is achieved by terminology that occludes/hides the experience of colonized peoples and the intention/ethics of the colonizers, excluding facts that expose colonial violence. He stresses that decolonial scholars should be concerned with exposing the lies that perpetuate coloniality rather than the search for a 'universal truth'. The search for a universal truth is recognized as a tool for maintaining mental slavery, perpetuating colonial bias, and controlling the constitution and production of knowledge (Hira, 2016; Hira & Grosfugel, 2020).

Mignolo (2018: x) defines pluriversality as an "entanglement of several cosmologies connected today in a power differential". A decolonial framework recognizes this power differential and seeks to give voice to hidden and oppressed cosmologies that are denied existence/legitimacy within coloniality. A critical-decolonial understanding of truth is therefore one that calls for interrogation and contestation of dominant perspectives of truth, problematizes the portrayal of truth as a singular, universal concept and exposes the dominance of western science and associated structures in controlling the production of knowledge. This framework was best suited towards this study as the aim was not to contribute towards a universal understanding of violence within protest, but rather to identify the multiple experiences, perspectives, and contestations of this phenomenon and to expose the conditions that continue to privilege a singular dominant perspective. In addition, the study aimed to expose the myths/lies perpetuated through hegemonic portrayals of 'violence' within protest and foreground counter-hegemonic perspectives and narratives of this phenomenon as shaped by context.

3.2. The Nature of Social Reality.

Social reality refers to the attitudes, beliefs and opinions that are held by the members of a society or a group and is understood as a collective process founded on agreement, that deeply impacts one's life (Taylor 2010). Critical theory posits that reality is created by man (Peca 2000) and is therefore a configured and dynamic system. It acknowledges that power is unevenly distributed and centres the study of power, more specifically who has the power to configure what is accepted as reality, whose experiences are privileged and whose are denied, ignored, excluded and/or silenced. Fuchs and Sandoval (2015) recognize the complex and contradictory nature of reality in that human social practices pose both risk and opportunity and are seen in terms that address ownership, private property, resource distribution, social struggles, power, resource control, exploitation, and domination. When viewed within the colonial matrix of power, we recognize that some (colonizers) have more power than others (the colonized) to agree on and inform social structures and institutions that become dominant and normative over time. It is in this way that colonization is recognized as a fact (Maldonado-Torres, 2016). This means that social reality, although a collective process, is also a subjective experience influenced by identity and issues of power within contexts of coloniality.

A critical-decolonial understanding of social reality recognizes the configured and contradictory nature of reality and highlights issues of dominance and oppression within the context of sustained coloniality. This perspective seeks to expose how these issues shape and de/legitimize experiences of reality, recognizing the power context holds to affirm or deny collective experiences as fact, informing their value and influence in shaping accepted social realities over time. Specific to the case, this perspective informed my decision to center the experiences of Black participants who offered counter-hegemonic perspectives of 'violence' within the RMF protests, as a social reality for colonized people that is continuously refuted or denied within coloniality.

3.3. The Nature of Power.

Power within critical theory is considered as "a basic constituent of human existence that works to shape the oppressive and productive nature of the human tradition" (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2011: 290). Critical theory posits that there are multiple forms

of power that are socially and historically constituted (Barker-Ruchti, 2012) and exist on a racial, sexual, gender and economic “axes of domination” (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2011: 289). Even so, the notion of power remains ambiguous in critical studies, warranting further research and analysis on the *conditions* that determine its productive and oppressive manifestations. The coloniality of power refers to the present, invisible, and unequal global power relations/conditions as rooted in a “colonial matrix of power” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012; Quijano 2000: 533). This matrix reflects a global system of domination and exploitation as characteristic of modernity and imperial capitalism (Mignolo, 2011). The nature of power within a critical-decolonial framework can therefore be considered as an asymmetric configuration of context that reflects colonial articulations of domination and hegemony, thereby perpetuating coloniality through modernity and imperial capitalism (Mignolo, 2011). This framing helped me recognize both the centrality and coloniality of power within situations of ‘violence’ within protest. This framing ensured that the asymmetric power relations that manifested ‘violence’ within the RMF protests were investigated and framed within coloniality.

3.4. The Nature of Being.

Within critical theory, Habermas (1987) put forward the concept of the ‘lifeworld’, referring to the person’s daily life and experiences within context, encompassing culture, social relations, and everyday communication. Habermas argued that one’s lifeworld is dominated by political and economic systems, indicating a dependent and constraining relationship between person(s) and their context(s), dominated by capitalism. Robinson (1983) introduced the concept of ‘racial capitalism’, exposing the racial nature of capitalism that Euro-centric critical theorists had failed to consider. Robinson highlighted the mutual dependence between capitalism and racism, identifying the former as a modern world system that was born of and dependent on slavery, violence, imperialism, and genocide (Kelley, 2017). This highlights the role of capitalism in differentiating human value, privileging some and constraining others through an inherently racist structure.

Within the colonial matrix of power, coloniality of being outlines the impact of colonization on experiences and understandings of the nature of being. Language is

recognized as an expression of being, and a mechanism for control and dehumanization within coloniality (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). The continued existence of coloniality has perpetuated suspicion regarding the humanity (and subsequent value) of colonized people through existing power structures and continued legitimized dehumanizing practices. This highlights the nature of being as expressions of relationships within context. It is the colonized-colonizer, Black-white power relation that Fanon considers in reference to “the zone of non-being” (Fanon, 1967: 2). The Black person, through interaction with the white person is designated the inhabitant of this “arid and sterile” zone due to unequal power relations that result in the continuous, normalized denial of the Black person’s humanity within context. A critical-decolonial framework therefore warrants identification and critique of political and economic systems and structures and their impact on human relationships within the context of resistance to coloniality that create and reproduce the experience of non-being. This framing ensured that ‘violence’ within the RMF protests was considered as an expression of being human and/or dehumanization as determined by coloniality.

3.5. The Nature of Knowledge.

A critical perspective posits that the nature of knowledge is historical and broadly political (Friesen, 2008), acknowledging the role of power and social positioning towards influencing what is considered as knowledge and presented as fact(s). From this perspective, conventional knowledge bases are identified and challenged through critique of social structures and systems that emerge through the analysis of discourse(s) in society (Nel 2018). ‘Subject (and subjectivity), object (and objectivity) and method (and methodology)’, are generally accepted components of what is considered knowledge within coloniality (Maldonado-Torres, 2016: 18). This general definition does not consider the influence of coloniality on dominant perspectives of knowledge. Within a decolonial perspective, it is acknowledged that understandings of concepts also express dominant ideologies of that time, highlighting their influence towards creating and maintaining hegemony and privilege through the control of systems and institutions. A decolonial lens recognizes the existence and experiences of oppressed and marginalized groups and the discriminative systems that ensure their experience of humanity within the zone of non-being. The components of knowledge outlined by Maldonado-Torres within the colonial matrix of power, expose

how the myth of a universal, neutral, unbiased, and superior conceptualization of knowledge is perpetuated, thereby occluding, silencing, and erasing other conceptualizations of knowledge and knowing, framing their position as illegitimate and inferior (Grosfoguel 2013). A critical-decolonial perspective therefore critiques dominant knowledge bases and discourses and interrogates their historical and political roots, with the intention to uncover other knowledge(s) and knowers denied voice through coloniality. Relative to the case, I had to consider and critique dominant perspectives of 'violence' within protest, while centering the experiences and contributions of Black participants, whose knowledge, and ways of knowing remain "subject to colonial domination" (Ndlovu, 2018: 96).

3.6. The nature of the participant and researcher relationship

Critical analysis invites interrogation of socio-political and historical contexts in order to expose and challenge structures of power and provide alternative perspectives (Allen, 2017). Using this lens, researchers are invited to interrogate the nature of the participant and researcher relationship as embedded within the historical and socio-political conditions within academic institutions. More specifically, the structures of power that privilege researchers, positioning them as the experts in making sense of the experience(s) of study participants and how this might contribute to sustaining and reproducing the status quo. Re-emphasizing coloniality as context, the researcher-participant relationship is exposed as an expression of privilege on the part of the researcher and as a potential site of epistemological violence, often resulting in epistemicide on the part of the researched Other (Teo, 2010; Raheim et al., 2016). Teo, conceptualizes epistemological violence as "the interpretation of social-scientific data on the Other that is presented as knowledge" (Teo 2010, 295). This 'knowledge' is violent in that interpretations made problematize and subjugate the Other, despite various, alternative options. Teo draws attention to the risk of perpetuating epistemological violence should researchers not interrogate standard research processes, ethics, traditions, and methods within the academic context, that might perpetuate this practice.

Within a critical-decolonial framework, the participant-researcher relationship is recognized as embedded within the colonial matrix of power and is positioned as

potentially complicit in maintaining coloniality within academic institutions. This perspective demands interrogation of the position and intention of the researcher, towards identifying standard research traditions and ethics that may perpetuate epistemological violence. A critical-decolonial framework aims to subvert the privilege inherent in the research process through questioning *whose ethics* are put forward as the standard and recognizing decolonial ethics and research practices that position participants as co-constructors within research, thereby seeking and utilizing collaborative approaches and methods, while maintaining a critical lens.

3.7. Conclusion.

A critical-decolonial perspective allowed for recognition of hegemonic conceptualizations of both 'violence' and protest, centering them as contested, historic and political phenomena reproduced through coloniality. Using this framework situated the colonial matrix of power as a foundational layer of context towards understanding and explaining how dominant structure(s) within and beyond the academic institution, afforded or constrained the agency of oppressed groups within this social order. This approach enabled me to resist epistemological violence through centering the voices, perspectives, and interpretations of those within the zone of non-being, inviting collaboration through methods that acknowledged participants as knowers and generators of knowledge and situating them as experts towards interpreting and understanding the research issue. A critical-decolonial framework supported a nuanced understanding of counter-hegemonic resistance, including how and why it manifests within coloniality, despite institutional authorities denying, ignoring, or problematizing this framing.

Chapter 4: Blending Case Study and Narrative Inquiry Methods.

This study followed a qualitative research design as I aimed to investigate and identify the dynamics that created and influenced violence within the RMF protests and its given meaning for the relevant social actors (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Most relevant to this study was this research design's ability to recognize multiple layers of context, including intersections of these layers with each other to influence/impact social experience. In addition, a qualitative approach allowed for the study of a central phenomenon, in this case violence within the context of the RMF protests, from the perspective of social relations (Flick, 2014). This allowed for consideration of the actions, practices and processes that manifested 'violence' during RMF, including what said 'violence' may be an expression of.

4.1. Positionality.

I am a Black womxn negotiating a dignified existence in Post-Apartheid South Africa. I speak, think, and contribute from the Global South and zone of non-being (Dados & Connell, 2012; Fanon, 1963). This means that I identify as a colonized person, in an anti-Black institution, society and world. I recognize coloniality as an ongoing dehumanizing and anti-Black global system of power that endures and reproduces itself. This configuration of context demands that I participate in my own oppression, as I negotiate my humanity and navigate everyday life (Motimele, 2022). To counter this, I work towards decoloniality, in my research, practice, personal relationships and social spaces. Decoloniality recognizes coloniality as context, thereby acknowledging the multiple constraints Black/indigenous/native people remain subject to, despite this being denied.

4.2. Incorporating Narrative Inquiry into Case Study Methods.

“We are interested in them for both their uniqueness and commonality. We seek to understand them. We would like to hear their stories.”
(Stake, 1995: 1)

Case study is a research approach that is concerned with “the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances” (Stake, 1995: xi). Case-study methods are popular within social sciences due to this approach's potential to support a search for understanding

through exploration, explanation, and description of “multi-faceted’ issues within their real-life contexts.” (Crowe et al., 2011: 1; Harrison et al., 2017). Case study is recommended when the phenomenon of interest and context are not clearly distinguishable (Yin, 2003) and allowed for selection and in-depth investigation of a complex issue, within a real-life context. This approach was most appropriate for this study as my intention was to better understand ‘violence’ within the RMF protests, including its various manifestations and expressions within/as context. While case study allowed for investigation into the expression of ‘violence’ within the context of the RMF protests, including the actions, processes and practices that manifested it, it was not suited to uncover individual and/or collective meaning and purpose, which would potentially limit a full understanding of ‘violence’ as it manifested within the RMF protests. I therefore incorporated Narrative Inquiry to fill this ‘shortfall’, thereby ensuring a comprehensive investigation into the case.

Narrative Inquiry is “the fundamental structure of human experience” and is concerned with the study of experience as story, including meaning derived from these experiences and interactions with others (Clandinin & Connelly, 1990: 2; Wang & Geale, 2015). Within this method, experience is understood as “an undivided continuous interaction between humans and their environments that includes thoughts, feelings, doings, and perceiving” (Bach, 2007: 281). This approach is particularly effective when communicating experience of reality as shaped by identity and is a recommended method when collaborating with oppressed or marginalized groups (Wang & Geale, 2015). Narratives are recognized as human expressions and are recommended when the researcher’s aim is to uncover and understand the meaning associated with events as influenced by context (Cohn, 2012). This choice of method considers the complexities of human experience as shaped by interaction between people and their respective contexts and considers stories as carriers of knowledge (Polkinghorne, 1995)

Stake (1995) outlines three approaches to case study that are undertaken towards particular ends. These include intrinsic, instrumental, and collective case-studies, differentiated by the researcher’s aim and intention with regards to the phenomena explored within the study. Crowe et al. (2011) cautions that these categories are not mutually exclusive as the intention may shift as more is understood about the issue

within context. This encouraged an open approach to research that continuously considers its 'aboutness'. I followed an intrinsic case-study approach as my interest in violence within protest was specific to the RMF movement at UCT as a *unique* case, that may or may not share commonalities with other cases. However, situating the study within the broader topic of 'violence' within protest in South Africa, meant that the case took on elements of an instrumental approach as understanding manifestations and expressions of 'violence' within the RMF protests at UCT offered potential insights about this phenomenon within similar institutions.

I followed the five stages of conducting case-study research as outlined by Crowe et al. (2011) These included defining the case, selecting the case, collecting data, analyzing the data, and reporting the findings. The steps taken within each stage are further detailed below, including how narrative methods were incorporated and analyzed to offer student activists' narratives and a broader case narrative.

4.2.1. Stages 1 and 2: Defining and Selecting the Case.

Stages one and two are discussed together due to their interdependence within intrinsic case-studies. What I mean is, these processes were not sequential as listed above, but rather occurred within and because of each other. I was initially unable to define what RMF at UCT was a case of but was able to select it due to the elements described above. Investigation of the case offered insight into what RMF UCT (2015-2016) was a case about, a case of and a case for. These elements are discussed in Chapter 8

When selecting the case, researchers are cautioned to carefully consider the potential emotional burden on participants and risk of organizational disruption associated with participation in the study. Full access and co-operative workings are recognized as prerequisites for generating rich data (Crowe et al., 2011). The potential emotional burden is generally discussed under ethical considerations, but because this influenced selection of the case as well, I will now discuss the ethical considerations of this study, arguing two points. Firstly, that risk and organizational disruption is inherent within studies such as this, that position themselves towards decoloniality, and secondly, within the colonial matrix of power, outlining 'prerequisites' to generating

rich data is recognized as a potential method of “colonial gatekeeping” (Pindi, 2020: 444). Failure to meet these prerequisites may deem a research site or participants as unsuitable due to the inability to achieve or secure access and co-operation, regardless of the reasons for this. These sites and research populations are vulnerable to being labelled as ‘unresearchable’ and possibly unimportant, without interrogation of the conditions that limit access as potentially rich data in and of themselves, thereby potentially excluding representative populations and sites from participation in the research process as a component of knowledge production (Pindi, 2020).

4.2.2. Ethical Considerations

Gune and Manuel (2011) in the chapter “Doing Research on Sexuality in Africa: Ethical Dilemmas and the positioning of the researcher”, explore ethical dilemmas in research exploring sexuality in Africa. They identify sexuality as a challenging topic to investigate due to its sensitive and taboo nature in the African context. This is complicated by strict ethical guidelines that although necessary to obtain permission to conduct the research, risk perpetuating epistemological violence through compliance with accepted ways of conducting research, without due consideration of the context in which these were developed and how this may influence how phenomena is problematized, interpreted, and accepted as fact (Gune & Manuel, 2011; Teo, 2010). Violence within protest, although not taboo per se, is highly stigmatized, criminalized, and illegal (Fraga, 2016). It is a sensitive, potentially emotionally triggering⁷ topic that has been historically problematized with a focus on its tangible expression through direct violence and is generally positioned within the discourse of political/civil unrest and criminality. Fraga (2016) identifies four principles for conducting research concerning violence. These are outlined in the table below (table 4), detailing how they were considered within this study. I asked a series of questions (in italics) that critique these considerations, flagging how these principles potentially perpetuate coloniality. I then detail how these were negotiated in this study.

Table 4: Ethical considerations for research concerning violence (Fraga, 2016: 79).

⁷ Trigger: refers to any stimulus that potentially re-traumatizes the person through exposure to harmful content. Triggers are influenced by one’s experiences and social positioning within context.

Ethical Consideration	How were these negotiated in this study?
Is the study necessary and justified? <i>Questions to consider: Who has the power to deem research necessary? Who determines what is right or reasonable and therefore justified?</i>	The introduction of this study outlined the need to investigate the manifestation and expression of 'violence' within protest due to these phenomena's long and continued history within South Africa. Most concerning was the absence of first-person narrative accounts of 'violent' protest within literature, due to the risk of criminalization, arrest, and detention. This maintained hegemonic perspectives of 'violence' and silenced the knowledge and perspectives of those who were both implicated in it and subjected to it. This study was deemed necessary and justified as a decolonial imperative towards representing marginalized and silenced knowledges (Mignolo, 2007, Pindi, 2020)
Do the benefits of participation outweigh the risks? <i>Questions to consider: Who determines risk? How is the researcher able to identify/preempt this without consultation with participants? Are the risks taken by the researcher considered within this evaluation?</i>	Surprisingly, most of the participants I approached were eager and willing to participate in this study despite the risk of incrimination and emotional distress. Those who declined cited emotional fatigue, and an unwillingness to rehash what they had put in the past. Some ignored the request and did not respond. Those that participated flagged that to exist as a Black person in South Africa carried inherent risk and required daily negotiation of multiple levels of risk. For them, the risk of not participating and therefore leaving dominant narratives surrounding 'violence' within protest unchallenged, outweighed the risk of incrimination. Further to this, some had <i>already</i> been criminalized and punished for their participation in the RMF protests and therefore felt they had nothing more to lose. An emotional support strategy for participants who might become emotionally distressed was included during the data collection process (Appendix F).

Has informed consent been obtained and confidentiality protected? <i>Questions to consider: Who (or what) does confidentiality protect? What role does confidentiality play in perpetuating stigma, dominant perspectives and what is deemed as taboo?</i>	The following approval was obtained: - Ethical Approval: (Appendix B). - Information letter and informed consent letter (Appendix C). - Permission to conduct research with UCT staff (Appendix D). - Permission to conduct research with members of SAPS (Appendix E). Surprisingly, most student activist participants opted to use their real names. Many of them had already been implicated within ‘violent’ protest at UCT and had suffered the consequences of this. It is interesting that participants who were employed by institutions such as staff and workers at UCT and SAPS, were particularly anxious about their identities being revealed, suggesting negative repercussions should their participation be revealed, or identities known.
Has safety of participants been ensured and has this infused all project decisions? <i>Question to consider: What happens in instances when the biggest threat to participants is the institution from which one must gain ‘ethical approval’?</i>	Safety is understood as a broad term that includes protection from any harmful consequence. Despite being granted permission to recruit staff, some participants felt unsafe participating in the interview at UCT. Where necessary, I met with participants off-site or sat with them in their designated spaces and used my phone to record instead of a dictaphone. My position as a member of staff at UCT, with a staff card, allowed me to access various spaces within the university without the need to ask for permission. This ensured that participants felt safe and protected from the monitoring ‘gaze’ of authority (Cormack & Kukutai, 2022).

4.2.3. Research Populations, Purposive Sampling and Selection Criteria.

This study used purposive sampling as this method allowed for identification of information-rich participants (Palinkas & Horwitz, 2015) who were chosen for the unique qualities they possess and/or experiences that have gone through. When

considering who might be best situated/positioned to speak to expressions and manifestations of violence within the RMF protests, I identified four possible groups of people or ‘categories of social actors’ within protest (table 5). Due to their central role in the RMF protests, student activists formed part of the main participant group. Members of the remaining participant groups were considered key informants, Within an intrinsic case-study, description and explanation of the case is the core intention, making sample size a flexible variable. I therefore planned to recruit at least 5 student activists who were involved in the protests. This number would allow for a variation of intersecting identities, which were declared by participants during their narrative interviews, thereby respecting their autonomy to identify themselves and determine what information was deemed necessary (table 6).

Key informants within case-study research are particularly appropriate for the study of processes and actions (Faifua, 2014) which was a key aspect within this study. I initially planned to recruit at least one participant from each of these groups, however, through investigation of the case, student activists made me aware of key role players who did not fit into the categories outlined below but offered a unique perspective of the case issues. These key informants were grouped under the category ‘*Miscellaneous*’. The total number of participants therefore amounted to 19 (5 student activists and 14 key informants).

Table 5: Participant Categories.

Participant Category	Rationale
a) RMF student activists.	Student activists within RMF were labelled as violent. In contrast, they identified UCT as a violent institution. Their experiences, descriptions, and explanations of violence within protest offered insight into the contestations regarding violence and the case issues from the location of the zone of non-being.

b) Institutional Authority (UCT Management)	UCT management was implicated for 'violent' responses to protesting students through repression of RMF protests through interdicts and inviting police and private security onto the university grounds. Informants from UCT's management team were uniquely positioned to identify the ways in which the university accommodated and/or repressed RMF's right to protest, and the behaviour student activists displayed during the protests that was deemed 'violent'.
c) Service Providers within the institution (Academic Staff, Pass Staff and General Workers)	Although student led, Black UCT staff and workers were part of the RMF protests. Informants from this group were able to speak to the staffing and work conditions at UCT that provoked the RMF protests, thereby helping to establish the case context.
d) Law-enforcement - Police and/or Private Security	Police and Security forces were implicated in the 'violence' described in the context of protest but are also uniquely positioned as a bridge between the university and the broader South African context. Informants from SAPS or private security were able to speak to tactics used to respond to protests and the actions or behaviours that 'justified force/'violence' as a response.
e) Miscellaneous	Key informants in this group included UCT alumni, previous UCT employees/staff, previous members of UCT Senate/Council and members of the Institutional Reconciliation and Transformation Commission (IRTC) panel.

	These perspectives afforded a variety of insights and perspectives regarding both the complexity and historicity of the case.

Table 6: Main Participants' Demographics (Self-identification).

1. Amandla Nkani.	Black, disabled, woman.
2. Rekgotsofetse Chikane.	Black, cis male
3. Sandile Ndelu.	Black, (trans) gender diverse
4. Chumani Maxwele.	Black, cis male
5. Alex Hotz.	Black, woman

Guided by a critical-decolonial framework, diversity of voices was not a priority, but rather the voice(s) of those denied voice (Gautam, 2013), that is, the perspective of those who are usually silenced within social and institutional structures. Their experiences and perspectives experience were critical towards uncovering and centering counter-hegemonic narratives of 'violence' within the RMF protests. I therefore sought a representative of the silenced and oppressed in each participant group. Participants who identified as 'Black' were preferred participants as representatives of the 'colonized' whose experiences are usually located at the periphery within research or excluded all together.

4.2.4. Step 3: Collecting Data.

Within case-study research, data is collected from multiple sources to ensure and support triangulation (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003; Crowe et al., 2011). Stake (1995) argues that data collection does not begin at a specific point, highlighting experiences (of participants and the researcher) as a prominent component of data generation and collection. The 'best' possible sources of data are those that are most likely to give a comprehensive understanding of the case. Stake (1995) proposes observation, description of context, interview and document review as data sources that will best

help the researcher make sense of the case. Yin (2003) identifies observations, interviews, archives, documents, and physical artefacts as possible sources of data within case-study. Although very similar to the sources proposed by Stake, Yin includes physical artefacts and archives as insight into the cultural features of the case. Including artefacts and archives as data sources enabled analysis of the culture represented by symbols as part of context. Furthermore, UCT served as a central site and is the physical site where the RMF protests manifested and found expression. I therefore needed to consider data sources that would shed light on the situation and conditions at the university, helping to establish the context of protest towards identifying relevant issues. These were descriptions of context, interviews, documents, archives, and physical artefacts. The steps taken in the data collection process are outlined below (Table 7). Thereafter I describe the process of data selection for each data source.

Table 7: Data Collection Process.

Step	Rationale
1. A) Document collection (table 8) and initial review. B) Initial review of RMF Facebook page.	The first interdict UCT sought against RMF student activists and the RMF UCT Facebook page helped me to identify potential participants, begin to establish a case context and compile a timeline of RMF.
2. Participant Recruitment.	Most of the student activists who had participated in RMF had left UCT in 2019, and therefore could not be contacted using their UCT email address. I contacted potential participants on Facebook requesting their email addresses should they be interested in hearing more about the study. Of the 9 people approached, 5 agreed to participate in the study and signed the informed consent form (Appendix C).

3. Narrative interview 1 of 3 with student activists.	Initial interviews were conducted with student activists as my main participants. The choice of methods allowed me to center their stories and allow their experiences and insights to guide document selection and identification of potential key informants. The interviews were transcribed in preparation for the next session.
4. Initial KI recruitment	Student activists' initial interviews helped me identify key informants (KI) within the identified participant categories who played an active role in the events that occurred during RMF protests. Where possible, student activists shared their contact details, otherwise I searched for these online, especially through LinkedIn.
5. First round of KI interviews	I met with KIs for an interview at a venue that they preferred. They shared the details of other potential KIs they thought I should interview.
6. Narrative interview 2 of 3 with student activists.	I transcribed and reviewed the initial interviews and noted some points for further discussion in the second interview. After recapping the first interview these questions were posed to launch the second interview.
7. Review of archives and selection of preliminary artefacts.	I reviewed the selected archives (table 9) and used these to identify a set of preliminary artefacts and any further potential KIs. I submitted my application to conduct research with SAPS.
8. Second round of KI interviews.	I conducted interviews with SAPS and other KI's identified in the previous step. These were then transcribed and translated where necessary.
9. Narrative interview 3 of 3.	After reviewing the transcripts from the second interview I noted points for further discussion or clarification and used this to initiate the final interview.

10. Closing off the data collection process.	I finished transcribing the remaining interviews, revisited selected archives and artefacts and updated my collection of selected documents based on any new data that emerged from the interviews.

4.2.4.1. Description of Context.

A rich description of context is intended to “develop vicarious experiences for the reader” (Stake, 1995: 63). I collected data that would offer a detailed description and depiction of not only the physical context, but also the socio-historic, socio-economic, geo-political, and cultural elements. The use of multiple data sources enabled me to offer both textual and visual descriptions, including first person descriptions and experiences of multiple layers and dimensions of context.

4.2.4.2. Interviews.

Interviews are considered the primary means of data collection within Case-study research and should be conducted with ‘conversation-like flow’ rather than structured through a series of questions (Yin, 2009). This structure allowed me to create a space where the participants could speak freely, while providing insights into the case context and issues.

I used narrative interviews with student activists, as an unstructured, everyday form of communication that afforded the participants the opportunity to reconstruct social events and communicate meaning (Muylaert et al., 2014). The narrative interviews were conducted within five phases, these were *Preparation*, *Initialization*, *Main Narration*, *Questioning Phase* and *Small Talk* (Muylaert et al., 2014). During the *Preparation phase*, I explored the study topic and formulated ‘Exmanent’ questions based on relevant literature and informed by the research approach and design. These were formulated using Clandinin and Connelly’s (2000) “*Three-dimensional Narrative Structure*” as adapted by Wang and Geale (2014, pp: 197) and can be found in the appendices (Appendix A). The goal is to ultimately turn exmanent questions into

immanent questions, those based on the “themes, topics and accounts of events that appear during the narration of the informant” (Bauer, 1996: 5).

In the *Initialization Phase* a topic is formulated for discussion in the interview (Bauer, 1996). Participants were invited to select photos or artefacts that were meaningful and were encouraged to bring these to the interview. During the *Main Narration* phase, I avoided interrupting the participant, and rather showed non-verbal signs of encouragement and attention until the narration comes to a natural end. The initial question: ‘Can you describe your participation in RMF at UCT?’ was used to initiate the interview. It was during the *Questioning* phase that ‘exmanent’ questions became ‘immanent’ questions. During this phase I asked questions pertaining to aspects that had not been covered, intentionally using the participant’s language, for purposes of elaboration and/or clarification. *Small Talk* was the final phase of the narrative interview. All recordings were stopped, and I engaged participants in informal conversation to close the session.

I conducted the KI Interviews using semi-structured, in-depth interviews (Scanlan, 2020). These allowed me to find a balance between free conversation and in-depth exploration of the comments and perspectives offered. I initiated the interview using the same broad question used in the narrative interviews, “Can you describe your participation in RMF at UCT?” and then posed questions informed by their comments, the objectives of the study and their participant category, allowing me to remain both flexible and responsive (Scanlan, 2020). These questions can be found in the appendices (Appendix H).

I kept a research journal and made notes after every interview. These pertained to observations, thoughts and feelings about the interview and the participant. These notes were particularly helpful after reading the initial transcripts and preparing for follow-up interviews. The journal also helped me keep track of my own thoughts, emotions, perceptions and interpretations linked to the research process, which assisted in interpreting the data and thinking through the best way to study and present the study findings.

4.2.4.3. Documents

Documents provided a source of data that was easily accessible and allowed for private and repeated interrogation. Yin (2009) cautions that documents although detailed, should not be accepted as an accurate reflection of events, but rather used to make inferences to be corroborated/challenged in consideration of the other sources of data. Flick (2018) recommends that a document's authenticity, credibility, representativeness, and meaning are evaluated when making a document selection. These elements were considered when selecting the documents for the case (table 8) and were chosen for their relevance towards understanding the conditions and dynamics that informed the case issues.

Table 8: Documents Reviewed.

Document	Data
UCT RMF Mission Statement (2015).	Data regarding the conditions and dynamics that provoked the RMF protests at UCT.
UCT Teaching and Learning Report (2015).	Data regarding the demographics at UCT leading up to the RMF protests in 2015 and the institutions framing of the issues surrounding teaching and learning.
UCT No Show Survey Report (2015).	Data regarding students accepted to UCT who did not show up to register in 2015.
UCT Annual Report (2015).	Data offered insight into UCT's priority areas and initiatives in 2014/2015.
UCT Authorities and Information of Record (2015).	Data regarding the university's structures and UCT's framing of its position and progress.
UCT Fees Handbook (2015)	Data regarding UCT's fee structure.
UCT Interdict Case No.: 20182/2015 (19 October 2015).	Data regarding the institution's response to the RMF protests and points of contention with the methods of protest used by student activists, and the legality thereof.
<i>Hotz v UCT</i> (730/2016) 2016 ZASCA 159 (20 October 2016)	Same as above
RMF Exhibition Press Release	Data regarding the intention of the commemoration event.
Curriculum Change Framework	Offered insight into the coloniality of knowledge at UCT.
IRTC Final Report (2019)	Data regarding the issues that provoked the RMF protests, the consequences for RMF activists and the broader university community

	and the implications for the institution, protest and institutional racism.
Response to IRTC report from UCT Management during RMF/FMF.	Insight into the power-relations and dynamics at UCT and management's response to the IRTC findings.
Census 2015	Insight into the demographics of South Africa.
Midyear Population Estimates, Statistics South Africa (2015).	Same as above.
Ministry of Police Policy and guidelines: policing of public protests, gatherings, and major events (2013).	Data regarding the policing of protest as a disturbance of public order, including what constitutes protest 'violence' and the threat thereof.
SAPS on UCT Campuses - Guidelines in respect of requests for intervention in the case of demonstrations, protests and occupations (2016).	Data regarding the institution's framing of protest and how violence or the threat thereof was determined.
UCT Student Mental Health Policy (2018).	Data into the university's understanding of the mental health issues students face, and the services offered.
UCT Vision 2030.	Data regarding how the RMF and FMF protests have/have not informed the vision for UCT.

4.2.4.4. Archives

Archival evidence was collected through identification and interrogation of relevant historical records. This provided information about the conditions at UCT, especially the socio-historic developments, patterns and relationships that informed the case context and issues. I outline the archives searched using various keywords that aligned with the research topic and objectives below.

Table 9: Archives searched.

Archives	Data
RMF Facebook Page	This archive allowed me to build a case timeline and gain insight into developments and conflicts within RMF.
RMF Visual Archive	Data offered a visual depiction of the case and informed a rich description of the case context.
UCT Website: UCT News	Data offered insights into UCT's public image and framing of RMF protests and case issues.

UCT Campus Communication	
UCT Special Collections	Data regarding RMF artefacts.
UCT YouTube page	Data offered an opportunity to observe university assemblies and RMF-related events offering insight into the relationships and patterns that informed the case issues.
Online Media and News Reports	Data regarding how the RMF movement, grievances and protests were framed in the media, especially as this pertained to 'violence'.

4.2.4.5. Physical Artefacts.

Artefacts are considered “products of human action” (Reischauer, 2015: 291). Case study allowed for any relevant art, tool, or cultural artefact that provided further evidence into the case, to be included (Yin, 2009). The degree to which this was deemed important depended on its relevance to the case. Of specific interest to this study was the symbolic nature of physical artefacts, including their power to shape and communicate both meaning and context. These were mostly in the form of images or photos of the artefact and allowed for investigation of 'violence' within RMF, within its real-life context (as captured within the images), and served as reflections of UCT's institutional culture.

Table 10: Artefacts selected.

Artefact	Data
Figure 18: 'Why am I being arrested?'	Data regarding structures and practices that normalize violence against Black people as a legacy of Colonial-Apartheid South Africa.
Figure 19: 'Rhodes lives on in the shadows.'	Data regarding the endurance of coloniality at UCT.
Figure 20: 'Claiming Azania House'	Data offered insight into the alienation and lack of space and place Black students felt at UCT.
Artefacts submitted by student activists are included in their stories (Chapter 5).	Data offered insight into various aspects of meaning and case context.

4.2.5. Step 4: Analyzing the Data.

Thematic narrative analysis was used to produce an ‘emplotted narrative’, more specifically, to uncover a plot that linked the events shared by participants in their interviews, thereby giving the events meaning in attainment of a purpose or goal (Polkinghorne, 1995; Reissman, 2005). Reissman (2005) notes that the content of the text (what is said) is priority and does not offer a step-by-step process, but rather encourages alignment with one’s research objectives. This allowed me to organize the data using the study objectives while noting emerging themes. Narrative analysis allowed me to identify key actions, events and experiences that showed relational significance and revealed aspects of context and meaning. These, events, actions, and experiences were then synthesized into each student activist’s respective story using the emerging themes to organize and structure the stories (Chapter 5). These stories are written in third person using direct quotes from the narrative interviews to highlight the process of co-construction while being transparent about the interpretations made. Student activists were sent drafts of their stories as a form of member-checking and to ensure an authentic representation of their experiences.

Crowe et al. (2011) proposes a framework approach to analyzing Case-study data. This approach consists of 5 stages (familiarization, identifying a thematic framework, indexing, charting, mapping, and interpretation). All data was included and analyzed within the framework approach and informed the case issues and themes that emerged in the case narrative. I use the term ‘case issues’ to refer to problems or disputes that define the case, specifically their causal links and/or pathways (Crowe et al., 2011). These emerged from the data set and relevant literature and are distinguished from case themes, which refer to underlying messages or central ideas, conveyed through identifying both common and contrary patterns that emerged across the data (Mishra & Dey, 2022). A framework approach is helpful with regards to managing multiple sources towards identifying common themes, while keeping a detailed and transparent audit trail (Smith & Firth, 2011). The outcome of this approach was the case narrative, which is presented in Chapter 6. Below I describe how I implemented each step of the framework approach to make sense of the data. Both thematic narrative analysis and the framework approach are case-centered, making

them suitable and compatible approaches to analysis that do not ‘fracture’ the data (Reissman, 2008)

4.2.5.1. Familiarization

Transcribing within the data collection process and reviewing relevant archives, documents and artefacts meant that I was already vaguely familiar with the data set. I projected my study objectives onto a whiteboard to keep me focused on the objectives of the study. I then immersed myself in the data, re-reading the interviews and analyzing the various sources, while making notes or interpretive comments on the whiteboard under the relevant objective. In this way I was able to recognize major themes linked to the study objectives.

Documents were analyzed using Qualitative Document Analysis (QDA), an approach suited for deriving meaning about the way people organize, value, and represent their lives (Wood et al., 2020). The documents were considered ‘content’ as they provided historical and demographic evidence about the case context and case issues and portrayed the various participant groups in different ways (Flick 2014). I drafted a set of questions to consider and used these to conduct an initial analysis of each document (Appendix G). These were informed by the study objectives and major themes that emerged during familiarization with the interview data. The second level of analysis used thematic analysis using the framework developed in the second stage of the framework approach (figure 1).

Archival data comprised of both textual and image data. The textual data was analyzed using QDA as described above. The images were analyzed using photo-coding, the details of this process are outlined below.

Artefacts hold stories and are particularly suitable towards communicating meaning across a variety of audiences (Jarett & Culp, 2020). During the narrative interviews, student activists spoke to the photos of the artefacts they brought, describing the meaning and value they symbolized for them, and the attitudes and beliefs communicated. The artefacts selected provided in-depth insight into the student activists’ experiences, especially with regards to meaning and value and the study

context across various dimensions. Due to having collected images of artefacts, the “photo-coding method” was best suited to analyze them (Byrne et al., 2022). This involved performing a content and thematic analysis of the images and assigning three levels of codes to the photo data (table 11).

Table 11: Assigning codes to photo data (Byrne et al., 2022: 801).

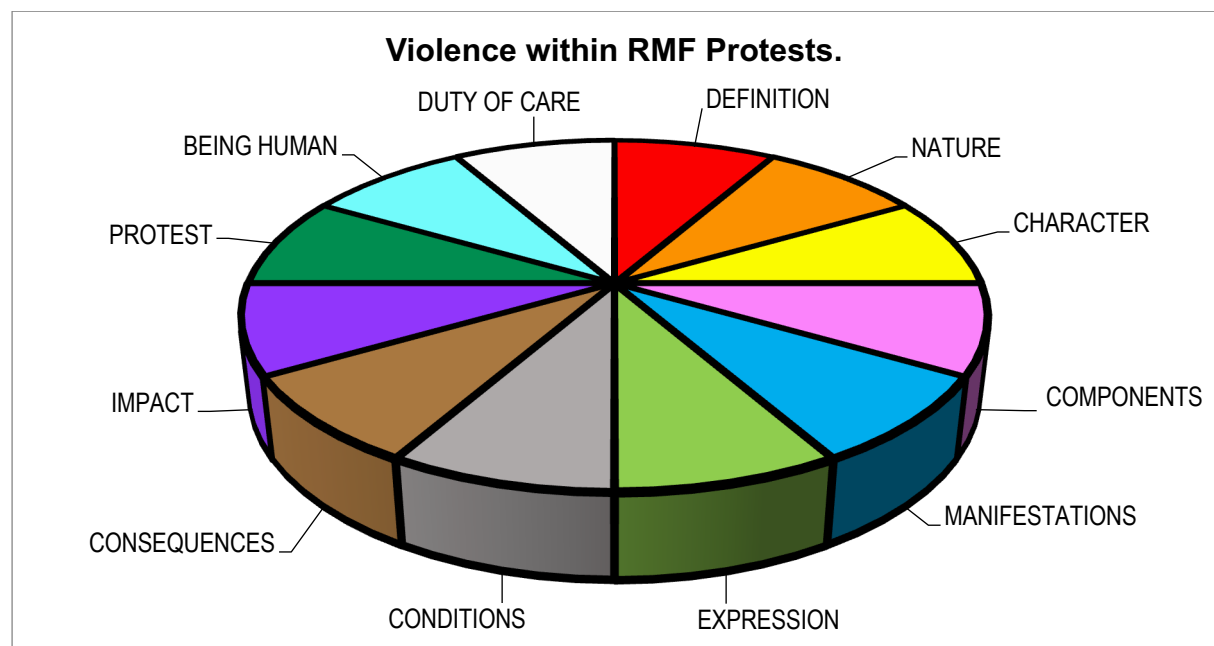
Codes Assigned	Activities
1 st Level Codes	I catalogued and assigned detailed descriptions of my initial observation of each artefact/photo. This allowed me to recognize general categories as they emerged. As I analyzed each photo, I constantly refined the codes by merging overlapping codes and dividing others to show distinctive patterns across the artefacts.
2 nd Level Codes	I noted themes across the various descriptions of the images I drafted. The 2nd level code is developed from these themes. I had to remain flexible, revising these as I looked across the image descriptions. I held on to these themes lightly, knowing that I would need to consider them within the broader case thematic framework (figure 1). Lastly, I made notes regarding the importance of the artefact and the insight it provided towards understanding the case.
3 rd Level Codes	At this level, I used coding to identify broader categories of related themes known as dimensions or third order codes. These dimensions were considered in the process of constructing and refining the thematic framework (figure 1).

4.2.5.2. Identifying a Thematic Framework.

The process outlined in the familiarization stage allowed me to organize the data into segments (figure 1) and use the study objectives and emerging major themes and concepts to develop a framework for analysis and interpretation (Goldsmith, 2021).).

These were loosely held and refined with each round of reading the data set. The segments depicted were then organized and ranked by participant category and refined to include both concrete and abstract themes (Goldsmith, 2021). This was an iterative process allowing me to adapt, rename and add components as I re-read the data set.

Figure 1: Violence within RMF protests, emerging categories across the data.



DEFINITION: how was this understood?	NATURE: what were the basic, inherent qualities?	CHARACTER: what are the distinguishing features?	COMPONENTS: what are the elements ?
MANIFESTATION: how did it reveal itself ?	EXPRESSION OF: what did the manifestation represent/symbolize ?	CONDITIONS: Circumstances/factors that manifested violence?	CONSEQUENCES: esp. for health and wellbeing .
IMPACT: what was the effect on the situation and person/s?	PROTEST: How was this understood ?	BEING HUMAN: How did the conditions impact this?	DUTY OF CARE? as health professionals & OTs

4.2.5.3. Indexing & Charting.

Indexing allowed me to use the thematic framework and apply it to the entire data set. This was achieved through coding the data using the corresponding colour of the segment across the various data sources. I continuously refined the codes and emerging categories to create a link between the study data to components of the framework (Goldsmith, 2021). It was important to note the participant category group (where relevant) while indexing to highlight points of contention, conflict and/or corroboration as sub-components that had both individual and collective aspects. Any data that did not 'fit' into the existing framework was considered through creating a new segment and coding for this across the data.

Charting involved ordering and abstracting the indexed data to allow a systematic examination of the data in totality (Goldsmith, 2021). Charting afforded me an opportunity to summarize the data while using it to refine my units of analysis and the thematic framework yet again. Once my charting table was built, I started populating the cells of the chart, comparing, contrasting, and summarizing textual data to reflect intersections with the relevant row and column (Gale et al., 2013).

4.2.5.4. Mapping & Interpretation.

Mapping and interpretation were the final stage and involved combining insights and learnings from previous steps, including emerging patterns, with comparisons across participant groups and components of the thematic framework (Goldsmith, 2021). Mapping and interpretation resulted in key themes about the phenomenon that showed various associations across participant groups and data sources and explained experiences, perspectives, attitudes, and behaviours within or because of context. These themes were organized and grouped around the study objectives, allowing me to form an outline of the structure, sections, and themes of the case narrative.

4.2.6. Step 5: Reporting the findings:

Case-study methods recognize the researcher's role, amongst others, as being that of a storyteller and interpreter, calling for consideration of how gathered insights will be communicated to others (Stake, 1995). These final themes that emerged because of mapping and interpretation were used to organize the structure of the case narrative to reflect a coherent *story of 'violence'* within the RMF protests from various perspectives.

4.3. Ensuring Rigour.

Morrow (2005), in her article exploring quality and trustworthiness in qualitative research in counseling psychology offers 'transcendent standards' rather than paradigm-specific criteria for judging the quality of qualitative research. These standards provided a more holistic and flexible means of appraising the quality of qualitative research and are outlined below.

4.3.1. Social Validity.

Recognized as a standard of trustworthiness, social validity is concerned with the social value of the research or intervention proposed and whether this will have any impact on the conditions of every-day life (Morrow, 2005). The social value of this study is discussed in detail in *Chapter 1*. The high incidents of violence within protest across sectors and sites within Post-Apartheid South Africa gave this study high social validity.

4.3.2. Subjectivity and Reflexivity.

Acknowledging subjectivity involves the declaration of assumptions and biases on the part of the researcher to be transparent regarding how these may have affected interpretation of the data. Reflexivity is understood as 'self-reflection' and is recognized as a necessary practice within qualitative research. Journaling was a method used to record self-realizations that occurred within the research process, in recognition that these would influence both data analysis and interpretation. Sending student activists drafts of their stories and KI's their transcripts allowed me to ask for clarification where necessary and to ensure that participants' realities and associated meanings were genuinely and fairly captured and represented (Morrow, 2005).

4.3.3. Adequacy of Data

Morrow (2005: 255) expands on Erikson's (1986) five major types of evidentiary adequacy when considering qualitative data. These are: adequate amounts of evidence, adequate variety in kinds of evidence, interpretative status of evidence, adequate disconfirming evidence and adequate discrepant case analysis. Adequate amounts of evidence were not distinguished by number, but rather in their 'richness'. A useful indicator for having reached saturation was offered through information becoming redundant. Saturation within a critical-decolonial framework required that I ensure rich-descriptions of 'violence' within protest, that offered both complexity and variation (Sandelowski, 2008), and resulted in an extensive dataset. Researchers are advised to pay specific attention to sampling procedures in efforts to collect rich data. I considered the full range of types of available data to ensure collection of rich data. This, together with multiple data sources enhanced the complementarity and 'truth value' of the data and is recognized as the interpretative status of evidence. I made sure to collect and note adequate disconfirming evidence and practice discrepant case analysis to unpack the complexity of understanding 'violence' as it manifested within the RMF protests. This was achieved by the deliberate search for evidence that was contradictory or that contested dominant perspectives of 'violence', with a focus on its invisible or intangible manifestations and expressions.

4.3.4. Adequacy of Interpretation.

Data analysis, data interpretation and writing are recognized as components within the continuous and interactive process of ensuring data adequacy. Adequacy of interpretation is achieved through the researcher immersing themselves in the data, then identifying an analytic framework to make sense of the data, while keeping track of analytic memos. This framework was established during the process of participant recruitment and was used and developed throughout the analysis and interpretation process. Analytic memos are defined as notes or insights and/or questions that the researcher documents as they move through the research process, also forming part of the data. Finally, researchers are advised to seek a balance between their

interpretations and direct quotes from participants, ensuring that interpretations are an accurate reflection of participants' realities (Morrow, 2015).

4.4. Conclusion.

This chapter describes the qualitative approach and methods used to select, collect, and analyze the study data. I used an intrinsic case study design, with instrumental elements, and incorporated narrative methods to gain a detailed understanding of the case context and conditions that informed the case issues. Interviews, documents, archives, and artefacts were collected as sources of data and analyzed using thematic narrative analysis and the framework approach. The findings were organized into student activist narratives (Chapter 5) and a broader case-narrative (Chapter 6).

Chapter 5: RMF Student Activists' Stories⁸.

5.1 Amandla Nkani

"I always knew I was a strong person, and I think a lot of people felt that we were strong, during RMF. We were organized, we were, to some extent, united, you know, there were a lot of us. Each has experienced so much, and we were strong, but you know this external force that was the University, or white supremacy, was able to destroy everything that we had worked for to the point where –yes, there were internal issues, but I think ...there would have been a chance of them being worked through, but - (sighs). I just feel, the outside factors were too strong, and for me it really just expresses how I feel as a Black person, because for me I just feel how vulnerable I am as a person. I know I am strong; I know I have all of this strength that I get from my grandparents, from my ancestors and all of that, yes, but it is limited. If someone comes with a gun to me, there is nothing that I can do."



Figure 2: Baobab Tree, representing Black people and their rich history and strength.
(source: Amandla Nkani)

⁸ These stories are written in the third person and include direct quotes from the narrative interviews. The combination of third person and verbatim accounts is an attempt to offer authentic stories and emphasizes the collaborative process followed, acknowledging the participants as co-constructors of these stories. Some participants chose to forgo the option of a pseudonym and have chosen to use their real names.



Figure 3: Forest Fire, representing the violence of coloniality.
(source: Amandla Nkani)

“These things [images of baobab tree and forest fire above] sort of really resonated with me, because I think people view Black people as these people that can take an infinite amount of pain, but, like a huge external force can sort of destroy thousands of years’ worth of work. And you know, just one thing, you know capitalism and people - just, greed, you know, just a fire, setting it, pouring petrol or whatever, and setting it on fire and all of that – it is destroyed. And, for me it resonated with the protests.”

5.1.1. The more things change, the more they stay the same.

A key issue motivating Amandla to join the protests was the racism she and other Black students had experienced within the university. She also felt that little consideration was given to Black students’ financial constraints, that came to be as a direct result of the oppression of Black people sanctioned during Apartheid. What Amandla found particularly frustrating was that UCT seemed not only deaf to this situation but seemed to celebrate violence against Black people, she considered the statue of CJR an example of this. She viewed the prominent statue and its positioning as a tangible manifestation of the historical and institutional racism experienced by Black students within the university, even though this was continuously denied.

“The fact that we felt so marginalized and – just the conditions in terms of finance, the racism, I think that was what - I do know that a lot of people think that it was just the statue, that, you know – but I think the statue represented something much bigger than that, this is an institution that still celebrates the violence against Black people. And I think most of the students felt a great deal of violence and that was what prompted – whether or not the statue was there, I think it would have happened anyway, it was just a catalyst. I feel like, that statue of, Cecil John Rhodes, it’s just, it’s really just a stone, but it symbolizes something that, I would say, white people almost worship, which is the genocide of Black people – because that is what he did, he killed – he took Black people’s land, and he killed them!”

Amandla identifies as a Black disabled woman. She is partially sighted and negotiates several chronic conditions and a mental illness. She felt her disability support needs had not been addressed or met by the university. This lack of support for her and other Black disabled students within the university space served as motivation to join the RMF movement.

“I felt like I wasn’t getting any support, as a disabled person, and especially as a Black person who was disabled, because there were a lot of white disabled people who were getting more support than me. So, I joined the movement because I saw this group of people who were sort of standing up to the institution’s violence.”

Amandla noted a discrepancy between the support that white and Black students received and attributed this to the lack of understanding of Black disabled students’ experiences, challenges, and needs. She posits that staff at the disability unit have limited knowledge about the intersections of disability and Blackness and that some may still hold racist beliefs about the inferior academic abilities of Black students.

“Black (disabled) students require more help and more support than white students, for example, a lot of us Black students, we never went to special schools, we sort of had to make do with mainstream schooling, and if you did go to a special school, it was a very poorly resourced special school. We often don’t have a lot of money, we need a lot of resources, we don’t have basic equipment that white students have, so, so um, we basically need more accommodations, so we become an inconvenience.”

Amandla had observed how this discrepancy in support between white and Black students extended beyond disabled students. She reports that white academic staff would be annoyed when a Black student required extra input or explanation of concepts whereas white students were not treated with the same disdain. This made her and other Black students feel as though they were an inconvenience to the lecturer/tutor, who would often become impatient. Asking for extra help seemingly confirmed the inferior view held of Black students. She was often sent back to her textbooks without receiving the input she needed. Amandla described how this feeling of inferiority was compounded outside the classroom when observing and interacting with wealthy students, whilst she struggled to afford basic toiletries.

“I remember this one time this [white] student was telling me, you know, she would go to this one lecturer, and she would just sit down and um, she just didn’t know anything, and she would be like, ‘just teach me’, and I’m like, you can never do that with - I have never been

able to do that with these lecturers, where they would be so patient with me. The same thing with the tutors, some of the white tutors, a general sense of impatience, in the demonstrations and practicals, but they would be much more patient with the other students, and that's how I felt that maybe I didn't belong here. It was definitely that. And socially, I think (sigh), I think that there is such a huge disparity in the wealth between the students. That was quite disturbing for me, seeing someone drive the latest car and you can't even afford pads, you know, you have to choose between pads and deodorant (laughs). I feel like in terms of the pads, they could have given us free pads, they could have."

Amandla felt that had the university been cognisant of the lived experiences and challenges Black students faced within and beyond the university they could have alleviated some of the barriers and stressors limiting successful academic performance and supporting a positive social experience on campus. She saw the fact that the university provided free condoms in campus bathrooms as a reflection of their poor insight into the experiences and challenges of Black female students. Instead, she noted how the university prioritized, maintained, and promoted a 'white standard of living' seen through prioritizing the watering and maintenance of the rugby fields and renovation of the car parks - both seen as facilities for the privileged. She felt that the day-to-day running of the university did not consider the Black student, she shares an example of the Jammie shuttle operating hours and how these impacted predominantly Black student access to campus facilities.

"For me, mainly for me, I feel like all of the financial resources in the university were used on the wrong things. They were used on private security, they were used on watering lawns, that could be used differently, (sighs), I don't even know where to start, you know, on all the wrong things, even sometimes when you see some events on campus and there is just a lot of food, and it's only like ten people coming and they have over-catered, and you are like, was this even necessary? Even with the whole bus system, the jammies, the fact that they didn't run 24 hours, because that put disadvantage to Black students, because you know, like, you, you have to leave the library at a certain time. You know, like some people, its true like when you look at the brains of people, especially like, I think in the late teens, some people are like, you are more awake from around midnight than during the day, and you can study better, I've noticed with myself, that you know, but you can't even take advantage of that because it's not safe coming back. You know they would have that service where there would be someone who could walk you, but like the person is only available once every hour, and they only walk you to lower campus."

Amandla felt that the university's 'deafness' to the experiences of Black disabled students in the university was mirrored within RMF. She joined the movement to voice the experiences and grievances of Black disabled students. She felt the movement

was initially focused on issues of racism but did not consider how these experiences may intersect with other aspects of identity such as ability and gender, further contributing to feelings of alienation. Joining the movement meant that she could educate her fellow student activists about the experiences and challenges of Black disabled students while simultaneously voicing her support needs from the movement, the university and society in general. Amandla considered herself as a representative of Black disabled students within the movement and contributed to negotiations and drafting of memorandums from this position. Amandla was also instrumental in mobilizing disabled students to join the movement; she felt that their physical presence would prevent any further exclusion in the university and within the movement.

“ So for me, when I went in there, I went there... because I also noticed that there were no people who were really speaking about disability in the movement, um, it was really just about racism and how people felt like they are being oppressed by being Black, and for me I wanted to be like, actually, you know we are not just Black, some of us are Black and we have disabilities and we have this and we are suffering and that it is possible that we all need to come together and support each other and help each other.”

5.1.2. Contradictions and Double Standards

Amandla criticized the university for the double-standards the university displayed around protest. She points out that RMF protests were continuously criticized and criminalized yet recalls commemoration events, hosted by UCT that honoured and stressed the importance of infamous historical student protests such as the 1976 Soweto uprising on June 16th.

“What the hell? How can they glorify these [1976] student protests, but at the same time criminalize other people? And they had done it at such an opportune moment, it was during the vacation, so everyone was gone. I had only been there because I needed to do follow up appointments, and I just like, this was not going to happen, and for me it was more of like – when I decided to do a topless protest by myself, I came in, I didn’t even have proper paint, I made a sign with like paper and pen and I was like, I am going to get there, I am going to take off my dress, I am going to be chilling in my underwear and my pantyhose and I am going to hold up a sign. And for me it was like, my body as a Black woman has been used so much as a weapon and as other people’s entertainment, like with Sarah Baartman, it was, you know it has been exploited. And white people are genuinely scared of our bodies, its either they exploit them, they hyper-sexualize them, or they abuse them.”

UCT campus protection services attempted to remove her from the event, threatening to call security but were stopped by the panelists at the commemoration event panel that insisted Amandla be given the opportunity to voice her grievances and concerns. She used this opportunity to highlight the contradictory values portrayed by the institution. UCT portrayed an image of being supportive of student activism, whilst repressing and criminalizing protest action that questioned or challenged the university's intentions and values or threatened its daily operations.

“Some comrades who had been in town, came in, and they were standing with me, and I remember at some point, the management was like they are going to bring in security, and the people who were in the panel, were like, ‘No actually, we want the people to be here, we want the people to protest, because today is about student protests and them protesting is really valid’.”

When asked how she made sense of the contradictory values the university displayed, Amandla locates this paradox within the historical origins of UCT as a university. She credits founding, racist, and violent ideologies, embedded within the university's institutional culture, and recognizes that these ideologies have consistently remained across generations, despite democratization and the university's self-declared commitment to transformation.

“I think that is one of the biggest things that unfortunately, it was initially built as an institution for just able-bodied white men, and that tradition has kept going and anybody who is not that, is not welcome on the campus. That is the one thing I always felt, that was the greatest violence I felt, I constantly felt that people were like, that I don't belong here, I had people telling me that, you know, like people at the disability unit, and in my department telling me, you shouldn't be studying engineering when you have eye problems.”

Amandla points out the double-standards within university culture and traditions in the residence systems as another example of UCT as a contradictory space. She shares that those residences (especially male residences) had traditional songs that they sang that supported the objectification and commodification of women. Orientation week, a long-standing university tradition colloquially known as O-week was identified as problematic. UCT hosted a series of events to welcome first year students to the campus and residences. These events had become (remained?) infamous as a time for drinking, partying, and getting to know the 'freshers' – a term given to first year students who were fresh out of high school and viewed, predatorily by the older

(predominantly male students) as 'fresh meat'. 'Freshers' events and braais were common practice and were authorized by the respective residences, clubs and/or societies. Single-sex residences held different rules for male and female students that supported gender stereotypes. She felt that these contributed to incidents of sexual harassment and assault on campus.

"Like for example, you are not allowed sleepovers in female reses, but in the men's reses they allow that. For me it creates this thing, that as a girl you are not supposed to be having sex."

Amandla had experienced sexual harassment throughout her first year on campus and had been raped while living in the residence system. She reported the rape to the residence warden who took her to the hospital for medical care. The nurses and detective who investigated her case blamed her for being 'irresponsible' and therefore partially responsible for the incident. This response from those who were assigned to assist her and that her perpetrator was never arrested left her feeling further victimized. These experiences made her regret coming forward. During the protests, female students had the opportunity to share their experiences of sexual abuse, rape and harassment with each other. Many shared feelings of guilt that they had been sent by the parents to study and had instead 'ended up getting raped', showing how victims had internalized the blame, feeling responsible for their experiences of sexual violation.

"I remember I told my warden, X, um, she took me to the hospital, and I, you know, got on to the prep, but throughout the experience, the nurses were telling me, 'You know, you shouldn't have drunk that much'. And when I was supposed to do my statement, he came to my place, the detective, X was there, you know like, you know, trying to intervene, each time he is saying something inappropriate she would be intervening. Then we went downstairs, as we were going, like I was, my room was on the second floor, X stayed on the first floor, so, we are walking down, she went into her place, as we were going down, this guy is like, 'You shouldn't have drunk that much you know'."

Amandla shares that sexual and gendered violence was not only an issue within the university and society at large, but also became an issue within the RMF movement itself. She notes the contradiction in that a space that was created to speak out against the conditions Black students experienced as violent, became violent or reflected violence within itself.

“ You know there was someone that was raped in the movement, um, there people who were sexually harassing other people in the movement, so for me to be honest, when I think about the protests on campus, the things that I was involved in were definitely the sexual violence protests and the disability protests, because for me I felt like, in that space, there was so much focus on Blackness and a lot of the men were taking up so much space and silencing so many people in that space.”

Amandla felt that she annoyed her male comrades at times as she spoke her mind, did not mince her words, and called out any discriminatory behaviour observed from them within the movement. She also participated in topless protests as education around gender-based violence and the devaluing of women. The topless protests aimed to dispel the culture of victim-blaming that questioned the behaviour of victims of sexual violence, often assigning fault to ‘provocative’ clothing and actions that may invite the harassment or assault. By protesting topless, she and her comrades wished to emphasize that clothed or not, sexual violence is never justified.

“I think for me being there and being topless was for me, it was owning my vulnerability, because when we are out there and you are topless, you are so vulnerable and that is how you feel when you are being sexually violated, you feel so vulnerable and out of control of your body. And for me, being in there, where I am protesting with all these women who are saying that they also feel vulnerable, but at the same time owning that strength, it really helped heal me, so that was important.”

5.1.3. Violence: One Intention, Many Faces.

When asked to reflect on her experiences of violence during the RMF protests, Amandla acknowledged that it was a difficult question to answer, without first outlining her understanding of violence. For her, violence was characterized by a loss of power and manifested through a denial of agency.

“For me, I feel like, violence is disempowering someone somehow, like taking away their agency for example, when I was struggling with my, with at school, what was violent for me was the fact that I could not see and there was no way for me to make myself see and there were people actively putting things in my way to prevent me from doing this. So, for me that is violence when you are preventing someone - you are taking my ability to control myself, you know?”

For Amandla, gendered violence within the RMF movement itself manifested through the silencing of women and members of the transcollective. She felt that their thoughts,

feelings, experiences, and contributions were often disregarded by their cis-male comrades. Women within the movement were particularly frustrated as they took on the bulk of the organizing, and coordination within the movement. This involved collection and preparation of food during the occupations, drafting of documents and issuing announcements and other relevant communication. The cis men within the movement were criticized for assuming leadership positions through dominating the loud-hailers, speaking for the movement, and presenting themselves at the forefront, especially when the media was present, yet hardly contributing to the behind-the-scenes tasks and responsibilities. These tensions came to a head when the women and members of the transcollective exposed expressions of toxic masculinity within the movement. She recalls that at one point, the men within the movement had been kicked out of Azania House for this behaviour.

“That’s what they said, ‘the movement is over’, you know they just got kicked out, the girls were just like, ‘all the men must leave!’ you know, we can’t, there seems like there had been some sort of a conflict and eventually they were like all of you must get out of Azania house. And for me that was violent because someone else was talking about, ‘this is just derailing the movement, we must look at the bigger picture, we are in the middle of fighting with the institution, why are we talking about this?’ For me that was violent because they were literally invalidating their feelings.”

Outside of the movement, Amandla experienced the way that the protests and student activists were framed in the media as violent. She felt that their grievances were trivialized and that they were portrayed as disgruntled, ungrateful, and academically incompetent students who were sabotaging studious students to avoid writing and possibly failing their exams. She felt that this portrayal further discredited and criminalized the movement, negatively influencing public perception and opinions. This lack of support was echoed in Amandla’s family, who felt that she and other activists should rather focus on their education. They pointed out that previous generations had negotiated conditions that were much worse but had managed to complete their studies despite them. This frustrated Amandla as she felt that racism had become normalized and accepted. She notes how demoralizing it was to have the public, peers and some family members criticize the movement for exposing institutional racism and perceive their actions and demands as an unnecessary distraction.

“ ‘You have it much easier; you know’, a lot of people, used to tell us that, ‘you know, when we were at UCT, we did not have Jammies, we used to take taxis, I don’t know why you guys are complaining, we had it harder,’ or they will tell us, ‘You know, in Apartheid, you know, they didn’t even arrest us, they shot to kill you know’ and I think that’s where people - they are so used to violence, that when someone is saying ‘Mna (me), I’m not going to take this violence anymore’, they feel offended, you know, I think, that’s the thing – yah. I really think that it triggers, not that they feel offended, but I think, if you have been tolerating a certain level of violence for many years and have not questioned it and someone is going through the same thing and saying ‘Nope, I’m not going to tolerate this.’ – It questions your whole existence, because the way you were surviving all of those years was like ‘Well this is how it’s supposed to be’ and someone is saying ‘Nope, that’s not how it’s supposed to be.’ and that’s – I think that was the issue with us is, that we were saying ‘Nope, that’s not how it’s supposed to be’ – studying is not supposed to be this hard.”

Amandla criticizes UCT management for violence that manifested in the form of displays of power that she feels served to remind students that they (management) could ruin their futures should they choose to continue to disrupt the day-to-day running of the university. She points out the disparate power dynamics, highlighting that management had access to financial resources, legal support and security that protesting students did not. She shares that this intimidated and injected fear into student activists, who did not wish to further jeopardize their academic futures.

“Yoh! They were playing mind games with us. For me, it was that constant reminder from them that, ‘We have more power; we can mess up your future anytime we want, we have a lot of money, we are getting paid, we hardly have anything to lose, we will smear your name, we will drag you, we will put you through the courts, we will destroy your future, because you are standing up’.”

Amandla feels that management weaponized the courts, the police and private security, even though they continuously denied this. An example of this she shares are the interdicts UCT sought against protesting students. She saw this as an aggressive act that justified the unleashing of state violence against students under the guise of upholding the law. Students’ arrests and the financial strain brought about by bail applications and payments derailed the movement, further intimidating, traumatizing, and exhausting them. Amandla emphasizes how overwhelming and isolating the experience of being criminalized and arrested was, pointing out how this was further exacerbated by a lack of family support and the media’s persistent portrayal of students as violent, even though they were being violated through arrests and beatings.

“You know, a lot of us have been abused in some state, we have been hit, you know, we can take a lot of pain physically, but the fact is that these guys were, a lot of these policemen, were part of the Apartheid police, they are very violent, you know, they were wearing this body armour, you can get hit so far as much physically, you know, people would end up in hospital, you know things like that, and that was like the physical violence of literally being dragged, being this, you know, the stun grenades, the tear-gas, that was the one, physical external force, that – it was just too much. UCT’s PR machine, you know, constantly labelling us in certain ways as these violent people, so whatever, whatever, physical violence we were going through, it was more like - they deserve it. So, no one was sympathizing with us, we were just looking like criminals and hooligans.”

Furthermore, Amandla accuses the university of being underhanded and disingenuous in their negotiations with RMF activists through ‘bread and butter politics’. She claims that some students who were active in the movement were recruited to side with management during negotiations in exchange for much-needed funds that would support their families and/or assist them to resolve fee-blocks and further their education. She felt that these students’ personal circumstances made them succumb to the pressure to accept these offers even though they believed in the movement. Amandla acknowledges that students were at times violent in the methods they used to protest, however she notes that this violence was never self-initiated, but always in response to violence from the university and/or law enforcement. She problematized the glorification of non-violence in response to violence, locating this historically within Christian doctrine.

“ Um, the thing is, with the protest initially, because when you see with RMF, it was more like covering and taping up our mouths and poetry and singing and all of that, but I think that, even when you look at Apartheid, it was first non-violent forms of protests, lets negotiate and let’s see, but when people start tear gassing you and all of that, and then eventually you retaliate, so the violence students participated in was mainly retaliating towards the violence from, from um, the institution and the police. And, I completely think it is justified, and I believe in violence during protest, I hundred percent believe in violence during protest!”

“When I listen to history about us as Black people about being warriors, impi, about women, the Zulu king about Asentawaa, the, queen Asentawaa from Ghana, you know she led a war. As Black women and as Black people we have never been, you know, we never sat back and allowed people to punch us. It was only when things like Christianity came in that you must turn the other cheek and that’s bullshit. I mean how are you going to let people slap you in the face and not retaliate? Yes, there are certain battles, you know if you feel like you are in over your head, you shouldn’t engage with, or if you see that there’s ways in which you can

talk yourself out of that conflict. But if you see this person has decided to use violence, then there must be a part when you need to be offensive as well, because, always being in a state of defensiveness you are going to lose power, you need to get to [the] point where you are like we are going to defend to a certain place, but we need to also attack, because now it's changed from a space where we are just negotiating and talking and now we are just fighting."

5.1.4. Damned if you do, damned if you don't.

Amandla pointed out the difficult decisions that came with choosing to participate in the RMF protests despite massive risks to her and other students' safety and health. She shares that she felt that she had exhausted all other options and had used the prescribed channels to express her grievances and seek the necessary support. The decision to join RMF and protest, was a last resort.

"I did not see any other option. So, for me, before protesting and I think for a lot of people before protesting, I had tried, you know, the 'right routes', approaching the SRC, writing to the, I even wrote to, I met up with the Dean, before I started protesting, a whole Dean- didn't go well, educational psychologist, ok, didn't go well, manager of the disability unit, didn't go well. Ok, approached the lecturers, approached the head of department, approached the SRC, approached the SRC president, write to the Dean, have a meeting with the Dean - I am still failing, I am still falling behind, everything is not working out. So, the only thing that was left for me was protest. So, for me protest, wasn't like, 'oh let me go protest', it was like I have no other options left, you know. I have tried everything, what else do I have to lose at this point, let me try it. So that's how I went into protest."

Although Amandla found comfort in mobilizing as a collective during RMF, she points out her disappointment in the lack of participation from the broader student and staff community. She had hoped the protests would encourage university wide dialogues; where all could learn from each other and negotiate, and problem-solve together to address the challenges that RMF unearthed. She was disappointed that management chose to be defensive, instead of sharing their limitations and challenges so that collective problem-solving could be practiced. She felt this would have contributed to resolving the issues and was a lost opportunity for mutual contribution and growth. She directly connects the university's dismissive attitude to who protesting students were.

“I think the thing was the protest was being done mainly, by students who come from a poor background; so, we are quite in a minority. So, we had a large number of students who were quite indifferent to what was happening because it didn’t really affect them, some of the things. So there were white students, a lot of them came from wealthy backgrounds, and even if they didn’t come from wealthy backgrounds, they benefited somehow from the white privilege so they wouldn’t have the same issues as us with the racism, and within the Black students, or other students of colour; they um, there were a lot of wealthy students, basically, and that’s more about, you know like, considering that UCT is quite a wealthy institution, you know you would have had to get certain marks, you would have had to go to fancy schools because you came from money. So certain things, things like that, so that was one of the major barriers, us students who were the ones who didn’t have pads, were in the minority, so that was the biggest, I think barrier to mobilizing, was we were, so few.”

Outsourced workers, however, resonated with the protesting students, as they too felt their grievances and issues were being ignored because of their marginalized position in society. They felt that cleaning and security companies exploited and mistreated them, violating their rights without fear of exposure. Amandla feels that through joining RMF, they were instrumental towards exposing the institution as an anti-Black space. Even so, Amandla felt that students were somewhat used by workers who feared jeopardizing their jobs, leaving students to carry much of the risk during the protests.

“Initially, the relationship with the workers was ok, um, we were protesting together; but to be honest, I felt that the workers did exploit us, because I felt that they always wanted us to be in the frontlines, and, and I do get that, because they can’t, lose their jobs because they have families to feed, but I feel like, they just, basiyekela (they abandoned us) you know, like everything was on us, you know, organizing everything, everything, they were just like, it felt like they were just sitting back and like you guys do it.”

Lastly, Amandla observed that ‘legitimate’ and therefore respected forms of protest were those that minimally disrupted the institution, such as social media campaigns and displaying placards. She recognized the conundrum this posed as disruption of the status quo was the intention of protest, yet organized disruptions were perceived as violence by those that maintained the status quo.

“ Something that I always fought with, is that people were always saying that protest is going there with a sign, and I always used to say ‘No, I don’t think that is ok’ – because a lot of disabled people can’t do that, they can’t protest, they are, you know, there is a whole disability twitter out there, like hashtags you know, so– that is not protest. For me, protest is where you are challenging the status quo, in any way. So, for example there is this one girl – I loved it – she is a , I don’t know if she has muscular dystrophy or whatever, but she sometimes

uses a wheelchair, but she is a sex-worker, and she took a very, like- wearing lingerie in her wheelchair, she was like 'I'm a sex worker, I'm sexy, and I'm going to post this picture, you – I know some of you fetishize disability, some of you don't want to see it, but here I am.' And for me, that, I saw that as a form of protest. I think sometimes it is necessary to use violence, sometimes it is necessary to be on the streets, sometimes it necessary to be changing laws and to be using the court system, but I feel like, it's any form of resistance, anyway that you are challenging the status quo."

5.1.5. A Dark Cloud with a Silver Lining

UCT's response to RMF protests left Amandla feeling unsafe and had negative consequences for her health. She had undergone several eye operations during the protests, the physical and emotional toll of which, resulted in the development of some complications that delayed her recovery. She also gained a significant amount of weight. Her polycystic ovarian syndrome flared, resulting in irregular periods. She felt that any medication that she took for this was affecting her hormones and having a further negative effect on her depression.

"Every single medication I took, would make my depression worse, and the funny thing is that when I had left that space, and I took contraceptives - no, symptoms of depression, and I'm like, how is that possible, because this is a contraceptive, but then now that I am in a different space, the contraceptive is affecting me differently, so...? and this is why I am so afraid of going back to Cape Town (laughs) cos – what if I get sick again? (laughs)"

Her mental health was equally affected; she was admitted to the psychiatric ward on several occasions after a series of overdoses. She makes the link between the negative effects on her and other students' mental health with the violent situation at UCT.

"I just wanted to shut down my head, ja. I don't think I wanted to die, I just wanted to shut down my head, there was so much, everything was so overwhelming, I was waking up overwhelmed, I just needed to shut down my head, I just needed that. So that was the state I was in, each time I overdosed, and I know it's weird, because I really didn't want to die, because most of the time, I overdosed, and I would tell someone. You know in the hospitals they make you seem like you are an attention-seeker, because how are you going to over-dose and then tell someone, but it's like, you know if you over-dose, you will knock yourself out for hours, when you wake up, your mind is – you will be drugged up for a few days, your mind won't work, or won't work well."

“I guess, well you know, we are in such a violent space, you know, that the only thing that is left is to lash out at each other, but that was a big thing, because it got to a point where the movement was just, toxic, just emotionally. The way, even beyond the patriarchy, people’s mental health deteriorated, like, there was like drugs and alcohol to the point where people could not even have like proper conversations... Initially, it was a very hopeful environment, you know like, people are singing, we have plans, we have this. It is quite a positive environment, and then as the protest progresses, you know like, the arrests, the physical things that are happening, all the violence that is happening, um, you know, you are going from this place where you are so hopeful, you were carrying so much pain and you were in such a horrible place and you were hopeful, and now, all of these things, bad things are happening.”

Spiritually, Amandla felt her experiences within the movement and protests contributed positively to her spiritual growth. Having been raised a Christian and growing up in a Christian environment, connections with one’s ancestors and associated dreams and visions were demonized. As a result, any dreams, or visions she had, evoked a sense of fear and anxiety, negatively impacting her mental health. During the protests, some comrades carried and burned imphepo (sage) to clear the space and welcome the protection of their ancestors. For Amandla, given her upbringing, this made her initially fear these practices. But the more she was exposed to these and conversations discussing African spirituality and protest, the more at ease and empowered she felt. This exposure, together with the education that took place within the movement, exposed Western medicine as an extension of whiteness, complicit in suppressing and demonizing African traditions.

“I felt this re-awakening in me and from then, I started learning more and more and more about African spirituality and that, and for me it started mattering so much about the spiritual aspect of activism, you know, the fact that, activism is difficult, and it’s tough, and that you cannot do this by yourself, you need the ancestors, you need a spiritual anchor to do this, you, you can’t navigate this white supremacist world by yourself- you can’t navigate it as a Black woman. It was such a nice environment to be in, in a place where Blackness and Black spirituality was being embraced.”

Amandla emphasizes the relationship between her environment and her health, highlighting the impact of living, working, and learning in an environment that denied her a sense of dignity. She shares that she is curious as to how she may feel about her experiences within RMF at UCT in the years to come as she is still processing the events. She is now focused on learning to live with her health challenges and make peace with the fact that she may be negotiating these for the rest of her life.

“ I think that is the point that I am trying to bring and haven’t been able to articulate well, is that, you might be physically healthy, but if you are living in undignified circumstances, and generally an undignified life, it affects how you feel about yourself and everything, and it might not have any physical manifestations, or, it might only, you might only see the effects in 20 years’ time, it doesn’t make it any less harmful. ”

“I’ve concluded that, because I know that I will never conform to society’s standard of health, I have these mental health conditions that are there for the rest of my life, I have physical health conditions, I will never be at a point in my life where I am not taking medication. I will forever take medication. For me, health is when I can sit in front of the mirror right now and I am comfortable with this body, I am comfortable with like the aches and the pains, and the fatigue and everything and I have, I have adapted to it in my life, ya, that is health for me, I am at peace with it, I am ok with it. ”

5.1.6. I Have a Dream

“I have all these dreams of, you know, using my degree and becoming an engineer, you know. I want to be an engineer firstly because so many people said that I couldn’t do it, because I am disabled, I’m a woman, I’m disabled, you know, you can’t do this, so there is a huge aspect of me saying I wanna do that because, you know, those things don’t make me inferior. Secondly, I wanna do it because I want to empower people with my engineering degree. There are a number of like, you know, things, that I want to implement that will help Black people with engineering. But then for me, it’s also like, I am realizing that, like, at what cost is that going to happen? Am I going to kill myself while trying to pursue this? You know, shouldn’t this degree be there to serve me and not, I am serving it. This degree is supposed to bring me happiness, it’s supposed to change my life, it’s supposed to change the life of others...I am not going to die doing this degree. I am unwilling to die for a degree, it’s not going to happen. ”

5.2. Rekgotsofetse Chikane

5.2.1. 'This is How We Do Things'.

Rekgotsofetse notes that although there were multiple conditions that informed the formation of RMF, they mostly pointed to UCT's lack of critical engagement with the sense of alienation experienced by Black students at the university. He was a fourth-year social sciences student at the time and remembers being particularly frustrated with the lack of Black academics at the institution and a curriculum that he thought lacked exposure to critical thinkers. He shares that he and his friends would make a game of counting how many Black academics had taught them during their time at UCT.

"Ja, we used to play like a fun game in second year, RMF would have happened in my fourth year at varsity, but in second year we used to play this game, of, and ja, it only started second semester, second year, where we were like. 'How many Black academics have you been taught by?' and usually the answer would be like one or zero, if someone said two, it was just like, like 'How?' (laughs). Who, what department has two Black academics who are teaching undergrads, that you would have experienced, both in first year and second year, and it was just like a very rare occurrence, and the question is, how does that impact your psyche?"

Rekgotsofetse observed that even though the university socialized and integrated students during the annual orientation week, students would soon return to the separative racial grouping patterns characteristic of Apartheid South Africa. He recalls socializing with a diverse group of students, during and shortly after O-week.

"We were all so together the first two weeks, first year, we were so united, and then after O-week was done, you didn't force anyone, no one forced it upon us, no one came there with signs, we all just went into our racial corners, that used to fascinate me, because I came from a school that was extremely multi-racial."

He found himself increasingly frustrated with the university as he noticed that besides O-week, UCT did not offer any further initiatives to address and discourage racial splitting on its campuses, making him question the point of it all. He also noticed his white peers were unwilling to visit establishments which were mostly frequented by Black students. When questioning them about this he recalls he was told that they 'just didn't go' to the mentioned places, implying that these places and activities were not suitable for them as white people, within a particular socio-economic bracket. This,

coupled with the fact that Rekgotsofetse was no longer willing to assimilate, created conflict in these relationships until eventually, they no longer socialized. This rupture was especially notable within his experience of residence life. Rekgotsofetse was placed in Kopano, a residence for men established in 1945. He felt that because he spent large amounts of time with his fellow res-mates, in proximity, engaging in daily and residence activities together, including meals, studying and social events in residence life made students 'family'. Rekgotsofetse remembers conflict about the annual residence formal which he says did not consider the circumstances of Black students in the residence. He thought it unfair that the house committees would spend up to a quarter of the allocated residence budget on the formal, even though a small fraction of mostly white students would attend the formal. He felt that the house committee was insensitive to the fact that many, mostly Black students, were on the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) and could not afford the tickets to the formal, never mind the other accumulative costs, such as attire, ticket for a date and money for beverages that would cost at least R1 500. He thought it unfair that a large portion of the residence's budget was spent on a formal attended by white students and that this practice continued unchallenged.

"So, I get angry about that and say that's impossible, that doesn't make any sense. You shouldn't have this; create something else. And they say, but this is how we've always done it, like we don't understand why you're complaining. Then the house committee comes out and says that we are going to have an alternative event, right, because we are thinking about the injustice of the situation, right so let's have an alternative event, the alternative event is that we will send you to Mzoli's because you guys must like that. So I said, essentially what you are telling us is that, white guys in the res, get to go to – I think it was somewhere in Constantia, so the white guys get to go to this beautiful Constantia etcetera place, for this one night extravaganza, where a quarter of the budget, is being spent, and you are spending 15 – 20k on sending us to Gugs (Gugulethu) because we are Black, we would be happy about that? One white person, without actively thinking that they are being racist or prejudiced, is just using their position of power, to amplify other people's position of power and without even knowing it, recreating the economic oppressive structures of this country. I remember being so frustrated about that because, that is, that is, that violence that is not attacking, it's not we are punching you, it's not vitriol, it's not like someone is saying the k word to you, it's through their - ignorant racism and I hate this, it annoys me."

He decided to join a political party to help him better understand how he could navigate what he was experiencing and observing. He believes joining the South African Students' Congress (SASCO) further conscientized him to power relations within the

university. Although a mostly positive experience, he recalls how tiring it was to be aware of these unequal dynamics and to attempt to actively resist them in various ways. This fatigue was exacerbated by a sense of isolation and what he described as a lack of language to express the alienation Black students experienced at the university.

“ A big aspect of RMF was that people who knew that there was something wrong about their experience at the university, but didn't know if anyone else felt like that, didn't have the language to describe it, so if your tutor treats you like shit and you don't have the language to be like, oh ya, it's because they are racist, you just think like I have done something wrong, so it's the knowing that you are not alone, it's the knowing that you have the language to describe what is happening and the third aspect is knowing that you can do something about it.”

Rekgotsofetse joined RMF with the intention of exposing the university as a morally and ethically contradictory institution. Students within the movement recognized the significance of the Rhodes Statue and other art installations across campus as symbols of institutional racism at UCT, even though this was continually denied. He was frustrated with the pushback from students and staff who were vehemently against the removal of the statue, even though he felt that many didn't know who Rhodes was. For him, this spoke to the historically complicit nature of the education system in creating and preserving discriminative structures and traditions yet denying their significance. He criticized the curriculum for excluding key historical figures and events, such as CJR, failing to detail his central role in the formation of UCT. He remembers being particularly frustrated with UCT management and how they responded to RMF's grievances. He felt it was particularly telling that even though Black students identified racism within the institution and were able to name and identify the ways in which they experienced this, the university continuously denied these claims and defended the preservation of the status quo.

“How are you so vehemently opposed to the statue being removed, like, you don't even know about Rhodes. No one gets taught like Rhodes's history, like Rhodes is there but no one is like, no one ever did a course in high school history to say to be like the whole year we are going to learn about Cecil John Rhodes, he is like a part of our history that you can easily forget and move on with your life, because a lot of our history is like let's not talk about Apartheid, like no one talks about the Anglo –Boer war and the issues that Rhodes had, except Afrikaans students. I think I have mentioned this to you before, I love Afrikaans students at UCT, because they left us the fuck alone, they are like we are with you, we hate that statue as well,

we are going to mind our business, because even white Afrikaans students at UCT, how often do you hear a white Afrikaans student, speak Afrikaans at UCT? Now, that being said, on the flip side, is that imagery important? 100%, because it shows, it allows all those people who sit on the fence to no longer sit on the fence, because they feel like they now have a voice and that was the big of RMF.”

He shares an example of an exam procedure that was problematic and needed to change yet faced resistance from the university.

“So, there is the PS number, and then there is the student number, so on the exam you can see someone’s name, so early 2000s, I don’t know where this happens, but someone complains and says no man, Black students are getting marked worse than white students, we think it is linked to bias, of if I know, if I see this name and it is not Henry Cavell, I am going to be like, ‘ Hmmm, maybe this person is not as smart as I think he is.’ and I don’t think a tutor is going to look at that and say I am going to punish a Black student, I think it is just an inherent bias. So, the suggestion is, change it, make it anonymous, this is a global thing, this is not new research and there is a fight against that, right of, ‘no, we won’t, this is how we do things’, that’s the phrase of ‘this is how we do things’ and for me that is, if the way you do things is harming individuals, it is a moral question of your moral fabric.”

Rekgotsofetse thinks that a strength of RMF was that it called for decolonization rather than transformation, which they viewed as insufficient to address the issues raised by the movement. He considered the university’s resistance to decolonization another example of its denial of the conditions Black students experienced as alienating and disempowering. For him, the language of transformation maintained problematic power dynamics, rather than acknowledging and seeking to address them.

“Because one expressively acknowledges that there [is] a power imbalance, so transformation doesn’t tell you there is a power imbalance, it just tells you that there is a numbers imbalance, there is something – the picture doesn’t look right, that’s what transformation is. I can understand the [university’s] resistance, because if someone says yeah we want to pursue decoloniality or decolonization, it is then the implicit reality of coloniality or colonization exists [existing], and if you are white then it then puts you firmly in the position of, ya I am the colonizer in the situation and people don’t want to be a colonizer, no one really wants to be a colonizer, no. So, to take on the role of decolonization is saying, that I actually, before we can have the act of doing it, It means I must now place myself in the position where I say, I am now victimizing, I am now perpetuating violence, I am now the arbiter of your downfall and we now need to work from that basis and that is an uncomfortable position if someone wants to put themselves in. Transformation is I am the saviour, my job is to assist everyone, it is making your life easier, it is my role here, I am here to help you, that’s what transformation is, and that is why it goes fundamentally wrong a lot of the time, because it masks over everything else, at least in my mind.”

Rekgotsofetse recalls that he expressed his concerns about the conditions at the institution in an open letter to Archbishop Ndungane who was Chair of the Council at UCT at the time. This, shortly after Chumani Maxwele's protest, infamous for the throwing of human feces on the statue of CJR. In his letter, Rekgotsofetse outlines the discriminatory climate on UCT's campus and his frustration at the slow rate of transformation, that he felt yielded little to no significant change to institutionalized racism. He notes that although the use of human excrement had been widely criticized and condemned as an unacceptable medium to use within protest, he instead questioned the conditions that would inform this act, an aspect he felt was critical to expose the issues that Chumani's protest called attention to.

".... why must it be that a student at the University of Cape Town (UCT) is pushed to the point of having to throw fecal matter over the statue of Cecil John Rhodes in order to have a conversation about transformation at UCT? How is it that we are now at this point? This week I was forced, again, to come to terms with the fact that there is no plan for real transformation on campus. Transformation that I can see. Honest transformation. Transformation that means something.... I write this letter as an appraisal of the institutionalized racism that continues to persist within UCT. This letter is addressed to you (Archbishop Ndungane) because I can no longer put my trust in the Office of the Vice Chancellor or Senate to lead any form of meaningful transformation at this institution. The form of institutionalized racism that persists at UCT is unlike the other forms of obvious, obscene, and repugnant acts of racism that exist at other institutions of higher learning. Ours is worse. Ours is systemic. Ours is subliminal. It is the form of racism that makes you ignorant about your subjugation because you are never challenged to seriously engage on critical matters. It's the form of racism that allows those who enter UCT from a position of privilege to never have to question their privilege. The privilege of being able to walk past a statue of Saartjie Baartman in the library and have no idea that simply placing her on display, with no justification, is an insult to her legacy and painfully offensive to many students. You see the problem we face at UCT is that the discussion around transformation and racial transformation, is largely ignored or recklessly diluted by those in decision-making positions. Racial transformation is often packed away into policies that have no tangible outputs and have meaningless impact on the university. If it were true that the university was indeed moving forward with regards to transformation, why is it that we do not have a real, meaningful, transformation strategy? Reverend, what we want, what we need, is transformation that we can see. With regards to representation, we both know that the university has failed in that regard. Last year the Office of the Vice Chancellor (OVC) tried to defend this by lamenting the lack of quality black academics across the country and further explaining that the university cannot afford to offer competitive salaries to entice young black graduates to continue studying. Both these arguments are weak at best, they show that there was never really a plan to increase representation.... Why must we transcend

race when white students are never told to accept their white privilege. Even more so, why should we transcend race when the university further allows white students to express that white privilege unopposed on campus because there are simply no structures to do so?"

During RMF Rekgotsofetse recognized that decolonization was a project with potential to expose and disrupt the numbers game at UCT, which he felt was obscured by the language of transformation. He felt that this was especially true when it came to RMF's call to decolonize the curriculum, calling out perfunctory efforts from the university to address this as an important issue.

"My view on Decolonization or decolonizing the curriculum is not necessarily add more African theorists, right – but simply because your – here's a debate I was having yesterday, adding more African theorists doesn't make your curriculum more African (laughs). You can have an African who is coming here with all the Western ideals in the world, um, but just because he comes from Rwanda and Mozambique or Cape Town or Lesotho or whatever; it doesn't - that is not the question – the question is about knowledge structures, and what are the forms of knowledge that have been ignored and who is teaching them? Right? And if you ask that question, you will naturally get to Black academics, African academics, female academics, like you will naturally get there, but you need to follow that logic otherwise you will be tokenizing particular forms of knowledge."

He shares that he and his fellow student activists recognized the ineffectual tools offered by the university through 'legitimate' forms of critical engagement, choosing instead to engage in protest, despite the inherent risks associated with it. He finds it interesting that few questioned *why* students would choose to protest, considering the potentially dire consequences for their academic futures and personal safety, as evident in South Africa's history. He felt that such a line of inquiry was necessary to shift focus from the disruption to the academic project to the alienating conditions that he felt the university continually denied.

" Personally I don't like the phrase of 'protest is the language of the oppressed' because in my mind there is a step that must be acknowledged before that which is that the social contract was broken – protest should never be the language of the oppressed in your society and because there was a creation of an oppressed group in your society, that is the actual wrong there, if it makes sense? And that is what we should be trying to understand, why have we been pushed into this space?"

5.2.2. The Game is Rigged.

Rekgotsofetse remembers that although UCT claimed to be in support of 'legitimate' forms of protest, their critique of students' actions supported a narrow interpretation of what protest is, what it could be and the multiple ways in which it could potentially manifest. He was particularly frustrated by what he identified as a lack of critical thinking in response to the RMF protests, especially because for him protest, at its core, is an act centered around asking questions and encourages critical engagement with the issues at hand.

"I have seen people be a protestor in like a committee meeting by just asking the right questions about something that doesn't make sense, and for me that's what protest is. It's asking the right questions about things that don't seem to make sense, um, to try and make sense of them, and if you can't, then standing on your morals about why we have to fix this, um, in a simple way. I think about protest that way because that's how I engage, um, so if I am marching down a street, it's because this is the medium, that I am trying to show someone of why this doesn't make sense, this is my medium of asking the question, but it also allows me to connect that activity to what has been happening in a boardroom setting, or being at a table setting, that these two things are not fundamentally different, they look different, but the basic, core aspect of them aren't. At least that's how I see it, it's what I will teach my kids essentially, that it's the act of just asking the right questions and speaking up, and how that looks for you, you can be the only one that determines that."

For Rekgotsofetse, the decision to participate in protest was not taken lightly and was considered as a response to the university's resistance to change. He shares that he and other student activists in RMF were frustrated by the 'catch 22' inherent within protest politics. He felt that student activists were at risk regardless of the decision to protest or not, which he feels placed them in a difficult position.

"Because how else will things change in our society? Um, the game is rigged in South Africa, there is no way to really create change, no, not that elections are rigged, but the way that our politics plays out, we are not changing, you are not creating fundamental change in our political institutions, you are preserving the status quo."

Rekgotsofetse credits RMF's strategy for challenging oppressive power-relations at the institution before any negotiations with those in authority about the issues identified could take place. He recognized the threat this strategy posed to the control and influence enjoyed by those in authority. He believes that this threat informed UCT

Management's decision to play their hand, weaponizing their access to and support from the state through seeking an interdict against protesting students, intended to regain control and to re-affirm their authority. He notes that these efforts were escalated to police and private security as the battle for power continued.

“Once the university realizes that the power relations are changing, they first used the state as a means of re-gaining power, because we don’t have access to the state in the way in which they do, right? So, they will get the interdict. Students don’t have access to an interdict, we don’t have access to the state machinery as a form of power; so the university will use that. We don’t have the ability to call the police on to management, but they do, so when they lose that sense of power, because we force them into that corner, they push back and we don’t have any other mechanisms available to us, so we go back to the state, and we ask the state, can you help us sort out this issue? The state also says as the state we have a vested interest in also controlling this, but we can’t just come on to the campus ourselves, right, so we have no power over the students as long as they are on campus. However, once you invite the police onto campus, they now have the power, because the Vice-Chancellor has no authority to tell the police what to do. So often, the university’s first point of call was interdicts, interdicts didn’t work, so they called the police, police clashing with students didn’t work, and when they said to the police, please don’t behave in this particular way, the response from the police is, you don’t have power to tell us, once you call us, we are in charge now. So, in order to regain power, the university vice-chancellor is then saying then we will get our own private security.”

Rekgotsofetse recalls that any power the students had access to when challenging and attempting to renegotiate these power-dynamics and structures was short-lived due to fatigue from resisting multiple forces of violence from the institution, the state, the police, and the media, occupying most, if not all, of their time and energy especially during student occupations. He shares that activists who had been initially energized by the platform RMF created were eventually worn down through violent tactics, that took a toll on student morale, wellbeing, and sense of safety.

5.2.3. A Meeting of the Masses

Rekgotsofetse situates his role in the protests before the inception and formal constitution of RMF in March of 2015. He remembers that there were various conversations happening in response to Chumani’s protest across various student bodies on campus, including the SRC. He observed that these conversations, although important, were isolated within affected groupings and interested

organizations, but had not been discussed with the student body as a whole. He also noted a resurgence of the named issues and thought it important to apply to facilitate a mass meeting to invite a broad discussion about the oppressive conditions at UCT.

“Everyone wants the statue to go and I’m pretty sure we have been discussing this for ages, it’s not a new position and in order to explore that question more, I was like, oh well let’s have a mass meeting and the SRC then decides, like ‘we also wanna ban the statue’. I decide I’m going to host a mass meeting on campus on Thursday, just me, no constituency, I didn’t even use the political party I was with, it was just like, I’m just going to put a speaker in the middle of Jameson Square - Jammie Stairs and be like, ‘Whoever wants to talk about this thing, come talk now’.”



Figure 4: Rekgotsofetse hosting an open-air dialogue after Chumani’s protest.
(source RMF Facebook page)

He shares that he was also spurred to action by a Facebook post complaining about Chumani’s protest. The post, although in support of the removal of the statue and the institutional change it called for, denounced the act of throwing human feces onto the statue. The post expressed issue with the practical events that would follow what they felt would further denigrate Black people as it would fall to one of the Black cleaners to clean the remnants of the protest. Rekgotsofetse recognized that the statue and legacy of CJR could be used as a proxy to create a space and opportunity for a conversation about being Black at UCT. Rekgotsofetse credits this mass meeting for initiating a marked shift from polite engagement of Black students to a bolder stance.

“I claim that RMF’s heart and energy came from the time X, it was definitely X who comes out and says, ‘No, you won’t speak on behalf of Black people, like it just won’t be a thing that is going to happen in this space’. So, I always, I guess I attribute that energy to her, that really pushes things.”

He further credited X for hosting a meeting after the mass meeting and leading the discussion on how they could start to curate a movement in response to recent events and the issues raised. This led to the creation of an RMF Facebook page which he thinks created a necessary platform for the movement. As a member of SASCO, Rekgotsofetse felt that their ideology, organizational capacity, and skills could contribute to the RMF movement and formed a part of the initial core leadership group. He reflected on his history of participation in university governance and felt that this may have limited his ability to think outside the scope of it, which he says often positioned him at odds with those who were fairly new and might not be aware of similar initiatives at UCT in recent years and those who wanted to adopt more radical strategies.

“They wouldn’t have known that there was ever something called, um, ‘To whom does UCT belong? They would never know that the SRC of two years before hosted an event of, ‘Is UCT racist?’ They had a massive meeting at Hiddingh Hall that had a whole, a whole 50-minute debate on the statue being present on campus, alright? So, the whole idea was that you need someone in the room to ensure that when you are talking to management, because management’s advantage over students is that – they don’t leave. So, often it would be, there would be a suggestion on the table, and I would be like, ‘Ja, there is an institutional process that we can follow to do that.’ But the whole purpose of RMF is, well the institutional processes are what is contributing to institutional racism on campus and the issues that we are facing, so to follow them, justifies their presence, and to justify their presence inadvertently justifies the presence of the things we’re complaining about.”

Rekgotsofetse feels that he has experienced more privilege than most Black people in the country and feels that it is his responsibility to exercise his sphere of influence to ensure that future generations of Black people are able to enjoy the same privileges as part of everyday life. From his perspective, the constraints experienced by Black staff and students at the university was the most salient manifestation of institutional violence that informed the formation of RMF, which he notes as contrary to media accounts of the protests that he thinks misrepresented and mislabeled students’ methods of protest as ‘violent’.

5.2.4. It’s All About Choice and Context

Aware of the multiple perspectives and interpretations of violence, Rekgotsofetse summarizes his perspective of violence as the denial of choice or options. He rejects

perspectives that only focus on aggressive acts, such as getting into a physical altercation with someone and rather considers violence as the process in which a person finds themselves at the mercy of another's power without the option to exercise choice. He explained that an otherwise peaceful person could be forced into becoming violent because of violent conditions or circumstances, limiting choice or other options to a peaceful solution of the situation.

“My thing in life is, do whatever you need to do, live your best life, make your own decisions, just don't harm anyone in the process, in whatever way that means. So, violence then becomes when you can take that stance in life and be pushed into a corner, where your only rational response is to violently lash out at someone. For me the act of violence is neither here nor there, the interesting thing is the process of how you got to that point. When I have acted out violently it was usually because, in that moment, there were no other options, but to fight back in one way or another. So, in essence violence is you hoping for something better and doing something about it when all your other avenues are taken away.”

Rekgotsofetse posits that violence at a societal level is an expression of a society that doesn't know how to handle the power-relations in that context, especially the notion of equality, which he thinks is a foreign concept to the South African society. To him, oppressive systems or institutions are expressions of our human nature and the faults that lie within us as human beings. He describes how negotiating such contexts can in effect 'prime' one towards violence, especially when it comes to protest.

Something instigates the reaction to fight back, and if that happens often enough, you then create the culture of, ok, 'today I woke up, and I am primed, I am now primed for violence, not that I woke up as being this violent person, I am now primed because I have to expect this to happen, or I am expected to portray this image' and so, for a lot of students, and I don't like, again, I am going to say it this afternoon, um, the argument as if students are holy, as if we are all perfect angels. No, no, no, a lot of us, antagonized, a lot of us pushed buttons, a lot of us know exactly what's going to happen if I do xyz. If, a particular confrontation will take place, right. And in my mind, it is, was that person always like that? Or did the protest culture in the country prime students to be in that position? And if we take the position that students have always been like that, then that speaks volumes to the type of society that we live in, right? 'What has society done to prime individuals to know how to react in the face of a violent confrontation?'

Rekgotsofetse views the conflict and confrontations between role-players during RMF as stemming from a lack of the ability to communicate. This, he says, was fostered and maintained by systems and hierarchies within the institution that polarized groups, maximizing differences, minimizing similarities, and making each seem alien to the

other. He reiterated the importance of contextualizing what is described as violence to make sense of it. He gave the example of public violence, which student activists were accused of during RMF student protests, and describes an incident where students overturned a car.

“There were a hundred people surrounding this car, this car was not going anywhere, but this crowd is, it’s not like the crowd is just stagnant, the crowd is moving, exercise a bit of patience. The driver doesn’t exercise patience, drives over a student, so students flip the car over, because what would happen in that context anywhere in the world? Now, is that public violence? Now if you give people the context, and when I gave people the context, most people will say, no, that’s not public violence, we can rationalize that, but without that, then everyone will say it’s public violence. So that’s how I understand public violence, it’s firstly the disjuncture between the conception within and without it the understanding of, how far are you willing to go to say these particular acts are just and these ones aren’t? The difference between a revolution and a civil war and how that informs the type of acts, you are doing linked to that second point, and the last one of context always matters, um, the third – I mean the fourth, random argument would be that it is an old Apartheid law, but that’s a separate conversation for another day (laughs). Notions of public violence, really depend on, what side of the fence you are sitting on. My notion of public violence is that I don’t think burning a tyre is public violence, in any particular way. I think it is linked to imagery of historical forms, of violence, that I now think are not historical forms of violence, but historical forms of communicating injustices in society. The act of burning a tyre is not because I want to harm anyone, it’s because I want to indicate, through how I have seen other people indicate, through a power that I have seen other people indicate in history that there is an injustice here and it is almost like I am linking my present injustice, with historical injustices to remind society that we were burning tyres 40 years ago, we are still burning tyres today so clearly there is something – something’s gone wrong, so I don’t see burning tyres as public violence, do I see, property damage as public violence? Well, I contextualize things; there is always context, right? So, public violence really depends on the eye of the beholder.”

5.2.5. Disruption and Internal Rupture.

Rekgotsofetse disputes claims that RMF was a violent movement, or that students were violent during staged protests. He argues that if students did become violent it was in response to being confronted by external (violent) forces. He thinks it important to note that the first 6 months of the movement were not violent until management called the police onto campus. He noted that what was labelled as violent were any actions students took to subvert existing power structures and hierarchies, even though no harm came to anyone. He explains that students within RMF recognized

that authority was maintained in the norms of the institution and that to change the status quo, they had to disrupt these institutional norms, which was often interpreted and labelled as violence.

“How were students violent? Umm, the way we handled the transformation, summit meeting.

The thing of you will listen to, we will strip you of your agency as Max Price as the leadership of the university to control this space, um, there is no negotiation about this, if this doesn't happen we are walking away – but we also don't want to walk away so we are just going to take it, we are going to force you to sit and listen. It is the way that you occupy Bremner building of this is our space, we will make it what we want, it is the disruption of classes, we will disrupt spaces because the normalcy of university can't continue essentially, once we disrupt how you maintain your authority. X makes this interesting point, he says, you know, we had violent intent, but it never acted out, but we could understand what it meant to be violent, and he described us, as we understood the power of violence, how you could use violence, but we were a non-violent movement, or something along those lines, and the point that he made was, RMF from its inception, up until the first night of FMF at UCT, that Monday night when the police came, he says during that time period, there is absolutely no violence, there was no incident of burning a tyre, we hypothesized, we theorized, we discussed to death the ability and wanting to burn a tyre, but eventually decided that this university has to take it (the statue) down themselves, otherwise, we will always be labelled as if, like, we are these violent delinquents, or worse off, the university never has to look at itself in the mirror and take it down themselves, they must go through their own processes and come to the conclusion of ‘yah, we are bad for keeping this statue here, our bad’, not, ‘ag we were trying to do it and these guys did it before we could self-reflect.’ – right? Six months goes, not a single violent incident, not a student, not a single case that I know of, of assault, of attacking another academic, (there was an academic who rode over a student), until police came on campus. Until the first time that police come on campus that year, that's when violence breaks out.”

The decision by UCT management to call the police onto campus is one that has stuck with Rekgotsofetse. He shared that he struggled to make sense of it, considering the very real and violent consequences for students who too were part of the institution management claimed to be protecting with this decision.

“ The university calling police on students when they know that the likelihood of the actions of the police on that day, will harm students, whether there are rubber [bullets], whether there are stun grenades, to make that decision is you saying I am making – I am caught in a moral dilemma right and I am choosing the side where there is higher opportunity of violence being perpetrated against a human being, because I am avoiding ‘violence’ being perpetrated against the building of my institution”.

Rekgotsofetse shared his frustration with the popular narrative in the media that ‘the protests turned violent’. He explains that this statement made it seem as if there was a sudden, impulsive shift in student activists who became so enraged that they started to burn or break things and attack those in authority. He rejects this interpretation and portrayal of events that he feels absolves police and other authorities from the responsibility of initiating violence against protesting students, who would understandably retaliate or defend themselves, focusing on the ‘fight’ between role players rather than oppressive structures and those authorities that maintained them.

“I have never participated in any activity of burning a tyre, I have attacked police officers, but always in self-defense, um, because, whenever I attacked like a police officer, which has happened a few times, it’s always like, nah this person could be my dad, like my uncle, and I’m like what a weird thing to do, to attack your uncle, like why would I? Like this guy deep down agrees with me. Like deep down a hundred percent agrees with me, so why am I angry with you as an individual. Am I angry against the state as a whole, like SAPS and police? I could be angry against them. Am I angry against the government? Ja 100%, I am angry with my own political party, 100%, but you individuals standing in front of me, who have now become this embodiment of all of that, I am attacking you, not because of you, but because of what you embody right now.”

Rekgotsofetse shares that attempts from student activists to reclaim power were considered violent because on the surface, their actions, read outside of context could be interpreted as a sort of revenge-racism. He gave the example of removing someone against their will from the RMF space for example, which although an essentially discriminative behaviour, in the context of RMF, was actually quiet liberating.

“I’ll give one example, and it’s when X kicks out white people in the room. Now, I don’t believe Black people can be racist in any particular way, you can be hella prejudice, go off, be your prejudice self, embrace it, but we can’t be racist, right? Because we don’t have power, and I remember the moment we kicked white people out of, um, the Archie Mafeje room after the screening of Miners Shot Down and just being like, in a very like, emotionally charged state and then experiencing that moment and just thinking to myself, ‘ja, kick them out, you know what, I feel hella racist right now, in this particular, in these four walls I have all the power over, and not just, I’ve got arbitrary power over you, right? I can just wield it whenever I want to remove you from this space and you will become subservient, you will not talk back, you will not do – you will become –’, and that was a violently liberating experience, because it wasn’t like, oh, I just realized this, it was like a, your thrust into like a new world, of like, ‘oh this is amazing!’”

The lack of appropriate language to describe incidents of violence and the complex ways in which it manifested is an aspect that Rekgotsofetse draws attention to when attempting to describe the internal processes that occurred for him during the protests; he names this an 'internal rupture'.

"The other notion of violence is just that internal rupture, I don't know how to describe it, I don't have the words to describe it. Being told that you are less than all the time, and what that does to like, I wouldn't say mental health, because I can't speak on other people's behalf, but just like, your self-confidence, to have someone constantly have these arbitrary ways of viewing you, from lecturers, to students, to friends etc. – can rupture. For me the biggest violent rupture is realizing that I don't have to deal with it anymore and that I can actively fight against it. I'm not sure how to describe that, but I remember experiencing that in RMF."

5.2.6. The Risky Business of Protest

For Rekgotsofetse, engaging in protest came with inherent risks, risk to one's safety, risk to one's academic future and possible risk to employment opportunities after university, should you be expelled or suspended. He points out that although less tangible, the threat of violence was ever-present. This threat created an experience of what he describes as a psychological violence that would bear on his mind creating a hyper-awareness that a single 'wrong' move could result in death. He explains that this was a known danger and common occurrence in South Africa's history of protest and that justice for any protest-related deaths was rare. He found it difficult to reconcile the disregard for human life displayed by the police and the fact that it was their duty to perpetuate further violence on protesting students. He observed that police presence often escalated situations of protest rather than de-escalate them. This hyper-awareness was exacerbated by evidence of surveillance of student activists and was mentally taxing.

"It's a psychological violence that you- something will always happen, you don't know if you are being followed, you don't know if you are not being followed and the media, the media can be swung in whatever way, but it is the state that really gets you. So at some point we knew our phones were being bugged, we knew that, we were just planning things that no one else will know but the police were there and you are just like, that's just impossible, um and then when you find out later that state security was involved, it all makes sense at that point, but the state shouldn't, when the state starts looking at you like you are this terrorist, persona non grata like I said, then we fall back into the Post- Marikana society, where the way they deal with individuals like that is they remove you from the equation."

The willingness of police to perpetuate violence against student activists was not the same for Black and white students. Rekgotsofetse recalls an incident when this perception of police was proved true after the police restrained themselves from violence when white student activists formed a human chain around their Black comrades. He describes the ease with which violence was meted out against protesting students as at times unbelievable.

“I forget his name, but he is the head of public order police in the western cape, I had dealt with him two days, before, so the night of the first like bout of violence at UCT and the second day, when we were asking for people to be removed from jail, um, that I could see he was ready to attack us until we said all white students come to the front, and he backed off. When he came to us, sitting on the floor, it was zero regard for harm, for not trying to harm anyone. I just remember two stun-grenades, so sitting with the students, he rolls one on the floor so that it lands within the group’s feet, and that one goes off, and as the panic ensues, tosses the next one into this panicked group. It was just like a crazy situation, which when I look back, I’m like, if that was on a video game, it would look hella cool, but in the moment, hella frightening.”

Besides the threat to one’s person and personal safety, Rekgotsofetse recognized that especially for Black students, the university is one of the most powerful tools to pull oneself out of poverty. The thought of one’s life being put on hold with no means to better their prospects was a punishment that he felt was both unfair and unnecessary and informed the decision to negotiate some sort of reconciliation process. Even so, he shares that it wasn’t necessarily about students getting charges dropped off their names, but rather as a symbol that they acknowledged mutual accountability. Without this process in place, they feared that the university would take disciplinary action as soon as RMF came to an end.

“It (IRTC) was bullshit, it was. If the university – there was one person who got arrested, who wasn’t even there, who got suspended, along with everyone else who was there that night, if that person hadn’t been put in with everyone else, then it would have been cool, this is not vindictive in any particular way, but that was the university saying how do we, before you start that process of reconciliation, we have actively gone out to find all the people that we think are heads of this protest and we are cutting the head of the snake right now across the board, to then turn around and say, you know it’s everyone’s fault and we want to make this better, but we are not going to drop the charges against any of the students (laughs), we are just going to keep that in the back pocket, making sure that if this process doesn’t work out, we will then revert back to the old processes, or the equivalent, so that’s why I think it’s bullshit, comparing it to or calling it reconciliation, or even putting the TRC aspect to it, is,

it's the equivalent of saying after 1994, we will have this TRC, but the Apartheid government will say, if this doesn't work out, we will just revert back to the old, but not reconciliation at all, because the process of reconciliation is not just the end product, it's not just the process itself, it's what instituted it, it is about willingness to come to the table, it is just as important as the output, that you would get and for me, that process just didn't include that and then you see how it essentially puts students' lives into suspended animation, waiting for that process to unfold, is just unfair for something that could be investigated while the university carries on, goes about its business and used that as a – 'anyone else who now wants to speak, your life will also be suspended for the next two years', essentially, that's why I don't think it was a good process."

He recalls that many did not understand why members of RMF would risk the consequence of engaging in protest and felt that they should instead be grateful for the opportunity to better themselves and should rather focus on their education. When asked why he chose to risk so much despite being confronted with these and other disparaging attitudes, he credits faith in RMF and the hope that it would not all be for naught.

"If you truly have faith, that what you are doing will change, you are willing to strip a little bit of your humanity away, some people strip a lot more than you would want, but if you have true faith that it will work and you will succeed, then people are willing to make that choice. So that you know that it was worth something, that you didn't disappear in the cold dark night, that what you did would be remembered."

5.2.7. Conflict Within, Conflict Without.

Rekgotsofetse shares that his participation in protest meant navigating conflict from both within the movement and outside of it, which could be exhausting. He explained that RMF members' politics and principles clashed at times and created conflict(s). He said that in addition to the above, issues of background and access to material resources also contributed to the dynamics and conflict in the group, causing fissures that could not be repaired. Some chose to walk out and leave the movement when they felt that their beliefs and values were no longer aligned with what RMF had become. He pointed out that surprisingly, these conflicts were rarely discussed, despite how they shaped the progression of the movement.

"You become the leader of a protest if you have a car. But also, comes down to can you speak well, can you write well? If you can write well, all of a sudden, you are writing your response

to the university, you have to be in the room with all the other student leaders, um, can you sing a song? There are real power relations in who leads songs, and what songs they chose to sing and if you have a laptop, again, simple resources, if you have a laptop to write up notes, if you have a laptop that people can submit their tuts, normal things right? We assume that everyone has laptops, no, but if there is one person in RMF who has a laptop and you need to submit your tutorials, you don't want to go all the way back to res, you don't want to go all the way to upper campus, so it's can I use your laptop quick? Small things like that, um, access to who brings in money, influences who gets to lead the protest, all those dynamics played within the movement, and plays across all movements."

Rekgotsotetse recalls that he became a contrarian within RMF and challenged some of the politics of his comrades. This did not signal a personal issue with any individuals that he disagreed with or challenged but feels that his contributions were not always received in the way they were intended, but instead created tension. He explains that his time in the movement officially came to an end when he was accused of stealing money from the movement. He had been offered R2 000 to speak to a group about the situation at UCT, which he did not accept. Even so, this offer made its way back to the movement, who he says viewed this as theft.

"And I thought, 'Nah, I'm good, (laughs), um, because at the point, RMF, was, in my mind, losing its legs, it just didn't have a core fight, of any sort, my big criticism was the statue is always a proxy, the big challenge for us, is what you do once that proxy is gone? What is your new proxy? Um, and if you don't find that proxy quiet quickly, you get opportunists coming on board to ride the wave of RMF, um, or you will be stuck fighting amongst each other, and I think we ended fighting amongst each other during those pre, post statue falling, pre – FMF, of not having a clear fight. In my mind it should have been the curriculum, that should have been the new proxy to then address other issues, but we lost that, in one way or another. Um, and once they accused me of like stealing this R2 000, which I was like, 'I wish I had the R2 000, I really wish, so that I could have gone to Pigs [Pigs & Swizzle – an off-campus bar] and lived a good life, and known that I stole, but I'm also just broke, and I'm being accused of stealing money (laughs) so it's an odd thing.' So that is when I would have left RMF, in a very official, like, 'I am no longer part of RMF in an official capacity'. Um, but I was still part of SASCO at the time."

5.2.8. Something Has Got to Give.

Rekgotsotetse explained that he needed to take regular breaks from the protest space because it had become too intense. For him, confronting the vulnerabilities of being Black on campus on an everyday basis, for many hours, became too much. Taking

short breaks away from the space helped him to regain perspective, get some fresh air and remind himself that the world also kept going on. He notes that those that stayed in the space, without reprieve, especially during the occupations, were impacted by this intensity, increasing conflict, and causing splits in the group. He remembers at one point, allegations of a sexual assault that had occurred during one of the occupations.

“It was, if I live, eat, breathe in the same space, and I only interact with certain people over and over again in that intense environment that creates a bubble, of thought. And we just described it as – Chumani and I described it as a level of group think that just naturally evolves in the space, that you would fall victim to as well, it’s not like you are uniquely immune to it, so I remember seeing it for that, I then remember seeing it when people started talking about there were weird things happening in the space, and when I say weird things, it was, there were some, there were forms of sexual assault. So, I say ‘weird things’ because I wasn’t getting a clear story, right? It was, whispers, so I couldn’t piece it together, but those who were in the space, knew exactly what was going on, if that makes sense, now, for those who were in the space, that becomes their entire world, for those who are in and out, you take that as a transient issue, of there is this issue, that no one is communicating it completely because we are not part of the community that is here all the time and then as violence does – it became a threat to the community, as it does in any community, whether established or not.”

Rekgotsofetse remembers feeling drained by the space. This was experienced as physical and mental fatigue. He would replenish himself by taking breaks in the computer labs. The Neville Alexander Building became his recharge station, where he would sit in a corner, listening to music. He credits music for helping him regulate himself and escape the intensity of the protest space. Kendrick Lamar’s album, ‘To Pimp a Butterfly’ was specially mentioned for its resonance with what he was experiencing during RMF.



Figure 5: Kendrick Lamar, 'To pimp a butterfly' album cover.
(source: theoldBlacksoul.com⁹)

“So, it was almost serendipitous that ‘To Pimp A Butterfly’ came out at the same time, I think it launched in March if I am not mistaken, and it was just a perfect soundtrack to encapsulate how I was feeling, from the idea of why is it that we are still stuck in this cycle. Like so ‘King Kunta’ is like, why are we still stuck in this cycle, even though we have this desire to be better and break out of this cycle. ‘How much a dollar cost’ perfectly helped explain this dynamic of what it means to be caring for the most vulnerable in society, but also to be a society that cares so much about material wealth, but also a society that just thinks that it is better than others and that is South Africa in a nutshell. I was just like, ya man, being Black sucks.”

When feeling particularly wired, he would over-work himself until he would eventually fall asleep from sheer exhaustion.

“It’s like I’ll run at 100 miles per hour, for three, I think the longest time that I have done it has been about four or five, weeks in a row, and then a weekend, where I just switch off and I don’t talk to anyone. Now that I don’t consider as like my recharge, I just see it as a consequence of how I have been trying to deal. ‘Cos that act doesn’t recharge me mentally, if that makes sense, it just stops the cycle.”

Rekgotsofetse shares that besides the intensity of the space and at times feeling overwhelmed he did not notice any impact on his mental health at the time. What he did notice was that he began to isolate himself, which eventually affected his friendships and other close relationships. During RMF he was unaware of subtle changes to his personality and interactions with friends until he was confronted by them.

“My guy friends were like, you just hella moody, all the time and like, we don’t fucks with this, and I remember, one friend was like, ‘I don’t know what’s going on, but sort yourself out,’ because I lashed out at him for what was it, it was something stupid. I needed him to pick up something for me and he couldn’t do it, and I kind of just lashed out at him, and it was just like, very unusual, I’ve known this guy, Donovan, since grade one, and he was like never heard you speak to me like that, don’t know what’s going on, don’t appreciate that, you go on your merry way, I’ll see you next year type of thing. And I guess it was just me, I don’t know how to describe it, um, so I lost Donovan, I lost Jessica, I lost Steph, I lost Thandeka as well. Some of these friendships I have been able to like mend, as time has gone on, some of them have just stayed apart. But, I guess, just losing friends, was a tough thing until I started

⁹ Theoldblacksoul.com: <https://theoldblacksoul.com/2020/05/20/4-to-pimp-a-butterfly-by-kendrick-lamar/>)

seeing someone and working through that, and then being like, cool, now I am in a better space, essentially, and then re-building my support system again.”

He felt that his sense of humour was effective in helping him navigate difficult conversations and prevent conflict while he was a part of RMF. He remembers having to create very distinct boundaries between his activism work and his personal life to build and maintain healthy and supportive relationships.

“Humor has helped to- not to make light of things, but to disarm, So the humour isn’t a tool of rationalizing an injustice in society, it’s about how do we open up the door so we can have this conversation. I purposefully use humour when I am talking to individuals about something that you have done that is wrong, or I am trying to educate people in one way or another. I want my personal life to just be free of the burden of society, as much as possible, or that I can’t take the burdens of society back into my personal life, because when I did that, I started then venting – not venting, what’s the word that I want, like reacting badly to someone, like projecting. You are projecting issues that you are having in society onto your friends. And I thought that is not the right approach to take. It took me two years of a very bad relationship, to come to that conclusion.”

Rekgotsofetse feels that to consider only the negative impact on his health and wellbeing would not be an accurate portrayal of his experience. The sense of community and support from fellow comrades in the movement impacted him in a positive way and made him hopeful about RMF’s ability to impact meaningful change within the institution. This energized him and encouraged him to contribute to the movement, enjoying the sense of solidarity and family that the movement provided.

“ RMF allowed me to sit in a room and realize, oh, I am not alone, like I’m not alone about my experiences, I am not alone about criticizing the curriculum, I’m not alone about playing this game of how many Black academics have you had, I’m not alone about how many white friends you have lost, because you are tired of assimilating, I am also not alone about constantly trying to assimilate, I’m not alone when you are having a conversation with a lecturer and you are thinking to yourself, ‘I don’t want to piss you off, I don’t want to give you the wrong impression, just in case you think- just because I’m Black. You’ve gone from being alone to being a family, to being a grouping to being an identity of some sort, and RMF gave that to me. And having that feeling and thinking to myself, I want other people to feel this as well, like as many Black students on campus, should feel like they are not alone, or they are not fighting the struggle alone, um, that what is happening to you is happening to thousands of other people on campus, and for me, that’s kind of the, my experience, my experience is my own experience, so being Black on campus will be very different from Malvin and Ignatius, it will be very different from Masixole or Chumani in one way or another, but it was, we are all part of one holistic idea, of what it means to be a Black young student.”

5.2.9. Two Steps Forward and One Step Back.

Reflecting on the impact of RMF, Rekgotsofetse views the movement as a success, contrary to narratives that spoke of the 'death' of RMF, a critique of the legitimacy of the movement. From his perspective, one of the biggest successes of the movement was the change to the rules of engagement relative to how students would be engaged in the institution. In retrospect, he realized that RMF had to die if it was to achieve its objectives. He explains that by doing so, RMF discouraged dependency on movements such as itself to challenge power and impact change within the university.

"So, for the next generation, it's don't run our race, don't run our relay anymore, because we are running around in a circle, do your own thing, our responsibility is not to give you a baton, but to create an institution that allows you to run your race as quickly as possible. I love the fact that Fallism spread across the country, where it was the mentality of this is the type of spaces you want to create, and these are the terms of engagement that we will have.

Case in point, sit on the floor and listen to us speak, that is you changing the terms of engagement that you are having with the authority in the room, regardless if you are the vice chancellor, regardless if you are the SG[secretary general] of the ANC, regardless if you are the president, right, we are changing the status quo of how you talk to students in this country, we are changing the status quo of how you understand what it means to be an oppressed grouping in this country, we are changing the way that you engage with the working class of this country, it is not going to be from a position of we are right, it is not going to be from a position of we are giving you charity and those are things that we have to change, so that without RMF, those spaces continue, in my mind, so it's less about a physical space, its less about the organization that creates the space, it is the etiquette, of what the space will be from both sides especially from the ones who have never had to change their etiquette before."

Despite these gains, Rekgotsofetse recognizes that it may be difficult to use similar protest strategies in future as he thinks the university is now better equipped to deal with the 'chaos'. He predicts that the advantage that RMF and FMF gained from shutting down the university would be lost and that it would be far more difficult to achieve the same because the university now knew what to expect.

5.3. Sandile Ndelu

“My body within itself, is a site of power and of resistance and resilience. Sometimes being nude and saying nothing is more important than being dressed and saying a lot.”



Figure 6: Sandile at the Transcapture (2016).
(source: Sandile Ndelu)

5.3.1. Laying Claim to Space and Place

Sandile describes herself as someone who has always embodied disruption. As a person who identifies as gender diverse, or transgender, Sandile's decision to join RMF and participate in the protests was both personal and political. She, together with a fellow student founded the UCT: Transcollective during the first occupation of student housing that then became Azania 2. She felt that the movement was focused on issues of race, with little consideration or awareness as to how these issues intersected with gender and sexuality, privileging heteronormativity, and rendering those who identified as gender diverse as invisible. The formation of the UCT: Transcollective allowed Sandile and others within the collective to voice their experiences and grievances, forcing both the movement and the university to consider these when drafting demands within RMF or responding to them as university management.

“I have always been somebody who, has, has been involved in issues of pushing the envelopes right? In many instances, I think that my entire life or identity has been structured around this idea of disruption, this idea of pushing the boundaries, this idea of speaking back to authority. In primary school, in high school, it's just been a part of, you know, something and so there was something, I don't want to say, innate, but I think there was something within me that I experienced that just lent myself being there.”



Figure 7: The founding principles of the UCT: Transcollective.
(source: Sandile Ndelu)

The image above depicts the founding principles that informed the formation of the UCT: Transcollective. These principles also served as a manifesto for the Transcollective, outlining their intentions and motives, whilst simultaneously expressing their views and experiences that would inform their strategies within the movement. These principles allowed them to locate and claim their identity as Black transwomen activists within a feminist genealogy, in contrast to comradeship which they experienced as having masculine undertones, that implied a context of battle or war. Sandile emphasized the importance of nudity and embodiment within the Transcollective; these serving as political tools and allowing them to claim space and place in places and situations that continued to deny, ignore and/or erase their existence.

“There is a particular confrontation when you’re confronted with a particular body, right? And, we had wanted to use our bodies as that catalyst. To say you can’t deny it, it’s in your face, it is there, and it kind of like confronts you in that way. But of course, there was, at the core of it, was this kind of, you know disappearing, both within RMF as a movement, but also disappearance within the university.”

For Sandile and other gender-diverse and/or trans students, disappearance and erasure were invisible yet persistent forces that they constantly had to confront for their existence, experiences, and contributions to be recognized, acknowledged, and included within the RMF movement and the university space itself. Their experience found resonance with those who shared a similar experience within the broader South African society. Placards during RMF, like the one depicted below, served as a deliberate reminder to those participating in the movement and/or documenting key events that people from the LGBTIQ+, queer and transgender communities offered

meaningful contributions towards shaping and structuring the politics of the movement. In this way, they refused to be ignored.



Figure 8: Placard against the erasure of (trans) gender diverse members of RMF.
(source: RMF Facebook page)

“Somebody called X created this. They weren’t a student at the time, but, a queer person, a trans person, who was in deep solidarity with the movement.” And for me again speaks to the disappearing, the erasure and I think that this will stand the test of time, so that, you know, just because, you know in terms of how we create memory, often times it’s the people who are at the margin, who disappear first right, who we tend to forget first and I think, this part of the archive, um, is quiet important in facing that up you know.

The formation of the UCT: Transcollective also created space for Sandile and other trans, queer, feminists to express their feelings of rage. Rage, beyond how it is generally understood as a violent, uncontrollable anger, to highlight the feeling of having reached boiling point, and feelings of rage serving as impetus to mobilize and contribute to the movement demanding recognition.



Figure 9: ‘We are enraged’.
(source: Sandile Ndelu)

“This idea of rage, right, and we had elevated it. Like trans queer, feminist, rage, I mean it was basically, as far as we were concerned a clarion call, right? It was how we would, I mean, I think we were using it as a descriptor, for, this project, right, that we had embarked on, and there was rage, we were enraged with the university, enraged with the movement, enraged with this world, this society.”

5.3.2. Resisting a Violent Status Quo.

Sandile emphasizes that the issues that warranted the formation of RMF and the subsequent protests, were both long-standing and inherent within the university. She offers the example of the statue of CJR as evidence of the violent status quo at UCT, pointing out that what was put forward as a harmless tradition (honouring the institution’s founder), was in fact decontextualized and ignored the stories of those who had been dispossessed, enslaved, and systematically excluded from the institution. In this way, she and other Black students saw the reverence of CJR through the statue and the accompanying citation on the statue plaque, as an affront to the dignity of Black people across several generations.

“So, we can start with Cecil John Rhodes right, this idea of paying homage because someone donated land, but also paying homage to a donor, a proudly racist, proudly sexist, murderous man who really thought, you know, that people who look like me, one, – didn’t belong within the university and their place was essentially to work in yards and to be buried like stray dogs at the bottom of his yards.”

Sandile felt it important to clarify the series of events that led to the formation of the RMF movement, contesting popular belief that pinpoints the genesis of RMF to student activist Chumani Maxwele, infamously photographed throwing feces from a porta potty on the statue of CJR. She instead drew attention to the various constraining conditions at the university that had been contested by various activist groups within the university, crediting Chumani’s ‘poo-protest’ for mobilizing various activist groups to unify under the banner of RMF, to collectively address the status quo at the university.

“You may or you may not know that really as far as I am concerned the catalyst, to the movement wasn’t so much the, uh, the protest action, you know, the throwing of the feces by uChumani, but it was, basically people coming together after that saying, ‘What now?’ right? So, I wasn’t part of those discussions, but, you know, I often feel like the genesis of the movement is often erased and reported on in particular ways, and I think it’s just important to

note that there was a meeting or grouping of people who had already been doing various activities, you know kind of interventions on campus, you know, from as far back as the admissions policy, etc., etc. and so those people came into a room and said, 'Listen, this has happened, how can we maintain this momentum and how can we make it actually count.'

Sandile emphasized that the movement's demand for the statue to be removed offered concrete evidence of the mismatch between the institution's culture and stated values. The university adhering to this demand would provide a tangible gesture regarding the university's willingness to pursue and adopt the necessary changes to address the institution's culture of anti-Blackness. She shared the example of the curriculum within the Faculty of Law, criticizing it for the lack of critique in content and teaching that denied students the opportunity to identify and analyze the historic and current systems that informed the law, determining and maintaining the status quo.

" There was the question of curriculum as a law student, uhm, just in terms of how, uhm, - uh, you know, people, Black Africans were positioned in the curriculum, alright, uhm and not only don't we see ourselves in the curriculum, but, I think, more and more as we started gaining critical lenses to what we were being taught, we started seeing actually that (sighs) you know that there's, sure, I mean, you know, it's complicated right because, you know, in one aspect this is the law of the land, and if you want to be a lawyer, you have to be taught the law of the land, uhm, but you also shouldn't be taught that in a way which kind of solidifies it right? Or sort of you know, uhm, how can we disorientate? And to say that 'this is the law – but the law comes from here, it's problematic because of this' – and there wasn't any of that happening, it was just like, 'this is the law, and this is how you apply it' etc. Even the curriculum on trans issues or LGBTI issues, um, already did that from a – a sort of a westernized perspective there wasn't sort of a grappling of what gender is, what gender had looked like, what gender should look like, what gender will look like, um, in Africa, there wasn't you know, a grappling with that, the people were, were reading again were not sort of people whom we could identify with, and so even with attempts to teach a subversive curriculum, there is always all of this knee jerk to rely on, um, US canons the American canons, Anglo-Saxon canons, um and there wasn't necessarily a grappling, particularly with the issue of LGBTI issues with thinkers from our continent and the South generally."

As a gender-diverse student, Sandile recognized legal and accepted practices and procedures within the university as violent, silencing and disregarding the experiences of those that did not identify with what was projected as the norm. She identified the admissions and residence policy and structures as problematic, further alienating those who did not ascribe to the confines of gender and heteronormativity.

“There were issues of the admissions policy, um, issues about student cards, issues about residences that are all gendered in source of their, in their violence or in their problematic(ness) right? And so, in student cards one could not change - say for example one was of trans experience, couldn't change their name, etc., etc. So, there was a lot of that, uhm, even when – within the application form at that time, that wasn't accommodated for right? The application was still very much, in terms of binary, was in binary terms, uhm, uh, residences again very much binary.”

Although she felt lucky that she was placed in a co-ed residence, she noted the violence of still having separate facilities and floors within the residence, making them co-ed in name only. She was uncomfortable due to being placed on a floor for cis men, even though she is a trans woman. Single-sex residences had different rules for men and women, reinforcing and encouraging problematic gender constructs and actions within the university. Sandile identified the UCT residence system as her first experience of alienation within the institution. She criticized the university for not considering the dynamics gender-diverse students might encounter within this gendered system and how this may impact their experience at the institution.

“There was violence in being placed at Glen Res, even though Glen Res was a co-ed residence, but being placed in a men's, sort of men's wing and really having to put in a lot of effort a lot of negotiation a lot of planning a lot of thinking around doing things as mundane as going to pee in the toilet as mundane as wanting to go shower, you know, because you don't want to go shower and there's like, yeah another, there's somebody who may cause trouble right for you while you trying to go about your day showering and that's sort of a deep sense of a deep sense of violence. The way the institution imagines, or doesn't imagine, rather, um, the existence of trans people you are having to sort of fit into categorizations that don't necessarily account for your lived experience, um, and then when you are inside the university that continues right, um, sort of having to either, ya, sort of basically to erase parts of yourself, downplaying parts of yourself in order to fit into, the moulds that are within the university's imagination.”

Although Sandile identified the residence and admissions systems as violent in terms of racial and gendered alienation, she highlights the plight of those who are admitted to the university but are not allocated a room within a residence and must stay 'in transit'. The transit system mostly affected Black students, who could not afford alternative accommodation while waiting for a space, further compounding a sense of estrangement.

“And of course, of the indignity of not even having a place to stay, right? Uhm, being, you know travelling on a bus from Limpopo with R200 in your bag, in your wallet and your

parents being proud that you are the first person in the family to attend university, only to arrive and to be told to stay in a room this big (gestures) and sleep on the floor, sleep on mattresses because there is no space for you here – not yet... There are students who are sleeping in toilets, there are students who haven't eaten and are expected to come tomorrow having prepared for tutorials having done, you know, all these things and if they don't, again -structural violence is visited on them because they don't get DP."

5.3.3. The Road to Protest is Paved with Subversive Intentions.

The decision to join the RMF and form the UCT: Transcollective came after many activist interventions on campus addressing issues of racism and gender at the university. Sandile shared that for her protest was a powerful tool, that afforded one freedom and creativity to express one's grievances through disrupting the very dynamic that prevented this freedom in the structure and everyday functioning at UCT.

"Protest to me is a tool that um, a person, or a group of people can use, um in order to elevate their concerns, right? Um, and there is multiple, you know tactics and things that people can do, but essentially, I think, you know, in all those tactics, what is fundamental in there is that one has to kind of go against, what is, in the normal course of events, acceptable behaviour, right? Um, and so, basically subverting the power of being forced to carry on a life that - or an experience in which you aren't - which isn't friendly to you and changing things, and basically, switching that power up."

An example of some of the advocacy work that she had engaged in was the removal of the gendered bathroom signs across the university campuses. She explains that this not only subverted the logic of gender, but also subverted the logic of how to protest. She recalls the impact this had when students arrived on campus the next week and did not know which bathrooms to use, forcing them to reflect on the exclusionary norms gendering created and maintained. Sandile emphasizes that members of the UCT: Transcollective had tried different mechanisms and tactics to infiltrate the institution through recognized and accepted means, an example of this was running for the SRC and joining RMF. These pathways did not always afford her, and other gender-diverse students, recognition of their experiences and grievances, pushing them to employ somewhat transgressive tactics.

"I used any bathroom I felt comfortable in, right? It was my prerogative to ask for, I didn't ask for, I didn't ask for consent so those are some of the ways that I've like sort of subverted it (the logic of gender) because you know, I would go against the grain."

Within RMF, Sandile identifies university shutdowns as another example of subversion of the unequal power relationships between university management and student activists and workers. Protesting students and workers were able to disrupt the everyday running of the university, which is not necessarily a power that they wielded in their respective roles and positions, forcing acknowledgement and response from university authorities.

“And so, for me, protest is fundamentally a subversion of disproportionate power relationships, and through that being so disruptive, that of course, in order to garner a response from the person who in the normal course of events wields more power, so that they can take your demands seriously.”

5.3.4. UCT a Violent Space? Are you Sure? Surely not...

Sandile labelled the entire movement as a violent experience. She experienced violence as an embodied phenomenon that manifested in many ways on UCT's campus both before and during RMF protests and within the movement itself. She notes the difficulty of pinpointing these manifestations beyond the physical, further complicated by the fact that experiences of violence are usually only identified or acknowledged by their impact on the person and their sense of personhood. Sandile explained that these impacts had physiological and psychological consequences, that student activists had to prove or justify, as a consequence of the conditions on the university campus. She felt that the experiences and grievances of student activists within the movement were often trivialized, denied, or met with violence by those in authority and at times the broader staff and student bodies.

“The entire, the movement was a violent experience, right? It was really violent. I think you know, uhm, if one thinks, if one, you know reflects and speaks for a lot of the people who were around at the time, they will say that there were a lot of things that they were experiencing, right? which were the result of, umm, being violated. Whether they were violated by the movement, right? In certain circumstances yes, right, such as in the circumstances where I was saying imagine bringing in someone who is a sexual assailant in the space, as a survivor that does do something to you. It's violent, um whether it is the university responding, uhm, in a very militarized way, again, that is violent. Whether it's having to, you know, perform our identities, our poverties in particular ways in order for the university to actually, um, you know take heed, take some sort of notice to what our experience of the university space was, that again was violent, right?”

When asked to share examples of times where she felt violated by responses that disputed and/or ridiculed her experience during the protests, she names three; firstly, how the university responded to the demand for the removal of the statue of CJR; secondly, a mass meeting after she had been arrested for contravening an interdict during one of the shutdowns; and third, a violent comment made by one of her comrades within the movement. In all three incidents she felt she and other student activists were met with violence for exposing Black and gender-diverse students' experience(s) of violence in the university community and during the protests. These three incidents are described below.

“You know, there was, one particular incident that I think still stays with me. In the lead up to the removal of the statue, the university wanted to – as you know, any neo-liberal institution would do – open it up for conversation and debate. And one of those debates, was for people to write on whiteboards that were placed, you know, just below the statues. You know and of course, racist words, racist – ja - there was a lot that was written there, but even that right, even the act of saying, um, point of view when it comes to this matter is equal and we will take it all into consideration – was violent, right? Even though there were students who had literally foregone sleeping in beds, were sleeping on floors etc., because their issues spoke so closely to their personhood, and for you to then say that you know, even somebody who um, isn't, couldn't, even be concerned. That their point of view, is equally valid when it comes to that statue, for me was violent and that's a particular moment that I can reference as having been violent.”

“So, there was (laughs) a public meeting, or ja, public gathering and of course Max Price was there, uhm and, it was also, two days after parliament [Protest action at parliament as part of FMF]. So Max Price was there, and he congratulates his son – he says he is proud of his son for taking a stand, of course, you know this is, you know, like - What do you mean? You called the cops on us and so (sighs) and I remember just, you know, taking the mic, I didn't take it from him, but when the mic was going to other people, taking the mic, saying something and saying something to Max Price, but what was particularly, you know, what stays with me, is how what I said didn't necessarily resonate with everyone in the crowd right? Imagine, you know, the majority of you know, UCT day students? And a lot of the people in there saying – “No, you can't say that – he is older than you, etc., etc. Of course, I was calling him out and saying “What do you mean? You literally called the cops on people's children, uhm, and you are here talking about you thinking about your child and being so proud of, you know, being so proud, proud of him”, uhm, and people didn't take – people were booing, you know and that was, also quiet violent right, just because, what I was saying, my experience, uhm, was also being invalidated in that moment, so that was another incident that I found quiet, uhm violent.”

“Some guy who had been part of the movement, he said something about having- something about me having a fake vagina (laughs), but this is of course in a context of a bigger, you know, there was sort of a group of us and this person was sort of trying to cause harm not only to me but to other people who were around me, most of whom were cis-woman. But there was also sort of this perspective of you know, how predictable, how predictable cisgender heterosexual men can be... it's this violence that also has like a heavy sexual connotation to it, right? In many ways that was sexual harassment right and in many ways sort of falls squarely within the frame of sexual harassment, but also to feel safe to say that they in a group setting right? That sort of stayed with me, um, not at least for it's you know, it's deep, deep, deep transmisogyny, but I also think that it stayed with me because it was really interesting, right, because for me it also showed a particular level of impact.”

Sandile pointed out that although students were criticized for being violent during the protests, this was not the case. She distinguishes ‘disruption’ from violence as a legitimate form of protest, especially in situations where one’s demands and grievances are continuously trivialized or denied.

“As far as we were concerned, we were using, you know, disruptive, but we were still towing certain lines, right? Shutting down for us, didn’t necessarily, we never imagined that the university would respond in the way that it did. Occupying Bremner, occupying you know student housing, we never would have imagined that the university would respond in the way that it did, and once it did respond in that way, we were so - we were already within it and invested in the process and invested and, you know, even more audacious to get our demands, because we knew that this fight had taken on a new, a different character.”

5.3.5. Periods of Engagement and Disengagement

For Sandile, the protest space(s) was not a space wherein she was able to have sustained engagement. Amongst the many reasons she shares for this, she emphasizes two factors that influenced her decision to disengage from the movement at times. These were: the intense energy within protest spaces that took both a physical and psychological toll on her; and the conflict(s) that arose amongst different student activists within the movement due to mismatched politics.

“In as much as the RMF space would be enriching, in as much as it would lend itself to so much growth and so many relationships, it was also quiet toxic, um, and tended to take away the space, or the air that we were breathing, because it consumed us so much and not everyone was on the same page, not everyone agreed with one another so there was a lot of like politicking.”

February 2016 was a time of prolonged disengagement for Sandile. November/December of the previous year had seen the reclamation of Azania house, where cis men were chased out of the space and asked to go reflect on the way in which they were showing up. In addition, there were problematic people invited into the movement without consultation, which Sandile and other women and queer people felt threatened the dignity of the space. These issues combined with allegations of sexual assault and harassment, created a constant tug of war within the movement. Sandile stresses that these conversations had been had in the movement many times before, with no change.

“A few months prior to that there had been a rape and a lot of us were still trying to come to terms with that and still trying to reckon with that. Some of us who were, you know, feminist aligned had said that listen, this is actually, the last straw we are leaving, uhm, just because, we can’t – we can’t, always be at the alter right? We didn’t come here to die some more, and so we left.”

The end of the RMF protests overlapped with the beginning of the more nationwide FMF movement. This transition would finalize Sandile’s disengagement from the protests as the mismatch in politics between the RMF and FMF revealed themselves.

“A lot of the people who had started off with RMF, me included, had felt that when FMF kind of came, the politics had changed, right? – the relations, how white people related in the space, also changed. White people were now also allowed to take particular, to take space in a particular way – whereas when during RMF, that was something that we had worked towards and so we had felt that like there was a particular sort of diluting of the politics.”

5.3.6. Dark Clouds, No Silver Lining.

The impact of participating in the RMF protests on Sandile’s health and wellbeing was a stark variation from what she expected. The initial invigoration felt about engaging and contributing to the movement was overshadowed by a series of dark clouds, that did not let up, negatively impacting her already comprised health. Months before the formation of RMF she had been diagnosed with end-stage renal failure due to glomerulonephritis. She struggled to manage this while living on a campus residence and recalls feeling particularly startled that at 21 years old, she was expected to be in the prime of her life yet found herself facing a potentially fatal condition.

“I think RMF became so successful because it was a space where students who were, having this, you know physical reaction, to this palpably racist, sexist, white supremacist institution, um, could find space to breathe, could find space to speak about these things, um, could find space to read about these things, could find space, was kind of like a, um, a school that was alongside our studies, a lot of us went there to learn, to grow.”

Despite positive and enthusiastic expectations, participation in the RMF protests had a largely eroding effect on Sandile’s already compromised health and well-being. She shares that it is difficult to pinpoint a direct correlation between the events that led up to and transpired during the protests and subtle personality changes she noticed after the fact. She does acknowledge that she became more reserved, less outspoken, and socially anxious after the protests and noticed a decrease in her willingness to contribute to group settings. She, however, could not attribute this to specific incidents outside of the experience of engaging in RMF in general.

In many ways I would call myself a quintessential extrovert, but after the movement, I think, you know and there was, maybe on reflection I can say, you know, because, the politics were sometimes so toxic and stuff, maybe one kind of internalizes this little voice that starts to distrust your own thoughts, uhm, a bit more, and hence, you know, you’re not as quick to contribute and to be in a space and to claim your, your little section of a space anymore right? And sometimes you melt away.”

Sandile has never been diagnosed with a mental health disorder. She acknowledges that this is largely due to her not seeking intervention even during times when she did feel low. Although her degree funders at the time insisted that she seek some counselling, she admits that she did this as a check-box exercise and was not particularly invested in that aspect of her well-being at the time. She was, however, vicariously impacted by the health issues she witnessed from fellow comrades within the movement.

“Everyone around me was falling apart, people were on anti-depressants, people were committing – well attempting to commit suicide, uh, we were all gaining weight, right? You know and people were also engaging in other, you know other forms of self-harm. Other people also engaged in other destructive activities, over, you know like, alcohol abuse, drug abuse, right? And of course, correlating to that were other things that were happening, you know, and I think those other things also exacerbate, kind of like, underlying you know, issues, mental health issues.”

Physically, she noticed a marked increase in her weight due to comfort eating, even though this further exacerbated her diagnosis.

“I think in my, my case, over-eating, just not knowing, no - not taking care of my health, particularly as someone who just recently had a health scare right? – A near death experience, not taking care of my health, I gained – uhm, an incredible amount of weight.

Beyond the personal impact on her health and wellbeing, Sandile notes the loss of relationships during the protests as a particularly hurtful experience. She notes that after the dust had settled and the university started acting against some students who had engaged in the protests, it became difficult to support each other as comrades and further protest the university's actions as they faced varying disciplinary action.

“I was one of those people, who the university, essentially the university took action against me, I was disciplined, and essentially, I was, you know, uhm, I was suspended for a year and which, you know, set me back by a year. I would have wanted more support. And it hurt me that, when I was essentially facing expulsion, that there, the response that could come from members of the Transcollective would be that: ‘but we have to go to class, we can’t come to protest to support you, we have to go to class. You already have a degree, this is your second degree, I don’t have a first degree’.”

Some students struggled to keep up with their academic requirements due to participation in the protests and were academically excluded as a result. Sandile notes with sadness some comrades and friends who were excluded and left the university in 2016 and have never been able to resume their studies. These and other casualties had a psychological impact on those who didn't make it as well as those left behind.

5.3.7. Crime and Punishment.

Sandile took issue with the way protesting students were portrayed as violent without distinction or observation of different forms and manifestations of violence, including consideration of situations where ‘violence’ was enacted in response to invisible forms of violence manifesting through institutions and structures. She felt that those who lived a violent existence due to oppressive and dehumanizing structures were justified in responding in ways that may be construed as violent, without careful analysis and interpretation of the situation. For these reasons, she felt that what was portrayed as ‘violence’ did not hold equal weight in the sense that damaging property could not be

considered equal to violent policies and practices that denied oppressed groups dignity. In her view they did not hold the same power.

“What was central to my understanding at that time and by in large still now, was that, you know, there has to kind of be a balancing of the type of violence(s) that are necessary to counter other violence(s) right? And so if we are saying that there is institutional violence, there is structural violence, uhm, that is basically laid onto bodies of Black people, women people, queer people, uhm, within that university, uhm then how can this one form of violence right?, that was, you know, I don’t know, the destruction of property, you know blocking, basically protesting, how can protesting be thought of as a type of violence that is worse, that is more unforgivable uhm, than this more pervasive, uhm, murderous, uhm, type of violence?”

For Sandile, the end of her involvement in RMF was after Shackville protests in 2016. It was after these series of protests that she was suspended. Although she had been arrested during the shutdowns the previous years, the suspension ultimately denied her access to the university space at all, making any further protest action impossible. The two charges brought against her were entering a university building without permission and damage (burning) of university property. She outlines the circumstances below.

“I felt, listen, the least that I can do – particularly in solidarity with first years who were finding themselves homeless, etc., because of the university’s inability to provide them with accommodation, and the accommodation crisis, uhm, I decided to go add my body, to at the very least, guard the structure (Shack), uhm, to me which you know was a symbol of, you know, space, place and us trying to lay, laying a claim to that particular place. Uhm, but, what had happened was that, of course, uhm, you know, students then, the crowd grew, and one of the things that happened is that people entered, I think it was Fuller [Fuller Hall Residence] for food and there was cameras and of course, I was identifiable, and so they didn’t necessarily pick out everyone who entered and took food, what they did was that, you know, they just saw people’s faces and said – we know who that is and we we’re going to summon them. And so that was kind of like the first, that was one charge, right? – entering uhm, a university building or residence without uhm permission.”

“The second charge was the burning of university property, well the burning or damaging of university property, uhm again, cameras, in fact not even cameras, a journalist had taken, you know, because, you know at this time there was journalists, that were in the space and uhm, a journalist had taken a picture of me that had appeared in the Cape Argus, the following day.”

The university would begin the IRTC a year and a half after her suspension. Sandile felt compromised by the panel’s approach to reconciling the events that had occurred

during the protests. She explains that to lift her suspension, she and other protesting students who had been charged by the university had to admit to the charges brought against them. Admitting to the charges, however, was then as justification for the need for some sort of ramifications in exchange for rustication and the promise to never engage in such action again. Sandile was allowed to return to campus and resume her studies as she had already served her sentence after having been suspended the previous year. She notes the unfairness of the proceedings in that admittance of wrongdoing was only required from student activists and not the university management. As a law student, she realized the importance of her participation in the IRTC to minimize the chances of these charges potentially impeding her future admittance as an attorney into the legal practice council.

“There was like a transitional justice sort of truth finding mission which I thought was compromising because it requires us to basically, um, not only admit, but also apologize, in order for the university to quote, unquote forgive us, and this is funny because it was never something that was required of the university, and I think this is indicative of the power asymmetry between students and the university in that Max Price was not called upon to sit down and to explain the events that happened, to admit everything, to admit that he relished in private security coming into campus to admit that he is complicit in traumatizing students and people that parents, mainly parents put under his care, by throwing them in jail, he was never answerable to that and did not have to admit wrong-doing, um and so and that process was difficult because it was compromising, but because of the power imbalance, one had to do it right, I needed to finish the one year of my degree and get the fuck out of the university.”

5.3.8. The Transcapture: A Protest within Protest.

One year after RMF, UCT curated an exhibition at the Centre for African Studies (CAS) Gallery to mark the anniversary of the protests that occurred within the movement. Sandile, together with other student activists within the UCT: Transcollective staged a disruption of this event in what would become known as the Transcapture. They took issue with the lack of consultation before displaying their images and felt tokenized. Furthermore, they felt that this exhibition was another form of erasure of their contribution. Through inserting their painted bodies and marking the displays they intended to position themselves as artworks within their own rights, whilst simultaneously expressing their dissatisfaction as to how their contribution to the movement was (not) viewed.



Figure 10: “We dare you to walk over us one more time.”
(source: Sandile Ndelu)

“I mean, when I look at this, I want to look at it as more of a performance piece, as an installation, as something that was an extension of the art and so, you will see in the other pictures that we made markings on the artworks and the pictures and stuff and all of that for me, doesn’t necessarily, it doesn’t necessarily deface the artwork, it was contributing to it, it was deepening it.”

5.3.9. Still Not at Ease.

In retrospect, when she reflects on the time of protest, she notes that an underlying feeling of anxiety has remained with her. She notes that this anxiety has always been present. She recalls being sent to the shops as a youngster and not wanting to be seen. This feeling was present during the protests; being unsure of what was to come, and had remained after the protest, when she found herself not wanting to interact or be seen in certain spaces. This anxiety continued to ebb and flow as she navigated her daily life. She counters this feeling of unease through positive self-talk and reflects on times such as the RMF protests, to remind herself of her strength and all she has navigated and overcome.

“I am always having to give myself pep talks, sometimes you get, you lose your own sense of self and ya, and so I have had to like, keep looking at things like this to remind myself that I’m actually that bitch, right? (laughs) as Lizzo would say, and so for me it’s really important in terms of that. What a time! What a time to be alive.”

5.4 Chumani Maxwele.

5.4.1. A Legacy of Colonialism and Apartheid

Chumani began his story by discussing the reasons for the formation of the RMF movement at UCT in 2015, situating these within the historical context of Colonialism and Apartheid. He emphasized that the conditions that warranted protest at UCT should be read beyond seemingly unfair or discriminatory policies and anchored within a legacy of deep-rooted racism that informed both the Colonial and Apartheid projects. He felt that making this link was fundamental to understanding the continued culture of racism at UCT and exposed discriminatory policies and practices that stemmed from a long history of anti-Blackness on which the university was founded.

“I mean the culture of Apartheid, of course is linked with the racism that people are confronted with and of course, racism sort of links with the university, because the university belongs within society. Now, UCT as an institution still carries some deep residue of racism.

UCT itself is a product of the colonial project, which is supplemented by the Apartheid project, as an extension to that and, hence then, essentially when you say Rhodes Must Fall, you are saying the culture of racism must fall, you know, in a deeper sense, but people won't know, but that's what it was about.”

Chumani shared the example of the long-debated admissions policy at UCT to emphasize the importance of examining seemingly logical and fair practices within the historical context of Colonialism and Apartheid, to identify latent racially discriminative practices. He pointed out that for the longest of times UCT had used a merit-system to grant admission to the university, ignoring the fact that many Black learners were still subjected to inferior learning conditions and lived in constraining environments, which affected their academic performance and ability to afford university fees. The merit system ignored these conditions, affording privileged (predominantly white) students, admission to study at the university; according to the merit system, they were the most qualified. He noted that Black students who met the criteria were granted admission but often faced further challenges and discrimination due to an inherent and inherited culture of racism at UCT.

“Even Black kids who come to the university, they still feel a sense of discrimination, even professors, at some point, lots of professors, African professors, who were from Nigeria or Uganda, or wherever, they were discriminated against in the university for their enunciation

of words and stuff like that, and all those kind of things, you would sense that, somehow you are not accepted in the university, up until you have a particular way of speaking and enunciation and pronunciation of English words, Now, those were the sort of subtle forms of racism, and I am sure that many people have suffered through that, um, and all sorts of cultural association in the university that ordinarily, other people would think that they are normal.”

Chumani felt that UCT's financial exclusion policy was another example of a seemingly fair policy that excluded students who had outstanding fees. However, when read in the historical context of colonialism and Apartheid, one began to recognize that this policy would predominantly affect Black students and their parents who were still experiencing socio-economic constraints as a direct result of systematic racism. This policy therefore held racially discriminatory undertones, disguised as necessary economic/business practice, shaming those who could not afford to pay and absolving the university of any responsibility to mitigate these factors. Chumani holds the foundational culture of racism at UCT responsible for two 'by-products' that he contested during the protest that he staged at the CJR statue on the 9th of March 2015, namely, white arrogance and Black assimilation. He felt that should the culture of racism at UCT continue uncontested, it would further fuel white arrogance within the university, and this would continue to be celebrated through normalized practices, that further alienated Black students and staff, who would in turn assimilate to survive and foster a sense of belonging.



Figure 11: Protest as critique-in-action.
(source: David Ritchie¹⁰)

¹⁰ <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/western-cape/protesters-throw-poo-on-rhodes-statue-1829526>

“I had, sort of those two concepts (white arrogance and Black assimilation), that I have been thinking about for a very long while, a long time in 2014, leading up to 2015, you know, um, because my observation was that Black assimilation, Black people, they are sort of forced, sometimes, sometimes they are not, they chose to assimilate, but the overreaching concept was that whether you are forced, or you chose, you then assimilate. Now, my thinking was, of course, based on my readings and my observations of Black people, in just around the university, and part of which was the idea that, um, at UCT a Black student, in their first year, would show extreme sense of fear and anxiety and be uncomfortable, but what was striking, was that seemingly, the same signs and symptoms that are exhibited by a first year student from Engcobo-Ngcobo, who happens to be at UCT, are somehow exhibited by full-time professors, in the sense that people would have PhDs and they are Professors, or Associate Professors, or they are doctors for that matter, then they would go to a seminar, of course, usually a seminars full of white people in the universities and so on, and Black people who are doctors and professors, they don’t stand up and speak truth, or speak their truth, you know. And I just felt like, this is kind of a sign, it’s a sign of fear; but then I had to think, what is that they are fearing? Now, for me that’s very interesting, these two categories or ways of seeing the Black community, you know the Black student and the Black professor, almost have this, there is this double speaking, that they are exhibiting every time they are in the public space. Of course, the white arrogance for me was almost for me the opposite of this, because then if Black students and Black professors assimilate or keep quiet, then the white arrogance comes up in the form that white people would be overtly racist, overtly loud, or outspoken.”

Linking the culture of racism at UCT to South Africa’s history of Colonialism and Apartheid was important for the members of RMF to recognize the employment issues that outsourced workers experienced as another (seemingly normal) practice, supported by the university. However, situating this policy within the historical context, Chumani could see how security and cleaning work continued to be racialized and gendered, denying workers the opportunity to improve their circumstances through access to better wages and university employee benefits. Situating their experiences within the historical context also eliminated the class distinction created by these policies, allowing workers and students to see how their constraints were linked and sustained from generation to generation despite South Africa becoming a democratic state.

“Look, the workers, they are our parents, you know, they are our brothers and sisters, you know, therefore these people were part of us, there was no separation from us. I mean, in the broader struggle, the workers are part of us as poor students, because their kids could have been at university at any time, but they have experienced the same thing, therefore we were part of them, and in fact it is an old, it’s an old kind of a struggle that we ought not to separate. Now, when we then started RMF somehow, we knew that the struggle of workers would have to come in, but come in, in a way that workers are insulated.”

Chumani feels that the university's refusal to address the culture of racism over the years at UCT alienated Black students and compromised their mental health, which sometimes resulted in death through suicide. He criticizes the university for reading these as isolated incidents, that reflected personal and/or mental health issues, without consideration of how these issues may have come about due to their experiences of the conditions at and beyond the university as Black students. This meant that the health services offered would continue to treat students for psychological or mental health problems, without interrogation of the policies and practices at the university, and how these may contribute to these problems. For Chumani, participation within RMF provided an opportunity to make these links and highlight this and other issues as problematic.

“The problem was being, what do you call it, swept under the rug by the university, like for example, if you were now to go back to UCT and ask them to give you the stats of students who have died at UCT, who killed themselves since, 2000 up until 2020 – a 20-year period, they won't give you that. Now it tells you that the institution throughout this 20-year period, they had a huge problem, you can ask any student, any residence there, they, they know one or two students who killed himself, or herself, now the protest did nothing to exacerbate that problem as opposed to bring it to the surface, and people were then able to talk about their problems, to come up front that they have got, mental problems and psychological problems and that's what the protest did.”

5.4.2. Protest: Critique-Through-Action.

The genesis of the RMF movement is often credited to Chumani's infamous 'poo-protest'. He refutes this, taking accountability for the initial protest, but acknowledges that the resultant formation of the movement was a collaboration of student activists who found resonance with the issues he brought to light during the protest that he staged. He saw himself as a protestor rather than a leader within RMF and saw RMF as a protest movement that aimed to expose racially discriminative policies and practices at UCT. This was a deliberate stance to maintain focus on the reasons for protest, rather than himself as a leader of the movement. Chumani found protest to be an effective strategy to influence tangible change that allowed critique of the status quo beyond dialogue and intellectualization of the issues.

“The whole idea of RMF was conceptualized essentially by me, with a few of my friends, when we thought about it. I mean, in a way, there has been, sort of people, discussing in fear here at UCT, now people will complain about certain things that affect Black people in the University, and of course we are also part of that project, of discussing, whether during the talks, in the University, whether seminars or conferences, and then we will discuss about the suffering and the discrimination of Black people, and, um, but post those talks, we would engage, myself and my friends, to discuss what is it that can be done that is tangible that is action-based? Over and above theory or over intellectualization of problems that requires action? And then we thought, look, we must do something, and of course there are many layers involved with that of ‘doing something’, all the fears involved of Black students.”

Although heavily criticized for throwing human excrement during his protest, Chumani describes the intentionality and symbolism behind this, directly linking the culture of racism at the university with the constraining conditions Black people continued to negotiate within the broader society.

Well, I mean, the poo is really, it’s a performance material, more than anything else, it’s a performance material. I am an admirer of art and what artists use as their means of communication and the tools that they use to communicate. I mean artists use different forms of stuff you know to communicate something. I mean, poo is actually to show actually the disgust, as Black people, that we have, against certain symbols, whether be it names of individuals whom we know they directly played a role in undermining or contributing towards Black people’s suffering in South Africa. Now, all those are symbols, and I thought of the poo, I thought what sort of a symbol within itself was that and then, if it meets other symbols, a particular language is communicated, you know? It is a protest and a critique, it’s a critique, you know it’s a critique of the institution because somehow, there are many things that represent the institution, symbolically and otherwise, and the statue, somehow, was a representation or celebration of the university’s culture or the university’s history. There is a lot that can be read in a statue itself. I mean, you can choose to read a statue itself as the ‘aesthetic of art’, I mean, that would be fair enough to read that way, but those of us, who then read art and art history together with, um, historical studies and race theory, we understand all these things that they are making up together. Now the statue itself, therefore, artistically, and politically it is a symbol of celebration and exoneration of the past. And I think, of course, Cecil John Rhodes is part, I mean is very directly involved in the colonial project of African people, in the killing of African people, uh, within South Africa and beyond and that is why, for me the notion of protest came about.”

5.4.3. Misrepresentations and Accusations.

Chumani took issue with RMF being described as a violent movement and denies that students used violence as a protest strategy or committed any acts of violence. On the

contrary, he believes that protesting students and their forms of protest were labelled as violent to justify violence against them; a consequence for staging the protests and disrupting the day-to-day operations of the university. He invites comparison of RMF to protest action in other universities, to emphasize the initial peaceful nature of the RMF protests, up until police were called onto the campus. He explains that the destruction of property and the burning of a bus and paintings that students were accused of was always in response to violence inflicted upon them by security and police forces and emphasizes that no person was harmed during these incidents. He personally does not subscribe to violence as a way of political protest but highlights that there were those who viewed the protests as inherently violent from the onset and used this perspective to influence the narrative about RMF protests and protesting students.

“No, no, no, for me like I have said, I don’t subscribe to violence, as a way of political protest, I mean, you can do a peaceful protest, you can protest without violence and um, that’s what we did at UCT, from the very onset, always portrayed a peaceful protest, I personally, I don’t subscribe as - to violence as a way to get attention, or as a way to, to speak to people, we have not used violence at all, but of course, the other people might use our protest action and define them differently, but for us, nothing was, um, really about violence, not at all. The night of the burning of the bus happened after the destruction of Shackville and then, and then of course, that destruction itself, it was violent, it was at night, students, were using the shack to sleep and, and eat in and so on and some students were injured in the process, others were arrested. Therefore, it was the reaction to that violence of the police and the private security, which was planned by the university and then on the issue of the artworks, that was also a response to the violence that happened the night before.”

Chumani felt that it is important to disrupt the narrative that RMF protests were violent as this detracts from the intention of the protests and the fact that student activists were often at the receiving end of violence during this time. This experience of violence was further compounded by suspension or expulsion from the university and the potential consequences and uncertainty this might have held for their futures.

“We experienced it (violence) first, we of course we were arrested and that in itself, is a form of violence, you know, because there is an assumption that there is something criminal that you have done, ok? And the sad part of it is that no one accounted for that, even when people, like it turned out that in fact they were wrong, they just don’t care, they move on. Um, and besides being arrested, we were suspended, you know, and we were expelled. You know, immediately when you get suspended, it means that you are no longer a student anymore, and then you get expelled and you are no longer a student anymore, you know, you must then go

to court, and now all those processes of court, they are very painful things, you know, because you never know what's going to happen."

The misrepresentation of the protests and accusations against student activists weighed heavily on members of the movement and over-shadowed the grievances and conditions the movement had exposed, shifting focus instead to the clashes between student activists and law enforcement. Chumani believes this focus on the 'violence' within RMF directly influenced the opinion of the public who were further swayed by commentary by people in authority who denounced the movement in attempts to protect the reputation of the university, denying or minimizing the conditions described and demands made by RMF student activists. These people wrote with impunity and were never called to account.

"We had um, for example, an emeritus professor at UCT, Professor Tim Crowe, he still writes about us today. I mean, you get it so early, that you can't, you can't sit around and try to explain yourself to someone who has retired, who has chosen their line of duty, and they going to be after you. No man – you know, you just don't have the time and energy to explain. And of course, they have the power to define whatever, I mean, no one has been interested to counter what Tim Crowe is saying but of course, that's what it is. And people, you know, they call us so many things, it's not new. The very people who are calling us today hooligans, they called Mandela a terrorist and they moved on, they never bothered to say sorry, no, not even to Mandela."

5.4.4. "It's a Very Complicated Thing".

For Chumani, the violence he witnessed and experienced during the protests manifested in many forms yet was difficult to articulate. He explained that different forms of violence were generally considered worse than others, and the forms that were invisible, were especially harder to communicate and often demanded proof for one's experience to be deemed as violent. He credits the difficulty in naming and describing one's experience within the general understandings of violence to a lack of language around invisible forms of violence that oppressed and marginalized groups often experience. He also notes that reflections about one's experience of violence often happen after the fact and require some time to think through and process to make sense of what occurred. This time for reflection is often limited or denied as one must navigate the consequences of violence, which may also be experienced as violent, further complicating the issue.

“Well, it’s a very complicated thing. Outside the narrow understanding of violence in the sense that violence, as a brutal form of violence, that’s what we know and then when the psychological violence is being perpetuated against you, I mean, at the level of being suspended, being expelled, all the institutional mechanisms used against you, and, that’s violence for me, because its psychological and it affects you, and of course you might choose to deal with it as a non-issue, in a comparative sense, you know, because you would compare it with the brute violence that we are exposed to— whether you have been beaten up, or whatever, you know. But for me, I actually realized that the psychological violence is a very serious violence, because suddenly you can’t sleep, suddenly, you just lose interest in things, that is psychological and emotional.”

Chumani pointed out that beyond the different forms of violence that were visible or invisible, there were also multiple facets of violence at play that further complicated understanding of this ‘thing’. He explained that these facets emerged when one took an alternative standpoint to understanding violence, beyond the classic, universal understanding of violence as brute force. This shift in perspective allows for histories, contexts, social projects, and institutions to be considered and recognized as violent/violence, varied in forms and degrees.

“If one thinks about the colonial project and apartheid project and therefore institutions that were given birth to from that, that’s psychological violence. Of course, that’s why I understand people who, see UCT as a space, as a university or institution that is violent based on the historical construct of UCT itself, it is a colonial project, it’s a colonialist project that is built by the colonialist for the purposes of colonial activities, now on that level it becomes a violent space. During RMF, the violence, it emanates on the fact that student protest, which is a constitutional right, is deemed by the university as a disruption and therefore violent. They call the police, and then, add another notion of state violence on that and then of course in response to the state violence students burn stuff or property of the university, and that then is deemed as further violence. Now there are all these layers that, um, if you are to dissect, you then see all forms and degrees that one can assume as violent.

For Chumani the complexity of understanding violence and what is deemed to be violent or not, is further complicated by the notion of legitimacy, that often warrants debate. He pointed out that although students were exercising their constitutional right to protest, their forms of protest were constantly delegitimized and labelled by university management and the media as violent, mainly because they disrupted the operations of and access to the university. This label he feels, emboldened university management to call the police who are authorized to exact violence in the name of enforcing the law. This sequence of events often unfolded quickly, leaving little room

for debate during or after the fact and supporting the likelihood that such incidents would happen again and become the norm. Chumani understands violence to be an expression of power, the dynamics of which are rarely questioned or contested in the institution or in the broader society.

“Well, I suppose, one way or another, violence is the expression of power, because violence is in fact expressed through power. It is an exertion of power, power over others. I mean the notion of power, is um, it’s a very, it’s almost an accepted thing in society. It’s almost an accepted thing that that’s what power is supposed to do, you know, and now, somehow no one reads too much into it. And then, of course then, the notion of power to define, who defines what, and the naming and the terming of things, you know, of course that again, all of those things are always reserved for those who have got power.”

5.4.5. Victimized, Frustrated and Depressed.

For Chumani, the consequences of participating in the RMF protests were varied and included suspension from the university and criminal charges that were brought against him. The administrative labour involved with dealing with these processes affected his mental and emotional health, leaving him frustrated and at times despondent. He and other student activists had limited access to support at the time, leaving them feeling victimized by the university and overwhelmed when addressing the charges within the legal system.

“Well, of course, then to be, to be suspended or to be charged, um, because you initiate a protest, or you lead a protest, that in itself it’s a victimization, ya, that’s the main thing, that is what we were trying to argue there, you know, that because, it was not only us, who were involved in the protest, then the university chose a few people to charge you know, for operational reasons of their own and that in itself is, it’s a victimization. You then get delayed in your studies, because then if you are not registered, or you are expelled or suspended, then you can’t perform your academic duties, and that’s how, I mean, how severe it was then. You then get sick in the sense that you get depressed, you get frustrated, um, you just lose interest. You had to go to court, you had to find ways to get lawyers and stuff like that. I think, I went through that (court processes) like four or five times and at some point, you don’t have lawyers, you have to do it yourself, all that kind of stuff.”

Chumani feels that the public violence and public disorder charges that were brought against him were harsh, and that the university flexed its power in an intentional strategy to quell the protests, discourage student activists and put an end to the disruption they caused the university by having him expelled from the institution. This

and other disciplinary action taken against protesting students frustrated him. He felt management was not engaging with the issues that the protesting students were raising about the lived realities of Black students within UCT. Instead, they diverted attention to the disruption caused by the protests, rather than the reason for the protests. He was particularly frustrated by the insinuation that by engaging in protest, student activists were committing and inciting (public violence) at the university. He felt the use of this language criminalized him and other protesting students, discrediting the grievances raised and justifying the laying of criminal charges.

“I mean all those charges, were really drummed [sic] up charges, they had no language to explain what was happening, um, they had no language to explain what was going on, that’s why they threw any form of accusation and of course, for us, we cannot be limited in their lack of language to explain things, otherwise there was no inciting violence in our protests, you know, I don’t think we should be, we should really be bothered with their lack of language and lack of definition, really lack of language to explain things, because for us there really was no inciting of violence, no one was calling anyone to do anything, but we did what we were doing, you know and that was it.”

5.4.6. It's Just Something You Learn to Live with.

Chumani notes that he and other student activists had little access to any form of support during the RMF protests despite the difficult and at times overwhelming conditions he had to navigate when the university decided to act against protesting students. Students provided political support to each other but had limited access to any material and emotional/psychological support. Although counselling was offered at student wellness, he struggled with matching the services offered with what he was going through during the protests. In addition, he and the members of RMF did not regard themselves as unwell, but rather took issue with the conditions at the university that negatively affected the health of Black students. He reflects that during the RMF protests, by the time he was aware that his health and wellbeing was negatively affected, he struggled to pin-point the source, making it then difficult to seek the necessary support. During this time, he would try to self-regulate through rest and exercise.

“Well, I mean, of course sometimes you just don’t know whether you are depressed or not, but there was a time where I could not function. Um, I was just literally tired, and of course there

was this activism work that needed to be done, you know, and then somehow, I needed to be there. Now, well I suppose, I tried to sleep, but I could not, but fortunately for me, I did not try and find a substitute for me feeling depressed or something. I mean, I did not drink I did not smoke, and you know, maybe at least I would just go for a run, If I can. I would go for a run or take a walk, that was my mechanism. It's either, I take a run or walk, so I mean, even now, even, the aftermath of the protests, sometimes you don't know whether is this part of who you are? Is this part of your life? Whether is this how your life will look like? You just don't know."

Chumani also noted the historical lack of support available to Black people who had experienced varying forms of violence ranging from the systemic and political to the physical and psychological. This was not something they could escape. Growing up he had watched people navigate these conditions and any resulting trauma without mental health support, and for him it became something that 'you just learn to live with' or accepted in anticipation of the outcome you were protesting for.

"There is a whole history of protest in South Africa and um, for us it's not just history, but it's also contemporary, it's happening now, you know, people are still doing it. If you think about it, if people are protesting in the townships or in the rural areas or just in the cities, you know, who takes those people for psychological help or clinical help? Who? I mean they don't go to any psychologist; they live with that kind of stuff. Now, you sort of – that's part of it, that's part of – somehow you just think that that's part of our lives."

In retrospect he sees how this primed him and other student activists to dismiss their own experience(s), despite the signs that they were not ok.

"And of course, for us, for us Black people, all this kind of emotional violence, you tend to undermine it because we are used to brutal forms of violence and now anything, if you are talking about your soul, or you are talking about your spirit, or you are talking about yourself, not just feeling well, no that's, you must get over that. I never really support really, I mean, and I suppose, if we have accepted violence in a certain manner, you almost accept that 'no, I don't need assistance, because it's not this form of violence'. Most people sort of really lost interest in schoolwork or whatever they were doing and others they drank a lot and stuff like that, others, literally got mad, they went insane! And those were the kind of things that, um, when I think about, when you really sit down and think about, the fact that that was violence, because people, how can people change completely and lose their minds in the process?"

5.4.7. The Movement Lives on.

Chumani reflects on the impact of the RMF protests and feels that there were some positive changes achieved. He shares that students had requested a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) process to look at the events that had transpired and the punishments meted out, in an attempt to repair damaged relationships. The university agreed to the IRTC process instead. Although not fully satisfied with the outcomes of the IRTC, he is pleased that an official report exists with clear recommendations and guidelines for the changes that need to be implemented. He feels validated by the report's confirmation that UCT is indeed a colonial and racist institution as RMF claimed and hopes this will be used as a tool to further effect change. He finds issue with claims that the movement has been disbanded and feels it important to consider the movement outside of the protests. Yes, the RMF protests may have ended, but he considers the movement to still be alive, although not active at present. He believes that the FMF was a continuation of RMF and predicts that there will be a resurgence of protests should the historical structure of the institution and latent discriminatory practices not be addressed, which was the focus of RMF.

“ We have to really bring nuance to that, we have to carefully look at it, because some of us, we are saying ‘no, no, no, RMF, is not disbanded’, it is just, you take a step back so that the demands that you said they must, they must implement, must be implemented, and therefore evaluate those demands and then the movement. For example, you can’t say, Abahlali Basemjondolo, as a movement died – no, it has not died, it’s just those who had interest, who were participating, I mean it is a human naturality that people sometimes withdraw, you can’t say that because those who were in the forefront then, when they withdraw, the movement disbanded, it’s not disbanded, it’s there, the primary demands are still there. There are still backyard dwellers today in South Africa, there are still homeless people today in South Africa. There are still people without housing, now, and people now are occupying land across Khayelitsha, that is Abahlali Basemjondolo.

He would like to see more student activists and Black intellectuals write about their own experiences to contribute a nuanced perspective to the discourse regarding protest and violence. He gives the example of the infamous June 16, 1976 protests that are well known but offer very few narratives from those who were directly involved, that outline their personal experiences, perspectives, observations, and reflections. He acknowledges the challenges that come with making time to document one’s experiences but believes that all student activists within RMF have a duty to fulfil this responsibility. Doing this, he believes, will serve towards countering popular and dominant narratives that continue to misrepresent the situation, the events that

transpired, and the impact made. Despite the negative consequences he had to face within RMF, he felt it was largely a positive experience and is glad for his role in the movement.

“It was a good thing to get involved because part of what we learned. We learned to change the world and make an impact in our communities wherever we are. This is sort of nothing new, this is what we are taught, both in terms of history and in terms of the contemporary politics, therefore it was really to put into practice the theory that we have always been taught and put this into action. For me it was a very interesting exercise of putting some of the political and intellectual strategies into practice and see how they pan out when you are engaged with them. For me it was a positive experience, I mean, I can’t dwell on the negative issues, as if we did not achieve what we had set out to achieve.”

5.5. Alex Hotz



Figure 12: Alex speaking during an RMF/FMF event.
(source: Alex Hotz)

“I used to go everywhere with this scarf, it’s like this is the RMF scarf, so in meetings I would have this scarf, at protests I would have it around my - I used it in case of tear gas, or, it was just there, it was like a blanket of like comfort, and I still have it, I still wear it sometimes but it, it’s never quite been, I’ve never kind of worn it in the same way. Not for any- but I also think it carries so many stories and things, and if it had its own voice, it would kind of say what it saw.”

5.5.1. Genesis

When reflecting on the beginning of the RMF movement, Alex acknowledges the 9th of March 2015 as an important date that gave impetus to the movement, sparking a series of actions that would lead to the formation of R MF. She brought attention to the fact that the genesis of the movement came to be because of student activists’ choice to meet and mobilize in response to the ‘poo-protest’ staged by Chumani Maxwele on the 9th of March. Alex, like other student leaders and activists, had been involved in student governance contesting the anti-Black conditions at UCT through available channels. From her perspective, Chumani’s protest provided an opportunity for different activist groupings to unite towards addressing the issue of ‘white arrogance’ at UCT.

“It didn’t just happen by coincidence. So, I think there were very purposeful things and intentional things through organizing etc. that happened to make sure that the movement existed and that there was a process unfolding. So, when I think of the 9th of March, I remember there was an event held by X, uhm, in Molly Blackburn as part of the SRC – it was part of transformation week and X was, uhm, giving the talk and introducing the exhibition that, we were, that was being opened at – in Molly Blackburn. I was in the SRC at the time, I

had just started being in the SRC and reluctantly so. There were a lot of people who had dropped out at that point, and we had started an organization called Aluta and had run for SRC to just kind of contest the political space and terrain. And so, I was called by a very close friend of mine –X, who was the president of the SRC at the time and he is like “something’s happening, there is somebody standing naked, or protesting naked by the Rhodes statue, you need to go there immediately.”

Alex shared that the issue of the statue of CJR and what it symbolized and came to represent at the university, especially for people of colour, had long been a topic of discussion within dialogues about institutional culture and experience of racism at UCT. In the months before Chumani’s protest and the formation of the movement there had been a series of discussions about institutional racism, the lack of transformation within the university, and the alienating experiences for Black students at the institution. The protest Chumani staged on the 9th of March served as somewhat of a clarion call to those who had been involved in initiatives addressing the same issues and chose to show their support during the protest.

“In that moment, I was there, and I was like, I agree with what Chumani is saying. As a Black person at the university, I, you know - share the same sentiments and I stood there in solidarity with him and a number of other people started to stand in solidarity with him and there was singing of struggle songs and people began to like, gather around, you know.

Alex recalls that conversation started amongst student activists after this protest, especially when it seemed that there might be some kind of disciplinary action from the university for those that had participated in the protest. The media had been present at that time and had taken pictures of Chumani and those who had joined the protesting, implicating them as well. They then decided that there needed to be some kind of solidarity amongst student activists and therefore decided to host a meeting for involved and interested parties after the launch of a new newspaper called Vernac [an independent student run news platform expressing African identity through multilingualism] to be held the following day. They anticipated this event would be attended by progressive Black people, student activists and student leaders at the university. The SRC and other independent students had also applied to host an emergency mass meeting to urgently discuss the protest and the issues represented. This would be the first time the use of the mass meeting as part of the governance structure of the university had been utilized for a very a long time.

“Although we were trying to organize our own meeting, after the Vernac meeting, it was important that Chumani, who was the one who had initiated the protest was supported. So, whatever action, solidarity, that we are trying to do, to support Chumani must include Chumani. And I think that was important because it started the politics about ‘Nothing about us without us’ and to say that uhm, people needed to, you couldn’t exclude Chumani from what was unfolding. Whether you knew him, didn’t know him, agreed with his politics, whatever, uhm, and so we had had a meeting at the end of the Vernac meeting, to talk about, what is this that we are doing? What do we want to do? We agreed we are going to start a Facebook page and we are like ‘what the fuck are we going to call this thing?’ And it came to – it was first statue must fall, then it became RMF. And we had agreed that we going to set up – we were going to have a number of protests, and we were going to set up uhm, so we knew that the mass meeting was going to happen, and we were going to hand out flyers, and we were organizing a number of protests across the university, uhm, leading up to when we were going to march to Bremner.”

Alex noted that although the protest and subsequent meetings were successful in bringing together student activists and leaders from various organizations and political affiliations, this also presented a challenge in terms of the politics and frameworks that would inform the formation of the movement and guide protest strategies. She shared two examples of the conflicts that arose; the first was the issue of the throwing of feces onto the statue. While the symbolism of the porta potty was understood to represent the poverty and lack of dignity Black people were still subjected to after the end of Apartheid rule, there was disapproval of the throwing of the shit on the statue, and recognition that as a result of Apartheid socio-economic constraints and resultant social order, a Black cleaner or grounds man would be tasked with cleaning the feces from the statue – a further affront to their dignity. The second example she gave was of the racial tensions that arose at the mass meeting regarding who was given a platform to speak. The chair of the meeting (in attempts to be diplomatic) gave equal opportunity to both white and Black speakers, which caused a scuffle as some felt that the issues were centered around Black pain and white people and whiteness had already taken up too much space in the institution.

“What became very clear to me is that a particular type of politics wasn’t going to work – which was around like, contesting power in very like, partisan and very political party-oriented spaces, how it unfolds is very difficult because it then seeks to usurp power, usurp space etc. So, uhm, being in the SRC, I really tried to like curtail some of the things the SRC was able to do and not to try and take over what was happening in the unfolding of the movement, so I really at most times tried to act as a barrier, like to just you know tell the SRC to back off, to kind of keep them in a particular space because, at some point, there was a lot

of overlapping I guess of people in different spaces and uhm, we were clear that there was a coming together of various people from various organizations.”

5.5.2. No Longer Asking for Permission.

Alex recalls the harsh criticism RMF received from the public and some members of the UCT community. The movement was constantly portrayed as a group of ill-informed and entitled students who wished to disrupt the day-to-day running of the university. The issues they cited as problematic were often denied, disputed or challenged through university-wide polls, even though the grievances were specific to Black students, who were in the minority at the time. Alex shares the long hours, many meetings and behind the scenes work that went into outlining the intention of the movement, deciding on the politics of the movement, agreeing on strategies, mobilizing student activists, and organizing protests. This work was especially challenging, tiring and time-consuming and often meant staying on campus for long hours, limiting time to attend classes and complete expected work for their respective courses. Even so, members of the movement were able to compile a document outlining the intentions, politics and demands of RMF.

“We had been a sustained movement for the last months with ups and downs and we had developed a politics that identifies that there are three ideological pillars – which are Black Consciousness, Pan-Africanism, and Black Radical Feminism through Intersectionality and we had various strategies and tactics and various programmes around things that link the university to– whether it’s around Marikana, uhm, whether it’s around the statue etc., and we have used various strategies and tactics – whether it is occupation or disruption.

She shares that the applications required by the university to gain permission to protest at times felt contradictory in that the disruptive effect was minimized by the red tape needed to access the right to protest without repercussion. In addition, protest in the planning phase was very different from the protests in action. These tended to take on a life of their own as they progressed and responded to various factors that presented themselves during the time.

“So, the SRC applied to march to Bremner and then to, like, occupy the space outside, and I was like X, like this is so stupid, we don’t ask to occupy, and you don’t occupy outside, that’s fucking camping that’s not occupying. And then I think he asked if we can like go into the building and they were like, ya, for the weekend or whatever. There were lots of people who came to the protest who have never been involved in student politics or anything before and

there were workers, there were academics and students and then I don't know – we just walked into Bremner protesting, there is like this picture I remember, we were all singing and eventually at some point, uhm, we like, ok, we are staying, uhm and were occupying the lobby part of the - what later becomes Azania House and I remember PASMA launch that evening and then, Xolela Mangcu came and started speaking to us about politics, and then, we were all in the lobby and I don't know what happened, but at some point, we managed to get into Mafeje. And we are discussing a lot of things, we spent the night there, everybody did and there were a lot of tough discussions, uhm, that were unfolding, and people were talking about their experiences and how they didn't think that they could occupy or be part of the movement or entitled to talk about some of these things because they were middle class. So, all of these things were unfolding, but it was clear that we decided that we were occupying, we weren't going to leave at the end of the weekend.”

Disruption was a conscious strategy that they decided to enact to deter the university from attempting to swallow the protest action within the day-to-day running of the university. Alex shared that by disrupting the daily operations of the university, the movement was able to gain the attention of the University community and the public, giving them leverage to bring about negotiation with management. Alex recalls the frustration created by their decision to blockade roads and entrances to the university. One day a member of staff attempted to drive into a crowd of protesting students in efforts to disperse them. Initiatives taken by the University to engage the UCT community in discussions about institutional culture were also disrupted through walkouts in protest against the University's attempt to portray the institution as genuinely interested in the issues pointed out by RMF while continuing with business as usual.

5.5.3. Protest Begets Violence

Alex recalls that regardless of the variation in politics and perspectives, protest was the strategy agreed on to expose the conditions at UCT and express RMF's grievances and demands. The statue was eventually taken down after several staged protests, but the material conditions of Black people at the university remained the same. Alex shares that student activists within the movement exercised various methods of protest but found occupation of university buildings to be particularly effective towards disrupting the status quo and the University's attempts to continue with business as usual despite the demand to address the culture and fundamental structures and processes accepted as the norm within the university. She feels that the

characterization of student activists and staged protests as 'violent' within the media and UCT campus correspondence triggered and seemingly justified and legitimized violent responses against members of RMF and any protest action they engaged in. She felt that this label was unfairly used to criminalize them and justify their violation without interrogation as to the actions that were labelled as violent or the context in which said actions emerged. These events sparked reflection and dialogue about exactly what constitutes violence and how the portrayal or characterization of people as violent can be used to justify further violation of the violated (those experiencing and protesting a violent existence).

"And then the, you know, categorization that all protests by Black people in this country get categorized as, which is violent protest - and whether you are blocking a road, you are burning a tyre, you stand- it is all categorized as violent protest or public violence, and then you're like - but nobody was - we didn't shoot anybody we didn't - things were just burning. Oh ok, so that is categorized as violence now? But what about when we are thrown stun-grenades at? Or when we are chased by police? So, all of these questions begin to unfold about violence."

Alex recalls incidents during the protests where student activists were antagonized and called racial slurs by white members of the academic staff. When student activists responded by chanting, continuing to shout their slogans, or simply ignoring them, they were portrayed as the aggressors compromising the safety and working conditions of educators on the campus. She vividly recalls several incidents described below.

"I remember we had a protest inside the Beattie building and this Israeli woman who was a lecturer for Hebrew then came to disrupt the protest and kind of came to do some 'Mandelarisms' and it was very tense and you had to kind of really like you know, uhm, kind of stand guard and protect because people became, it was very antagonistic and we were like comrades there is so much media here, and when a white woman is like disrupting a protest and we are antagonizing her etc. it's going to become racialized and it's going to portray people in particular ways, it feeds into - it's going to develop the stereotype. And so, it happens, it happened on more than one occasion, and it's amazing how racialized it becomes in the sense that, when it was one white woman surrounded by a group of Black people, she becomes the victim and not the antagonist right? And then it happens again in another instance with a lecturer called X, you see the picture, it was like all over the media and stuff, with the sjambok and in, it was in Kramer and again, uhm, X and the others become like, the antagonist and she became the victim."

"We were called monkeys, kaffirs, entitled and disruptors and all of these things and again this is how things are racialized and how white feelings, white tears matter more than any of

our experiences. Their names were clear as day, these white people who said all these things about us, I'll never forget, uhm, I was standing, blockading during a protest with a group of people, but X and I were standing next to like this plastic barricade, and this white lecturer who is trying to get to class, and he starts calling us 'cunts' and this and that, it's recorded, but nothing happens, to this day, nothing has happened and it's not just one white lecturer."

The above and other similar incidents and experiences created the opportunity within the movement for dialogue and discussions that interrogated the concept of violence including dominant narrative(s) that portrayed resistance against oppressive systems as 'violence' and were in turn used to justify the violation of those who disrupted and resisted oppressive systems through protest action. Alex shared that these discussions were pivotal in her expanding her political consciousness, especially in terms of the different forms of violence and how these were equally weighted in the absence of interrogation of context and the experience(s) of racialized and gendered groups.

"And we were talking about revolution and what revolution meant etc. It was a very important like political growth for me, in terms of understanding politics and thinking about – and starting to think about violence differently. So with the first you know – we were talking about violence is not just physical, we were talking about structural violence, epistemic violence and that as Black people we experience epistemic violence on a daily basis and structural violence and why is the one seen to be ok - and when you respond to epistemic and structural violence, with a physical form of violence, that is the one... is the one that is criminalized and not the epistemic and structural. And the question begins to become more poignant and important when our strategy and tactics and our politics begin to develop and change."

For Alex, her participation in the RMF and FMF movements changed her understanding of violence and her views on the use of violence as a tactic or strategy towards oppression or resistance. She supports a broad, multi-faceted, conception of violence and rejects a hierarchical or predominant focus on physically tangible forms of violence at the expense of other less visible forms such as structural and epistemic violence. She recognizes inequality, poverty, and racism as forms of violence and thinks that one needs to be strategic in how they respond to these forms of violence; considering whether violence may be useful or necessary. She emphasizes the complexity of conceptualizing and understanding violence, highlighting that this cannot be done outside of context as she feels context is key in helping one identify and make sense of violence, including what it may be an expression of.

“I think sometimes we often don’t ask ourselves the question: Like what are the strategies and tactics in utilizing the violence? because I am not a pacifist – I’m a person that believes that there is a time and place for certain things but that it must be principled. And that it shouldn’t be meted out on people, uhm, but that also, we must understand that even utilizing violence as a strategy and tactics, as a strategy and tactic, uhm, requires that we heal and heal with the trauma, in even not only experiencing, but inflicting violence does, in that even in our own political spaces, that we are capable of being violent, epistemically and structurally, and that, while we are looking externally, we must look internally at how to dismantle those.”

“I think it’s (violence) an expression of, a system of oppression, so – systems are structured in a way to violently oppress us – Uhm, colonialism is violent because it created, conditions and context for divide and rule and seeing people as superior and inferior and that, that manifests in violence, capitalism is violent, patriarchy is violent and its expressions and manifestations are violent, uhm, and I think, yeah, it’s an expression of- probably an expression of- I won’t say fear, because I think we fear a lot of things, but we don’t act violently, but I do think it’s an expression of systems of power and oppression.”

5.5.4. Criminalized, Brutalized and Traumatized.

When reflecting on her experiences of violence within the RMF protests, Alex shares that for her, the entire movement was a violent experience. She explained that student activists were responding to violent conditions on campus, they employed tactics and strategies that were deemed violent. They experienced violence from some members of the university community, campus security and law enforcement and had internal issues of violence within the movement itself. She shares an encounter with campus security after they decided to extend their occupation of Bremner past the weekend and an attempt by staff in management to scare students into dispersing through lies of a reported bomb-threat.

“Our first experience of brutality is when we tried to, on the Monday when we were supposed to – so the weekend of the 20th [March after occupying Bremner], the Monday, like it was supposed to be business as usual, we are supposed to have left – we decided to chain ourselves and you know keep this place open. And G4S had come in and really kind of brutalized and hurt people, so that you know we couldn’t be in front of Max Price’s office. They tried to pull us – physically remove us – doors were closed on people and that type of thing.”

“So, the next day, I go to a person who works in the building – who is an ally of ours and is friends with X, and I’m like, “Listen, we’ve been told, this and that, X says that she got a call

from somebody that said there was a bomb threat” and she said, “let’s just get to the bottom of this and calls X. And X is like “I don’t know what the fuck you guys are talking about, I didn’t receive any phone call!?” Imagine, we had decided to leave, uhm and lose the leverage and the power that we had at that time, but that just shows that UCT management was willing to do anything to kind of get us out and because of these experiences, I think it began to make us increasingly disruptive and this began our first experiences, kind of, with violence.”

The dishonouring of agreements between students and management led to incidents of confrontation between protesting staff and students and law enforcement, whether campus security or police. Alex recalls the movement’s first encounter with violence from the police after a meeting with management where they were forced to engage with management in the blistering heat as management feared they would occupy Bremner again should they be permitted to enter the space again. On this day, students had gathered outside Bremner and were engaging with the Acting Vice Chancellor, Deputy Vice Chancellors (DVCs) Anwar Mall and Dannie Visser. After some discussion the representatives from management said they needed to meet as a team and would return to students after this, leaving them to wait in the sun. Students grew increasingly frustrated while they waited in the heat and eventually broke the gates to the building, gaining access to and occupying Mafeje once again, prompting management to call the police.

“We get into, break the gates of Azania House and we get into the building, so some people are occupying Mafeje, and inside, and some of us are standing outside and we are protecting Mafeje and as we are waiting for management to come, we see one police car, two police car, and then there is like 12, 13 police cars and then we are like ‘Fuck!’ And some academics are there to support us and eventually my parents come and my mom and my dad come and they are like ‘you’ll be fine, just hold the line’, like, ‘just, you’ll be fine’ and then, I think, my mom starts to panic a bit because Y (member of staff) is negotiating with the police, and the police say we have been told by management, uhm, that we must remove you by any means necessary. Fuck! What do you mean by any means necessary? You will just shoot at us like what the fuck?!” I remember X (member of staff) standing there with me and we were like ‘No, it’s fine, we will hold the line’ and, they form a human chain, like to protect us, you can see the police coming, like, towards us, with their, like, gear on, it’s the first time, the second time, we are seeing them with riot police, like gear, but it’s like the first time that it is on campus. So, some of us are inside, I was outside, and some of the people are inside, we are standing there, and I am telling people, like, listen, people are saying, just wet – and I- we were giving people water to wet their t-shirt ‘cos if its teargas, this is how we are going to protect each other etc. And then, they start arresting people, they put me in a van with like four other people.”

For Alex and other protestors, it would become a day of mayhem, panic and trauma as police arrested staff and students indiscriminately and released stun grenades to get occupying students out of Azania house. Those who attempted to flee were arrested. Some protestors were injured and needed to await emergency services for treatment. Alex recalls feeling somewhat responsible for the arrest of students and staff who had joined the protest that day in efforts to support and protect student activists from police violence. She also felt helpless while trapped in the police van, hearing the panic, shouts, and cries of her comrades. They were eventually taken to Rondebosch Police Station. The support received from fellow comrades and students who showed up at the police station is a moment that has stayed with Alex; a moment that she credits for encouraging her to continue with further protests.

“I’m telling you the most powerful, beautiful thing happened, is when we got out of the van, there were thousands and thousands of young people who came to fetch us, from the police station and I was like, these people don’t know us, but they came and we marched like from the police station to Lower Campus and there was like this massive sea of people and we decided, we are not going to stop, despite the violence, despite everything, we are going to continue. And obviously the violence just gets worse, and we become increasingly more militant so, we now have barriers and we light tyres and we have, porta pottys, and then more people are getting arrested and this time they are not dropping the charges, they are keeping people in the cells. I think, you know for the first time UCT, a white university, and then in 2016 at WITS, the same types of violence were meted out on Black students at these white institutions, where it happens all the time at Black institutions. And I don’t say formerly white, formerly Black because there is nothing former about any of those things.”

The idea of violence, brutality, and repression as permissible against Black bodies was reinforced during a march to parliament in 2016 which Alex labels as particularly triggering, violent, and traumatic due to the clashes that resulted between students and the police. No longer on UCT property, she was surprised by the antagonism, animosity and brutality meted out by the police on protesting students, even though their cause, if realized, would improve the conditions for Black people who previously were unable to afford access into the university/higher education space.

“When we go to Parliament, and that is one of the most traumatic experiences I think we all had. I remember, I was standing with some people and there was a coloured police officer, and this guy X was with me and then, he is like, ‘You think you are better than us, jou naai’ [you fucker] and then X, I think, says to the police officer, ‘Jou ma se pus’ [your mother’s vagina] and that’s just when the police man went nuts, and there were like lots of like, those

types of, kinds of clashes, and, I mean, many people were arrested, people were shot at, uhm, and I thought, I think many people thought, like a Marikana moment was going to happen there, because at every stage when we tried to leave, they were herding us into one space, and I think that's a tactic, I mean when I worked at the Right- to- know, it became evident to me that, the tactical police, and POPS are meant for crowd control, but they have not been trained to handle protest. I get – I literally had the worst types of heart palpitations, and like and feeling of like, oh we are going to die, when I saw the barbed-wire fencing that they brought we were there with our banner, and stun grenades go off, and they are trying to arrest us and Masixole, gets like lifted and we are fighting against the police and X goes down because his ear, the stun grenade like damages his ear, and I just remember this shouting by a comrade of ours; “another Black body down” and it just like reverberates and it was just like, it was like our first kind of shock, you know as to being treated in that way and to experience this type of state violence.”

Violence within the RMF movement was something that comrades had to recognize, call out and address as the movement progressed. This led to clashes, conflicts, disagreements, and divisions within RMF, which student activists did not always feel equipped to deal with, whilst simultaneously tackling the issues and demands outlined to UCT management and the broader UCT community. Alex credits this to a lack of consciousness regarding how normalized and accepted ways of being and interacting with each other are inherently violent and are likely to manifest in all collectives where there is diversity in politics and identity. The t-shirt pictured below was particularly meaningful for Alex and represents the continuous invisibility queer Black women experienced and had to push against to have their presence, contribution and leadership recognized within RMF and later in FMF.



Figure 13: 'The Revolution is led by queer, Black, women'.
(source: personal camera)

“Ja, and, and so those are, as much as...much as we were saying that feminism was a pillar of our movement, that we needed to do a lot of internal work around what that meant, it’s easy to state something, but what it actually embodies...that is very different, and so I think sometimes we were not conscious of how we said things, and what we did might have been violent. Mis-gendering someone is violent, being called like ‘mlungu’, ‘mlungu’, ‘mlungu’, but you’re not ‘mlungu’, is a violent experience, being raped or abused within your political spaces is a violent experience. Uhm, and unfortunately, we were not able to deal with, like all of those issues.”

Alex credits the dismantling of the RMF movement to the continuous violence they were subjected to. Student activists had been arrested, some had been expelled or suspended and most were worn down and traumatized by the series of events that had unfolded and the demands this placed on them both physically and psychologically. Few students had any form of support, besides a few Black academics who would counsel, advise and support students within the movement as and when they were able to. Alex describes the protest space as an intense space that had damaging mental health effects and far-reaching consequences for those that were disciplined as part of the movement. She identifies the Shackville protests and subsequent police response as the final straw that broke the movement’s back.

“And then the kind of last thing, I mean, the kind of swansong that I think really collapsed the movement was Shackville. So, you know we were talking about the housing crisis and exclusion at the university, and I think one of the most post-1994, most-innovative types of protest, was to have that shack at UCT. And, for it to be like so violently knocked down, but also through, I think when you have gone through like a year of violence and trauma, by the state and by the university, and it’s not letting up, people are so angry, how do you expect people, you know to respond? Shackville was bound to happen because of the way in which the university responded. And the antagonism towards us. So, what that the shack was blocking the road? It was a minor inconvenience for some people who take cars to the university. And as we erect it, they crash and trample it down, private security and it’s so violently, so terribly, and then there were a whole lot of nyalas, casspirs, on the main road and on campus. After they had destroyed the shack, and people are being chased by private security and police and it was a disaster, I’ve never seen anything like that. You know being in the, what do you call it? -in the residence compound lower campus, and running, and police just running and shooting indiscriminately.”

5.5.6. A Black Hole of Trauma, Repercussions and Consequences.

The violence and trauma Alex experienced during the protests was compounded by her being suspended and eventually expelled from the University. This meant that she could no longer participate in the movement and the University in the way that she would have liked. At the crux of her experience was a feeling of injustice that presented itself as punishment from the University for demanding to be seen and demanding a better life for themselves and generations to come. Although her parents were present and supportive and had the social and political resources to assist Alex during this time, she notes that most fellow activists did not have access to the same support. This affected the ways in which they were able to support each other during suspension or expulsion, leaving many student activists feeling isolated and resentful, longing for the comradeship and comradery that they had experienced within RMF. As someone who played a prominent role in organizing and mobilizing and recruiting people to the movement, she felt a sense of personal responsibility to her fellow student activists, that she was unable to fulfil due to her suspension. These experiences and consequences caused her severe trauma, depression and anxiety that manifested itself in various ways.

“I think that for me (this experience) has left a trauma for so many people. Every time I hear the sound of, um, stun grenades it’s a very triggering sound for me and I think being in large crowds, like at protest, I am always, acutely aware now that I need to have an exit plan or strategy for myself because things can go horribly wrong, quickly, when the police are involved. So, I think that sits with, that was five years ago, but it still brings pain, and I am in tears (sobs).”

The toll on Alex’s emotional well-being is evident as she became tearful several times as she shared her story. She is especially saddened by the experiences of comrades within RMF who suffered severe mental health consequences due to their experiences within the movement and have not been able to recover. She feels that many bright and proactive student activists who had potential to impact great change within the University and their respective communities, had their light extinguished by their experience of violence during the protests and the criminalization they faced from the University; an institution she feels was entrusted to look after them as students. Some were admitted to mental health institutions and then sent home, unable to continue with their studies.

“I feel a lot of guilt because of people who kind of have been left behind, because it’s the workers, or comrades of mine, and I just think to myself, sometimes I just wonder where people are, because we were like this (gestures, crossing fingers) and I just wonder where people are, are people ok?”

Alex experienced a mental breakdown during her expulsion from UCT. At the time she was working for a Non-Governmental Organization, and she reports that she became detached and despondent, neglecting her health and simply going through the motions. She reports that she would go to and from work and then return home, spending the majority of her time in bed comforting herself with high-sugar foods and drinks. Her parents became concerned by this behaviour and suggested she seek psychological support from a qualified family member who was white. Alex was resistant to this suggestion because she felt a white health professional would not have an authentic understanding of her experience and pain and would be unable to understand her experience of health as a political issue, caused by the undignified circumstances in which Black people exist in this world.

“I also had to say like, that I needed to see a Black person, who could understand. So, my dad kept saying, I think you need to see this person...and I burst out one day, and I was like, ‘She won’t understand where this pain is coming from!’ Don’t, even, when you talk about my childhood, it is an experience of not fitting in, not belonging, because I wasn’t, I didn’t fit into a white box, I didn’t fit in to...a...this box, I didn’t- so, it was about all of that, like this quest to like belong somewhere, this fight within the university just exploded, and, I think, you know for a university that has a massive Health Sciences Faculty, and lots of resources, it’s quite shocking how under-funded the wellness of students, academics and particularly workers are at the University. So, you have 27 000 students, and you have 7 psychologists or whatever at the wellness center, and even – it doesn’t matter if it’s 1000 or 3000 people – you must wait.”

Alex recognizes that trauma manifests itself in various ways, but for her it manifested physically through rapid and significant weight gain and psychologically through deep depression and anxiety. This feeling of ‘heaviness’ was difficult to articulate, further compounding feelings of hopelessness and despair.

“I cannot always explain to people, but sometimes it’s existing knowing how fucked up the world is, knowing how, it’s like an existential trauma about like the more you struggle, you are met with violence and it’s just like, at what point, when will we be actually like free from all of this? When can we just exist, to exist, to have joy, not to worry where money is going to come from? Or that like we are fighting for dignity on an everyday basis because we are attacked, every single day.”

Alex found her experience reflected in an Instagram post, shared by an activist that she follows.

“I am going to read this to you because I think it is important. There is an activist in the US that goes by the name G and yesterday, something that they posted was, ‘how much of our daily anxiety is really because our nervous systems are accurately detecting and sensing how capitalism is exploiting and harming us every day, while destroying the environment? Don’t rush your healing, follow the pace and intuition of your body, you don’t owe anybody an explanation for your timing, maybe only people with mental illness are able to know the truth in this fundamentally’.”

Alex shares that one relationship that was particularly significant to her experience of health and well-being was with her best friend Sandile. Their friendship was strengthened by their shared experience(s) of alienation, violence, and severe consequences from the University for their participation in the RMF protests. For Alex, having a friend and housemate who understood her experience was a source of support, providing a safe environment to ‘unravel’ and then eventually heal. She shared the picture below, detailing its significance and sentimental value.



Figure 14: Alex and Sandile during a RMF protest.
(source: Alex Hotz)

“It represents, you know, struggle and how we fought to be in positions and to have the politics that we wanted, you know, within the movement, so it’s a very sentimental picture to me and it’s a friendship, it’s one of the only friendships that has maintained and endured and grown stronger out of the movement. And I really have so much respect for Sandy, we really went through a lot together Sho!”

5.5.7. Still Processing, Still Healing.

“You know, Black people are always told in this country whether it is Apartheid or Colonialism, or whatever we should be over it by now, we should ‘get over it’, I don’t think I will get over it, but the thing is for me, other people have gone on to live their lives, abo Max Price and others are in London, they have gone on to be directors of this and that and their lives are fine, but so many people are not ok, because of this. And the thing is for me like where is the justice in all of that? Where is the fucken justice in all of that?”

Reflecting on her experience, Alex shared that she has mixed feelings and is unsure whether the costs outweighed the benefits. She reiterated that RMF was a very important movement that played a critical role in expressing the experiences of Black students, staff, and workers at the University. Even so, these feelings are countered by feelings of frustration at the aspects of the University that have remained unchanged, returning to ‘business as usual’. She is angered by the injustice to student activists who she feels bore the brunt of the responsibility for what transpired during the protests, while no member of the UCT management team or staff that violated students were punished or held accountable in any way. Despite these frustrations, she does note that an outcome of the movement that shaped her perspective of its impact was the insourcing of workers, and a sense of empowerment gained through fighting for and achieving change.

“If there is one thing that I can say, was the most beautiful thing that came out of 2015 was the insourcing of workers. It wasn’t the way in which we wanted it, but I think it was one of the most powerful things that came out of 2015, and something that is, and this is why I say, you know race and class and gender, and all of these intersections are important. I felt in some ways the most powerful I ever felt, as an individual and like sure of who I was, and right now I don’t feel that at all, I am not sure about who – I am not sure about who I am, and I particularly don’t feel sure about where I fit into this Azania, because it is incredibly polarized and I wonder what part did I play in RMF in deepening some of these, so I think about that critically sometimes and I often think what is missing, in this country, broadly?”

For Alex, participation in the RMF protests is something that she does not regret because of the insight it has given her regarding her identity, purpose and why activism is such an integral part of her meaning-making process. Despite insights gained she has unearthed critical points of reflections that she engages with from time to time.



Figure 15: Alex pictured wearing her scarf during an RMF engagement.
(source: Alex Hotz)

“My politics has always guided my ideas about humanity, about who I am, about who other people are and my politics has always given me a grounding, a purpose and I have had to struggle. Being in struggle, has helped me, you know, come to a – you know comfort about myself, but I think that because I am disruptive, I am always struggling to find who I am, not always comfortable necessarily, and I think, I don’t know if it’s a gift or a curse, that I’m here, struggling, and it will maybe be like the purpose of my life is to struggle, and to think about, you know, who I am. Am I comfortable in myself?, Um, and that’s changed over times and, you know, it comes and goes.”

Chapter 6: 'Being' Denied: An Intrinsic Case About the Endurance of Coloniality at UCT.

This chapter presents a case narrative of RMF at UCT (2015-2016) with a specific focus on the manifestation and expression of violence during the RMF protests. The structures at UCT are such that students, general workers, and staff have limited access to management and would rarely find themselves engaging with the executive or each other outside of teaching and learning activities and residence life. This 'separateness' means that participant groups would rarely engage each other and gain insights from hearing each other's perspectives and experiences. With this in mind, I have chosen to organize the narrative as a 'conversation' between the respective social groups and actors involved in the RMF movement (2015-2016). Using the concept of conversation to structure the case report is helpful as conversation allows for 'turn-taking' and sequencing which supports contribution of various perspectives and experiences towards revealing the case issues. Furthermore, it affords insight into the context of the case, revealing conditions, perspectives and relationships that constituted the case. Lastly, this structure is especially suitable as it exposes points of conflict, contradiction and/or contestation without assigning a value-judgment. With the above in mind, the case narrative is organized into three parts (table 12). I invite the reader to picture student activists and key informants seated around a table discussing the case context and issues.

Table 12: Structure of the Case Narrative.

Part 1: Openings	a) Introduction of participant groups. b) Description of case context.
Part 2: Middle	a) Chronological development of the case. b) Description of case issues. c) On the issue of violence. d) Consequences.
Part 3: Closings	a) Remaining questions. b) Conclusion.

6.1. Part 1: Openings.

6.1a) Introduction of Participants Groups.

Keeping to the conversational style and structure, it is important to first introduce the various participants who offered insights into the case issues. This case considered the perspectives and experiences of representatives from the various groups involved in the RMF protests. These were RMF student activists at UCT, general workers at UCT, UCT management, UCT academic and PASS staff, Public Order Police (POP) and a group named 'Miscellaneous' which included UCT alumni, previous members of UCT's Council, members of the public who supported protesting students and commissioners appointed to the IRTC. All participants are grouped as 'Key Informants' (KIs) and have been assigned numbers (e.g., KI_1) to protect their identities as far as possible. I have purposively omitted naming the participant group each key informant belongs to, this is intended to place everyone at an equal position of power around the metaphorical 'table' as described in the introduction to the chapter. I hereby encourage the reader to reimagine the kind of engagements and conversations needed within the institution, inviting contributions from the Education, Health, Legal and Security sectors. The descriptions offered in this report are informed by an analysis of multiple sources of data, in line with case study methods as described in Chapter 4.

6.1b) Description of Case Context.

This section identifies and describes the context or foundational arrangements that informed the development of the case. Guided by a critical-decolonial perspective, the description of context offered below focuses on issues of power within the context of coloniality towards decoloniality from the perspective of the social actors in the participant groups identified above. This perspective foregrounds colonial configurations of context, while equally highlighting the need to critically interrogate structures, practices and processes that have become normalized, legalized, and accepted as potentially complicit in sustaining and reproducing this social order. Case study requires that I 'bound' or delineate the case while ensuring a holistic view of the case context. I have therefore focused on the conditions that (re)surfaced student

protests during RMF (2015-2016). These conditions are described from various aspects of context including physical, socio-historical, geo-political and cultural dimensions with emphasis on how these aspects interact(ed) to create the power-structures and power-relations that define the case.

i) Crème de la Crème.

Regarded as one of the most prestigious universities in Africa, UCT has multiple campuses and residences located in prime areas of Cape Town's southern suburbs and CBD. Each campus is connected to key activity hubs within the city and boasts state-of-the-art venues and facilities. The campuses are meticulously maintained and boast clean buildings and well-kept grounds. The upper campus is especially beautiful and rests at the foot of Rhodes Memorial, giving it a majestic and prominent presence. Its elevated position supports its social position as a distinguished and sought-after institution that offers a host of learning, research, and employment opportunities. The university offers six faculties, namely, Commerce, Law, Humanities, Science, Health Sciences, and Engineering & the Built Environment. The Graduate School of Business although not a faculty, boasts a high ranking globally. Its location at the Victoria Alfred Waterfront speaks volumes to its proximity to powerful international financial institutions.

Most of UCT's campuses offer student accommodation, colloquially known as 'reses' on their grounds or on nearby properties owned by the institution. Housing at UCT residences is equally sought-after due to limited capacity to accommodate registered students. Residences on or adjacent to the campuses are the most coveted due to their proximity and facilities offered such as libraries, computer labs and 24-hour access to university Wi-Fi. Campuses are secured through access control systems such as student and staff cards that grant access to campus and buildings as well as security staff stationed at various points to ensure the safety of those on campus grounds. Transport between UCT campuses and residences is offered through a shuttle service. Students and staff can access the shuttles from various shuttle stops on and nearby the campuses. UCT is thus regarded as an elite and prestigious institution, situated within prime locations on prime land (figure 16).



Figure 16: Map of UCT campuses (<https://uct.ac.za/contacts-maps/campus-maps>).

Regarded as the primary means to securing professional employment, university education is a coveted, and highly competitive opportunity/commodity. As one of 26 public universities, UCT in particular has gained a reputation for being an elite and exclusive university due to its high fees. In 2015, 1st year student tuition ranged from R43 500 – R67 000 and averaged R50 000 per annum. First and second tier residence fees ranged between R38 000 – R48 000 and averaged R 45 000 excluding meal options. International students who were studying full time at UCT could expect to pay an extra R80 000 over and above course tuition in 2015 for international administrative services and international term fees. Limited financial aid is available through university scholarships/bursaries and financial aid opportunities such as UCT financial aid or NSFAS. When considered within South Africa's high unemployment rate (22.87%) and average annual household income in 2015 (R138 168), we see that the average South African household would be unable to afford UCT's high tuition and residence fees, without financial aid.

South Africa's secondary education statistics, considered with UCT's student admission capacity, further compounds limited access to the institution. In 2014, South Africa obtained a 75% matric exam pass rate. Only 28.3% of the 532 860 learners that wrote matric met the minimum requirements for bachelor's degree studies. According to UCT's 2015 Admissions Review Report, UCT received 26 900 undergraduate applications for 2015. Black students (including Coloured, Indian and Chinese applicants) made up 40% of the application pool, white students 23% and International Students 17% (race not specified) with some applicants choosing not to declare their

race. Women made up 55% of the total applicant pool. Of the 26 900 applications, the university extended 9 745 new undergraduate students offers in 2015 (1 098 international and 8 647 local students). This means that UCT had capacity to offer new undergraduate placement to less than 5% of the 2014 matric pool that qualified for bachelor's degree studies and less than 1.6% of the total matric population. Read in conjunction with the 2015 No Show Survey Report, 4 684 students did not show up at the beginning of the 2015 academic year; 35% of respondents cited financial constraints as the main factor influencing their decision to not take up the offer. The above fee and enrollment figures support university education as a limited commodity and placement at UCT as both an exclusive and elite enterprise.

The 2015 Teaching and Learning Report detailed the following 2015 student demographic summary and full-time academic staff demographic table.

“South African (SA) Black, Coloured and Indian students together made up 43% of the total 2015 enrolment. 49% of the undergraduate population was comprised of SA Black, Coloured and Indian students (49% in 2011). The proportion of self-declared White undergraduates has dropped from 33% in 2011 to 29% in 2015, at least partly because of the increasing numbers of apparently South African applicants electing not to declare their race: in 2015, there were 1 292 SA undergraduates with undeclared race. The non-declaration of race has had an increasingly adverse impact on our ability to assess our progress towards demographic enrolment targets in recent years. Postgraduate students showed a net decrease in the proportion of SA Black, Coloured and Indian students (from 33% in 2011 to 31% in 2015) despite a 10% drop in White enrolments. There was a marked increase in the number of South African students who opted not to declare their race (from 282 in 2011 to 1 376 in 2015, or 14% of the postgraduate enrolment). The proportion of international postgraduate students increased slightly from 21% in 2011 to 23% in 2015.”

From the above, we see that Black (including coloured and Indian) students made up 49% of the undergraduate enrolment, whilst white students made up over 60% of the postgraduate studies.

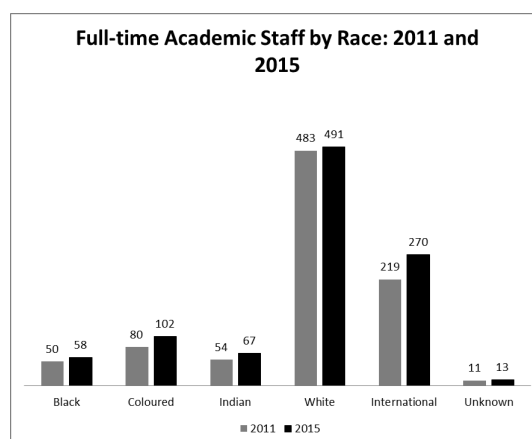


Figure 17: Full-time Academic staff by race: 2011 vs 2015.

Black (including coloured and Indian staff) South African academic staff totaled 227 (22.7%), with the number of white South African staff at 491 (49.1%). International staff racial demographics are not specified and 13 fell into an ‘unknown’ category, making it difficult to calculate accurate percentages of race-based representation. Read against the country’s demographics below, we see that quantitative transformation measures at the university remained a challenge. At the time of RMF student protests, UCT remained a predominantly white institution, despite South Africa’s transition to a democratic state in 1994 and white people accounting for only 8.3% of the country’s population (table 13).

Table 13: Mid-year population estimates for South Africa by population group and sex, (Census 2015).

Population Group	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
African	21 653 500	80.6	22 574 500	80.4	44 228 000	80.5
Coloured	2 334 800	8.7	2 498 100	8.9	4 832 900	8.8
Indian/Asian	688 100	2.6	673 900	2.4	1 362 000	2.5
White	2 201 900	8.2	2 332 200	8.3	4 534 000	8.3
Total	26 878 300	100	28 078 700	100	54 956 900	100

It is worthwhile to note that the evidence and measure of UCT’s transformation agenda is centered on student admission numbers according to race and gender. These initiatives are largely quantitative, with a dearth of first-person narrative accounts of Black student and staff experiences of access and exclusion at UCT. This omission focusses transformation efforts on increasing the number of Black staff and students

at the university without investigation into the quality of Black staff and student experiences within the institution. Such an omission potentially occludes evaluation of UCT's institutional culture, and how it continues to foster an anti-Black climate, despite efforts towards transformation.

ii) Historical Origins.

A description of the university's history is outlined on UCT's website and locates UCT as the oldest university in South Africa. Initially founded as a college for boys in 1829, formally becoming a university (for white men) between 1880 and 1900. Women were permitted access to the university in 1886 and a "*small number of Black students in the 1920s, with increased numbers in the 1990s*". Although the webpage description locates the 'birth' of UCT temporally, the description offered does not situate UCT in South Africa's broader historical and political context to explain the privileging of white male students. The admission of women is credited to their "*exceptional work*", situating the university as an institution of excellence, despite being complicit in discriminative policies that denied Black people, women and (trans) gender diverse people access to tertiary education.

South Africa's Apartheid system, which was formalized in 1948 and abolished in 1994, is first mentioned in a section titled "*Moscow on the Hill*" which describes a nickname given to UCT in recognition of the institution's "*opposition to Apartheid between the 1960s and 1990s*". Colonization and colonialism are not mentioned on the webpage, despite the university's roots in this system. For example, the admission of women is described '*in honour of Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee*', exposing colonial ties and suggesting colonial loyalties. In addition, the university describes how its science laboratories came to be in response '*to the need for skilled personnel in the country's emerging diamond and gold-mining industries*'. Mining magnates, Julius Wernher and Otto Beit are credited for the '*substantial gifts*' donated towards the formation of the University, while their role in a system that oppressed and brutalized Black people is omitted. Perhaps the most significant example of this pattern relative to the case, is the land "*bequeathed to the nation by Cecil John Rhodes*"; implying the generosity of the 'bequeather' and excluding the story of land dispossession and forced removals that facilitated Rhodes's ownership of the magnificent land.

The page goes on to outline the aims of UCTs transformation policy, in response to “*signs of change*” in the country. These are to: “*redress past injustices, promote equal opportunity for all, reflect the demographics of South Africa, safeguard human rights, uphold the inherent dignity of all and meet the development needs of South Africa's emerging democracy*”. While relevant, these aims do not reflect an understanding of Black people’s experiences of exclusion and the university’s role in maintaining and perpetuating oppressive structures and practices. Furthermore, it is worth noting that (trans) gender diverse people and their history of exclusion is not mentioned. These omissions expose a pattern of selective contextualization, more specifically, UCT highlights its progress towards transformation while ignoring key aspects of context, that inform(ed) discriminative practices. Unacknowledged, this pattern perpetuates erasure and sustains the silencing of oppressed histories. This is evident on the webpage where distinguished white, male alumni such as world-renowned heart surgeon Professor Christiaan Barnard and Nobel laureates Sir Aaron Klug, Professor Alan MacLeod Cormack and JM Coetzee are recognized and celebrated as evidence of UCT as an excellent, world-class institution, despite the omission of women, trans (gender diverse) and Black distinguished alumni. It is worthwhile to note that this historical account on UCT’s website remains unchanged eight years after the RMF protests.

The university’s Authorities and Information of Record 2015 offers a “*historical sketch*” under its general information section that offers a slightly more contextualized account of UCT’s cultural climate under Apartheid dispensation, and the university’s efforts to transform and become “*fully inclusive*”.

“The post-World War II UCT admitted students without regard to race, creed or colour. But only white students were allowed in residences, or encouraged to take part in social, recreational or sporting activities. Much clinical training was segregated. During the 1950s the government legislated to enforce segregation based on the Population Registration Act, and in 1959 passed the Extension of University Education Act, 1959 removing from UCT the right to admit Black students unless under a permit issued by a Minister of the government. This legislation provoked a sustained period of opposition by the University and its members, culminating in a successful court challenge in 1987 to attempts by the Government of the day to make state subsidy conditional.... The 1980s and 1990s were characterized by the

deliberate and planned transformation of the student body, aided substantially by the establishment in 1981/1982 of the Academic Development Programme aimed at helping students from disadvantaged educational and social backgrounds to succeed, and the desegregation of student residences in the following year. As a result, a student body that was 90% white in 1979, when UCT marked its 150th anniversary, will be more than 50% Black in 2015.”

The excerpt above illustrates the prescriptive relationship between state and institution that is sustained despite inclusive policy developments and transformation initiatives. Admitting Black students to the university, yet denying them access to residence accommodation, would have compounded the multiple logistical, financial, and attitudinal constraints orchestrated between the Apartheid state and state institutions towards keeping Black people separate and subjugated. For example, UCT is based in the southern suburbs that, under Apartheid was reserved for white people. When considered with the Groups Areas Act (1966) and Forced Removals that occurred in Cape Town between 1957 and 1961, we see that a student admitted to UCT in the 1980s and 1990s, yet excluded from the residence system would have experienced several obstacles accessing UCT, both within and outside of the institution. At present, South Africa and Cape Town especially, maintain Apartheid's socio-geographic arrangements. In this way, barriers to inclusion characteristic of Apartheid are sustained, despite democratization of government and transformation initiatives such as the Academic Development Programme described above. It is worth noting that again, colonialism remains unmentioned as a foundational socio-historic structure that continued to influence the status quo at the time. Furthermore, there remains no mention of RMF in the historical sketch of subsequent versions of the Authorities and Information of Record (2016-2023).

RMF recognized UCT as an institution with colonial roots that sustained coloniality. In their 2015 mission statement, the movement, described UCT as an “*elite institution...[and] oppressive space [towards Black and gender diverse students] ...despite its rhetoric of transformation.*” They located the university as a microcosm of the broader South African society, drawing the link between issues of racism and patriarchy within the institution and the country's Apartheid history and legacy of colonialism. In so doing, they recognized UCT as a product of the colonial project, whose legacy

continued to shape the university's institutional culture, thwarting efforts towards transformation and perpetuating an “*alienating and disempowering*” environment for Black staff, students, and workers. This depiction of the university is in stark contrast to the picture painted by UCT in its transformation policies and reports. The above suggests a disconnect between the university's transformation agenda and initiatives and the ways in which South Africa's Apartheid and colonial legacies endure at UCT. This assertion is supported by two participants who were at the forefront of UCT's governance and student affairs in 2015. They expressed surprise at the emergence of RMF and subsequent protests.

“ I mean, it's a question that I have grappled with a lot, I don't think there is an obvious answer to why it sort of bubbled over in 2015, but I think it's probably, because the university had been on a trajectory in my opinion, from the late 80s or even early 90s; a progressive trajectory of transformation and decolonization, and if you speak to any Black student today from the 80s or 90s, particularly those who are staff members or prescribe to – like for example, I have certain conversations....[with Black staff who attended UCT] so when you talk to them, I didn't study at UCT, when you talk to them about how the university has changed over the decades, they are all quiet clear that the experience of Black students today is much better and much less discriminatory, much less oppressing than the experience was over the decades, and that it has, you know progressed steadily. ” - KI_14

“I thought we were doing a great job, I thought we were very socially aware, we were politically aware. I worked with groups of people that put everything into helping students integrate and flourish at the university, even in the residences... and I really thought, I mean in 2015, that we were then a fantastic residence system which was true. I thought we had the best student support system and what really shocked me is what RMF was telling us is that they still feel alienated at UCT... I am saying to you that I was gob-smacked when I realized that we were on the wrong track! Did we not do enough? Or is it just trained hostility? What is going on here? - KI_13

“There can be no denying that the student protests took us by surprise with the timing of their eruption, their passion and breadth of support.” – ‘Answers to Alumni, FAQs re: Rhodes Statue, UCT News, 22 June 2015.

The above supports the centering of Black staff and student narrative accounts of exclusion from and within the institution to identify the ways in which South Africa's Apartheid and colonial legacies endure, despite UCT's transformation policies and initiatives. The inclusion of Black-centered qualitative measures of evaluation may offer a more nuanced picture of latent norms, values, traditions, and structures that

continue(d) to alienate Black people at UCT, while perpetuating an institutional culture that privileged whiteness.

6.2. Part 2: Middle.

6.2a) A Chronological development of the Case.

Investigation of the case revealed various opinions and perspectives regarding the beginning and end of RMF protests. It was particularly difficult to ascertain when RMF became or transitioned to FMF. The genesis of the movement is often recognized from Chumani Maxwele's infamous protest at the statue location on campus on the 9th of March 2015. Through the narratives of student activists in the previous chapter, it emerged that this protest encouraged student leaders to meet following Chumani's protest and thereafter officially formed the RMF movement.

“Not today, we were founded on the 12th 🖐️ To say today is our birthday is to erase the work done to create the movement. Today is the 1-year anniversary of when Rhodes was defaced. The 12th of March marks the birth of the #RhodesMustFall and the Decolonial Project.”
- @RhodesMustFallSouthAfrica twitter page, 9th March 2016.

It seems that although the proxy between these two movements may have shifted, the core intention remained the same, that was, to expose coloniality at UCT and its continued dehumanization of Black students, staff, and workers, through the University's policies, practices, and institutional culture. It is important to note that there were preceding, albeit smaller initiatives that challenged institutional racism at UCT, but were less known, due to student's limited time at the University as compared to staff.

“There were two major phases, the first was RMF in 2015 and at end... the end of 2015 FMF. The RMF issue was much more linked to the historically white universities and FMF was covered in all the universities, so became much more of a national movement. RMF was not a national movement in the sense that it affected only 8 universities out of the 23.” - KI_14.

“I am not in any way suggesting that there were no attempts that were made before the 9th of March. I mean there were several attempts; we read from history that there were also students, way back who protested Rhodes statue. So, there are those attempts, and we are not denying those facts, but we are saying, 9th of March brought a difference, there was something different about the 9th of March...Even with FMF, RMF was also involved in that, and operated in both spaces.” - KI_2.

“So, they wouldn't have known that there was ever something called, um, ‘To whom does UCT belong?’ because they were not in the University before. They would never know that the SRC of two years before, under X hosted an event of, ‘Is UCT racist?’ They had a massive

meeting at Hiddingh Hall that had a whole, a whole 15- minute debate on the statue being present on campus...management's advantage over students is that they don't leave."- KI_18.

The reader is asked to note this ambiguity or 'inexactness' as further evidence of the complexity of the case. The table below offers a chronological timeline of key events, compiled from the perspectives of involved social actors and relevant data sources. It begins with the initial protest on the 9th of March 2015 and ends with the 1-year anniversary of RMF commemorative event at the CAS Art Gallery on the 9th of March 2016. This 12-month period is wide enough to track the genesis and development of the movement and accommodates the overlap between RMF and FMF.

Table 14: RMF Timeline (9 March 2015 – 9 March 2016).

Date	Event
9 March 2015	- Chumani Maxwele protests 'white arrogance and Black assimilation' at UCT; poo flung at the statue of CJR.
12 March 2015	- Mass Meeting on Jameson Plaza: Open-air dialogue - RMF Facebook page created.
16 March 2015	- Management hosts UCT Talks: 'What Signs, Symbolism and Signage mean', RMF students stage a walk out. - #Black Monday (in solidarity with RMF). - Statue of CJR covered with refuse bags.
17 March 2015	- Letter from Concerned Black Academics, re: It Matters who Teaches.
19 March 2015	- '#Haveyoursay' Notice boards erected beneath the statue.
20 March 2015	- RMF march to Bremner - Occupation of Bremner – Renamed Azania House (1)
23 March 2015	- 'Concerning Violence' – Documentary screening and discussion in Azania 1. - RMF posts statement on Facebook explaining Bremner Occupation.
24 March 2015	- 'What is the Post-Colonial University, Curriculum, Canon?'- Seminar in Azania 1, Black academics invited to host seminars and discussions about issues identified by RMF.
25 March 2015	- University Assembly: 'The Rhodes Statue and Transformation.' - RMF publishes a mission statement on Facebook. - Sarah Baartman Performance/Protest.
26 March 2015	- 'Symbols and Identity' – Seminar and discussion. - RMF Sub-committees established.
27 March 2015	- Senate votes for the statue of CJR to be removed.

30 March	- 'Decolonizing the University' – Presentation and discussion.
31 March	- "Miners Shot Down" – Documentary screening and discussion in Azania 1.
7 April 2015	- UCT Convocation, Special sitting 'RE: Rhodes Statue'.
8 April 2015	- Disruption of Council meeting where final decision about the Rhodes statue to be taken.
9 April 2015	- Statue of CJR removed. - RMF Mass Meeting in Azania 1.
10 April 2015	- RMF served eviction order to vacate Azania 1
12 April 2015	- RMF students leave Azania 1.
14 April 2015	- Student and Staff March to Azania 1/Bremner.
16 April 2015	- RMF Afrophobia protest at Home Affairs and Parliament.
22 April 2015	- 'Problematizing Afro/Xenophobia' – Discussion hosted by RMF. - 'Curriculum reform through discussing the African Studies curriculum.'- Discussion hosted by RMF.
23 April 2015	- 'Decolonizing the Curriculum' – Panel Discussion hosted by RMF.
28 April 2015	- 'Brown People in Black Consciousness' – Discussion hosted by RMF.
29 April 2015	- RMF students occupy Avenue House (offices of Student Housing and Residence Life). – Azania 2. - 'Concerning Frantz Fanon' – Public lecture hosted by RMF.
06 May 2015	- 'Decolonization 101' – Public Lecture hosted by RMF.
26 May 2015	- UCT grants amnesty to protestors. - RMF evicted from Avenue House.
29 May 2015	- RMF occupies Avenue Hall
18 June 2015	- Special Advisor to Vice-Chancellor on Transformation appointed for 12-month period.
16 Aug 2015	- RMF Marikana Campaign.
18 Aug 2015	- RMF and UCT management sign a mediation agreement facilitated by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.
20 Aug 2015	- RMF Marikana solidarity march.
30 Sept 2015	- RMF Pikkety Protest.
1 Oct 2015	- RMF Lecture on Rethinking and Reconceptualising Black Consciousness.
06 Oct 2015	- #October6 National Day of Action against Outsourcing, presentations, Outsourced documentary screening.
14 Oct 2015	- FMF protests start at WITS.

19 Oct 2015	- UCT Interdict against second RMF occupation of Bremner/Azania 1. - FMF protests begin at UCT. - RMF/FMF blockade campus entrances. - SAPS called to UCT and evict students from Bremner/Azania 1, tear gas and stun grenades released, some staff and students and arrested. - All lectures, academic and other operation on Upper, Middle, and Lower campus suspended from 19- 26 October 2015.
22 Oct 2015	- UCT academics march to Bremner demanding the lifting of the interdict and an end to police brutality on campus. - Exams postponed.
28 Oct 2015	- UCT agrees to the principle of insourcing.
7 Nov 2015	- UCT proposes an agreement between student organizations/formations and UCT's executive.
9 Nov 2015	- Senate meeting disrupted by RMF student activists.
13 Nov 2015	- Vigil discussing police brutality and plenary meeting.
16 Nov 2015	- Alleged rape during RMF/FMF student occupation.
4 Dec 2015	- RMF hosts '<i>Potsoyi</i>' seminars, discussions, music, and food.
11 Dec 2015	- RMF instructed to vacate Avenue Hall.
16 Jan 2016	- RMF reoccupies Avenue House.
14 Feb 2016	- RMF ends occupation of Avenue House.
15 Feb 2016	- Shackville protest - FMF/RMF students erect a shack on Residence Road protesting a lack of housing for Black students.
16 Feb 2016	- RMF/FMF refuses to move the shack to a designated area. - RMF protesters enter Residence Hall and eat at the dining hall without authorization. - Paintings from Smuts, Molly Blackburn and Beit's building removed and burnt. - Police called onto campus; 8 arrests made. - 'incendiary' device thrown into the window of the vice-chancellor's office.
17 Feb 2016	- UCT granted interdict, members of RMF/FMF banned from campus and from disrupting the institution.
March 9 2016	- RMF Exhibition "Echoing voice from within", disrupted by UCT: Transcollective. - #RMF Expo – walk-about around various sites of RMF protest on campus. - Protest against naked statue of Sarah Baartman: Statue clothed by RMF womxn and non-binary people.

6.2b) Description of Case Issues.

RMF expressed several issues with the university's institutional culture, that according to their manifesto, stemmed from problematic arrangements remnant of UCT's colonial and Apartheid legacies. They claimed that these problematic arrangements remained unacknowledged or in some instances denied by UCT, despite their central role in the (continued) dehumanization, alienation and exclusion of Black staff, students, and workers. Furthermore, the movement asserted that left unexposed, unaddressed, and unchallenged, these conditions would continue to constrain the agency of Black people within the institution and beyond, cementing colonial and Apartheid ideals. These issues are organized according to the themes, '*A Colonial Blueprint*', '*Issues of Access*', '*Issues of Alienation*', and '*Issues of Agency*'. Thereafter counter perspectives of the issues are presented to highlight points of contention, that expose further issues that define the case. These are presented under the themes "*Much Ado About Nothing*" and '*In Over Our Heads*'. The issue of violence is extensive and is presented in a separate section (section 6.2.2.). Please note that due to word count restrictions, some quotations from KIs or the relevant data sources are presented in a separate table (Appendix I).

i) A Colonial Blueprint.

The previous section situated UCT within a broader socio-historic context of Apartheid and colonialism. These political systems although no longer sanctioned/legalized, were described as foundational to the conception and construction of the (westernized) university in South Africa, suggesting a colonial 'blueprint' and situating UCT as an expression of the colonial project. A blueprint exists as an expression or manifestation of the intention, plan, and vision of the architect or designer. It outlines the dimensions, strategies, and materials necessary to realize this intention. A blueprint is also a form of communication, guiding the construction process. In short, a blueprint maps the relationship between structure and behaviour and is recognized for the power or authority it holds to determine foundational arrangements. These foundational arrangements shape the overall system and determine one's experience within it. In the same way, student activists recognized South Africa's history of colonialism and Apartheid as the principal 'architects' responsible for the oppressive

and discriminatory foundational structures. RMF drew attention to the inherently racist and patriarchal nature of this foundation and the ways in which UCT's colonial blueprint continued to find expression in the University's image, structure(s) and culture, despite UCT's transformation agenda and initiatives. They cited these problematic arrangements as being at the root of the issues that informed the formation of RMF and related protests.

(Please see Appendix I, row i)

RMF asserted that true change could not occur unless coloniality was recognized within the institution and a commitment made to decolonize, rather than transform the institution. They maintained that without this shift, transformation would be achieved at a surface level while preserving an institutional culture and image that privileged whiteness. They put forward the statue of CJR as a proxy, critiquing its prominent position within the University as a celebration of white supremacy and an expression of symbolic violence.

(Please see Appendix I row ii)

ii) The Issue of Access.

“if I look at UCT, its definition of racism, it does not go into structural racism, it's only interpersonal racism. Did you call somebody the k-word? That's their definition of racism, that's inconsequential, what we mean when we talk about racism at UCT is structural racism. Like the university is not inclusive, it does not accept a Black person, right, so millions of examples to demonstrate that.”- KI_9.

Despite the steadily increasing numbers of Black students and staff admitted and employed at UCT, RMF identified UCT as space that remained inaccessible for Black students and academic staff. They took issue with the low numbers of Black students and academic staff which did not reflect the demographics of the South African population. They noted that where Black people did find majority representation was within 'unskilled labour' as general workers (security and cleaning staff) that were outsourced at the formation of RMF, prompting them to join the movement and protests. RMF critiqued the above 'distribution' as evidence of continued labour discrimination and stratification characteristic of the Apartheid dispensation, that

through education, professional or skilled labour was reserved for white citizens and manual and menial labour for Black South Africans. Although a student-initiated movement, RMF gained the support of Black staff and workers at the university. Black staff and general workers at UCT could relate to the observations and grievances student activists had described and had had similar experiences. RMF afforded the opportunity to combine staff, student and workers struggles and provided the necessary support and language to articulate their experiences of discrimination at the institution.

(Please see Appendix I row iii)

This alliance created friction for outsourced workers; those who joined the student protests were warned to discontinue this alliance, failing which they would risk losing their jobs.

“No more protests at the University and they didn’t even want us to have communication with the students, even now if the students are involved whatever it is, doesn’t result in anything. I remember even when there were meetings they wouldn’t go ahead with students there, they were asked to leave, and we would ask them to wait for us outside to give them feedback. they didn’t want the relationship we had with the students because it was powerful”-KI_7.

Issues of access included problematic admission policies, poor representation of Black academics amongst academic staff and the outsourcing of Black workers at the institution. Admission to UCT is competitive and has been historically based only on academic performance. While seemingly fair, RMF took issue with the lack of consideration afforded to the constraints historically experienced by Black learners when accessing quality education. UCT’s admission policy came under fire in 2013 after a submission to Council at the end of 2012 to consider alternative measures beyond race for redress and proxy for disadvantage. In a UCT news article, “UCT’s race-based admissions policy under the spotlight” this race-based admission policy is labelled as ‘*controversial*’ and had been a subject of ‘*intense public debate*’ over the years. The central issue with using race as a proxy for disadvantage, is the argument that in 2015, being Black no longer automatically meant disadvantage and that white learners also experienced disadvantage that a race-based policy did not acknowledge.

(Please see Appendix I row iv)

This was in opposition to the demands put forward by RMF, who noted the multiple constraints Black learners faced including poor preparation for the National Benchmark Test (NBT) and the need for financial aid and academic support. Some felt that UCT, in efforts to be 'world-class', upheld conditions that made it near impossible for the Black learner to access.

(Please see Appendix I row v)

In addition, RMF identified student accommodation policies as problematic as they didn't consider the financial and transport constraints, that disproportionately affected Black students. The 'in-transit' student accommodation system was identified as particularly problematic for the disruptive, humiliating, and stressful conditions it perpetuated for predominantly Black students whose families could not afford alternative housing, while they were on the student accommodation waiting list. Some squatted with their peers while waiting to secure residence or alternative accommodation. Black students who lived in Cape Town also requested accommodation, as some lived in areas with poor access to amenities, requiring early/late travel, sometimes on foot, that was unsafe or unavailable. This period of waiting often overlapped with the beginning of the academic semester, further 'displacing' and compounding an already stressful situation. Senior Management denied that student accommodation policies were problematic, but the issue was rather a communication breakdown within the residence system.

(Please see Appendix I row vi)

RMF student and staff activists noted the lack of Black academic staff representation and the role this played in maintaining UCT's image as an institution that privileged whiteness.

(Please see Appendix I row vii)

The University attributed the low number of Black academics to the small pool of qualified candidates from which to appoint. UCT recognized this as a wide-spread issue in South African universities, and not an indication of discriminative practices at

UCT or related to the institutions' student admissions policy. Some participants rejected this argument, claiming the University demanded higher criteria for Black staff to gain senior positions and that Black staff were saddled with the grunt work when appointed in junior positions, further impeding promotion.

(Please see Appendix I row viii)

RMF critiqued the outsourcing of general workers at UCT. They read this as the University exercising its privilege through legally sanctioned labour practices that cut costs for the University while normalizing and maintaining the historic subjugation of Black people through labour. They demanded that UCT:

- *End outsourcing. The companies must go, the workers must stay - Implement R10 000 pm minimum basic for UCT workers as a step towards a living wage, in the spirit of Marikana.*
- *Get rid of the Supplemented Living Level, which prescribes a poverty wage.*
- *Stop using the Consumer Price Index which ensures that wages never really increase, leaving workers in poverty.*
- *Education for workers and their families must be free.*
- *Workers must be able, without penalty of any kind, to refuse work that is a danger or hazard to their health and safety.*
- *Provide workers with access to services dealing with labour, family, housing issues.*
- *Provide workers with avenues through which to report and address experiences of racism, sexism, and other forms of abuse. These avenues must assist in enforcing legal action against the perpetrator.” - RMF Manifesto*

In 2015, outsourced workers received low wages (R5 018 per month) and were denied employment benefits (such as medical aid, staff tuition discounts etc.) despite their integral role towards maintaining the image of the University and protecting its structures and property. One previously outsourced worker described this experience as working within *‘the dark side of the institution’*(KI_6) highlighting the indignity of withstanding unfavourable conditions of employment and the risk this posed to their health and safety.

“The system itself was very hostile to the dignity, the dignity of Black people, but no one saw that, it was never realized, it was never viewed on that angle... There were no guard rooms, and people were exposed to the bitter cold. You just stand there as a robot and it was in a way, um, people lived in forests, in the bushes, it used to be a sleeping place for CPS workers. So when they want to sleep or just to rest their bodies, they will just sneak and go to bowling club and into the forest, near the bushes, and also middle campus, they just look for a funny place or a cozy place to get in and then rest, you see and also to avoid rain, there was no

way- there was no proper way of avoiding the rain, so, um there was no equipment, you see, so people were suffering, they were getting sick and they worked 7 days straight, 12 hours a day, 7 days a week. And then you will rest, three days after 7 days, you rest only 4 days, so constantly you are exposed to these conditions. We used to request for guard rooms to be built on campus, proper guard rooms and they said [no], based on the institution, based on the image of the institution, the institution has to remain this way, you see, so it was kind of - the heritage of the institution was better and far more important than the lives of the people who were working in the institution. So that's what was happening at the institution, during that time." - KI_6.

"You must make sure to leave the house past five because there's some distance to where we get transport, we use 2 taxis the other one gets you to the taxi rank. At least by six you must be there because it's a risk getting there and also the queues are long. You're afraid for your safety. We are from the different locations like Khayelitsha, Langa and Gugulethu those places are dangerous especially Gugulethu." - KI_15.

Workers endured these conditions, as in many instances, they were the breadwinners for both their nuclear and extended families.

"I have 3 children, my mother depends on me, and my sisters' children depend on me and the extended family. I don't have a choice." -KI_7.

"I have 3 children and 4 grandchildren, and my unemployed sisters... they are old. We are 12 [people in the house]. There's transport, children's school transport and you also have to eat."-KI_15.

UCT defended outsourcing, citing the enormous cost to the University should they choose to insource workers, which would have implications for students' fees.

"The University of Cape Town notes the demands by members of Rhodes Must Fall (RMF), the National Education Health and Allied Workers Union (NEHAWU) and other movements to abolish outsourcing of essential services at the university. The UCT Council called for a review of outsourcing in 2014. The Report on Outsourcing at UCT, dated 14 April 2014, estimates that the total additional costs of insourcing all services at the university would be R58 million a year, with additional upfront asset purchase costs of R68 million. The University will not be able to absorb this cost without raising student tuition fees significantly, and this would impair student access to UCT. In addition, the report finds that the efficiency of the services that are outsourced at UCT is another strong argument to retain the policy, as it allows the University to concentrate on our core focus of teaching and research." – 'Outsourcing is most efficient, cost effective option for UCT support services', UCT News, October 2015.

iii) The Issue of Alienation.

A core issue that informed the formation of RMF at UCT, was Black students' struggle for belonging at the University. Despite overcoming the issues of access described in the previous section, Black staff and students reported experiences of institutional racism and a widespread denial of Black pain that cultivated a lack of belonging and had both academic and mental health consequences. Black pain was a term coined by the movement that encapsulated Black people's experience of dehumanization through subtle forms of racism, patriarchy and ableism inherent/embedded within university processes, traditions and norms that perpetuated coloniality. RMF made the following demands linked to Black pain.

- "- Remove all statues and plaques on campus celebrating white supremacists.*
 - Rename buildings and roads from names commemorating only white people, to names of either Black historical figures, or to names that contribute to this university taking seriously its African positionality.*
 - Replace artworks that exoticize the Black experience (by white, predominantly male artists) which are presented without context, with artworks produced by young, Black artists.*
 - Recognise that the history of those who built our university - enslaved and working-class Black people - has been erased through institutional culture. Pay more attention to historical sites of violence, such as the slave graves beneath the buildings in which we learn."*
- RMF Manifesto

Adopting an intersectional approach gave RMF the language to express how colonialism and Apartheid affected Black people broadly across multiple aspects of identity. They were able to theorize and conceptualize their position and argue for decolonization as praxis.

- "An intersectional approach to our Blackness takes into account that we are not only defined by our Blackness, but that some of us are also defined by our gender, our sexuality, our able-bodiedness, our mental health, and our class, among other things. We all have certain oppressions and certain privileges, and this must inform our organizing so that we do not silence groups among us, and so that no one should have to choose between their struggles. Our movement endeavours to make this a reality in our struggle for decolonization."*
- UCT RMF Mission Statement.

"you know, the movement itself was not, an ideological amoeba, from the onset, it adopted the intersection of the following cardinal pillars: Black consciousness, pan- Africanism and Black radical feminism. These were the cardinal pillars that were adopted by the movement,

but of course, what was important, in these cardinal pillars, was the intersection of them, how they intersected and the politics of intersection that saved the space in many different ways, and we used these tools to understand, and to articulate our position in the world, and we used these as a point from which we articulated, how we understood the politics that were unfolding in front of us...Biko's articulation of Black consciousness and it is, the influence of Biko's work, that then gave RMF the necessary ideological tools, to have the confidence to say that in fact this space is actually a space where Black people in their diversity, could come and talk about their pain. At the time of course, we used a lot of terminology to describe, you know, Black pain, and this was not just a theoretical, but this was real pain, where people could for the first time, openly speak about their experiences in the space. -

KI_2.

In contrast, the concept of Black pain was criticized by some white academics in the institution for 'racializing pain', thereby over-shadowing other forms of injustice outside of race. They felt that all staff and students at the University were privileged for the opportunity to work at an elite university such as UCT, which they argue would not have been possible had it not been for Rhodes' 'imperialist philanthropy'.

"The racialization of pain serves to reduce injustices and indignities to race, foreclosing serious consideration of other forms of injustice and indignity. The university has the opportunity to make a clear political statement that we are committed to examining all forms of privilege, including the privileges that all of us at UCT – professors, lecturers, and students; 'Black', 'white' or other – enjoy to varying degrees as a result of Rhodes' imperialist philanthropy. The privilege of working and studying at what is arguably Africa's premier university cannot be detached from Rhodes' legacy... More generally, the politics of pain over the statue serves to obscure other forms of injustice and indignity besides racism.

This is evident in the coupling of pain over the statue with opposition to UCT's revised admissions policies that acknowledge that students from bad schools and poor backgrounds experience disadvantages not shared by students – whether Black or white – who attended expensive elite schools. Removing the statue into a museum or gallery would have provided a powerful focus for interrogating all forms of privilege, including those rooted in class as well as race, those that we enjoy at the elite institution of UCT, and those that will endure even after the statue has been removed. The Manichean politics of pain foreclosed the kind of debate and deliberation that might have allowed more serious consideration of this option."

– 'Rhodes and the Politics of Pain', Ground Up, 31 March 2015, via link on UCT News webpage.

A few participants described their experiences of alienation and assimilation and pointed out the frustration of having this poorly understood, minimized and/or denied by white members of the UCT community and those in authority.

(Please see Appendix I row ix)

In contrast, participants who formed part of UCT's management at the time felt these perceptions were not a reflection of the reality of the situation, but rather the perception of those on the receiving end.

"They [Black students] would hesitate to go to a white lecturer and I would say why? And they would say 'oh they'll think we stupid' or 'they talk about us because we can't understand' you know. They wanted somebody to spend time, a lot of more time to explain things right, I understand that and I actually brought this to the attention of management and said you know there's a problem here because these students are here to learn and shouldn't feel- and in some cases or perhaps in even more than some cases, the lecturers were not like that but it gave the impression, ok, but other instance is where the reason was not overt, but you were made to feel small you know that it's almost an unspoken way of doing it. And that I can understand I can actually understand, in fact, in fact there were staff members, Black staff members who felt that way, that they were, that they got the job, but they were not made to feel welcome in the department. Now that is, that is something you can't measure, that is intangible, but it's tangible to the person who's suffering because you know you can understand it."-KI_13.

"The core issue was a sense of alienation by Black students, as a result of the culture of the institution of UCT and other institutions, which retained – which treated – where they felt that they were sort of – they were brought into the institution and expected to adapt to the norms of a culture of the institution and that the institution was not adapting to different norms. So I mean, it starts with language, it goes on to the history and the values that are sort of valorized, raised on pedestals, it extends to the people that are identified as somehow role-models, or sound like Rhodes himself, but also the names on many of the buildings, which reflected this as a sort of history of colonialism and –not so much Apartheid, but colonialism, to the sort of, predominant art on the walls, the pictures and paintings which affected much more of a white – much more of the things that would be prevalent in white culture and, it affected – in the sense that to be excellent you had to speak with a white accent, if I can call it that, or a laney [fancy] accent and that students that came from township areas or rural areas that spoke with different accents, different from mine, were immediately assumed to be perhaps less educated, and perhaps less intelligent and that's how, that's how they experienced it. I don't believe that they were assu- I don't believe that anyone thought that, but I believe that that is how many of us are conditioned and that's how they experienced it." – KI_14.

RMF recognized the central role curriculum played in entrenching and perpetuating colonial conceptualizations of knowledge, including who was positioned as knowers and thinkers in the academy. RMF criticized UCT's westernized curriculum for

alienating Black students through its colonial ties and role in centering theory, content, and teaching practices from the Global North, while excluding Black thinkers and Black thought from the University's curriculum. They demanded that the University:

"Implement a curriculum which critically centres Africa and the subaltern. By this we mean treating African discourses as the point of departure - through addressing not only content, but languages and methodologies of education and learning - and only examining western traditions in so far as they are relevant to our own experience."

-UCT RMF Mission Statement.

"The question of the curriculum at UCT, which remained Eurocentric, and which used European ideas, or ideals as a point of departure into analyzing the world. And often at time, those Eurocentric ideas, to a large extent, undermined scholarship that was produced from the continent, and when you have a curriculum, a system that shapes itself, or positions itself, or that draws its DNA from Western scholarship in fact it becomes a perpetuation of or a recycling of the colonial paradigm...for us at the time, we had to understand, we had to realize that, that there was something wrong with the structural design of the education system itself, because it almost undermines scholarship that could liberate Black bodies in the space, but it basically cements those colonial argument, which are drawn from a colonial past, that continues to recycle itself, even in the post-colonial." - KI_2.

"My view on Decolonisation or decolonising the curriculum is not necessarily adding more African theorists, right – but simply because your – here's a debate I was having yesterday, adding more African theorists doesn't make your curriculum more African. You can have an African who is coming here with all the Western ideals in the world, um, but just because he comes from Rwanda and Mozambique or Cape Town or Lesotho or whatever, it doesn't - that is not the question – the question is about knowledge structures. And what are the forms of knowledge that have been ignored and who is teaching them? And if you ask that question, you will naturally get to Black academics, African academics, female academics, like you will naturally get there, but you need to follow that logic otherwise when you get there you will then be tokenizing individuals, you will be tokenizing particular forms of knowledge." - KI_18.

Student activists within RMF criticized those in authority for resisting decolonization of the curriculum, despite a lack of understanding as to what this entailed and what the decolonial project hoped to achieve.

"I remember, on several occasions, but on one day when they [RMF] stormed in Bremner and I was the only one in this one room and they were talking about white people and white people are this and white – and then I sort of probably mentioned it at some point that why don't you attack Mugabe because look what he had done to Zimbabwe you know and people are starving, but now that he's Black, you know then he is still better than whites, still a

comrade kind of thing and so I spoke to them about evolution theory and said you know there's no Black and white race we're all one race and we are all descendants of Africa, they say 'haaa', X says 'haaa, I don't believe all that nonsense,' so my whole situation here was that we're failing in actually bringing these ideas to the fore because we never sat down and discussed them, we are only speaking about it now, the thing is this: scientific knowledge or the medical knowledge that we teach is extremely, extremely important because it's used to save people's lives, so there's no Black way or white way to do a heart transplant, there is just a medical way, that is what I was trying to tell them so, when you say you want transformation of curriculum what is it exactly you're looking for?"- KI_13.

UCT: Transcollective, a representation of (trans) gender-diverse students, who joined RMF, identified UCT's gendered arrangements as problematic. They located the roots of these arrangements within colonialism and observed that the institution's policies and physical spaces maintained binary concepts of gender. They joined RMF, with the intent to surface their experiences of invisibility and erasure.

"We had to find a way to, we had to elevate, or have a conversation, or force, the movement to have a conversation about gender and how constructs of gender are fundamentally related to what we were, what the movement was trying to collate, um, as an understanding of decoloniality."- KI_16.

Single-sex residence facilities and toilets expressed and entrenched gender binarism without consideration of the implications of these for (trans) gender-diverse students and staff. Residences that were 'co-ed', were seemingly progressive but maintained separate toilets, bathrooms, and accommodation according to binary categories, privileging assumptions of cis- and heteronormativity. In addition, GBV and sexual harassment was prevalent on UCT campuses and residences despite policies and initiatives to prevent this.

(Please see Appendix I row x)

iv) The Issue of (Constrained) Agency.

Members of RMF shared that the decision to protest was a last resort, taken after the 'proper' channels provided proved ineffective in addressing their issues and changing the status quo. They shared that this decision was taken despite the inherent risks and potentially dire consequences associated with protest, including South Africa's history of (violent) suppression of protest, despite it being a constitutional right. In this way,

protest became evidence of the multiple constraints Black staff, students and workers experienced within the University despite the existence of 'proper' channels through which they could express their grievances.

(Please see Appendix I row xi)

RMF drew criticism from the UCT community, UCT alumni, the media and general public regarding the formation of the movement, their methods of protest and their list of demands, especially the demand for the removal of the statue of CJR. The general criticism was that UCT heritage symbols should be protected and that students should engage intellectually with the issue of the statue. Others argued that it was not a big deal and that students in the movement should rather focus their energies on obtaining their degrees. UCT's 'haveyoursay' platform created an opportunity for alumni and concerned members of the public to weigh in on the issue. This platform extended to large boards placed underneath the statue in March 2015, encouraging the UCT community to write their thoughts and opinions regarding the demand for the removal of the statue. These were removed after racial slurs and insults were written on them. This approach was criticized by RMF as management's refusal to acknowledge Black pain.

(Please see Appendix I row xii)

RMF was criticized for their methods of protest. More specifically, the throwing of poo [human faeces] on the statue during Chumani Maxwele's initial protest against white arrogance at UCT. This was considered vulgar and crass and disrespectful towards the cleaning staff who would be required to clean it up. The occupation of university administration and student accommodation offices and blockades were criticized for the threat this posed to the day to day running of the institution. Student activists explained that the methods adopted were in fact performance pieces and strategies used to disrupt the status quo and spark debate. Furthermore, the policing and condemnation of protest was to deny them their democratic right to protest as a legitimate form of expression.

(Please see Appendix I row xiii)

When participants were asked why they thought students initiated and were at the forefront of the RMF movement, some attributed this to critical mass, others to a lack of interest from Black academic staff regarding the issues that affected workers. One participant struggled to make sense of this as the majority of protesting students were born after the Apartheid regime had been voted out of power.

“I always say that, although the demographic change is important, it’s not the only change that needs to happen right? It goes hand-in-hand with the other changes, and what happened, um, since 1994, is that we have been quite successful in changing the demographics of the student body, and now we are in a situation, I think at UCT where there are over 70% Black students, and I mean Black-inclusive. And that means that, um, um, they are not in the minority, um, and, and so it, you know, when RMF started, here suddenly we have, a Black student body, that, um, has numbers, and, so, and that can be quite significant. Whereas amongst us as academic staff, we are still a very small minority, but we also have different, different positions within the institution, and perhaps different agendas. Our position is less, you know, we, we are, although we are in positions of power in relation to students on many issues, this is our livelihood, and you know, we are dependent on our jobs and contracts, and for whatever, for our life, so in some ways we are in a much more, less secure position, in terms of getting involved in activities like RMF. Um, but we also have less, support, in terms of numbers, and um, you know we have experienced the push back, many people have experienced the push back since 2015.”- KI_8.

“I think that this 2015, really, is the first generation of students who were born in Post-Apartheid, so in 2015, if they were born in 1995, they were 20 years old, um, they, and of course the whole mobilization, the whole debate, didn’t start back in 2015, it erupted in 2015, but it was um, going already in 2013 and 2014 this issues were coming up, popping up over and over again in discussions and debates, but, um, so this is certainly a generation who have never known what it was like – so they don’t have a benchmark to compare the University right now to what it was like 20 years ago, they don’t have the perspective of the slow progression, but more importantly, they like, many of their parents had allowed the government and society a kind of honeymoon period after 1994 in which there was a lot of hope that things would change, expectations that it would change, and a reluctance to criticize government and an expectation that things would be substantially different, and then they come to university and they still have this experience of alienation. But there is another factor which is a little harder for me to make complete sense of and that is that the protest, a significant portion of the protest, was led by middle class Black students, who had been to private school, and who had grown up in an environment where they were almost unconscious of race.” – KI_14.

v) Much Ado about Nothing.

Despite calling attention to violent policies, procedures, and traditions within the University, student activists shared that the dehumanizing impact of these was continuously defended, contested, and denied by the university, UCT alumni and members of the public. RMF took issue with the University's response(s) to issues raised and the way they were framed in the media. One example was the 'testing' or corroboration of Black students' experiences of discrimination or marginalization through opening the conversation to the wider (white) student and staff body, to determine if what they (Black staff and students) had experienced or shared was in fact a problem and whether the changes they were calling for were supported by the larger university community. They felt this approach minimized and invalidated their experiences.

"Having to constantly justify, or, you know, uhm, justify and you know and try and convince people that what you are feeling isn't imagined. That what you are feeling, uhm, not only in this space but in the University, and what you have been feeling isn't imagined isn't made up, isn't, you know, some you know, something that you will get over. It is something at the core of you... right? What you feel when you see CJR's statue, uhm, violence again, having to justify that right? - KI_16.

"The way that we were being framed in the media, by especially the University, that, our concerns are invalid. We are just bunch of delinquents, you know, we don't want to study, we are avoiding exams, you know, the people who are protesting are those that don't have a future anyway, the good students are out there studying, you know – it's, that was very, for me that was the most violent, was the way that they kept invalidating our feelings, like why are you complaining?" - KI_20.

Some doubted the veracity of the experience and felt that the students' behaviour did not align with their accounts of their experiences or demands, but rather efforts to take advantage of the system, misuse financial aid funds, cover up for their lack of ability to cope with the academic demands of higher education and gain political prominence.

"Obviously the issues were free education, a lot of the students' issues was, especially, from October it started where some of the students must start writing exams, but some of them still have outstanding fees that haven't been paid so the, they are not allowed to write exams, I know that that was one issue. Then in the beginning it was the accommodation, then through the course of the year it was the money story, it was money for transport, for food and for that, and so ya, they want the money but they moan about the money, but every weekend, you work there, you are on the campus and you see them partying, you see them drinking, the money that they are fighting for, isn't put to the right use...I won't say it's a frustration,

because, if there are issues about money then, if you go weekends to the res, and you are inside there and you see how it goes, then there is no problem, but only when it's a certain time of the year, exam time, and then the problem starts...there are a lot of students that are in the environment of the universities and stuff like that which are not there for studying, they want to make name for themselves, to be seen by the right politicians, and then from there you climb... You see the problem we have is a lot of the stuff is political motivated, and the people that are protesting and are fighting for a certain vision, is a lot of the time being used, is a lot of the time being used by politicians to get support and to make them look good"-

KI_12.

"I believe that, by 'decolonialization', supporters of this action mean the destruction of many things that Nelson Mandela, the ANC founding fathers and most South Africans (and democratic people internationally) held/hold dear and replacing them with incompetence, corruption, and oppression equal to/far beyond that which occurred during the apartheid regime. Subject to open and careful scrutiny of the backgrounds of key student supporters of the RMF initiative, I suggest that some/many have failed to perform adequately at UCT, and this is the primary motive behind their behaviour... To close, I say to the disgruntled SRC president: use the tools and knowledge that you can acquire at UCT to become a functional member of the South African community to replace the criminals and incompetents that have run the country into the ground over the last 21 years. The job is yours." – 'On Rhodes, decolonization and UCT management.', UCT News, 11 May 2015.

vi) In Over our Heads.

Participants within UCT management and those who held leadership positions in the university shared that they felt ill-equipped to manage the protests and address the issues RMF exposed.

"Now, I think that in a place like UCT that has been very comfortable with its own reputation and its privileged staff, there has been very little work done in terms of preparing for the changes. They have been kind of complacent in their own success. I should say ours. So, there's, you know this thing hits that is almost like this – RMF hit UCT, and nobody was expecting it. Because if you were a manager who was in touch or were knowledgeable, you would have felt it happening in different places, the, you know, people don't become angry overnight. It happens over long periods of time and it culminated in this thing and so yeah, I think, I am not, I don't want my views to come across as defending management in any way, because that is the job of management. We as an institution or as a leadership, do not know how to respond, uhm, we are not equipped to respond, and we are not equipped to cope with the response from students, uhm, and that's because a lot of these things are just bigger than us. Uh, and we don't have the, we haven't developed the skills to do it."-KI_8.

“What I'm saying is, how do you measure the level of alienation? How do you measure the gentrification? - KI_13.

In June 2015, UCT's Vice-Chancellor appointed a special advisor to support/advise the executive towards centering the transformation project. The appointee recognized a potential lack of consciousness and resistance to engaging with contestation that potentially stemmed from being 'embedded' within the institution.

“I am appointing a Special Advisor to the Vice-Chancellor on Transformation, who will work in my office, help me keep abreast of all the initiatives and advise me on ways of accelerating the various programmes across the university. This is since I cannot possibly be directly involved in them all while still performing the VC functions that I must inevitably carry out. While in no way being a gatekeeper to my office, she will also be available to meet with any groups and individuals who wish to raise issues related to transformation policy and practice – whether these are concerns or proposals.”- ‘Appointment of Special Advisor to the Vice-Chancellor on Transformation.’, UCT News, 12 June 2015.

“My long-held view is that when one becomes embedded in an institution like UCT, it becomes increasingly difficult to hear what one needs to hear and see what needs to be seen and acknowledged. We all need to take responsibility for failure to see what is patently obvious and act accordingly. It's important that we understand that as a university community, we acknowledge long-standing patterns of exclusion. I really don't think we can leave this responsibility to fight for inclusion to one constituency.” – ‘Discomfort needn't be a bad thing, says new transformation special advisor’, UCT News, 29 July 2015.

6.2c) On the Issue of Violence.

The theme ‘*Muddy Waters*’ offers various perspectives of violence and describes the difficulty and complexity of defining violence. The characterization of RMF as a violent movement is discussed under the theme ‘*We were never violent until...*’ and describes violence as a process. Thereafter, the theme ‘*Two sides of the same coin*’ describes the ways protest and violence were perceived as synonymous. The manifestations of violence during the RMF protests are described under the themes; ‘*Violent*’ vs ‘*Legitimate*’ forms of protest.’, ‘*Misrepresentation and Criminalization.*’, ‘*Police Presence.*’ and ‘*The Violence of Everyday: Denial and Silence*’. The consideration of what these manifestations of violence may have been an expression of are presented under the themes: ‘*Violence as an expression of A Power Differential(s)*’, ‘*Frustration, Anger & Rage*’ and ‘*Necessary Violence*’.

i) Muddy Waters.

Although participants were able to describe misconceptions about ‘violence’ and offer their experiences of it at UCT, there remained a lack of clarity as to what exactly it is/was. This apparent lack of clarity or specificity alludes to the complexity of defining violence and suggests that violence is multi-faceted and manifests in various ways. What did become clear, however, was that what was considered violence/violent during RMF was heavily influenced by the situation or context and how it was experienced/perceived/read. In this way, what was considered violence during RMF was highly contested. Furthermore, the blanket use/application of the term without critical interrogation of the situation from which ‘violence’ occurred was problematized.

(Please see Appendix I row xiv)

At the core of what was considered violence was an exertion of power that dehumanized, through injury to or a denial of one’s sense of dignity. Who had access to this power was determined by the conditions/configurations of context and who they privileged or constrained, revealing violence as a relational experience. The RMF protests at UCT offered an interesting and complex situation due to the various, contrary, and contradictory viewpoints and experiences that emerged. Two clear viewpoints were the conceptualization of violence as either dehumanizing and constraining conditions or disruptive and destructive action(s). Although seemingly opposing views, when reconciled, they revealed violence as a dynamic process that (especially in the context of protest) communicated the complex and at times obscure/hidden power-relations and dynamics within university structures, systems, and traditions.

(Please see Appendix I row xv)

ii) ‘We were never violent until...’.

Considering the timeline presented earlier and the overlap of the RMF protests with the formation of FMF, it is important to note a key finding that supports the notion of

violence as a process. Several participants were adamant that the RMF protests were not violent but became violent in response to management's violence which escalated in response to FMF. This suggests that violence is a process, that (is provoked?) escalates and eventually culminates or finds expression through assertions of power or confrontation(s) between various parties.

(Please see Appendix I row xvi)

iii) “Two sides of the same coin”.

Student activists' methods of protest were continuously criticized for the use of 'violence' instead of intellectual means of engagement as was the expectation within an institution of higher education and learning such as UCT. This, coupled with media reports on the activities of RMF resulted in 'violence' and 'protest' becoming synonymous and used interchangeably at times. This raised questions regarding notions and methods of protest; their legitimacy and why and how they came to be characterized as 'violent'.

(Please see Appendix I row xvii)

iv) Violent vs Legitimate Methods of Protest.

Activists within RMF used various methods of protest. These included: online campaigns, marches displaying placards, occupation(s) of university buildings, sit-ins, blockades, writing, panel discussions, public lectures, and performances. Some of these methods were heavily criticized for the disruptions caused to the operations and day-to-day running of the University. In addition, students were accused of violent methods of protest which included arson, intimidation of fellow students and staff, unlawful access to private spaces and a general attitude of hostility to university management and those that did not support the movement. These 'violent' methods were highlighted in the discourse regarding 'legitimate' forms of protest and were cited to justify police presence at the University.

(Please see Appendix I row xviii)

RMF in turn accused the University of misrepresenting the sequence of events thereby invoking historically racist sentiments that portrayed/confirmed Black resistance as violent anarchy. They felt that this was an intentional tactic used by management to exact violence on student activists (through police and private security), while distancing themselves from the clashes that ensued despite having instigated said violence.

(Please see Appendix I row xix)

v) Misrepresentation and Criminalization.

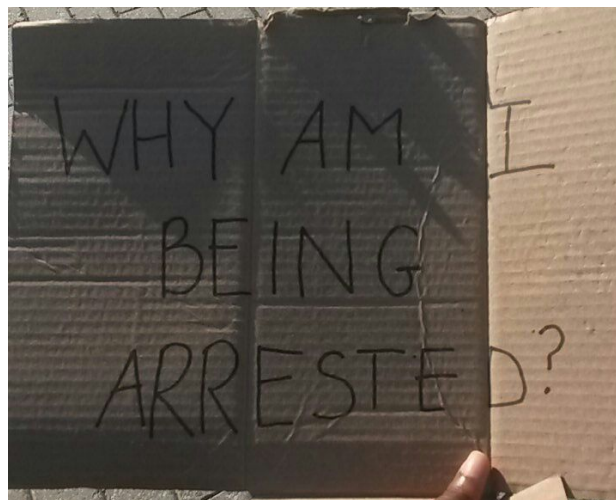


Figure 18: 'Why am I being arrested?'
(Source: RMF Facebook page)

RMF activists shared that the stigma surrounding protest and UCT managements' denial regarding the instigation of violence described in the previous section meant that they were framed as 'violent' threats to the institution. This framing was mirrored in media and academic spaces, characterizing the movement as disruptive and violent without engaging with the critique they offered, and the intellectual work achieved. An example of this is the narrative surrounding the occupation of Bremner/Azania 1. This occupation was initially described by UCT as a 'peaceful protest' that offered opportunity for debate and learning, but then characterized the occupation as 'unacceptable' when students extended their occupation beyond the removal of the statue. Media descriptions did not refer to the critique offered through renaming the administrative building 'Azania' and the pedagogical engagements this space offered.

The invitation that extended to Black academics to engage with the movement through seminars, discussions, and engagements during the occupation of Bremner/Azania 1 is one such example. RMF activists read management's characterization of the movement and their methods of protest as a strategy to justify the harsh action taken against them, instead of critically engaging with the issues they had raised and the exclusionary conditions they had identified in the institution. UCT management on the other hand felt that methods of protests should not be allowed to disrupt the functioning of the University or impede staff from gaining access to their workstations. Furthermore, they shared that students would not honour agreements regarding areas they were granted permission to occupy and the dates they would leave these spaces. Students felt that the policing and restricting of (methods of) protest coupled with the continuation of 'business as usual' perpetuated a superficial reading of the RMF movement and characterized them as disorganized and violent.

(Please see Appendix I row xx)

RMF activists felt management weaponized their access to state protection and support through applying for interdicts against student activists and inviting police onto campus. They felt these actions reflected Apartheid suppression strategies and changed the rules of engagement, threatened their lives, and justified their removal from the University, whether through arrests, suspension or eventually expulsion.

(Please see Appendix I row xxi)

Those who represented some members of RMF in Court, shared the sentiment that the University had acted harshly and that the consequences of seeking interdicts, calling police, and thereby condoning their arrests, would have far-reaching consequences that would jeopardize their future schooling and employment options.

“Because remember, it's only now that are people are associating themselves with what students were going through at that particular time. But when it was happening, there were no lawyers that wanted to avail themselves. There was, there were no political leaders that wanted to you know, assist the students, or at least, be vocal about it or be supportive towards whatever that the students were doing. In fact, no one, no leader, be it academic or otherwise, who was keen to associate themselves with the students...X was convicted of failure to come to Court and now he can't secure employment. He was not convicted of the main count remember. He was convicted of his failure to go to Court due to when he was

attending the main matter. Because he did not have any reasonable explanation as to where he was. He was eventually convicted and that amounts to a criminal record. He has a criminal record now. Now he cannot secure employment.”-KI_5.

vi) Police Presence.

UCT management was criticized for the decision to invite police onto campus as a method of regaining control of the institution and minimizing the disruptions that these caused to university operations. SAPS's reputation for violence and brutality, particularly in response to protest, created fears that student activists would be seriously harmed consequently for continued contestation. In contrast, some members of the UCT community felt that police presence on campus was a justified step and was necessary to call RMF activists to order.

“the University was not an institution that permitted police to come onto campus and arrest people, and that was quite a significant, um, alarm, I'd say, to myself about what's happening when this is where the institution goes. It is not a good sign, also as the University, as universities would like to be known, are places of critical thought and engagement. So when your solution becomes call the police, that's not part of critical thoughts and engagement. So, you know, that is what I think caused me to be responsive and to say what's happening.”- KI_1.

“They took the correct decision because although they have security personnel it's not enough to handle the protests. They had to have the police to work with security but the security working under the police.” -KI_10.

Members of SAPS recognized the challenges of responding to protests, in that they were bound to commands or instructions issued by those in authority. In the case of RMF and FMF protests they were given the orders to protect university property and (forcibly) remove any barriers/obstructions to UCT's daily operations, whether these were human or material. They noted that at times anger and frustration(s) boiled to the surface because of protestors failing to comply and taunting and/or insulting them. RMF activists in turn regarded police presence as a direct provocation and display of management's power. They criticized police for engaging with RMF activists through direct violence and therefore inciting violence in response. This was questioned by UCT management who noted that some acts of violence on behalf of RMF were unprovoked and rather reflected an intention to cause damage to the institution.

(Please see Appendix I row xxii)

UCT management was also criticized for hiring private security to ensure no protests disrupted the operations of the University. RMF students felt that this was a direct threat to their safety and reported physical assaults and sexual harassment from private security, who the University admits they struggled to keep in line. UCT admitted they had no authority once police were called onto campus and that the decision to use private security instead was centered around the belief that they would have more control of approaches taken and tactics used to prevent any further disruptions. RMF disputed this and criticized the cost to the University that may have been better spent to resolve UCT's housing crisis.

“It became clear that we, we didn't have any control over the police. They decide how best to handle it. They take the view that they also have to protect the safety of their staff and we can't do that. As a result of that, we decided that in future we would not call the police. We would have a contract with private security rather than the police because, private security account to the University, by and large” – KI_14.

“The guidelines start from the premise that UCT is committed to protecting the rights and safety of both protestors and other members of the university community...In cases where conflict has escalated and Campus Protection Services (CPS) are not able to contain or defuse threatening situations on their own, the guidelines recommend the use of private security services, before seeking the intervention of SAPS. While the University incurs a financial cost in employing private security services, the advantage is that UCT management retains more control over actions taken by private security staff than over actions by SAPS.”
-‘The South African Police Service (SAPS) on UCT Campuses Guidelines’, 19 March 2016.

It is of interest that the relationship between UCT and SAPS as state institutions that are resistant to being challenged was not critically interrogated within the above guidelines. Police are admittedly not equipped to respond to invisible manifestations of violence such as alienation reported by Black staff and students, despite this disrupting their sense of health and safety. In contrast, they are available to the institution to prevent ‘public violence’ and disruption to the day to day running of the university and ensure the health and safety of the university community. One participant recognized the ‘buddy-buddy’ relationship between the institutions as

deeply problematic due to their historically shared anti-Black structures and activities. These revealed themselves through evoking violent Colonial-Apartheid tropes/representations that criminalized students, weaponized legitimacy and demobilized the movement through the instigation of violence.

“Where society or the University missed the point, was to label RMF students or protestors as violent without acknowledging its own violence. So, the university and the state actually failed to acknowledge its violence, but then they had the audacity to claim that it is students that were actually being violent, when it could have actually made a huge difference if they first acknowledged the fact that, in fact, our presence or our employment of agents, because they employed agents who were their tools to unleash that violence. If then they had then taken a decision to say, we are not going to deploy these agents of violence, so that we can then be able to see, whether there will be violence if we don't, you know, put these people there. But what they did is they put people there to provoke students to respond to their violence.”

-KI_2.

vii) Everyday Violence: Denial and Silence.

Participants noted the difficulty of surfacing and confronting invisible and intangible forms of violence that manifested during the RMF protests. They reported that these subtle forms of violence were continuously denied by UCT, despite the deep impact they had on Black students, staff, and workers, resulting in a frustrating conundrum. The elusive nature of these forms of violence was further compounded by their widespread acceptance as legitimate norms and functions of the university as an institution of higher education. An example shared was UCT's insistence to continue with business as usual despite the issues raised by RMF and the various incidents of violence that occurred during the protests. RMF activists and some members of the UCT community took issue with the message this communicated regarding the seriousness and urgency of the issues outlined by RMF. They explained that the difficulty in exposing invisible forms of violence lay in the lack of language to articulate it.

“Other people were saying that they got caught. They got beaten, um, all of this happened, and the University just kept going, in a way that, even though we had the IRTC, it didn't really try to deal with, well, and in its brief itself, it wasn't trying to deal with it, I don't think anyway. But the...that kind of conduct, the violence of police and of private security, so people that you do not know, institutions and entities, that we do not know that came onto the

campus, were given permission to fight with the students physically and then the things happened and the next day we just keep going. So, there was violence in the incident, but there was a greater violence in the silence.”- KI_1.

“It’s invisible. It’s an invisible violence, but you need the language to explain it, and if you do not have a psychological understanding of violence, in that sense then you don’t have the language to explain it. But at the same time, if it’s the norm in the space that you are in, then it becomes hard to articulate, right? And let alone that it’s invisible, but I think, the most important thing for me is that you struggle to articulate this, because of language, because in order to articulate you must then have language to say okay this is how, this is what it is, you know.”- KI_17.

Experiences of invisible/psychological/symbolic violence that were continuously denied or silenced left student activists frustrated and weary. The excerpts from the poems below describe the exhaustion and anger student activists within RMF experienced in response to being misrepresented, misunderstood, silenced and denied.

*“I am tired
God Almighty, I am tired
of being told that we need to move on,
that we need to forget,
that we need to put the past behind us,
that Apartheid is over.
They don’t understand.
We never will.
Our bodies are monuments of centuries of torture,
trauma
terror
these exist in us
we live it every day.”
- ‘On Exhaustion Over a Lack
Of understanding’ - Ameera Conrad, 2015*

“We are tired. We are angered and we cannot continue to live and learn in a space that denies us of our existence. We cannot continue to be treated as merely anonymous Black faces without a history, because we have a history. And that history did not begin when white colonialist men robbed us off our dignity. It did not begin when they cornered us with their guns and stole our land. It did not begin

with slavery and colonialism, nor did it begin with apartheid. We had a history and our own narratives long before that, and by UCT conveniently omitting that in the academic curriculum and symbolic representation of this institution; UCT is omitting us and working into gradually erasing us.”

- ‘Why Decolonizing UCT is Imperative.’, by Ntabeleng Morake, 2015

viii) Violence as an Expression of a Power Differential(s).

Participants framed violence as an expression of power. When considered from its embedded and relational nature (as presented in the previous sections) violence emerged as an expression of a power-differential(s) that stemmed from configurations of context that entrench(ed) the authority and privilege of some through the marginalization of the subjugated Other. RMF exposed power differentials at UCT that stemmed from colonial and Apartheid configurations of context that were anti-Black and patriarchal in their violence. They identified expressions of violence as white privilege and patriarchy lording its superiority through weaponizing the access to resources they enjoyed that protected their dominant position and repressed any attempts to challenge this.

(Please see Appendix I row xxiii)

The description of violence as an expression of power on behalf of those in authority was denied by UCT management, who claimed that students within RMF were not as disempowered as they claimed and read RMF’s acts of ‘violence’ as a demonstration of power.

“But it [the bombing of the VC’s office] certainly wasn’t provoked. There were no police or private security around. It wasn’t a reaction to violence. It was just demonstration of power, that’s what it was. It was a demonstration that the protestors could exercise power and that there was nothing, short of calling the police, there was nothing that the University could do about it, and we didn’t want to call the police.”- KI_14.

Violence as an expression of power-differentials also manifested within RMF through issues of Blackness, class, gender, and ableism that entrenched the dominance of some whilst denying others a sense of equality, dignity and belonging. These expressions of violence revealed themselves through conflicts and confrontations concerning leadership and contribution(s) within the movement.

(Please see Appendix I row xxiv)

ix) Frustration, Anger and Rage.

A common conception of 'violence' on behalf of RMF activists was read as an expression of the movement's frustration and anger at having their demands invalidated, denied, or ignored. In contrast, some read this as a strategy for gaining attention from the public and media.

(Please see Appendix I row xxv)

RMF's articulation of Black rage at the oppressive circumstances maintained for Black staff, students and workers through institutional culture was outlined to explain the need for protest and the methods adopted.

"The rage, just, you know, builds, and builds. And like, I think there was like a contrast of love and rage, that fueled the revolution, and a constant battle, kind of between love and rage."-KI_19.

They expressed frustration regarding the recurring racist assumption/stereotype that protests lead by Black people were inherently violent, thereby justifying violent responses and minimizing their grievances. RMF stressed that any violence committed by the movement was never initiated but always in response to violence exacted on/against them. The excerpts below are from poems authored by student activists. These excerpts express the frustration of being continuously constrained and policed by a violent system that denies this and considers any contestation or opposition to it as violence.

*"The Black Imagined[Nation] is omni[potent]
;All-Present!
Alive -> But constricted,
by colonized cages; columns + pages.
We are here to tear & Tear. With no fear.
To rip apart these frames and pages,
With the fury of Black rages.
Unleashed.
The Black Imagined[Nation] –*

Excerpt from 'The Black Imagination.' By RMF, The Johannesburg Salon 9(15), 2015.

"We are enraged because this single story of history that positions whiteness as triumphs that UCT so chooses to articulate is gigantically undermining to Black pain. It bluntly states that here, on this campus built with the sweat of our people; our pain and lives do not matter; for UCT treats us and the pain carelessly printed on our folded Black foreheads as a negation of whiteness. We are enraged that on this campus we have no space to breathe because if it is not white colonialists celebrated, it is misogyny or exclusivity. We are enraged and we demand that our campus be decolonized, because this too is our space. We refuse to be silenced. We cannot be anonymous anymore."

- 'Why Decolonizing UCT is Imperative', by Ntebaleng Morake, 2015.

x) Necessary Violence.

Violence as a necessary expression in response to constraint was described by participants in response to the institutional violence meted out against them. They viewed this violence as a form of self-defense, a declaration of humanity and a justified form of resistance to being disempowered, insulted, and assaulted. This considered with the power-differential discussed earlier also portrayed violence as a resource that those in authority readily accessed to protect their privilege. They reported that the difficulty with this perspective was that it operated against the dominant discourse that viewed direct or tangible actions acts of violence outside of violent systems that might beckon/provoke it. RMF activists explained that violence became necessary often as a last resort when other peaceful means had proved ineffective in confronting violent conditions or violent acts perpetrated against them.

(Please see Appendix I row xxvi)

Further to this there were instances where violence was both necessary and accepted, indicating 'good vs evil' violence. Distinguishing 'good' or necessary violence from 'evil' violence was a complex process and is discussed below, identifying the conditions or

situation in which the violence occurs and how these are read as vital towards making the distinction.

“There can be a good kind of violence or necessary violence. So, I think it depends, but in life also, I think also uba (that) there is a minimum kind of enforcement that is required to make things happen, you see, but now it is measured by the condition. It is measured, it depends on that particular moment and that condition, of how much is required for that to be carried out (laughs) you see. I know that there is some kind of a violence however that is inhumane, that is totally against the value and dignity [of humans] and also when it comes to isidima sakho [your sense of dignity]. You see, it does not go along with that. So, anything that does not seek to bring value. Any violence that does not seek to bring value; it is a violence that is not necessary to our society or to our comm- to anyone’s life. Any kind of violence that doesn’t bring value; it can come as polite as one can be – even if it comes with a smile, but it doesn’t bring value to you then that’s violence, you see. So, there is evil and good violence.”-KI_6.

“I think, those, and how you respond to those types of violence(s), for me is about strategies and tactics and whether, physical forms of violence are useful or not useful and so I think sometimes we often don’t ask ourselves the question: like what are the strategies and tactics in utilizing the violence? Because I am not a pacifist – I’m a person that believes that there is a time and place for certain things but that it has to be principled.” -KI_19.

6.2d) Consequences.

The consequences for participation in RMF protests for students, staff and workers were varied and experienced at different levels. These are organized and presented in under the themes 'Persona Non Grata', 'Triggers and Trauma', 'Strained relationships and 'Strengthened Bonds'. The themes 'Transformation Initiatives', 'Of No Consequence', 'Exodus' and 'Fallism: A New Language/Discourse' describe the consequences for the broader UCT community. A reminder that due to wordcount restrictions, some quotations from KIs and/or the relevant data sources are presented in a table (Appendix I).

i) Persona Non Grata.

RMF student activists were subject to various forms of punishment for the participation in the RMF protests and UCT's indictment against them. UCT is reported to have prepared case files that investigated suspected RMF leaders and gathered evidence of their crimes. Some were arrested and subjected to police brutality, others were suspended and/or eventually expelled and others were excluded due to their inability to meet academic demands whilst engaging in the protests. Student activists reported that these punishments were issued on the tail end of a trying time when they were subject to multiple forms of violence from various sources and had resulted in a sense of hopelessness and fatigue. They felt that the punishments given were harsh and sought to make an example of them to deter any future protest at the institution. For them, UCT's overall response and approach to repress the protests had declared them 'persona non grata', unwelcome in the university space and banned from academic activities. This experience further alienated student activists and compromised their health and wellbeing on multiple levels. Participants shared their anxieties about the implications of their punishment for their academic futures and employability.

(Please see Appendix I row xxvii)

In contrast, some had very little sympathy for the student activists, criticizing them for being naïve in terms of the high risk and potentially severe consequences for disruption to the institution. They felt the punishment students received was

appropriate and a just consequence for the disruptions to UCT's operations and damage to the University's properties.

“The people don't always think about the consequences. They don't realize, look here, I am still young, if I get a criminal record, I can't go overseas. I can't apply for a proper job. I can't do this, I can't do this, but they still join. You get a person that is a student, that is a final year engineer, civil engineer student, now all of a sudden you get him in the front row, protesting and he gets arrested and that can influence him a lot. The thing is, that's why I say the people get influenced, and they get onto this whole hype, if I can say like that, where they want to be part of it, but they don't think about the consequences. I locked up that guy. I had to lock him up, and when I sat him down and I explained to him, listen sir, how long have you been studying now for the past-, and then he only started to realize, but listen here, that was the stupidest thing I could have ever done.”- KI_12.

ii) Triggers and Trauma.

Outside of being suspended, expelled and/or banned from the University and the impact of this for student activists, perhaps the biggest consequence was the negative impact on mental health that resulted from the trauma of being subjected to violence during the protests and the triggers experienced from having to learn and continue as normal at the protest sites that had since been restored to their previous functioning.

(Please see Appendix I row xxviii)

Staff and workers at the University also reported experiences of trauma. Interestingly, the trauma of Black staff was linked to witnessing the indignities that RMF had suffered and feelings of helplessness to prevent this. The trauma reported from white members of staff was linked to the fear of (Black) students and protest that made them feel anxious and unsafe.

(Please see Appendix I row xxix)

One participant described the healing that arose at the same time as the negative impact on mental health described above. This suggested both traumatic and healing consequences for engaging in the RMF protests, a view that is rarely shared.

“There has been a rise in um mental health issues, definitely... We teach students about the roots of violence, the roots of racism, the roots of gender discrimination, class, um, oppression, all of these things. So, we’ve got this group of young people between nineteen and twenty-five years old, who are all together becoming conscious of these things, um, who often come from families, where they have never spoken about it, so it can be quite a shock. So there’s that mish-mash happening at the University and I think, overtime, in the past 20 years, it has led to um, it can intensify, or, um, you know, unlock something in people, which can lead to severe depression and mental health issues. And so, you have a student protest in the midst of that, um, and so, in many ways, the student protest, when it was happening, was a, is, was an important space for healing, because students were together. They were talking about these things. They were finding answers and solutions in how to change to the University to respond to what they were experiencing. So, it was a very, a, um, I think it was in some ways the process had potential for a lot of healing and, uh, it was very exhilarating, um, so there are these conflicting things happening at the same time.”-KI_8.

The Police, although implicated and criticized for enacting violence during the protests, shared the trauma associated with the strategies undertaken to repress protest and the difficulty reconciling this with the demands of the job.

“At times it does affect me personally because as I am a Black person and not running away from the fact that most of the time it is the Black people involved in these protests. I am Black and a police official. That could be my sister or brother. Now sometimes we are given instruments to use on these students. When you get home now you regret using that certain instrument or I was not supposed to do that on that student. Sometimes we use rubber bullets but you know that it hurts painfully. We also hit them but then when you are home those things come back that those are our Black people but there’s nothing you can do because it’s your job at the end of the day.” - KI_10.

Student and Staff Wellness services were criticized for their lack of capacity to respond to the health consequences of the RMF protests for students, staff, and workers. UCT management reported that they increased access to health support services for staff and students but were unsure of the impact this had.

“I think that, as you know, we tried to ramp up all sorts of mental health support services and we had a mental health task-team and we’ve created a depression and anxiety line and we have beefed up the staff in student wellness and we have offered staff the access to eight free sessions with the counsellor and all that, um, which I hoped helped a little bit, but ultimately or unfortunately, you mainly need time to heal that. I don’t know whether people feel - substantially feel, that today, but, um, you know, I don’t know.” -KI_14.

One participant shared the frustration of the difficulty accessing mental health support that reflected an understanding of the nuances of protest action and the violence

experienced. Some participants noted that although the mental health consequences were pronounced, these consequences of violence extended beyond the capabilities of the health system. Others recognized that activists had not been recognized as a vulnerable group that required support services, especially in the context of violent protest.

(Please see Appendix I row xxx)

For management, the consequences were read as a general trauma that impacted mainly mental health across the board. The link between mental trauma and physical health was poorly understood and the physical assaults and intimidation RMF activists were disproportionately subject to, barely acknowledged.

“I think almost everyone is suffering, has suffered from a degree of post-traumatic stress. I don’t think there was much damage done to physical health, almost no one was physically injured. There were probably a few protestors who were injured by police or private security. I know one guy who I think was hit on the head and in hospital for a couple of days. There were probably a few people who were physically injured, but tiny, given the scale of the protest, actually that’s remarkable. I mean, my biggest fear always was that someone would get shot.” - KI_14

iii) Strained Relationships, Strengthened Bonds.

The consequences of participation in the RMF protests were varied for staff, students, and workers. Those who had supported, collaborated with, or engaged with the movement in solidarity reported strengthened bonds with students and difference in the way staff, students and workers related that communicated a respect and understanding of their respective positions and the challenges they had to negotiate in the institution.

(Please see Appendix I row xxxi)

For staff who had insulted, antagonized, and victimized student activists, relationships were strained. RMF students felt that they were blamed and victimized for the disruption to the University and staff who had victimized the students were allowed to continue as before, with no consequences for the racist sentiments expressed.

Friendships between Black and white students were also negatively affected, particularly within the residences.

(Please see Appendix I row xxxii)

iv) Transformation Initiatives.

Despite all RMF managed to achieve and the impact of the protests on the institutional culture at UCT, some RMF student activists felt that the benefits/impact of the movement did not make the massive cost to student activists any easier to deal with. They felt frustrated at the long-drawn-out approach to changing problematic structures and practices that continued to compromise the dignity of Black and (trans) gender diverse students at the University. In contrast, participants in UCT management felt that the protests and the institution's response had achieved significant change, especially in regard to transformation within the University.

(Please see Appendix I row xxxiii)

UCT reported several transformation developments during and following the RMF protests as evidence of their commitment to transformation. Decolonization however remained in question, the decolonial project remained a topic of debate within the UCT community, with opposing views of what this entailed for the University structures.

(Please see Appendix I row xxxiv)

The IRTC was formed in February 2018 in response to a call from RMF, FMF and Black academics for UCT to embark on a process of restitution and restoration following the RMF student protest in 2015 and the protests that followed. The commissioners reviewed documents and submissions from the University community and conducted interviews and hearings with relevant parties and offered an assessment of the University's institutional culture and response/engagement with the student protests. They also offered recommendations for the University to implement as a means to address the institutional culture and repair damaged relationships within the University community.

“The commission was mandated to look into ‘institutional culture and practices, including decolonization and any that entail unjust discrimination, domination or violence including sexual violence’ and to make relevant recommendations in this regard, in particular in relation to ‘institutional culture, transformation, disability and any other matters which the university community has raised over the years or may wish to raise’. The IRTC was also requested to deal with the issue of amnesties for those students who were granted clemencies by the university, and to make recommendations on how to deal with the outstanding cases in the spirit of restorative justice.” – (IRTC Final Report, 2019, p.1)

Amongst other damning findings, the commission concluded that UCT was a racist institution and that management's response to the RMF protests and subsequent protests was misguided and insufficient. They were further implicated in acts of violence against student activists that caused significant harm. Despite the fact that the terms of reference had been agreed upon by UCT management and various student bodies, some disagreed with the approach taken by the IRTC, the conclusions drawn, and recommendations made. An issue that came up repeatedly was the commission's failure to 'test' or further investigate claims made, even though this expectation exceeded the bounds outlined in their terms of reference.

(Please see Appendix I row xxxv)

RMF student activists took issue with a condition within the terms of reference that required that students admit and apologize for their actions during the protest to be considered for amnesty or restitution. Despite these reservations, they felt that their options were limited and that to agree to this condition might have been the only way to regain access to the University and complete their qualifications.

“There were of course processes that follow, such as the reconciliation process, so UCT process, ya, there was like a transitional justice sort of truth finding mission which I thought was compromising because it requires us to basically, um, not only admit, but also apologize, in order for the university to quote, unquote forgive us. And this is funny because it was never something that was required of the University. And I think this is indicative of the power asymmetry between students and the University in that Max Price was not called upon to sit down and to explain the events that happened, to admit everything, to admit that he relished in private security coming into campus to admit that he is complicit in traumatizing students and people that parents, mainly parents put under his care, by throwing them in jail. He was never answerable to that and did not have to admit wrongdoing, and so and that process was difficult because it was compromising. But because of the power imbalance, one had to do it right? I needed to finish the one year of my degree and get the fuck out of the University.” - KI_16.

Outside of the recommendations made, the IRTC did not have authority to enforce the recommendations made. The IRTC Steering Committee reviewed the report and made recommendations to UCT’s Council for consideration. A participant noted the need for conversation after the report had been released. They correctly assumed that this had not happened. Instead, feedback and responses to the report were collected via emails and questionnaires and revealed a widespread rejection of the process, findings and recommendations offered, thereby having no significant impact.

“The recommendations are made to say, in the future, if there were to be protests, maybe they need to be managed differently, and obviously then it means once the report is released, once all parties have read the report, there has to be a conversation. Let’s say now a protest was to happen at UCT? Has there been any discussion at this point in time to say going forward, these will be the rules of engagement? If there is an issue at hand and we disagree, do we feel like we can exercise our constitutional right? And I suspect that conversation has not taken place... What is it that people did with the findings that were made? And what is that, that people did with some of the recommendations made?” -KI_4.

“I was sitting in a meeting yesterday with the DVC of X, the denialism has already started and last week I sat in a meeting with the same DVC in the X forum representing X [constituency]. Their view is that the University has already responded to the issues that are raised in the IRTC report, so there is no need to continue worrying about the IRTC, that is what X says on record... So, at the X forum, we would say as X [constituency], we have a proposal for X committee among other things of how to deal with the recommendations of the IRTC commissioners. They say there's no need to deal with the recommendations of the IRTC Commission because the University executive has also dealt with those, right. So, the kind of denialism where if you look at the recommendations, they say clearly that UCT is racist, right? That is what the IRTC commission has found, and they are not talking about interpersonal racism. They are talking about structural racism, right? The kind of racism that

I am facing to this day...Whether it's the IRTC report, the Mayosi report, the whatever report, they are just there for show. There is absolutely no will action those recommendations from the University executive.”- KI_9.

Another initiative in response to the demand to decolonize the curriculum was the formation of the Curriculum Change Working Group (CCWG). This was a body comprised of academics from various faculties, postgraduate students and student activists that had “*experience in tackling challenges of inequality in their research and teaching programmes, and their successes in opening up spaces for those previously excluded from critical curriculum discussions at UCT.*” (Curriculum Change Framework, p.8). They released a curriculum change framework in June 2018. Their process is detailed below.

“The role of the CCWG was to facilitate dialogue across the university over a period of 18 months (March 2016 to September 2017), in order to shape strategies for meaningful curriculum change. CCWG engagements included discussions and debates on decolonization; the role of the public university; pedagogical and assessment practices which are experienced as exclusionary; flexible learning pathways to ensure student success and retention; understandings of curriculum and its relationship to institutional culture; and the use of the wide range of linguistic, cultural, and experiential resources which students and staff bring to the classroom. The outcome of the process has led to a Curriculum Change Framework developed by the CCWG, which highlights key pathways to meaningful curriculum change. This Curriculum Change Framework is fundamental to forging a new identity for UCT, which must regard Africa and her people as not only legitimate knowers and producers of knowledge, but also central to the academic project.”- ‘Executive Framework’, Curriculum Change Framework, June 2018, p.4

The University community was resistant to engaging with the proposed framework and decolonization of the curriculum even though there seemed to be a lack of understanding regarding what this meant or the work it would entail. Just as with the ITRC, the CCWG and had no power to enforce the implementation of the framework or recommendations offered. Academic staff who disputed the need for decolonizing the curriculum continuing were not required to embark on or support this process. Some continued with what they called ‘transformative teaching’ and held the assumption that decolonizing the curriculum implied a compromise of science and denial of ‘the facts’. UCT management, again sought feedback from the university community, without a clear explanation of what the strategy towards implementation would be.

(Please see Appendix I row xxxvi)

V) Of No Consequence.

Some participants felt that besides the outsourcing of workers, no meaningful structural and cultural change was made. For them this was evidence of UCT's resistance to change/the decolonial project and the almost full circle restoration of the status quo before the protests; in some cases, these conditions were worse than before RMF.

(Please see Appendix I row xxxvii)

Previously outsourced workers shared that although they were now insourced, clear communication around specific job tasks and conditions of work remained an issue.

"We clean the toilets, your offices, the mess you make. When there is a function, we are the ones who prepare for that function without getting paid. But we were told our only job is to clean. But now we see ourselves preparing exams and graduation functions, but we don't get paid for that. I was told overtime only starts after 4 and yet they would take you from early morning to go work at the graduation but as cleaners we don't get paid for that job, while there are people who get paid for that job. I prepare students' gowns there and have to hand them over to them but that is not my job. Still today I haven't been given an answer...I said even so, these are old issues, and the University knows about them. Put these issues in front of the management we need these answers ever since we've been insourced. But before we were insourced, people who worked during graduation were getting paid R500 each."-KI_7.

vi) Exodus.

Outside of RMF, students that had been expelled or suspended, participants in management reported that some academic staff decided to resign, and others revealed the thoughts or intention to leave not only the University but also the country due to uncertainty and anxiety from what had transpired at UCT during the protests. UCT also experienced withdrawal from support from alumni and benefactors/donors who were unhappy with the way management had handled the situation.

“I said to others that look at UCT, it's a world-class African Institution, this continual, continual, continual hostility could cause a lot of damage to UCT you know. There were staff that said ‘we want to leave you know... we're not appreciated for what we do etc. etc.’ and some of them said to me ‘we're looking for other jobs, we wanna go overseas’. It did affect people, it affected people to the extent that people resigned, right. I said to them you've got fantastic teachers... you've got resources... we've got an international standing. We get people coming from all over the world and don't dismantle it because if it comes to that point, we will lose it.” – KI_13.

“But we had a real struggle, um, communicating with our alumni and keeping them on board and I think we lost, a lot of support from alumni, who couldn't understand what was happening. Who just saw the violence, ‘cos that's what the media tends to focus on, physical violence and that was their core perception of the protests, was of this extreme violence and arson and so they turned away. They felt disillusioned. They didn't really understand the issues. It was hard to explain to them why Black students were feeling - and staff - were feeling the way they were and that had an impact on our donation as well. Many people wrote us to say that they aren't giving money anymore, um, and they are taking us out of their will and things like that. So, there were also, there was also that sort of impact.” – KI_14.

One participant who was unable to leave the University, distanced themselves from the institution to heal and regain a sense of equilibrium/stability. A student activist noted that the consequences for participation in the RMF protests were far more severe for Black workers and students than for Black academics. While students were suspended, expelled and/or had criminal records, Black academics retained their jobs and positions in the University.

“Academics have perpetuated a type of anti-Blackness, anti-poorness, elitism, because they never saw Black workers as human beings. Because they never wanted to include the workers struggle as part of the struggle of academics. And if it was a Black academic that lost their job during FMF, there would have been a fucken uproar. But when Black workers were fired for being supporting and being part of the protest, in ways in which for the most part, academics weren't part of because they protected themselves, and their privilege. We lost everything.”-KI_19.

“I am actually glad I got to do this, as I reflect now at the end of the conversation, um, because I haven't spoken about UCT for quite a while. I have been actively removing myself, from the University for my own sanity. Because I am trying to put myself back together again”-KI_1.

vii) Fallism: A New Discourse/Language.

RMF criticized the University, the media and South African public for a lack of engagement with the issues they put forward and the intellectual work done to locate and articulate their position(s). Critics of the movement failed to engage with the decolonial framework RMF built. Instead, students were presented as unscholarly radicals with a proclivity for violence, reaffirming racial stereotypes of Black people as inherently violent and academically weak. Despite these criticisms, RMF's pedagogical offerings and articulation of key issues that informed the movement resonated with colonial institutions of education globally. Institutions of higher education in the Global North and South started to critically engage with their colonial roots and consider the decolonial project, using the language offered by RMF that developed over subsequent local and international 'Must Fall' movements (Fees Must Fall, Patriarchy Must Fall, King George Must Fall, Rhodes Must Fall Oxford, Royale Must Fall at Harvard etc.). This language or discourse came to be known as 'Fallism'.

"It became one of the most revolutionary and radical movements that this country had ever produced. And we still argue today, that Rhodes Must Fall, in fact, has a very specific place in the unfolding history of this country. Because it played a specific role. It contributed, it, um it presented, not just the academy, with for example, the notion or the idea of Fallism as some kind of tool of analysis, or an attitude against the colonial project, that you know that has to do with the colonial project, has to some degree, fall, and it was the attitude that became a prevailing attitude, you know, articulated within the context of decolonization where we drew from the works of Frantz Fanon. We drew, you know, the works of Ngugi wa Thiongo and we used these tools to articulate ourselves within the space that was of course not perfect, the space was complex, and we had to find the tools...In fact the politics that we helped shape, or the agenda that we helped shaped, uh, for the University, for the country and eventually for the world, because after the falling of the statue on the 9th of April, many statues started to fall across the, across the, not just in South Africa, but across the world. So, um, it is very important that, you know, that one, begins to understand that RMF was in fact an idea whose time had come. And there is no Fallist movement in this country or Fallist campaign that could claim its existence outside of the framework of RMF... So, a small act that took place on the southern tip of the continent, started to capture the imagination of the world and all of a sudden, people now started to ask questions about decolonisation"-KI_2.

6.3. Part 3: Closings

6.3a) Emerging Questions:

Investigation of violence with the RMF protests (2015-2016) revealed some pertinent questions. These are addressed below.

i) On UCT's Engagement with Protest.

The first is linked to UCT's response to the protests and engagement with the movement. Management was not held accountable for decisions taken, even though these threatened the health and safety of student activists, involved staff and workers. Considering the rejection of the IRTC reports and Curriculum Change Frameworks, what are the *structural* changes the University has made in response to issues pointed out by RMF? Who/which body will monitor and evaluate these efforts to hold the institution accountable? What efforts have been made to increase or develop management's capacity to respond to future protests and the issues revealed? In what ways is UCT's institutional culture resistant to change? How can this be addressed?

ii) On the Issue of 'Violence' within Protest.

How did RMF's intellectual work and critique influence the institution's understandings of both protest and violence? How has UCT made sense of violence within protest? What role does management think the institution played in manifesting violence during the protests? What efforts have been taken to ensure this does not occur again? What changes has UCT made to its policies and practices to reflect this?

iii) On the Duty of Care for Student, Staff and Worker Activists.

Investigation of the case revealed the inherent risk of engaging in protest and the potentially dire consequences for the health and wellbeing of activists. What efforts have been made to heal these? Student and Staff wellness services were criticized for

their inability to adequately respond to the impact of protest on the health and wellbeing of this group. What changes have been made to ensure this in future?

Engaging with the questions above will reveal the ways in which violence endures in the institution and the process through which it escalates during resistance and/or contestation. Lastly, engaging with these questions would encourage an ongoing process of critical reflection at the institution.

6.3b) Conclusion: Rhodes' Legacy Lives on in the Shadows.

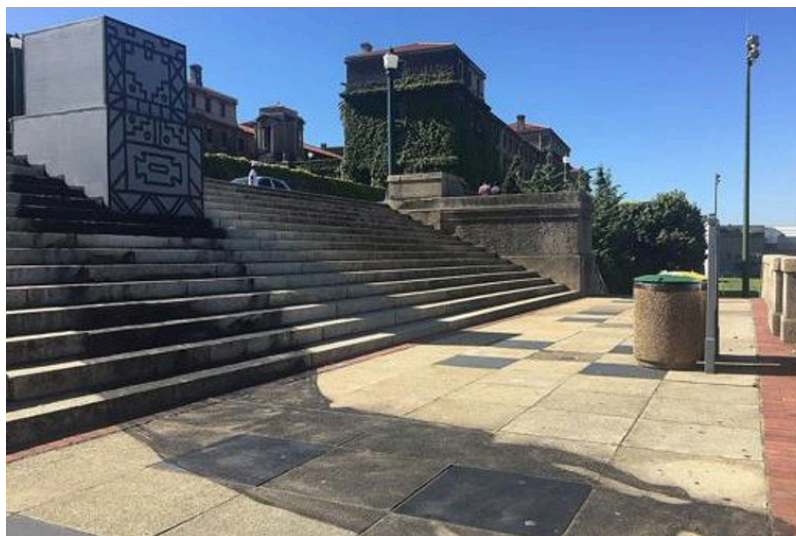


Figure 19: The legacy of Rhodes endures.
(source: RMF twitter (X) page)

*"I can't say I've really felt at piece with my direction,
Whether at the University or with flow of my Profession.
What I do know is that for some time now the lies that have been spun to me over time, have
begun to unravel.
What is a "safe" life?
A good life?
There are all the temptations and suggestions of what it would mean to contribute to a world
which at the same
time seems to prefer that my "true voice" remains invisible, leaves me asking time and
again..
Where to now?
It's one thing to sing, protest. Debate, rant and chant about the changes one would like to see
exist.
Indeed,
"Rhodes Must Fall"*

- Yet,
The reality is that long before I was born and long after I have left..
The Old Man Rhodes will still stand tall."
– Excerpt from 'Where to Now', Brian Kamanzi

The image depicted above serves as an apt representation of the ways that invisible forms of violence manifest, reproduce themselves, and endure within institutions such as UCT, especially in the context of protest. The symbolic power and violence communicated by the presence of the statue was continuously denied by largely white UCT alumni and academic staff. The debate regarding the significance of the statue and what it revealed about UCT's institutional culture continues despite the removal of the statue on the 9th of April 2015.

The shadow drawing of the statue sends a clear message to those who seek to decolonize the University. Rhodes' legacy lives on. It lingers, persists, and lurks unacknowledged in the shadow(s). The legacy of Rhodes is entrenched, and long-lasting and will continue despite UCT's efforts to transform. The drawing itself is read as an act of (colonial) violence against Black staff, students, and workers at the university. In direct response to the Rhodes Must Fall movement, it asserts that, despite your (RMF's, FMF's) best efforts to decolonize the university, the legacy of Rhodes Will. Never. Fall. The message, like institutional racism is subtle yet strident in its intended impact. UCT's colonial blueprint as described in earlier sections of this report continues to find expression within university structures, policies, and initiatives despite the increasing numbers of Black staff and students, confirming the power of the invisible and the complex networks/relationships that maintain it.

Through investigation of the case, I have found denial to be the most subtle, yet powerful form of violence illuminated by the case. Not only did it invalidate the experiences of marginalized groups and discredit efforts taken to effect change, but it also justified punishment of contestation through criminalization and a misrecognition of the victims of violence. UCT's vision 2030 outlines three pillars at the core of its vision, these are excellence, transformation, and sustainability. What is most interesting is the institution's resistance to decolonization despite recognition of coloniality within the institution. UCT's focus on transformation persists despite RMF exposing the need for decolonization as a more nuanced approach to affecting change

and the framework they developed in this regard. Decolonization, decolonize and/or decoloniality do not feature in UCT's vision 2030, corroborating the influential power, yet disputed presence of the shadow as depicted in the image above.



Figure 20: Azania House: Claiming space for decolonial thought.
(source: RMF Facebook page)

“In the time we’ve spent at Azania House we have begun to understand the need for a new language that challenges the pacifying logic of liberalism. This logic presents itself to us in these ideas of ‘reform’ and ‘transformation’, which are legitimized by the Constitution- a document which violently preserves the status quo. Transformation is the maintenance and perpetuation of oppression, hidden within meaningless surface-level change. We have recognized that what is needed instead is the radical decolonization of this institution, which is necessarily linked to the Black condition both nationally and internationally. Our existence as Black people is defined by a violent system of power. The University’s processes and language naturalizes that colonial system. Therefore, if we wish to get rid of that system of power, we have to destroy the processes altogether. Decolonization is this very destruction.”-

- RMF statement read out before the removal of the statue, 9th April 2015.

Chapter 7: Discussion.

7.1. Defining versus Understanding 'Violence'.

The theme '*Muddy Waters*', under section 6.2b '*On the Issue of Violence*', expressed the complexity of defining 'violence'. Participants noted that what was labelled as 'violence' during the RMF protests had various manifestations, occurred at multiple levels and was highly dependent on the context. For Chumani Maxwele, violence was experienced as an expression of power. He explained that the complexity of violence lay in the fact that it was a difficult concept to articulate, and is further complicated by the power exercised through the dominant perspective of violence as 'brute force'. He noted a lack of language around invisible forms of violence that oppressed and marginalized groups often experience. For him, taking an alternative standpoint from dominant perspectives of 'violence' became a necessary exercise towards exposing the coloniality of violence, which he recognized, continued to bear both material and psychological consequences for Black people in South Africa. Alex Hotz understood violence to be a 'system of oppression'. She rejected perspectives of violence with a predominant focus on tangible forms of 'violence' at the expense of other less visible forms such as structural and epistemic violence, that created and reproduced further forms of violence such as inequality, poverty, and racism. The case findings revealed two seemingly opposed perspectives as to what exactly constituted 'violence'. UCT management, some UCT staff, media, police, and members of the public considered RMF's disruptive and destructive actions and methods of protest as 'violence'. Further to this, these groups identified RMF student behaviour during the protests as rude, aggressive, disruptive, and at times illegal. In contrast, student activists recognized 'violence' as rooted within Colonial-Apartheid configurations of context.

The case issue '*Colonial Blueprint*' described UCT's racist and patriarchal institutional culture as a product and extension of the colonial project. This framing exposed colonialism as a violent foundational system that monopolized the power to configure the conditions at UCT, which continued to inform processes, and shape relationships within the institution, despite UCT's commitment to transformation. Student activists linked the alienating, constraining and dehumanizing conditions for Black, (trans)

gender diverse and disabled students, staff, and workers at the University to its Colonial-Apartheid roots. They predicted that these conditions would continue to endure should the coloniality of 'violence' continue to be ignored and/or denied. Holding both perspectives allowed for consideration of 'violence' as a *process*, rather than an action(s) or event(s), that manifested as a result of the interdependence between structures, relationships, and agency within context. Coloniality recognizes "the continuity of colonial forms of domination after the end of colonial administrations, produced by colonial cultures and structures in the modern/colonial capitalist/patriarchal world" (Grosfugel, 2006: 175). Coloniality considers "long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism" and offers understanding of "how the colonized continue to be dehumanized" beyond Colonial-Apartheid rule (Maldonado-Torres, 2007: 243; Maluleka, 2021: 74). The coloniality of 'violence' recognizes violence as an expression of intersectional systems and structures of power as historically located and anchored within colonialism (Sachseder, 2022). Atallah and Dutta (2023) recognize violence as deeply entangled with and rooted within coloniality. This suggests that attempts to delineate a singular or universal definition of violence, without consideration of dominant structures that wield the power to determine what counts (or doesn't) count as violence, may potentially mask violence as an expression of coloniality. Alternatively, seeking to *understand* violence affords a perspective wide/broad enough to surface the complexity of 'violence' including its various aspects, multiple perspectives, manifestations, and sites including, perhaps most importantly, the systems and structures of power that reproduce and maintain it.

The concept of power is framed by Foucault (1982) as a set of complex relations that are an expression of the ability of one entity to "structure the possible field of action of others" (Foucault, 1982: 790). Consideration of 'entities' encompasses individuals, collectives, structures, and institutions and considers the relations between a broad range of entities including those that lack physical form, such as human relations, as shaped/determined by context. The coloniality of power, a term coined by Quijano (2000), explains how globally hegemonic perspectives of power are rooted within coloniality, also referred to as the colonial matrix of power (Mignolo, 2017). Within the colonial matrix of power, racial and gender divisions are recognized as strategies of modernity that created and reproduce a colonizer/colonized, superior/inferior dynamic

(Quijano, 2000). To better understand what power relations may be about, Foucault suggests that investigation of forms of resistance towards dissociating these relations becomes necessary. Doing so, he argues, holds potential to “bring to light power relations, locate their position, and find out their point of application and the methods used” (Foucault, 1982: 780). RMF positioned itself in opposition to coloniality through the demand for the decolonization of the University. Through various methods of protest, student activists exposed and resisted multiple points of application and methods of coloniality as ‘violence’. These methods of protest were framed by the University as ‘violence’, while coloniality within the University was denied. Decoloniality is a political and epistemological movement(s) that seeks to expose the violence of coloniality/modernity and calls for “civil and epistemic disobedience” and de-linking from the colonial matrix of power (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015; Mignolo, 2017: 2). Decoloniality, such as in the case of RMF, is persistently marginalized and frequently read by modernity/coloniality as violence (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015; Ndlovu, 2020a).

The above discussion regarding point(s) of application and methods of coloniality and decoloniality as violence, warrants consideration of the relationship between structure and agency, an area of continued debate within social theory (Kipo, 2014; Gibbs, 2017). Central to this debate is social action and whether this is determined by the power of social structures or individual will (Gibbs, 2017). Crossley (2022) argues that social structures are always ‘in-process’ and are driven by the collective and/or individual agency of inter-actors. These inter-actors are constrained and/or afforded opportunity by and within these structures while simultaneously collectively forming, maintaining, or challenging and disrupting them. The structure-agency debate is reconciled through consideration of relations as ‘lived histories of interaction’ that involve imbalances of power (Crossley, 2022: 168). This perspective resonates with Foucault, who frames relations as “an ensemble of actions which induce others and follow from one another” and are an expression of power (Foucault, 1982: 786). Coloniality denies the subject agency through the shaping of experience (relations) as a product of epistemology (knowledge structures) (Ndlovu, 2020a). When considered in application to the case findings, violence emerges as *a synthesis of structure, relations, and agency as determined by the colonial matrix of power*. In this way, the two seemingly oppositional perspectives of violence put forward by RMF and UCT

management are reconciled through consideration of 'violence' as *the process through which coloniality is applied and/or resisted* (figure 21).

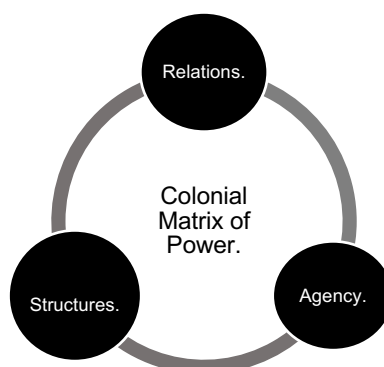


Figure 21: Violence as a process.

Further to this, the case findings revealed further insights about the character, nature, and various manifestations of 'violence' during RMF at UCT during 2015-2016. These aspects offered critical nuance towards understanding the complexity of violence and are discussed below.

7.1.1. The Character of Violence.

Despite the inexactness offered through seeking to understand rather than define violence, there were aspects that emerged repeatedly within the findings that offered a sense of its unique character as a social phenomenon. Student activists identified and described incidents of violence as a denial of and an affront to, their sense of dignity. Alex Hotz described having to navigate the violence of racism, patriarchy and poverty as an 'attack' that denied her and other Black people dignity. Sandile Ndelu identified and described the presence and prominent position of the statue of CJR as an act of violence. She described the statue as an affront to the dignity of Black people across several generations, that maintained a 'violent existence'. For Chumani Maxwele, the statue symbolized the continued dehumanization of Black people at the University, who are continually denied dignity through UCT's Colonial-Apartheid arrangements that both erased and distorted Black history. Amandla Nkani described a persistent lack of support for her and other Black disabled students at the University as a frustrating, humiliating, and undignified experience. Rekgotsofetse Chikane identified normalized and accepted traditions within the University's culture as violent. He described the annual residence formal as an exclusive event that spent a large

portion of the allocated budget and did not consider the circumstances of (predominantly Black) students who could not afford to attend. He explained that the indignity of alienation and exclusion, when challenged, was further perpetuated, and reproduced through ignorant solutions and alternatives that further denied Black students dignity.

Just as with 'violence', tensions exist regarding the definition and meaning of dignity. Debes (2023) traced the historical development of the concept of dignity and organized its various meanings under four broad categories, namely dignity as – gravitas, integrity, status, and lastly, human dignity (table 15). It is pertinent to note that dignity has been historically associated with elevated social standing, rank, or position and is a concept that was 'harnessed' to create a system of hierarchy and to protect privilege (Winter, 2019). The category most relevant to the RMF case is the concept of human dignity. The notion of human dignity features heavily in human rights/justice discourse and is considered as "the inherent value that every individual possesses equally by virtue of being a human being, independent of one's abilities, characteristics, or actions" (The Pulte Institute for Global Development, 2022: 3). Further to this, it is the status and/or value of being human that affords one dignity and entitles them respect (Debes, 2023; Lebech, 2004; Winter 2018). Fundamental to the experience of human dignity is recognition (of a shared humanity), highlighting relation(s) as a key pathway through which human dignity, as a universal affirmation becomes possible (Lebech, 2004). These definitions when considered with student activists' descriptions of the experience of violence as a denial of dignity, reveal assumptions about the nature of humanity, and a lack of consideration of how this may be determined by context. Monsalve and Román (2009: 40) identify three points of tension regarding understandings of human dignity that are formulated as questions, these are firstly, 'is human dignity a natural quality of human beings or is it, instead, a consensual aspect created by political will or state legislation? Secondly, is human dignity an abstract value or, conversely, is it possible to define it in relation to concrete aspects of human life? And thirdly, is human dignity absolute and universal or, conversely, is it a particular value, dependent on historical, cultural, and even individual contexts?' These questions are pertinent to understanding the character of violence as a denial of dignity and are discussed below.

Table 15: Dignity: Categories of Meaning (Debes, 2023: para. 29)

Dignity as <i>Gravitas</i>	a poise or grace associated with behavioral comportment, e.g., the sophisticated manners or elegant speech of nobility, or outward composure in the face of insult or duress.
Dignity as <i>Integrity</i>	the family of ideas associated with living up to personal or social standards of character and conduct, either in one's own eyes or the eyes of others.
Dignity as <i>Status</i>	noble or elevated social position or rank.
Dignity as <i>Human dignity</i>	the unearned worth or status that all humans share equally (either inherent or constructed).

UCT expressed the intention to “uphold the inherent dignity of all and meet the development needs of South Africa's emerging democracy” as a key aim of their commitment to transformation (UCT Website). RMF problematized this framing, identifying UCT’s institutional culture as ‘violent’, thereby denying Black, (trans) gender diverse, and disabled students and staff dignity. Although the University pushed the sentiment of inherent dignity of all in its rhetoric of transformation, RMF demanded material evidence of this commitment; the removal of the statue was one such example. Furthermore, RMF’s description of Black pain, highlighted tangible manifestations of the dehumanization of Black people at UCT through everyday university policies and traditions that had become normalized, such as student housing policies that disproportionately compromised the housing, safety, and security needs of Black students. In addition, RMF demanded a living wage (R10 000 p/month) for Black workers at the institution, surfacing the need to recognize the political and socio-economic components of human dignity. The above challenges the framing of human dignity as an inherent, abstract, absolute, and universal state. Furthermore, the ideological hegemony within the notion of human dignity is exposed, in that it is put forward as an ‘instrument of action’ that promotes a sense of shared humanity and equality despite its history of harm towards separating and stratifying humanity (Baptiste, 2022). Exploring the concept of human dignity within the context of coloniality/decoloniality becomes critical towards exposing normalized traditions and

practices within the University as ‘violence’ that affirms the dignity of some, while denying the dignity of others.

Maldonado-Torres (2007) analyses the notion of the ‘human’ and locates it within colonial conceptions and perspectives of man/human, and related categories and hierarchies of being, such as the chain of being. Wynter (2003) exposes the conception of the chain of being as a foundational instrument of modernity/coloniality towards creating and delineating a separate other(s) and legitimizing its dominance over this group, through establishing a ‘rational/irrational master code’. What emerges from these perspectives is that the determination of the human as a category of being, separate from other categories of being is convention or hegemony. The modern/colonial order specifically, through coloniality, continues to configure the conditions, structures and constructs that create and maintain ‘spaces of otherness’ (Wynter, 2003; 306). Similarly, the concept of human dignity and its role in human exceptionalism as an ontological feature in theories of justice and Western politics is problematic as it creates a human/non-human dichotomy and declares the inherent and equal value of the individual, despite how coloniality continues to affirm and privilege the dignity/humanity of some whilst denying the dignity/humanity of colonized/indigenous peoples (Winter 2019).

RMF rejected UCT’s rhetoric of transformation (as underpinned by the discourse of human and democratic rights) as an expression of privilege and selective ignorance towards structures and systems of modernity/coloniality that continue to deny Black students, staff, and workers a sense of dignity. Njoya (2017), characterizes human dignity as an “existential protest against degradation”. This definition finds resonance with student activists’ experiences of degradation within the University that resulted in what Sandile Ndelu termed a ‘violent existence’ for Black students, for whom human dignity was not a given, but instead had to be negotiated, demanded, fought for, and reclaimed through questioning, disrupting, and resisting coloniality. RMF became a space where individual cries against the degradation of the humanity of Black students, staff and workers could find collective expression in response to ‘violence’ as a denial of and an affront to, their sense of dignity.

7.1.2. The Paradoxical Nature of Violence.

The above characterization of 'violence' as both the denial of human dignity and the mechanism through which human dignity is reclaimed creates what Sandile Ndelu described as a 'violent existence', revealing the paradoxical nature of violence. Student activists described the 'violence' of having their existence defined and yet simultaneously denied by coloniality as a violent system of power. Gervasio (2018) notes that within coloniality, the colonized other exists in and as a paradox, resulting in ontological erasure. It is this colonial logic that "paradoxically both seeks to fold the racial Other into an abstract universal by disavowing its contingency yet continues to alienate and exploit it by insisting upon and even reifying the Other's sub-alterity" (Gonzalez, 2011:4). Fanon (1967) explains the logic of ontological "unattainability" and erasure as an experience of "non-being", an experience of "complete dislocation" and an "infernal circle" or zone into which the negro is locked or "walled in" (Fanon (1967: 88-89) He further describes the zone of non-being, as "an extraordinarily sterile and arid region, an utterly naked declivity where an authentic upheaval can be born". The imagery linked to existing within the barrenness of this experience/location communicates a sort of ontological 'limbo' (Hartonen et al., 2022) or suspended state of continuous dehumanization (Motimele & Ramugondo, 2014).

Fanon's description of the zone of non-being as unbearable and inescapable resonated with Amandla Nkani's description of 'violence' as a persistent experience of compounded constraints. During RMF, she experienced the 'violence' of the University and the state through police and the courts as a 'forest fire' with the power to destroy irrevocably. She identified white supremacy and privilege at UCT and the University's continued denial of Black pain and suppression of protest as a 'a huge external force' with the power to destroy and erase the life, life-histories, and ways of knowing and being of Black people as represented by the baobab tree. For her and other student activists the 'violence' experienced during RMF was preceded by the everyday 'violence' of racism, patriarchy, poverty and disability erasure within the University and broader South African society. She tried on numerous occasions to escape an existence she described as overwhelming, through a series of overdoses, that eventually led to her being admitted to a mental health facility. She explains that she doesn't think she wanted to die per se, but rather to 'shut down' the experience of such

an existence, thereby killing “the Black in oneself” as a prerequisite for admission into the zone of humanity (Maldonado-Torres, 2016: 14). For Amandla Nkani, the intersections of gender, disability and race resulted in what Mohamed (2022: 27) describes as “an embodiment of structural violence expressed by death, debility and disability”. Mohamed uses death-debility-disability as an analytic to surface the ontology of endemic violence Black people endure within settler-colonial states. This framework exposes the paradoxical and compounded nature of structural violence Amandla Nkani was subject to that relegated her to the death-dealing, disabling and debilitating ‘violence’ of the zone of non-being.

Maldonado-Torres (2016) describes the paradoxical nature of violence as a “metaphysical catastrophe” that, through various layers, conceptualizes and organizes society according to degrees of humanity. RMF described the Colonial-Apartheid and racial aspects of this catastrophe as central to the articulation of Black pain. The concept of Black pain, exposed dehumanization, and the questioning of the humanity of Black people as a normalized practice within coloniality/modernity. Ironically, student activists were accused of racializing pain, despite racialization being at the core of Black pain and an imperative for securing white privilege (Nyamnjoh, 2015). The violence of existing within and through erasure and of being human, yet relegated to the zone of non-being, surfaces recognition as a core component of being human and/or being denied humanity within coloniality (Fanon, 1967; Balaton-Chrimes & Stead, 2017). This framing centers the power and authority of systems and structures to either authorize being or question, other or deny it, resonating with RMF’s description of ‘violence’ as having their existence defined and yet simultaneously denied by coloniality within the University.

7. 2. ‘Being’ Denied: An Occupational Perspective of Violence.

An occupational perspective of violence from a critical-decolonial perspective is yet to find expression within OT and OS literature. This omission/gap may be due to several factors. Firstly, theories concerning the nature of occupation have been historically developed in the Global North and have focused on biological and socio-cultural

aspects of individual occupation with a lack of interrogation of socio-political aspects of context and their continued influence on both individual and collective aspects of occupational participation (Galvaan, 2012; Ramugondo & Kronenberg, 2015; Laliberte Rudman, 2015; Motimele & Peters, 2017). Secondly, violence as an occupation is largely framed as an antisocial problem (Twinley & Addidle, 2012; Whiteford & Haddad, 2020), public health issue (Rai, 2002; Young, 2021; Bell & Hallet, 2021; Shahin, 2021; Salar & Kayihan, 2023), and/or human rights violation (Brown, 2016; La Cock, 2020), negating socio-historical, geo-political and onto-epistemological aspects of context and how these may demand a framing of occupation that centers the colonial matrix of power. Lastly, the problem of coloniality remains a matter of opinion and perspective, largely excluded from OS theorizing despite the continued global influence of this social order on the lived realities of oppressed groups world-wide (Emery-Whittington, 2021; Motimele, 2022; Ahmed-Landeryou, 2023). The study findings raised some critical questions regarding core tenets within occupational therapy and occupational science, these are outlined and discussed below.

The human as an occupational being is a foundational philosophy within the discipline of occupational science and the profession of occupational therapy (Wilcock, 1993; Clarke, 1997; Hocking, 2000). The concept of occupation encompasses a range of definitions and is broadly understood as ‘purposeful activity’ and an ‘innate’ characteristic through which the person fulfills their needs for survival, health, and well-being (Wilcock, 1993: 17). Occupation can be understood as human activity through which people sustain themselves and participate in various aspects of society (Crepeau, Cohn & Schell, 2003). ‘Human occupation’ is defined by Kronenberg (2018: 7) as “that which occupies contextually embedded and embodied resources available to humans”, framing humans as ‘occupied’ beings. This framing is critical to foregrounding unequal power-relations as determined and sustained by context and the impact these may have on access to various means and modes of participation. Human occupation as both ‘embodied’ and ‘embedded’ emphasizes the inextricable relationship between person(s) and context(s) and each’s role in constituting the other (Kronenberg et al., 2015: 25). In relation to experiences of being Kronenberg et al. (2015: 25), recognize that “human occupation may manifest on a continuum of affirmations and negations of our humanity”, with implications for how human occupation and health is understood within OT and OS. If coloniality/modernity is

recognized as as a negation of humanity (Kronenberg, 2018) and a globally pervasive phenomenon (Maldonado-Torres, 2007; Tlostanova & Mignolo, 2009), then critical questions emerge regarding how human occupation and health may need to be reframed to recognize and represent the lived reality of those who are occupied in the zone of non-being, especially as it pertains to understanding 'violence'. In short, issues of power, particularly those concerned with coloniality/modernity and the influence of these systems and structures on formulations of occupation and their impact on occupational participation from the perspective of those who are denied being, need to find expression in the way the core concept of 'human occupation' is framed/defined.

The concept of occupational justice and associated occupational risk factors address the impact of one being denied occupational rights (Townsend & Wilcock, 2004). Similar to the critique of human rights in relation to the concept of dignity, it is taken for granted that all are recognized as human beings and are 'authorized' to be human by dominant systems and structures, albeit to different degrees. This is contrary to Kronenberg (2018: 194) who states that in contexts characterized by systems of domination and oppression, "being human is not a given but rather a political potentiality", calling for a more nuanced framing of occupational justice, occupational risk factors and occupational rights that considers the experiences of those denied being within coloniality. The same critique holds for the popular view of occupation as a 'synthesis of doing, being, becoming' (Wilcock, 1998: 1) and more recently belonging (Wilcock & Hocking, 2015). Iwama (2003) recognizes the western hegemony inherent within this formulation and questions its cultural relevance in application to Japanese social values. He notes that within Japanese culture, emphasis is placed on belonging, which informs becoming, being and lastly doing, which is in direct contrast with Wilcock's formulation, raising questions about the relevance of this framing for exploring violence within coloniality where for the non-being, doing, being, and belonging, are systemically constrained or denied.

Occupational injustices include occupational imbalance, occupational deprivation, occupational marginalization, occupational alienation, and occupational Apartheid (Hocking, 2017). Of these concepts, occupational Apartheid offers the most contextually relevant and representative framing of oppressive power-relations, more

specifically systemic segregation, to limit/deny equal opportunity to participate in meaningful occupation (Kronenberg & Pollard, 2006). Occupational Apartheid refers to “systematically enacted negations of humanity to divide and subjugate collectives of people to the benefit of some at the expense of others. This is done through (oftentimes intersecting) oppressive social mechanisms (racism, classicism, sexism, homophobia, xenophobia, ableism, neoliberal individualism), masterminding unequal access to resources that can sustain dignified living for all” (Kronenberg, 2018: 43). Using this definition, coloniality can be considered as both a negation of humanity and a form of occupational Apartheid, highlighting coloniality’s relational, systemic, and material articulations that implicate human occupation within the privileging of whiteness (Kronenberg, 2018), especially as this relates to the dehumanization of the Other.

Sandile Ndelu’s story of ontological erasure/exclusion within UCT and RMF provides opportunity to explore ‘violence’ as an occupation from the lived experience of non-being. She described how her participation in daily occupations had to be carefully negotiated and navigated within dehumanizing structures that refused to recognize and authorize her being. The issuing of student cards and residence allocations were experienced as affronts to her sense of dignity, despite these being normalized and accepted university processes. The gendered arrangement of the campuses and residences meant that she and other (trans) gender diverse students, staff and workers were rendered invisible. Using the toilet demanded that she deny her own being and assimilate to access a basic human function. Her decision to disrupt and subvert the logic of gender through removing the bathroom signs was also a demand to lay claim to space and place and re-claim being. These were replaced by the University a few days later. Further to this, Sandile Ndelu was disparaged by a comrade within RMF who accused her of having a ‘fake vagina’. This and other experiences of sexual harassment and transmisogyny within the movement informed her decision to disengage from the activities of RMF and participate in the Transcapture, a disruption of the RMF commemorative exhibition at its one-year anniversary. Consideration of violence (*the process through which coloniality is applied and/or resisted*) as an occupation, warrants that coloniality is recognized, established, and named as context and holds implications for the way human

occupation needs to be reframed towards an authentic representation of her lived reality within coloniality (table 16).

Table 16: Reframing human occupation to reflect coloniality.

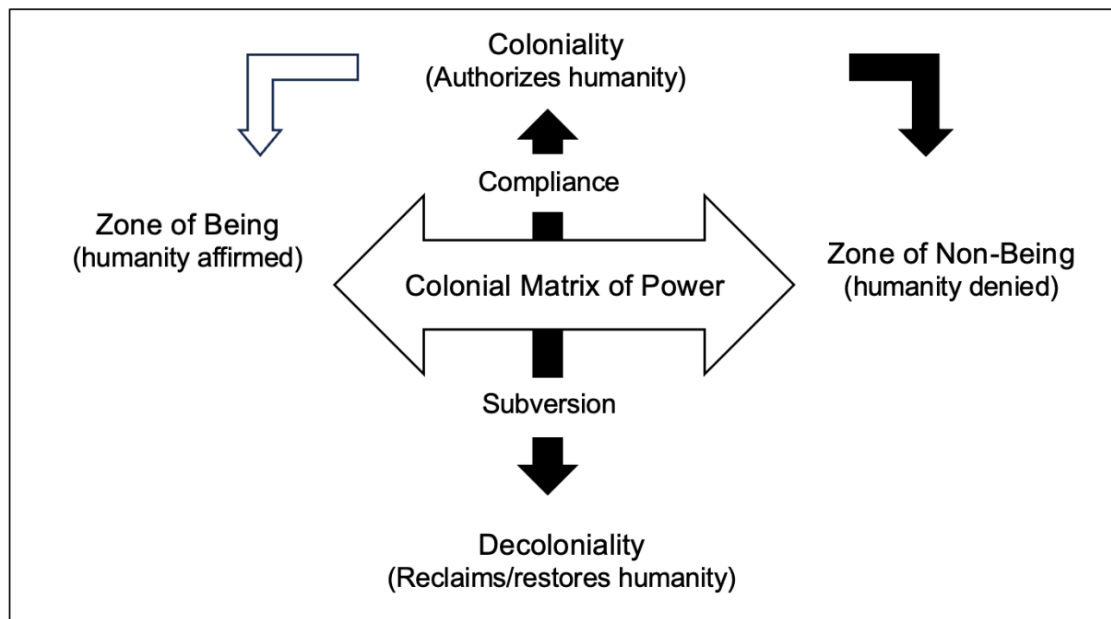
Human Occupation
That which occupies contextually embedded and embodied resources available to humans' (Kronenberg, 2018: 44).
Human Occupation & Coloniality
That which occupies resources and products available to those recognized/authorized as humans and those relegated to the zone of non-being.
Human Occupation & Violence
Human occupation manifests as a mode, means and relationality of coloniality with potential towards decoloniality.

Occupied in the zone of non-being, Sandile Ndelu was denied humanity/being through the gendered arrangements of the University campuses and student residences that imposed a binary sex paradigm. The coloniality of gender lies in what Maria Lugones (2008) calls "a modern/colonial gender system". This system imposes a gendered patriarchal hierarchy as a normalized violence and positions those classified as females as subordinate. The 'fake vagina' insult levelled at Sandile Ndelu both sexualizes and mocks womanhood and is violent for its intention to deny her being (Felicks, 2022). This application of coloniality by a fellow comrade, also occupied in the zone of non-being, is read as policing of femininity, and recognizes coloniality as foundational to all relations (Quijano, 2007; de Souza and Selis, 2022). Sandile Ndelu expressed an intention to restore her dignity, (re)claim being and transform communal relations through reconfiguration of the available resources and products, accessible only through assimilation and compliance to the modern/colonial gender system. Her subversion of the logic of gender is read as an effort to carve out a new humanism and transform social arrangements that reflect colonialism by transforming the way people saw, felt, and acted within the institution (Manzini, 2016; Tlostanova & Mignolo, 2009) and expressed an intention towards decoloniality as an enactment or critique of "racialized, colonial, and capitalist heterosexualist gender oppression as a lived

transformation of the social” (Lugones, 2010: 747). Both Coloniality and Decoloniality are read as processes of ‘violence’ (Fanon, 1967; Manzini, 2016).

Consideration of violence (coloniality/decoloniality) as human occupation requires a shift in focus from the individual to the collective. Collective occupation addresses collective action/participation as undertaken by individuals, social groups, families, and communities within context (Adams & Casteleijn, 2014; Ramugondo & Kronenberg, 2015). Ramugondo & Kronenberg’s (2015) consideration of intentionality or ‘aboutness’ as an aspect of collective occupation is central to understanding how and to what end human relations within coloniality find expression through collective occupation. My previous work investigating the role of occupations in the healing journeys of those disabled through violence, argued for the need to frame violence as a collective occupation that dehumanizes and healing as collective occupation that humanizes (Motimele & Ramugondo, 2014). However, Sandile Ndelu’s story frames violence as a collective occupation that can be both dehumanizing(coloniality) and humanizing(decoloniality) and expresses the *intention* to either deny or reclaim being through compliance with, or subversion of, the authority imposed by the colonial matrix of power. Furthermore, this framing recognizes that human occupation is *always* collective, even when enacted by the individual and confirms the relational nature of being human (Ramugondo & Kronenberg, 2015). In this way, although Sandile responded to and enacted violence alone, the intention was towards a common good, that of reclaiming and restoring the being/humanity of (trans) gender diverse students, staff and workers who are denied being and invisibilized within the University. Conversely, the disruption of and failure to comply with the colonial gendered arrangements at UCT would be read by authority as ‘violence’, which is predominantly portrayed as an antisocial phenomenon, that generates social dysfunction. With this framing, human occupation emerges as a *mode* (the way in which something occurs), *means* (method, instrument, or process) and *relationality* (lived history) of coloniality and/or decoloniality (figure 22). This portrays person(s) and context(s) as co-constitutive entities that find expression through human occupation. The above is in line with transactionalism which refutes the duality of person and context and recognizes ‘the nature of phenomena (behaviors, people, context, etc.) on the basis of their relationship with other phenomena’ (Aldrich, 2008: 151).

Figure 22: Human Occupation and Violence.



The above reframes human occupation as a mode, means and relationality of coloniality with potential towards decoloniality. The implications of this for further research, education and practice within occupational science and occupational therapy are discussed in Chapter 8.

7.3 Manifestations of Violence during RMF at UCT (2015 – 2016).

The case findings revealed various manifestations of ‘violence’ that seemed to find form in and through the interplay between structure(s), agency and relations as determined by the colonial matrix of power, depending on the situation. During RMF this interplay manifested *violence as context, violence as protest, and violence as denial*. Each of these manifestations are discussed below with particular attention to the situations that manifested them.

7.3.1. Context as Violence

Chumani Maxwele framed UCT as a ‘violent’ space, anchored within a legacy of deep-rooted racism due to South Africa’s Colonial-Apartheid history. He observed the pervasiveness of this ‘violence’ through a dynamic of ‘white arrogance’ and ‘Black assimilation’ at the University. He noted that Black assimilation endured consistently across staff ranks and amongst students from various socio-economic backgrounds and was evident through ‘extreme fear and anxiety to stand up and speak truth’. In contrast white students would be ‘overtly racist and loud or outspoken’. This perspective was reflected on the ‘Have your say’ boards erected at the site of the statue on campus for students to share their views on the presence and removal of the statue. Black student activists were called ‘barbaric kaffirs’ amongst other racial slurs and insults with no consequence. The same was evident in several opinion pieces published on the UCT news website; student activists were called ‘stupid’ and incapable of wit or scholarly debate, proving anti-Blackness as a normalized, condoned and widely practiced, yet vehemently denied practice at UCT. Anti-Blackness is framed as the ordering logic of colonialism that aligns Blackness with inferiority through repressive violence and was legislated during both Colonialism and Apartheid (Maistry, 2023). In addition, Chumani Maxwele described a lack of recognition or respect should a student or member of staff speak with a ‘Black’ accent or fail to enunciate or pronounce English words ‘properly’. To date, higher education in South Africa is offered predominantly in English or Afrikaans and remains an indicator of educational success and “the official vehicle and magic formula to colonial elitedom” (Wa Thiong’o, 2005: 12), positioning language as a key application of colonial violence (Ravishankar, 2020). Black assimilation is recognized as a mandate

of Western supremacy through which the native is demonized according to universal notions of civility (Watson, 2009).

Further to this, Chumani Maxwele noted the importance of recognizing context in exposing symbolic and psychological violence. He argued that outside of coloniality, the statue could be read simply as 'the aesthetic of art'. However, when read in conjunction with art history, historical studies, and race theory, for him, the statue became 'a symbol of celebration and exoneration of the past' and reflected political and social tensions, centered around the battle for power. For Amandla Nkani, the statue represented something that she felt 'white people almost worship, which is the genocide of Black people.' KI_2 noted the importance of symbols within history and human relations. They felt that these had the power to communicate and center a particular story 'while erasing the histories of others.' They argued that this served to extend colonial violence and entrench coloniality across generations, despite key political shifts that positioned equality as a primary objective and principle. For them the statue's positioning, and prominence glorified, and immortalized a culture of 'violent' conquest and genocide of Black people as was characteristic of the colonial regime. These perspectives surface the foundational violence of colonial relations/the colonial relationship and the subtle ways this dynamic remains entrenched and reproduces a pattern of colonial domination (Mbembe, 1992; Grosfugel, 2006; Jiwani, 2006; Persaud & Kumarakulasingamb, 2019).

The above challenges the idea of 'violence' as a phenomenon shaped by and occurring within context and instead positions violence *as context*. Cutchin et al. (2008) define context as situations that are generative of action. Situations consider the 'relationship between humans and context which already precedes the particular action under consideration...but which also provokes action' (Joas, 1996: 160 as cited in Cutchin et al., 2008: 161). Violent contexts are those characterized by power-disparities, and often have a history 'resulting in complex geopolitical dynamics, contested histories, longstanding inequalities, and collective grievances' (Abdelnour & Abu Moghli, 2021: 2). The case issue '*Colonial Blueprint*' revealed several participants perceptions and experiences of UCT as a colonial institution and extension of the Colonial and Apartheid projects. Racism, patriarchy, heteronormativity, poverty, and ableism were recognized as violence(s) that are rooted within colonialism and that

maintained colonial relations. Coloniality can therefore be read as a situation that both preceded 'violence' and provoked it. More specifically, UCT is read as a 'colonial situation' in which 'the cultural, political, sexual, spiritual, epistemic, and economic oppression/exploitation of subordinate racialized/ethnic groups by dominant racialized/ethnic groups with or without the existence of colonial administrations' endures (Grosfugel, 2006: 176). The idea of situations provoking 'violence' found expression in Rekgotsofetse Chikane's description of being 'primed' for violence within RMF protests. He explains that he and other student activists were not inherently 'violent', but that the colonial arrangements within society and the University, including management's response to the RMF protests, created situations that both portrayed student activists' resistance of a 'violent' system as 'violence' and elicited 'violent' action in defense or response. In this way, student activists were constrained by the inherent violence of coloniality and simultaneously positioned, prepared and/or 'made ready' for 'violent' action.

Fanon (1963) describes the violence of the colonial world in the segment below, noting its absolute authority and arrogance towards constructing a dualistic world of white (good, light) and Black (evil, darkness) that enforces the superiority of whiteness through constraining the native within the zone of non-being. He further identifies colonialism as "violence in its natural state" that can only be defeated when 'confronted with greater violence' (Fanon, 1963: 48).

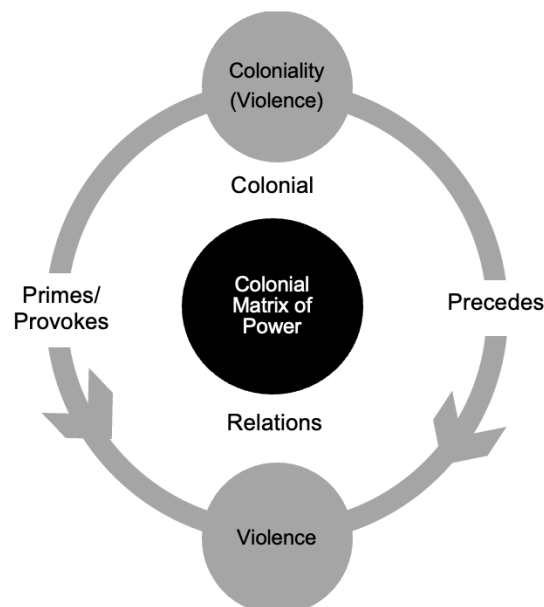
"A world divided into compartments, a motionless, Manichaeistic world, a world of statues: the statue of the general who carried out the conquest, the statue of the engineer who built the bridge; a world which is sure of itself, which crushes with its stones the backs flayed by whips: This is the colonial world. The native is being hemmed in; apartheid is simply one form of the division into compartments of the colonial world." (Fanon, 1963: 40)

Below he describes the idea of being primed for 'violence' in anticipation of an inevitable 'great showdown' through which the native aims to disrupt, dismantle and subvert the dehumanizing arrangements of the colonial world. The native is constructed and constrained within a violent situation(coloniality) which provokes 'violence' in response. Coloniality can therefore be read as both inherently 'violent' and a provocation to 'violence'. Fanon provides a particularly apt description of the violence of coloniality as both constraining and provocative.

“The native's muscles are always tensed. You can't say that he is terrorized, or even apprehensive. He is in fact ready at a moment's notice to exchange the role of the quarry for that of the hunter. The native is an oppressed person whose permanent dream is to become the persecutor. The symbols of social order--the police, the bugle calls in the barracks, military parades, and the waving flags--are at one and the same time inhibitory and stimulating: for they do not convey the message "Don't dare to budge"; rather, they cry out "Get ready to attack." And, in fact, if the native had any tendency to fall asleep and to forget, the settler's hauteur and the settler's anxiety to test the strength of the colonial system would remind him at every turn that the great showdown cannot be put off indefinitely.” (Fanon, 1963: 41).

The above section describes how violence/coloniality found form as context. This holds implications for how violence is conceptualized, investigated, and analyzed. More specifically, it becomes imperative to investigate ‘violence’ and its various forms (structural violence, direct violence, gender-based violence, psychological violence, symbolic violence etc.) as manifestations of coloniality (figure 23). Key questions that emerge include, in what ways does (this form) of violence reflect disproportionate power relationships as reproduced by the colonial matrix of power? How does (this form of) violence reflect/entrench the colonial relationship?

Figure 23: Context as Violence.



7.3.2. Protest as Violence.

Student activists described the frustration and injustice of being labelled/characterized as 'violent' across multiple platforms. The case narrative offered several findings that implicated the characterization of protest as violence within the application of coloniality. The theme '*We were never violent until...*' KI_14 noted that RMF was largely a 'peaceful movement' in the sense that minimal disruption was caused to the day-to-day running of the University. For them, the protest 'turned violent' when the FMF protests started, and student activists barricaded entrances to the University. This participant then reconsidered their statement, recognizing that although disruptive and illegal, barricading entrances to the University did not necessarily constitute violence, raising questions about the interplay between protest, legality, and violence, and the criteria used to term it such. Rekgotsofetse Chikane noted that there were no incidents of violence during the protests until the police arrived on campus, 'that's when violence breaks out', suggesting an element of rupture and conflict or battle and negating invisible forms of 'violence'. The theme '*Two sides of the same coin*' describes the ways protest and violence were perceived as synonymous. KI_9 noted that there was a push from members of Senate in the IRTC Steering Committee for the University to create 'policies to police protest' which they recognized as a euphemism for 'policies to protest violence'. The relationship between protest, legality and 'violence' is again raised as both policy and the police hold power and authority to regulate protest and to deem it violent. Policies determine the legalities of protest, and the parameters of peaceful vs 'violent' protests, whilst the police are responsible for law enforcement, preventing 'violence' and maintaining public order and safety.

Both Colonialization and Apartheid were inherently violent, yet legal regimes that dominated South African law for over 350 years (African Charter of Human and Peoples' rights, 1996; Thomas, 2012). South Africa transitioned from a British colony to a Republic in 1961 under the "internal colonization" of the Apartheid government, under the National Party (Oliver & Oliver, 2017). These Colonial and Apartheid regimes became outlawed in South Africa due to opposition movements that included organized political resistance, community and youth-led protests, armed struggle, international sanctions against South Africa and internal referendums, extended only to white members of the South African population (Madlingozi, 2007; Sengupta, 2023; Thomas, 2012; Southall, 2022). Protest against the Colonial and Apartheid regimes was illegal, and those who resisted the 'violent' conditions that dehumanized and

oppressed Black people suffered brutal attacks, arrests, banning, detention, and assassinations (Hovey, 1983; Filippi, 2011). Dissenters were labelled as 'violent troublemakers', 'terrorists' and accused of treason, thereby positioning them as a threat to public order and safety; seemingly justifying the violence of the state (Hovey, 1983). During the Colonial and Apartheid eras the police were mandated to protect the power of these regimes and targeted those who actively protested or opposed Colonial-Apartheid rule (Hovey, 1983; Thomas, 2012; Duncan, 2016). The Police in South Africa have a long history of suppression of protest and can be considered as one of the agents or 'extra-governmental apparatuses' of the colonial matrices, revealing collusion between the police, the state, and the law towards establishing, entrenching, and maintaining a violent and oppressive social order(s) (Sithole, 2018). It is important to interrogate these historical positionings and how they may have endured towards understanding how 'violence' manifested as protest. This is especially imperative as it pertains to the question of 'legitimate' vs illegitimate and therefore 'violent' forms of protest and state repression of protest.

Student activists described protest as a form of critique of the institution. For Amandla Nkani, protest was a critique of the contradictory values expressed at the University. She gave the example of the normalized objectification of women through sexually violent songs sang in the residences during the tradition of O-week and different rules for the male and female residences; yet the University claimed to be against sexual harassment and gender discrimination. For Rekgotsofetse Chikane, protest was a means to encourage critical engagement with the issues raised. He noted that mediums of protest were selected as ways of asking critical questions about oppression and connecting it to other issues of oppression across multiple settings, whether in the 'boardroom or in the street'. For Alex Hotz, protest was a critique of UCT intended to expose the violent conditions at the University as outlined in RMF's manifesto. Chumani Maxwele described protest as a critique in action of the institution, that allowed for performance materials as metaphors. How then did protest manifest as 'violence'?

During RMF, protest was recognized by UCT management as a legal right in so much as it did not disrupt the daily operations of the University. Alex Hotz explained that disruption was a conscious strategy that they decided to enact to deter the University

from attempting to swallow the protest action within the day to day running of the University and viewed the blockades as a 'minor inconvenience' that did not warrant legal action or police deployment. Disruptions to the operations of the University were read as public violence and therefore used to justify UCT's interdict against student activists. Amandla Nkani felt UCT weaponized the courts, thereby 'flexing' its financial, institutional, and disciplinary power through access to state support. The interdict further constrained student activists' right to protest and justified the deployment of public order police to "to maintain public order, protect and secure the inhabitants of South Africa and to uphold and enforce the law" (National Instruction 4 of 2014: para. 4). Section 17 of the South African Constitution recognizes protest as a constitutional right and a form of democratic expression (Khumalo, 2015; Duncan, 2016) and states, "Everyone has the right, peacefully and unarmed, to assemble, to demonstrate, to picket and to present petitions" (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). Even so, protest remains heavily regulated, suppressed, and policed for the threat of 'violence', which could include blockades or the disruption of patterns of daily life, and has retained its reputation as a national security threat (Duncan, 2020; Mbanyele, 2018). Malematja (2021) notes 'the fine legal line between legitimate protest and criminality', through analysis of 'shutdowns' and how these and other mediums of protest are not protected within Section 17 of the constitution. He argues that although shutdowns may not be considered unlawful, they may infringe on the rights of others and therefore be considered as public violence. Therein lies the catch 22 described by the theme '*Criminalization and Misrepresentation*'. Shut-downs and similar disruptive forms of protest are usually a last-resort, critique-in-action of structural, state, and institutional violence. These disruptions are seen as infringements on the rights of the public and therefore deemed public 'violence'. This label delegitimizes the protest, shifting focus from the cause and metes out direct violence to 'restore order' and 'public safety', leaving social movements in-between a rock and a hard place (Madlingozi, 2007).

Chumani Maxwele throwing poo on the statue of CJR received widespread backlash across multiple platforms. Chumani explains the intentional use of poo to symbolize 'the disgust' Black people have towards symbols that celebrate the historical dehumanization and dispossession of Black people. The poo, taken from a porta potty in one of Cape Town's townships, linked the presence of the statue, to UCT's

institutional racism and the continued dehumanization of Black people who lived in townships and squatter camps without adequate sanitation services. The porta potty system was introduced by the city of Cape Town as a solution that was experienced as a further affront to the already compromised dignity of Black people who inhabited these spaces. Further to this, these 'toilets' often went uncleaned for weeks on end (Sizani, 2023; von Schnitzler, 2014). Poo as a metaphor used in protest was not unique to RMF. In 2013, almost 180 people aligned to the Ses' Khona People's Rights Movement in Cape Town were arrested ahead of planned protest against poor sanitation in Cape Town's townships, which residents complained compromised both their health and safety (Barnes 2018). Further to this, poo was left in front of Parliament and outside Democratic Alliance's official Ivan Meyer's office. He, however, was unfazed by this and read the action as an indication of how low the ANC and the ANC Youth League were willing to go as part of campaigning for elections. The labelling of protests that used poo as a medium as 'poo-wars' in the media kept focus on the act and medium and not what it represented or communicated, implicating the media in narrow interpretations of violence within protest. UCT SRC (2015) released a statement shortly after Chumani Maxwele's poo protest calling out the focus on the legitimacy of the medium of protest rather than engagement with what the medium communicated,

'What is curious to note, is how the discussion on social media surrounding the issue seems to centre on whether or not this form of expression was appropriate rather than an analysis of the intention and symbolism behind such a scene.' (UCT SRC statement, 2015).

Ivan Meyers's response is particularly concerning for his inability to link the action with the sanitation issues in the Province, but rather with efforts to destabilize the Province ahead of an election campaign. The poo protests also exposed further socio-economic injustices Black people continued to experience because of Colonial-Apartheid rule. Black people continue to disproportionately experience the highest rates of unemployment, inadequate access to housing, water and sanitation, education, and healthcare (Barnes, 2018; Manamela, 2022), despite legislation that positioned access to these amenities, education, and dignified work as basic human rights as referenced by the Constitution. In addition, South Africa continues to reflect some of the highest rates of poverty, economic disparities, and the highest incidents of protest (Duncan, 2016; Manamela, 2022).

Rekgotsofetse Chikane shared that he felt the game was 'rigged' in that protest seemingly represented a means to effect socio-political change, but operated as a method to identify, arrest, and persecute dissenters, thereby removing any threat to the activities of authority. Activists are commonly dismissed, criticized, vilified, and undermined by government, the police, the public and the media, with focus on destructive, disruptive, and 'violent' methods of protest, with little attention on the conditions that informed it (Alexander et al., 2012; Barnes, 2018). Instead, these dehumanizing conditions become normalized, vilifying those who speak up and resist the status quo as problematic, suspicious, and violent for questioning it (Madlingozi, 2007; Barnes, 2018; Henkeman, 2018). This criticism often ignores creative and intellectual means of protest, such as the RMF occupation of Bremner, UCT's administrative building, renamed Azania House. Alex Hotz questioned the systems that deemed disruptions and damage to property as worse than epistemic and structural violence. For her this confirmed a double standard, characteristic of Colonialism-Apartheid, where certain kinds of 'violence(s)' are recognized and others "erased, trivialized, or contained within categories that evacuate the violation of violence" (Jiwani, 2006: xii). Further to this, media reports of 'violence' referred only to the actions of protestors and not the systems and structures that oppressed them (Paret, 2015). Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013) critiques the Post-Colonial African state for promoting a 'myth of freedom' and change. He exposes the coloniality of democracy and the Constitution for its protection of the 'ill-gotten wealth concentrated in the hands of white bourgeoisie and a few Black elites'. He argues that the character of South Africa as a Colonial-Apartheid state remains unchanged, except the 'composition of its managers' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013: 73-74). Protest emerges as a method of resistance to coloniality, a global orientation that survives the removal of colonial administrators (Grosfugel, 2011). Protest/violence becomes a tool of liberation in response to coloniality/violence and therefore, a necessary counter-violence (Henkeman, 2018; Paret, 2015).

7.3.3. Denial as Violence.

The theme ‘*Everyday violence: Denial and silence*’ under the case-narrative section 6.2c) ‘*On the issue of violence*’ reflected the difficulty participants experienced when surfacing and confronting invisible and subtle forms of ‘violence’ that manifested during the RMF protests. The pervasive yet elusive nature of these forms of ‘violence’ were further compounded by their widespread acceptance as legitimate norms and functions of the University. KI_17 noted the difficulty of articulating invisible forms of violence was caused and exacerbated by a lack of language to identify and express the impact of this ‘violence’ and made the burden of proof that much heavier. Invisible forms of violence were consistently denied, yet continued to traumatize student activists through ignoring, trivializing, misrepresenting, and invalidating the grievances RMF expressed. Amandla Nkani shared that for her, the invalidation of student activists’ feelings and experiences was, ‘for me [her], the most violent’. She was further demoralized by the general sentiment that students should be grateful for the opportunity to attend UCT and should focus on obtaining a university degree. Ameera Conrad’s poem ‘On Exhaustion Over a Lack Of understanding’ expresses the burden of having one’s reality denied, despite embodying and living it. Her description of the body as a ‘monument of centuries of torture trauma and terror’ surfaces the Black body as a “moving ancestral archive” (Xaba, 2021) and site of coloniality/violence, that continues to be racialized, alienated, and othered. Denial of that which is embodied confirmed coloniality as ontological negation and erasure (Kumalo, 2018) and was experienced by student activists as an unbearable heaviness and existential fatigue (Lazali, 2021).

*Our bodies are monuments of centuries of torture,
trauma
terror
these exist in us
we live it every day.”*
- ‘On Exhaustion Over a Lack
Of understanding’ - Ameera Conrad, 2015.

Denial is understood as a ‘conspiracy of silence’, through which one feigns ignorance, refusing to acknowledge and choosing not to know “the truth or existence of a situation” (Henkeman, 2018: 9) and was central towards understanding the various contestations of violence during RMF. Muge Göçek (2014: 1789) identifies denial as “a multilayered, historical process consisting of the interaction of the structural

elements of collective violence and situated modernity with the emotional elements of collective emotions and legitimating events". These definitions portray denial of violence as a tool of modernity/coloniality that is instrumental in reproducing itself and evokes strong emotions from both the deniers and the denied. Unpacking denial as 'violence' was central towards unearthing the mechanisms through which the veracity of historical facts and phenomena and their endurance, are disputed and/or revised to sustain coloniality while simultaneously denying it. Recognizing denial as a manifestation of 'violence' surfaced every-day subtle and insidious interactions at UCT that sought to occlude, dismiss, invalidate, obfuscate, and silence claims of and resistance to coloniality. Ironically, this was actioned through evoking and weaponizing colonial relations as determined by the colonial matrix of power. The University's commitment to keep the academic project going at all costs, even after clashes with police and student arrests after Shackville, was read by student activists as further denial of the importance of the grievances raised. The return to business as usual, rendered the protests as a nuisance and an extra- or anti-curricular activity that infringed on the rights of staff and students to learn without obstruction. Further to this, members of RMF were in the minority, many Black staff and students remained silent and distanced themselves from the activities of the movement, to avoid the risk associated with positioning oneself in opposition to the University. Mashingaidze (2017) recognizes denial and silence as "twin-cultures" that sustain a cycle of 'violence' and impunity. UCT's refusal to acknowledge RMF's grievances as rooted within coloniality meant that institutional racism, patriarchy, transmisogyny and disability exclusion as applications of coloniality endured, while remaining invisible, thereby silencing RMF's demand for decolonization of the University through defective uptake and engagement (Medina, 2022).

Henkeman (2018)'s framing of visible and invisible violence/trauma and denial identifies the ways conflict and visible and invisible violence is produced. She defines invisible violence as "actions, words, behaviours, and structures that wound psychologically and physically". (Henkeman, 2018: 10). This framework is helpful towards identifying denial as a manifestation of violence that normalizes other manifestations of violence while renders it (violence) invisible (Foucault, 1982; Jiwani, 2006). Denial holds the power to determine how violence is understood, including the entities that are recognized as a site(s), victim(s), and/or perpetrator(s) of violence.

Henkeman's framework seeks to disrupt denial, by exposing hidden forms of 'violence' and the contextual conditions that inform and perpetuate them. Denial manifests as a "complicit silence about the trans-historical links between cultural, structural, psychological and physical violence" and the "erasure, containment, trivialization, or dismissal of racism as a form of violence" (Henkeman, 2013: 7; Jiwani, 2006: xv). An example of this was UCT's explanation for the low numbers of Black academics employed at the University, with even less in senior positions. The Vice-Chancellor, in a campus communique, denied that this was due to institutional racism at UCT, but rather due to a 'limited pool' of suitable candidates, which was due to various factors, including the length of time to become a full professor, and better-paying options available to suitable candidates within corporates, government and civil service. KI_9 dismissed this explanation as a denial of the status quo, and pointed out that Black academics were overlooked for senior positions in favour of white academics who were less qualified. He offered the example of Dr. Max Price, the Vice-Chancellor at the time of RMF who had been appointed to the most senior leadership position at the University without a PhD. Despite this, he was better received than Prof. Mamokgethi Phakeng, his successor who had her qualifications questioned a few months into her appointment. Further to this, KI_8 noted that junior Black academics were often saddled with the 'grunt' work, such as large teaching loads and didn't receive adequate induction or support to progress within their careers. UCT management however, continually denied the trans-historical links between student, staff, and worker issues as evidence of coloniality.

For Rekgotsofetse Chikane, UCT's resistance to engaging with RMFs call for decolonization of the University was a denial of the power-imbalance that Black students found alienating and disempowering at the University that reflected colonial relationships. He read this denial as an attempt to suppress the implicit reality of coloniality or colonization which would position white members of the UCT community as 'colonizers', thereby implicating them in the maintenance and reproduction of coloniality. He further notes that UCT aligned itself with the rhetoric of transformation, which rejects the colonizer role and puts forward the image of a white saviour instead. This misrepresented and downplayed the authority of white privilege and its dependence on the systemic marginalization and dehumanization of Black people. Matebeni and Msibi (2015: 3) remind us that naming things is "deeply political". UCT's

refusal to acknowledge and use the language and words of coloniality, despite this being named by RMF, raises questions regarding whose interests denial serves and whose interests or experiences are excluded (Gabor, 2012). After the protests, UCT management maintained its refusal to recognize coloniality and the demand for decolonization through implementation of the IRTC. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2017) warns against actions towards reform within the system of modernity/coloniality that do not question its “alienating logic”. These remain expressions of coloniality, founded on “Eurocentric epistemological scaffolding” and reproduce it under the guise of social transformation (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2017: 60). RMF constructed a decolonial framework based on Black Radical Feminism, Black Consciousness, Pan-Africanism, and Intersectionality to expose the coloniality of their lived experiences. This was largely ignored by the University and dismissed as an impossibility, disguising coloniality as a transformation issue.

Southall (2022), in his study investigating white South African’s adjustment to post-Apartheid democracy found that although participants recognized Apartheid as a social wrong, they were not in support of redress towards ameliorating the continued effect of racist colonial and apartheid policies, despite the privilege this continued to afford them. These findings bore close similarities with the debates surrounding the admissions policy at UCT. Race as a ‘marker’ for disadvantage was problematized for reducing other forms of injustice and indignity such as poverty. Denial of coloniality meant that the endemic violence(s) Black people remained disproportionately subject to, became divorced from race and an issue of debate, despite the material consequences this social order continued to generate for Black students, staff, and workers. Furthermore, research participants who were part of UCT management during RMF were openly resistant to decolonization, despite, admittedly, having only a vague notion of what it entailed. One participant became particularly defensive during the interview process, questioning what coloniality and decoloniality had to do with my research concerning violence. Maldonado-Torres (2016) explains that the colonized subject becomes subject to multiple forms of evasion, micro-aggressions, and aggressive behavior, for daring to question the status quo. This “modern/colonial attitude of indifference and obfuscation” manifests as ‘violence’ through the maintenance and simultaneous denial of the existence of coloniality and therefore, the need for decoloniality.

Sandile Ndelu experienced the need to ‘test’ the issues raised by RMF through surveys, ‘have your say’ notice boards, and the publication of dehumanizing opinion pieces on UCT’s News page as a form of denial that was subtle, yet brutal for its intention to discredit the movement and invalidate the lived realities of Black students, staff, and workers, under the guise of seeking to understand the extent of the issue(s). UCT failed to recognize the grievances raised by RMF as an issue of principle that could not be adequately or appropriately addressed through the measure of public opinion such as votes and polls. For Sandile, the suggestion that all opinions about the statue and other forms of institutional violence at UCT were equally valid, despite affecting Black student, staff, and workers disproportionately, was particularly ‘violent’ in its refusal to acknowledge the continued systemic and trans-historic oppression of Black people within the institution as a microcosm of broader society. Denial of coloniality is implicated within the process of violence as an application of coloniality that conceals its “war-like character by not even allowing its status to be named or questioned by those who are in the receiving end of its constant violence” (Maldonado-Torres, 2016: 9).

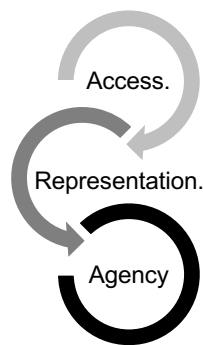
7.4. Participation in RMF Protests: Consequences for Health and Wellbeing.

The study findings revealed a range of consequences for students, staff and workers' health and wellbeing because of their participation in the RMF protests. These ranged from the material to the abstract, revealing health and wellbeing as ambiguous concepts and highly subjective experiences. I hesitate to label these consequences as either positive or negative, to avoid a value judgment that might skew an understanding of the totality of the experience of RMF and related consequences for student activists in particular. Similarly, discussing these consequences within dominant categories of health and wellbeing such as mental, physical, emotional etc., potentially limits the full expression of participants' experiences that may extend beyond these categories. An example of this was the impact of RMF on staff and student relationships. These were both fractured and strengthened because of participation in the RMF protests. Alex Hotz shared that a member of staff drove into a crowd of students during a protest. In addition, they were called 'cunts' by a white member of academic staff who could not get to his class due to the blockades they had erected. In both cases, although reported to the University, there was no action or accountability taken. In contrast, when student activists refused to abandon their occupation of Azania 1 (Bremner) and police were called to remove them, some academic staff formed a human chain around students to protect them from the threat of police violence. The police released stun grenades and arrested Alex Hotz, together with some student activists and members of staff who stood with them. She shared that this incident resulted in feelings of rage, anxiety, and trauma, but that she also felt emboldened, safe, and supported by the solidarity shown by some academic staff.

This consequence described above was neither exclusively positive nor negative and transcended dominant categories of health. Instead, for Alex Hotz, the consequence was valued for its impact on student activists' experiences of access, alienation and (constrained) agency as outlined in the case narrative. For this reason, I will use the same headings to categorize the consequences of participation in the RMF protest for student-activists' experiences of health and wellbeing. In doing so, I offer a perspective of health and well-being within coloniality as a synthesis of access, representation/belonging, and agency (figure 24). This framing differs from dominant understandings of health and wellbeing that are reductionist, individualistic and

decontextualized and potentially mask coloniality as a determinant of health and wellness.

Figure 24: Health and wellness as a synthesis of access, representation and agency.



7.4.1. The Issue of Access.

The theme '*Persona Non-grata*' in the section 6.3a '*Consequences*' described student activists' experiences of being denied access to the University as a consequence for their participation in the RMF protests. This manifested through various mechanisms including interdicts, arrests, suspensions and for some, expulsion from UCT. The administrative tasks and emotional weight associated with navigating and mitigating these consequences left student activists anxious, depressed, overwhelmed and in despair. Student activists felt victimized, 'trapped' and anxious regarding the implications of this consequence for their academic and professional futures. Alex Hotz described her suspension as an isolating and depressing experience that left her despondent. This resulted in a mental breakdown and what she described as an 'existential trauma'. She became detached from social and family life, ate compulsively, and felt as if she was just going through the motions and living in 'limbo'. This experience was further exacerbated by feelings of guilt for witnessing the physical, psychological, and material deterioration of comrades who, due to a lack of social and financial support, were unable to return to UCT. Chumani Maxwele experienced his suspension as a form of psychological violence, compounded by legal

fees and court appearances, which he had to navigate without support. Being denied access to the University meant that his agency was further constrained, denying him access to participate in RMF activities or the opportunity to continue his studies.

Restraining laws, restriction of movement and denial of access to social and political spaces were punishments historically meted out for resistance against Colonialism and Apartheid (Filippi, 2011, Badat, 2012). Social exclusion was a consequence delivered through banishment, exile, house arrest, imprisonment without trial, and admittance to psychiatric hospitals without diagnosis (Filippi, 2011; Badat, 2012; Buntman, 2005; Kagee, 2004; Dommissie, 1985). In these spaces, any form of infringement against the institutional and governmental authority resulted in corporal punishment, beatings, solitary confinement, restraint in strait jackets and at times deadly force with impunity (Filippi, 2011). Social, political, and economic exclusion was a Colonial-Apartheid tool and strategy intended to constrain the colonized in the zone of non-being through denial of “access to participate, epistemological access, and access to success” (Cele, 2006). The impact of the above had widespread effects on the health and well-being of political prisoners, detainees, and their families, and included denial of participation in family and social life, depression, and malnutrition. These consequences were experienced as a form of “chronic stress” that resulted in a “living-death” (Majodina, 1989: 87; Badat, 2012: vii).

Research concerning oppression-based trauma and stress remains limited (Kagee, 2004; Williams, Osman & Hyon, 2023; Holmes et al., 2023). PTSD has been offered in the fields of psychology and mental health to refer to a series of symptoms such as hypervigilance, insomnia, anxiety, avoiding trigger situations and negative alterations in cognition and mood because of an individual’s experience of a life-threatening, violent, and traumatic incident or event (Muldoon et al., 2021). Although shifts in mental health research have begun to recognize PTSD as being fundamentally about “power, positionality, and politics” (Muldoon et al., 2021: 514), the diagnosis fails to fully capture the ongoing, day-to-day collective and inter-generational trauma of coloniality and the consequences of resisting it (Evans-Campbell, 2008). Furthermore, such a diagnosis obfuscates the foundational role of oppressive systems as “the most serious hazard” to the health and wellness of oppressed populations and relies on a

diagnosis by a health professional, trained within the same system (Dommisssee, 1985: 501).

The concept of intergenerational trauma because of Colonialism and Apartheid remains under-recognized and excluded from services offered within the health system (Kleintjes & Schneider, 2023; Adonis, 2016; Hoosain, 2013). These collective traumas extend beyond the psychological to include economic, social, and physical disparities that persist across generations (Adonis, 2016). Despite the multi-dimensional impact of inter-generational trauma on Black people in South Africa, the notion of trauma remains located within the health sector, predominantly within mental health. In addition, the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) is widely accepted as the authority regarding the classification, diagnosis, and treatment of mental health 'disorders' despite reflecting Euro-western assumptions of mental pathology and its close ties with the pharmaceutical industry (Malott, Barraclough & Yee, 2022). Indigenous health and wellness practices became known as 'traditional medicine' and became marginalized in the South African context (Kleintjes & Schneider, 2023). To date, traditional medicine is still associated with the esoteric and demonic. In this way African reality becomes distorted, the person is pathologized and the power of systems and structures to authorize and/or deny humanity and thereby transmit trauma across generations persists (Hoosain, 2016; Teo, 2005; Baloyi & Ramose, 2016). Recent literature on colonial trauma reflects attempts to frame the complex, continuous, collective, cumulative, and compounding health consequences of coloniality (Mitchell, Arseneau & Thomas, 2019). Colonial trauma is defined as "the systematic and institutionalized violence that continues to be legitimized by policy, law, and political interference" (Mitchell, Arseneau & Thomas, 2019: 82). The notion of colonial trauma, while identifying feelings of injustice, loss and abandonment in oppressed groups (Lazali, 2021), does not adequately address the material consequences of oppression and exclusion from all sectors of life, which despite their impact on experiences of health and wellbeing, remain outside the sphere of health.

Consideration of South Africa's Colonial-Apartheid history exposes a long history of collusion between government, legislation, health and security institutions towards criminalizing, dehumanizing, debilitating, and killing Black people as punishment for

dissent. The case-narrative themes '*Criminalization and Misrepresentation*' and '*Of No Consequence*', suggest that this pattern of criminalizing, pathologizing and excluding individuals and groups who resist oppressive systems, while maintaining the oppressive systems, endures within South African institutions and sectors, maintaining 'the present as the future's past' (de Sousa Santos, 2016: 9). Recognition of coloniality problematizes the exclusion of Black people from institutional structures as a method of subjugation, which remains deeply entrenched within South African institutions, positioning dominant framings of health and wellness as rooted within "colonial cultures and structures of modern/colonial capitalist/patriarchal world-systems" (Grosfugel, 2006:175).

7.4.2. The Issue of Alienation.

The theme *Triggers and Trauma* describes the psychological impact of the 'violence(s)' student activists were subject to during the RMF protests. Chumani Maxwele and Alex Hotz described these as ranging from systemic, epistemic, and political to physical and psychological violence(s). These were compounded by being suspended or expelled as described above. Despite the toll the protests took on student activists within RMF, they did not regard themselves as 'unwell', signalling a mismatch between the counselling support available through UCT student wellness and the material and structural supports students identified as critical to their sense of health and wellbeing. KI_2 described RMF as a safe space, within an anti-Black space (UCT). When RMF collapsed, they felt as though they were "turning asunder from within". Blackness became an inescapable experience and their body a site of internalized struggle. Student activists reported issues of substance use and substance abuse to cope with being suspended and/or expelled and from hearing that some of their comrades had been admitted to mental health facilities and attempted suicide. Furthermore, the internal conflicts within the movement, including an allegation of rape during the RMF occupations meant that RMF too, became an unbearably toxic space within the University, as an already alienating space, resulting in an experience of "existential despair" (Ndlovu, 2020b: 1).

Offering predominantly medical advice and counselling services informed by Western notions of physical and mental health, it is therefore unsurprising that the student wellness service at UCT was unable to adequately address the health and wellness needs of Black students as framed above and instead exacerbated feelings of alienation at the University. This alienation from offered health services extended to health and wellness services outside of the University that did not have the power to ameliorate the alienating conditions at the University. Student activists' experiences of being traumatized and triggered was because of the persistent manifestations of coloniality, which remain disputed, negated, and denied within the University. Fanon (1963: 251) identifies mental pathology as a "direct product of oppression". He likens the native's experience of coloniality to being in a perpetual state of war. The range of violence(s) the colonized are subjected to within this system, become internalized, affecting their personhood, personality, and interactions/relations with others. In reflection, both Rekgotsofetse Chikane and Sandile Ndelu became aware of subtle changes to their personalities because of participation in RMF. Rekgotsofetse noticed that he was easily angered and became short with his friends, while Sandile noticed she had become withdrawn and had lost some of her confidence. Activists used and abused substances, including food as 'numbing agents' to dull the persistent pain, of the colonial wound, articulated as Black pain. The allegation of rape during the Azania house occupation, further traumatized student activists and severely impacted gendered relations in the movement. Alex Hotz credited violence within RMF to a lack of consciousness regarding how normalized and accepted ways of being and interacting with each other were inherently 'violent' and would therefore find expression within the collective. The incident of rape and other violence(s) within RMF therefore manifested as "an expression of deeply embedded system of power predicated on the violence of those who are most vulnerable to violence", positioning rape and other 'violence(s)' as an expression of the "settler-colonial and anti-Black project" (Dougherty, 2021: 2).

The educational spaces created by RMF were appreciated as a space of renewed hope and an opportunity to re-imagine UCT as a decolonized, Afro-centric university. These spaces allowed for an emergence of an alternative curriculum; one in which they could locate themselves and experiences as knowledge and themselves as knowers. In this way, both student activists and invited staff were recognized as co-

producers of knowledge, subverting the traditional “pedagogical relationship” towards an epistemology of liberation (Baloyi & Ramose, 2020: 21). In addition, the opportunity to theorize from struggle, allowed for the articulation of decolonial epistemologies from the South (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). Amandla Nkani shared that she felt a spiritual ‘re-awakening’ during RMF. The opportunity to learn about African spirituality and communication with one’s ancestors affirmed her experience with vivid dreams and visions. This was contrary to the Christian values she had been raised within that demonized and suppressed African Spirituality (Igboin, 2014). The above implicates Education, Health, and Religion as institutions where coloniality is reproduced and the transmission of trauma persists, denying Black people a sense of belonging (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). These institutions also hold potential towards reimagining and recasting the politics of belonging and representation as they relate to conceptualizations of health and wellbeing, however this cannot happen without acknowledgement of coloniality as a foundational and continued application, with socio-economic, psychological, and cultural consequences for those relegated to the zone of non-being (Ndlovu, 2020b).

7.4.3. The issue of (constrained) Agency.

The theme ‘*Criminalization and Misrepresentation*’ described student activists’ frustrations with UCT and the media’s continuous portrayal of RMF as ‘violent’, operating with the intent to incite ‘violence’ and as enemies of social cohesion, through the disruption of University operations. They felt that this not only pathologized struggle/resistance, but also justified state ‘violence’ by way of the police and the courts. As discussed previously, being expelled from the University and, for some, obtaining a criminal record, made engaging in further protest illegal and impossible. This further constrained their agency, feeding feelings of rage, and despair. Further to this, participants regarded the transformation initiatives put forward by the University through the IRTC and CCWG as sham structures that demanded that they participate in their own oppression. Sandile Ndelu felt especially compromised and constrained by the IRTC process, which required her to confess, and promise to never engage in protest at UCT again, in order to lift her suspension. She felt a sense of injustice and reinforcement of the existing power disparities, as the same was not required from

UCT management, despite the IRTC finding that management were unnecessarily harsh in their response to the protests and that UCT was indeed a racist institution. Further to this, the panelists did not have power to enforce the recommendations. KI_9 noted with despair that little had changed at UCT and that rather, the policing of protest had become more stringent. Chumani Maxwele noted that ‘the primary demands are [were] still there [at UCT]’, and continue to manifest in the form of social, economic, and epistemic constraints Black students experience within the University.

Mthembu (2021) in his analysis of the 2012 Marikana massacre recognizes protest as a “continuous interrogation of power”, that is critical towards addressing systemic inequality towards social transformation. He notes that the health inequities that oppressed communities experience persist and are often exacerbated because of participation in protest. This contrasts with Makoni (2021) and Majola (2018) who note the detrimental and destructive effects of protest on healthcare services and infrastructure, without consideration of how these may alienate Black people and deny them agency. This suggests that collective agency as a social, economic, and political determinant of health and wellness, remains divorced from existing health and wellness services in South Africa. This is evidenced through a lack of research towards understanding the health and wellness needs of activists as a collective, rather than as individuals and relevant services that recognize activists as potential service users. Instead, protest is suppressed as a Colonial-Apartheid strategy of subjugation and more recently as a risk to public health. Maldonado Torres, (2016) argues that Westernized universities continue the project of segregation under many guises such as fees, admission criteria and the display of symbols of ‘excellence’ that communicate white power and privilege. Furthermore, he recognizes that commissions, committees, and task-teams appointed to address the issues raised in the institution often provide “minimal recommendations” and are largely powerless to effect meaningful change. These are usually highly contested and eventually undermined or eliminated. The above mirrors the establishment and responses to the IRTC and CCWG by UCT management and the broader university community. In this way, the status quo is reproduced, the demand for decolonization of the university suppressed, and the ‘menace’ that is protest, is eliminated.

Agency as a determinant of health and wellbeing has received minimal attention in health literature (Williams, 2003; van Staveren & Kabubo-Mariara, 2015). Bambra, Fox & Scott-Samuel (2005) posit that this is due to a lack of acknowledgment of the political nature of health, more specifically, how systems of power determine what constitutes health and health care and who has access to it and finds representation within offered services. Costa-i-Font and Pamar (2017) in a study investigating political agency and public health care in India, found that political participation has the potential to ensure that health services are sensitive to and inclusive of the health needs of vulnerable populations. In South Africa, the NDP 2030 outlines government's intention to improve access to health services for the poor and for those living with disease(s), and disability. Oppressed or marginalized groups are not mentioned, and violence is considered only in the context of injury to the individual. Further to this, coloniality and/or hegemony as influences on health systems or as social determinants of health is without mention. Student activists' experiences of constrained agency held dire consequences for both their health and wellbeing, suggesting that to ignore agency as a social/political determinant of health and to exclude oppressed populations from informing the country's health agenda is an application of coloniality and expression of anti-Blackness.

The theme '*Fallism: A New Language*', described how Fallism became a framework to explain the complex innerworkings of coloniality that maintained the University as an anti-Black space. Fallism afforded articulation and naming of the often invisible/invisibilized 'violence(s)' inherent and sustained within a Westernized university. Although recognized as a product of the student protests in 2015 beginning with Rhodes Must Fall, Maluleka (2021) argues that Fallism within historically Black universities has been a long-standing perspective but remains unrecognized due to coloniality that renders students in these spaces, insignificant and unworthy of media coverage. Fallism can be conceptualized as a tool of analysis and form of "decolonial agency" that seeks epistemic justice through challenging the coloniality of knowledge by repositioning the Black subject as a questioner, knower, and generator of knowledge (Maldonado-Torres, 2016: 24; Maluleka, 2021). Even so, within coloniality, those aligned with Fallism are positioned as enemies of the state and remain at risk of state violence, in the name of restoration of social order (Maldonado-Torres, 2016). Furthermore, the multiple and compounded constraints student activists experienced

because of participation in RMF maintained health and wellness as elusive and unattainable states within the University.

7.5 Reclaiming Being: An Occupational Perspective of Protest.

The section, *Being Denied: An Occupational Perspective of Violence* offered an understanding of human occupation as a means, mode, and relationality of coloniality with potential towards decoloniality. This framing surfaced the colonial matrix of power as the authority with the power to authorize and/or deny being. The previous section discussed protest as a manifestation of 'violence', highlighting modernity/coloniality as a situation that both preceded and provoked 'violence' during RMF. Despite protest recurring widely as a globally phenomenon, few studies within occupational science and occupational therapy offer analysis of protest as an occupation or consider the consequences of participation in protest for health and well-being. Below I discuss occupational science and occupational therapy concepts that are concerned with social transformation and/or decoloniality and frame protest as a collective occupation that seeks to resist coloniality in efforts towards reclaiming being.

7.5.1. Occupational Reconstructions.

'Occupational reconstructions' is one of the few concepts in occupational science that offers an occupational perspective of political activism. Theorizing about how people organize themselves to create social change, occupational reconstructions are defined as 'what people do to remake ordinary life in response to a problematic situation' (Frank & Muriithi, 2015: 11), and is discussed in application to the Civil Rights Movement in the United States and resistance to Apartheid in South Africa. Although the authors recognize that the struggle against the Apartheid regime was enacted through both 'violent' and 'non-violent' resistance, occupational reconstructions is applied only to incidents of 'non-violent' resistance, without interrogation of what constitutes violence and how systems of power may be implicated in it. The current study findings revealed violence and protest as 'two sides of the same coin', suggesting that one cannot be analyzed without acknowledging and interrogating the

other. In this case, the 'coin' revealed itself as coloniality, which is not named in description of both the US and South African contexts, thereby limiting the relevance of this construct for understanding "how people act to change their situations for what they believe will be for the better" (Frank & Muriithi, 2015: 11). In addition, the lack of empirical, specifically, narrative data meant that the nuances offered by first person experiences of political activism are lost/missed. In short, through focusing on "how people organize themselves to create social change" (doing) we miss out on the *why* (meaning and purpose of doing as shaped by context). Consideration of both why and how is necessary to understand the motivation to engage in protest, and the process of how this comes to be framed as 'violent'.

7.5.2. Occupational Choice.

Occupational choice is recognized as a process that occurs 'implicitly and explicitly when agency is applied to occupational engagement' and is understood as an expression of the complex interaction between identity and the contextual socio-economic and political factors that inform and influence it (Galvaan, 2012: 154). In reference to the current case a key question emerges: What happens in situations (coloniality) where agency is constrained? Murthi and Hammel (2020) critique the concept of occupational choice from the situation of patriarchy in India and found that patriarchy as an 'unequitable power dynamic' limited opportunities for children, women and 'non-dominant men' to choose to participate in occupations that would positively impact their health and well-being. While relevant in addressing constraints to choose, the authors employed the widely accepted occupational performance categories of self-care, work, and leisure without consideration of how these may also reflect Western hegemony within accepted categories of doing. Protest offers an example of this; it does not fall into any of the three categories.

Galvaan (2014) argues that choice manifests as a process of co-construction between person(s) and context. Although socio-economic and political factors are recognized as key determinants of the nature and availability of choice, coloniality specifically does not find expression in this conceptualization as a dominant and exploitative situation that affects all aspects of social existence (Quijano, 2000). In reference to

Amandla Nkani's experience of protest, recognition of coloniality allows for the geopolitics and body-politics of occupational choice to find expression (Grosfugel, 2006: 169). That is, Amandla Nkani embodied the coloniality of power, being and knowledge as social reality, which operated with the intention to disable the agency of Africans (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2014). She explains that after exploring the 'proper' channels she 'had no other option', but to participate in protest, suggesting a *lack* of choice whilst seemingly exercising it. This conundrum is 'resolved' through recognition of the dominance of colonial situations and the debilitating effects they create, undermining both freedom and subjectivity (Gonzalez, 2011). Amandla Nkani had to negotiate her participation in occupation in a context of anti-Blackness that refused to authorize her being. The 'choice' to participate in protest, while occupied in the zone of non-being, positions protest as an occupation chosen *for* her or imposed by coloniality, revealing a power-differential uncommunicated through occupational choice as co-constructed. Her preferred occupation was to be a student, however, the conditions at UCT rendered this an unattainable/inaccessible occupation and alienated her from the University. This suggests that coloniality as context wields the power to impose, prescribe, dictate, and reserve occupations for those who are occupied in the zone of non-being.

7.5.3. Occupational Possibilities.

Occupational possibilities as a construct considers the impact of social relations of power on "the ways and types of doing that come to be viewed as ideal and possible" (Laliberte Rudman, 2010: 55). Through narrative analysis of retirees in Canada, Laliberte Rudman investigates how ageism anchored within social relations of power, bound occupational possibilities and choice in reference to the transition from work to retirement. Although highlighting the importance of considering how occupation is embedded within social relations of power, again coloniality is alluded to but not explicitly named. This omission limits analysis of the continuity of colonial domination and how this may shape experiences of work, retirement, and ageism. More specifically, how colonial cultures and structures in the modern/colonial capitalist/patriarchal world determine what constitutes work/labour, who has access to it, how retirement came to be a dominant culture, how the aged are included/excluded in society and the pathways through which this is achieved. Furthermore, participants

are identified in terms of age and gender only, making it unclear whether indigenous people were included in the study and if not, why not. While the author acknowledges the limitations of excluding intersectional analysis, these omissions limit analysis of how coloniality reproduces systemic oppression through 'the complexities of compoundedness' (Crenshaw, 1989: 166), and how occupational possibilities may reflect 'the complexity of lived experiences along multiple trajectories of hierarchies' (Almeida et al., 2019: 2).

In reference to the current case, Amandla Nkani joined the protest to make visible the intersections of disability, gender, race, and poverty that she felt had become lost in the focus of the movement on issues of racism, and patriarchy as they manifested within the University's institutional culture. The lack of disability support that considered how experiences of disability intersected with race, gender and socio-economic status meant that participation in the occupation of being a student, although ideal for its anticipated socio-economic benefits, resulted in an experience of ontological erasure and therefore became impossible. Recognition of coloniality as the reproduction of violence and a situation that both precedes and provokes violence meant that protest became an imposed/prescribed occupation that was not ideal due to the associated risk and potentially dire consequences. This reveals an *occupational hierarchy*, wherein some occupations and occupational roles hold more power and social capital than others. This hierarchy reflects colonial relations that privilege and protect occupations that comply with and uphold coloniality and the precarious nature of those that resist, disrupt and/or subvert it. Amandla Nkani's narrative analysed from a critical-decolonial perspective offers explanation of the ways both protest and 'violence' as occupations, although not ideal, become possible.

7.5.4. Collective Occupation.

Analysis of protest as a *collective occupation* reveals the inherent connection between individual and collective action as determined by human relations. Amandla Nkani explained that she joined RMF because she identified with 'this group of people who were standing up to the institution's violence'. Although her experience at UCT was unique, it found resonance with other accounts and experiences of institutional violence and alienation that Black students, staff, and workers were collectively

subjected to. Collective occupations are understood as ‘Occupations that are engaged in by individuals, groups, communities and/or societies in everyday contexts; these may reflect an intention towards social cohesion or dysfunction, and/or advancement of or aversion to a common good’ (Ramugondo & Kronenberg 2013: 17). Although not explicitly named within the construct, the framing of ‘everyday contexts’ as those of coloniality, reveals tensions regarding terms such as ‘social cohesion’, ‘social dysfunction’ and ‘advancement of or aversion to a common good’. Who determines these in situations of coloniality? More specifically, within the dichotomy of the colonial world, what is put forward as social cohesion/dysfunction, reflects colonial conceptions of social reality and is determined by one’s position occupying either the zone of being or zone of non-being. Furthermore, considered within coloniality, protest could be read as a humanity affirmation or negation (Kronenberg, 2018) depending on whether it intends to reproduce coloniality (humanity negation) or resist and subvert it (humanity affirmation). For Amandla Nkani, being occupied in the zone of non-being, meant that her participation in protest was read as social dysfunction/violence despite the intention to transcend the duality of coloniality and reclaim being through both recasting human relations and redefining what it meant to be human (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2012: 41), reflecting an intention towards liberation and healing. In this way, protest as an occupation could be read as a manifestation of the intention to recast and redefine what it means to be human, in resistance to coloniality as a humanity negation that stratifies humanity according to the zone of being and non-being.

7.5.5. Occupational Consciousness.

Occupational consciousness is a construct that explicitly connects everyday doing as constrained or authorized by structures of power, and experiences of health and is understood as “an ongoing awareness of the dynamics of hegemony and recognition that dominant practices are sustained through what people do every day, with implications for personal and collective health” (Ramugondo, 2015: 488). Again, although not explicitly named, if coloniality is considered within ‘the dynamics of hegemony’ as a ‘dominant practice’, this construct explains how coloniality endures and is sustained through the day-to-day operations and activities within the University and broader society. Coloniality holds implications for the health of Black students and

staff, both individually and collectively and during RMF manifested as issues of access, alienation and constrained agency as described in the previous section. RMF enacted occupational consciousness through their disruption of university activities and curation of the educational spaces facilitated during their occupation of UCTs administrative and student affairs buildings, renamed Azania 1 and 2, drawing links to Pan-Africanism and representing the complete rejection and overthrow of white domination. They decentered the classroom as a space for learning, and the curriculum as the authority of knowledge, enacting epistemic disobedience and subverting the hegemony and hierarchy inherent within occupation, and enacted through fulfillment of occupational roles.

7.5.6. Professional Role Transgressions.

Sonday, Ramugondo and Kathard (2019; 366) conceptualized *professional role transgressions* as “the means by which professionals enact agency within hegemonic structures”. Although RMF activists were predominantly students, this construct finds resonance with the RMF protests from consideration of student activists’ transgression of the hegemony and hierarchy inherent within occupation and associated occupational roles. Student activists’ participation in RMF protests could be read as enactments of agency that were transgressive for their violation of hegemonic boundaries. Even so, this concept does not *fully* express the intention to delink from coloniality through undermining the power-structures and relations inherent within occupation, beyond the confines of professional role and scope. This ‘terminological gap’ is bridged through consideration of *occupational roles*.

Occupational roles, refer to “daily activity and appropriation of time, as well as the contribution to society and societal worth” (Heard, 1977: 243). Occupational roles manifest as behaviours that communicate a social function within “an accepted code of norms” (Christiansen and Baum, 1997: 603). Recognition of human occupation as a mode, means and relation(s) of coloniality with potential towards decoloniality, implicates the notion of occupational roles as an imposition of universal norms and standards of social behaviour (Jackson, 1998) without interrogation of the systems of power that constrain agency and perpetuate segregation, inequality, and dehumanization. In addition, occupational role fulfillment, although considered as a

measure of health and wellbeing in occupational therapy, is read here as compliance to the norms and standards imposed/determined by the colonial matrix of power. Amandla Nkani's experience of alienation within and exclusion from UCT as a Black, disabled woman who is subjected to poverty, and her decision to engage in the RMF protests, positions human occupation and the concept of occupational role(s) as a negotiation of the *personal as political* (Hanisch, 1969; Lorde, 1984; Crenshaw, 1989). Despite increased scholarship regarding the politics of human occupation, this perspective has yet to find expression in the ways occupational roles are conceptualized within occupational therapy and occupational science. More specifically, occupational roles and related occupational identities have not yet considered how intersectionality, as experiences of compounded discrimination within coloniality, may influence participation in occupation, especially as this pertains to alienation from the implicit norms within the notion of occupation roles.

Further to the above, consideration of protest as an occupation, puts forward 'protester' or 'activist' as an occupational role and demands interrogation of the conditions that support and/or limit participation in it, as a purposeful and meaningful activity that has implications for (individual and collective) health and wellbeing. Recognition of coloniality as a situation that both precedes and provokes protest and suppresses it, positions protest as a collective occupation with the intention to reclaim and restore being through resistance of coloniality. For the reasons outlined above, the RMF protests are recognized as expressions of decoloniality and a form of occupational consciousness, best framed as enactments of *occupational role subversion*.

7.5.7. Occupational Role Subversion.

Subversion, from a legal perspective, has historically held connotations of criminality (Spjut, 1979), explaining why subversive acts remain criminalized and punished by authority. In reference to the case, subversion is best defined as any action that "take[s] oppressive forces and turns them into something that challenges the oppressor" (Motswapong, 2017: 481). Occupational role subversion refers to *the process through which applications of coloniality within human occupation are challenged, disrupted, undermined, defied and/or disobeyed*. Occupational role

subversion is enacted in response to the authority imposed by hegemonic standards and norms of human occupation, as determined by coloniality. An example of this was Amandla Nkani's topless protest against GBV at UCT. By protesting topless she undermined the logic of coloniality that alienates, polices, and erases the Black, female, disabled body. For women, appearing topless in public spaces remains taboo, despite this representing a normal way of life in Africa before colonialism. In so doing, she undermined and disobeyed the dominant norms and values associated with her occupational role as a student within a westernized university. Consideration of the RMF protests as enactments of occupational role subversion confirms human occupation as an established epistemic system of coloniality.

7.6. What was Violence during RMF UCT an Expression of?

Previous sections discussed manifestations of 'violence' as context, protest, and denial. Further analysis revealed these manifestations as expressions of colonial sovereignty and healing, highlighting the coloniality/decoloniality tension through recognition of coloniality as root and decoloniality as necessity (Fanon, 1967; Grosfugel, 2008).

7.6.1. Violence as an Expression of Colonial Sovereignty.

Despite being denied, coloniality endures and "is still the most general form of domination in the world today, once colonialism as an explicit political order was destroyed" (Quijano, 2007: 170). By Colonial Sovereignty, I refer to the ways coloniality endures as a historical and current landscape of supreme power and authority. Sovereignty is "claimed, asserted, and enacted" through power (Bauder & Mueller, 2021: 157). Colonial sovereignty continues to be claimed, asserted, and enacted through everyday doing in contexts underpinned by the colonial matrix of power. The findings revealed coloniality as violence, which precedes and provokes violence in response. This 'violence' in response to coloniality, subjected those who enacted it to further violence/coloniality from various systems and structures which reflected coloniality/violence, but denied this, preceding, and provoking further 'violence', creating a continuous cycle of 'violence'. This suggests that various manifestations of violence are family, connected at the root, to the same source – coloniality. Mohamed

(2018: 33) reflects on the debilitating nature of conducting research within contexts in which the conditions of oppression are shared and “viscerally and palpably obvious” as engaging in Scholarship of the Obvious. My experience conducting this study found synergies with her experience. The violence of coloniality is obvious; having to prove it, surface it, research it, expose it, name it, reference it, challenge it, confront it, and subvert it, while a necessary exercise, is ‘violent’. Student activists described their frustration and rage at the institution’s denial of coloniality of UCT, while exercising the privilege afforded by it. They were particularly enraged and exhausted by the mental, spiritual, emotional, and existential gymnastics required to point out and prove the obvious.

Rage was expressed by several student activists at the blatant and obvious ways, yet invisible ways UCT applies coloniality. The excerpt from the poem ‘Why decolonizing UCT is an imperative’ aptly describes the rage, frustration, and suffocation of coloniality on colonized subjects, and the perverse nature with which it operates and endures.

*“We are enraged because this single story of history
that positions whiteness as triumphs that UCT so
chooses to articulate is gigantically undermining to
Black pain. It bluntly states that here, on this campus
built with the sweat of our people; our pain and
lives do not matter; for UCT treats us and the pain
carelessly printed on our folded Black foreheads as a
negation of whiteness. We are enraged that on this
campus we have no space to breathe because if it is
not white colonialists celebrated, it is misogyny or
exclusivity. We are enraged and we demand that our
campus be decolonized, because this too is our space.
We refuse to be silenced. We cannot be anonymous
anymore.”*

‘Why Decolonizing UCT is Imperative’, by Ntebaleng Morake, 2015.

7.6.2. Violence as an Expression of Healing/Re-claiming Being

As described by Fanon (1963) and Maldonado-Torres (2017), ‘violence’ that seeks to resist, disrupt and/or subvert coloniality is an imperative agentic tool through which

those occupied in the zone of non-being reclaim their humanity. This was confirmed by student activists, who in their narratives, described their participation in RMF protests as an imperative towards confronting coloniality at UCT, thereby disrupting, subverting, and reconfiguring the foundational arrangements and material conditions at the institution with an intention to reclaim a sense of dignity and reconstitute personhood/being. Previous sections described how protest within coloniality is read as an act of 'violence' even as its intention is to reclaim and recast being, and reimagine what it means to be human. Consideration of healing as a return to being human (Motimele & Ramugondo, 2014), acknowledges that an experience of dehumanization and trauma preceded it, even when this is denied.

Chapter 8: Conclusion, Limitations and Implications for further Research and Practice.

8.1. Conclusion.

This study aimed to understand 'violence' in the context of protest as it manifested during RMF at UCT (2015-2016). 'Violence' was positioned as a *contested term* that had a long and continued history within South Africa, especially in the context of protest where power relations and disparities dictated/informed hegemonic definitions/perspectives of how violence was defined, and the forms of violence recognized/prioritized over others. Seeking to *understand rather than define* 'violence' afforded a perspective broad enough to surface the complexity of violence including its various aspects, multiple perspectives, manifestations, and sites including, perhaps most importantly, the systems and structures of power that reproduce and maintain it.

RMF student activists linked the alienating, constraining and dehumanizing conditions for Black, (trans) gender diverse and disabled students, staff, and workers at the University to its Colonial-Apartheid roots. They predicted that these conditions would continue to endure should the coloniality of violence continue to be ignored and/or denied. Conversely, UCT denied coloniality within the University and labelled various methods of protest adopted by RMF as violent disruptions to the daily operations of the University. Holding both perspectives allowed for consideration of *violence as a process*, rather than an action(s) or event(s), that manifested as a result of the interdependence between structures, relationships, and agency within context. Violence emerged as a *synthesis of structures, relations, and agency* as determined by the colonial matrix of power (figure 21). In this way, the two seemingly oppositional perspectives of 'violence' put forward by RMF and UCT management were reconciled through consideration of 'violence' in the context of protest as *the process through which coloniality is applied and/or resisted*.

Furthermore, the study findings revealed insights about the dehumanizing character and paradoxical nature of violence. Student activists identified and described incidents of 'violence' as a *denial of and an affront to, their sense of dignity* and described the

'violence' of having *their existence defined and yet simultaneously denied by coloniality as a violent system of power*. Human dignity as a given was problematized, revealing the coloniality of human rights and the power of coloniality to deny and/or recognize and authorize being, creating a zone of being and relegating the Othered to a zone of non-being (Fanon, 1967). An occupational perspective of 'violence' within protest revealed the need to reframe the concept of human occupation to recognize the centrality of the colonial matrix of power towards authorizing or denying being (figure 22).

Kronenberg's (2018) definition of human occupation provided the appropriate foundation to reframe human occupation to reflect the nuances of the relationship/interaction between person(s) and context in situations of coloniality and 'violence' (table 16). The study findings revealed human occupation as a mode, *means and relationality of coloniality with potential towards decoloniality* that is *always collective*, even when enacted by the individual and confirmed the relational nature of being human (Ramugondo & Kronenberg, 2015). This was in line with transactionalism which refutes the duality of person and context and recognizes 'the nature of phenomena (behaviors, people, context, etc.) on the basis of their relationship with other phenomena' (Aldrich, 2008: 151).

A key objective of this study was to identify manifestations of 'violence' and determine what these may be an expression of. The case findings revealed various manifestations of 'violence' that seemed to find form in and through the interplay between structure(s), agency and relations as determined by the colonial matrix of power, depending on the situation. This required a shift in perspective from conceptualizing 'violence' within context to include recognition of *violence as context*, (characterized by coloniality). Coloniality was therefore read *as a situation that both preceded and provoked violence* (figure 23).

Recognition of coloniality as a situation of and provocation towards 'violence' revealed *protest as a manifestation of violence intended as a critique of coloniality* within the University. Although highly criticized for the use of poo, participants within RMF explained that this was intended to symbolize the disgust Black people have towards *symbols (of coloniality) that celebrate the historical dehumanization and dispossession of Black people*. Lastly, violence manifested as denial (*of coloniality*) and revealed normalized and accepted mechanisms, processes, and actions within UCT that sustained coloniality while simultaneously denying it.

A further objective of this study was to identify the consequences for participation in protest for RMF student activists' experience(s) of health and wellbeing. These ranged from the material to the abstract, revealing *health and wellbeing as ambiguous concepts and highly subjective experiences*. Dominant categories of health and wellbeing such as mental, physical, emotional etc., potentially limit the full expression of participants' experiences that may extend beyond these categories. The consequences described above for RMF student activists were neither exclusively positive nor negative and transcended dominant categories of health. I offer a perspective of health and well-being within coloniality as *a synthesis of access, representation/belonging, and agency* (figure 24). Using this framing, I intend to prevent reductionist, individualistic and decontextualized interpretations of health and wellbeing that potentially mask *coloniality as a determinant of health and wellness*. Student activists' experiences of constrained agency held dire consequences for both their health and wellbeing, suggesting that to ignore agency as a social/political determinant of health and to exclude oppressed populations from informing the country's health agenda is an application of coloniality and expression of anti-Blackness.

An occupational perspective of protest positioned the RMF *protest as a collective occupation that seeks to resist coloniality in efforts towards reclaiming being*. The study findings revealed violence and protest as 'two sides of the same coin', suggesting that neither can be analyzed without acknowledging and interrogating the other. In this case, the 'coin' revealed itself as coloniality. OS offers a few constructs that consider doing as shaped by socio-political context, these were considered in application to the case, discussing both insights gained and questions arising.

Although theorizing about social transformation, the construct of *occupational reconstructions* (Frank & Muriithi, 2015) was critiqued for focusing on “how people organize themselves to create social change” (doing) neglecting the *why* (meaning and purpose of doing as shaped by context). Consideration of both why and how proved necessary towards understanding the motivation to engage in protest, and the process of how this comes to be framed as ‘violent’.

Occupational choice (Galvaan, 2012) allowed for consideration of RMF’s ‘choice’ to participate in protest, while occupied in the zone of non-being. Application of the construct to the case positioned protest as an *occupation chosen for student activists and imposed by coloniality*, revealing a power-differential uncommunicated through occupational choice as co-constructed. Recognition of coloniality as the reproduction of violence and a situation that both precedes and provokes violence meant that protest became an imposed/prescribed occupation that was not ideal due to the associated risk and potentially dire consequences. This reveals an *occupational hierarchy, wherein some occupations and occupational roles hold more power and social capital than others*. This hierarchy reflects colonial relations that privilege and protect occupations that comply with and uphold coloniality and the precarious nature of those that resist, disrupt and/or subvert it.

Analysis of protest as a *collective occupation* (Ramugondo & Kronenberg 2013) revealed the inherent connection between individual and collective action as determined by human relations. Considered within coloniality, protest could be read as a humanity affirmation or negation (Kronenberg, 2018) depending on whether it intends to reproduce coloniality (humanity negation) or resist and subvert it (humanity affirmation). Protest as an occupation could be read as a manifestation of the intention to recast and redefine what it means to be human, in resistance to coloniality as a humanity negation that stratifies humanity according to the zone of being and non-being.

Occupational consciousness (Ramugondo, 2015) was enacted by RMF through their disruption of university activities and curation of educational spaces facilitated during their occupation of UCT’s administrative and student affairs buildings, renamed Azania 1 and 2, drawing links to Pan-Africanism and representing the complete rejection and

overthrow of white domination. RMF decentered the classroom as a space for learning, and the curriculum as the authority of knowledge, enacting epistemic disobedience and subverting the hegemony and hierarchy inherent within occupation, and enacted through fulfillment of occupational roles. Consideration of protest as an occupation, puts forward ‘protester’ or ‘activist’ as an occupational role and demands interrogation of the conditions that support and/or limit participation in it, as a purposeful and meaningful activity that has implications for (individual and collective) health and wellbeing. Recognition of coloniality as a situation that both precedes and provokes protest and suppresses it, positioned protest as a collective occupation with the intention to reclaim and restore being through resistance of coloniality. The RMF protests were thus recognized as expressions of decoloniality and a form of occupational consciousness, best framed as enactments of *occupational role subversion*. I coined this concept to describe *the process through which applications of coloniality within human occupation are challenged, disrupted, undermined, defied and/or disobeyed*. Occupational role subversion is enacted in response to the authority imposed by hegemonic standards and norms of human occupation, as determined by coloniality.

A final objective of this study was to determine what the various manifestations of ‘violence’ during RMF protests were expressions of. Manifestations of violence during RMF emerged as expressions of colonial sovereignty, and/or the intention to reclaim being. Colonial sovereignty refers to the ways coloniality endures as a historical and current landscape of supreme power and authority. In contrast, ‘violence’ that sought to resist, disrupt and/or subvert coloniality emerged as an agentic tool through which those occupied in the zone of non-being reclaim their humanity. This was confirmed by student activists, who in their narratives, described their participation in RMF protests as an imperative towards confronting coloniality at UCT, thereby disrupting, subverting, and reconfiguring the foundational arrangements and material conditions at the institution with an intention to reclaim a sense of dignity and reconstitute personhood/being.

Table 17: A Case Summary of RMF at UCT (2015-2016).

What is RMF UCT a case <i>of</i> ?	

(Composition : Consideration of parts in relation to the whole).	Colonial Sovereignty.
What was RMF UCT (2015-2016) a case <i>about</i> ? (Situation(s) : Consideration of the dynamics within context that generate action).	'Being' Denied/Denial. <i>[denied being/humanity/dignity through being denied access, participation, representation, belonging & agency.]</i>
What is RMF UCT (2015-2016) a case <i>for</i> ? (Intention(s) : Consideration of the aspects that inform a commitment to a particular course of action).	Occupational Role Subversion.

8.2. Study Limitations.

8.2.1 Pre-identifying Participant Groups.

Drafting the study proposal required that I identify key informants apart from student activists, who would provide insight into the case from various perspectives. I considered representative groups both within and outside of the University who were implicated in descriptions and accusations of violence during the RMF protests. These categories were student activists, UCT service providers (academic staff, PASS staff and workers), UCT management, and law enforcement (Police and private security). Through investigation of the case, RMF student activists made me aware of key role players who did not fit into the categories outlined above but would be important, to gain a better understanding of the case issues. I was able to interview some of these people, however, I was limited to how many I could include as the number of study participants had already become too large.

8.2.2 Number of Key Informants.

As described above, my key informant group became too large. In retrospect, I would have identified one participant from each participant category, allowing for others to emerge as they did and make a final selection, capping this at approximately 10 key informants outside of student activists as the main participant group. This would have afforded a broad range of contributions, without allowing the sample size to grow too large.

8.2.3 COVID Restrictions.

I was in the process of data collection when South Africa went into lockdown and both air and ground travel was restricted. This meant that I was no longer able to travel to see participants for follow up narrative interviews. I was able to continue conducting interviews online, however, this did not afford the same personable, safe, and relaxed atmosphere and at times placed time-pressure on the interview, with some connectivity issues. Fortunately, these were follow-up interviews in the case of student activists, so the relationship had already been formed. This was not the case for key informants, who were mostly interviewed online.

8.3 Implications and Recommendations for Further Research, Education and Practice.

8.3.1. Research in Occupational Science and Occupational Therapy.

Human occupation as a means, mode, and relation of coloniality with potential towards decoloniality positions both the OT profession and discipline of OS at risk of being foundationally violent. Research that divorces issues of health and wellbeing from coloniality as context potentially reproduces dehumanizing, constraining research into practices and situations that alienate and exclude those relegated to the zone of non-being. As researchers, we hold the power to disrupt coloniality by asking questions that surface and problematize the conditions that obfuscate and normalize violence, and to adopt decolonial research approaches and methods that resist the reproduction of it. We cannot achieve this without first establishing context, and naming coloniality as a “long-standing pattern(s) of power” (Maldonado-Torres, 2007: 243) that continues to influence/impact both person(s) and context(s) and thereby, human occupation. As this study shows, calling coloniality out is read by authority as violence, and is

associated with various degrees of risk. Conversely, remaining compliant to coloniality is also associated with the risk of sustaining and reproducing a violent status quo. We therefore must decide which risk we are willing to face. Sandew Hira, at a Decolonial School hosted in Barcelona in 2018, alerted attendees to the fact that decoloniality is both personal (inner) work and collective (external) work, as coloniality not only shaped how we saw ourselves, but also how we saw the world and each other. For this reason, I would recommend that firstly, researchers establish/acknowledge coloniality as context in all studies. Doing this would help us develop occupational consciousness (Ramugondo, 2015) and therefore better able to recognize coloniality within everyday doing.

Secondly, I recommend that researchers reflect on their positionality as occupied in either the zone of being (colonizer) or zone of non-being (colonized). Doing this will help us recognize the internal and external work needed to train and develop a critical-decolonial lens towards research, with the intention to resist and subvert the coloniality of knowledge. This will require researchers to carefully select and develop appropriate research designs, theoretical frameworks, and methods, that center the experiences and knowledges of those in the zone of non-being, while doing the personal work of unlearning and relearning (Tlostanova & Mignolo, 2012).

Thirdly and perhaps most importantly, researchers need to interrogate core philosophies, frameworks and concepts within OS and OT from a critical-decolonial perspective to determine how these might perpetuate hegemonic understandings of human occupation that continue to exclude and deny colonized subjectivities. This complete overhaul, although a potentially daunting task, should be viewed as an opportunity to confront coloniality within human occupation and build a theory base that reflects the totality of human experience.

Lastly, as RMF modelled, there is power in the collective; power to disrupt coloniality and reimagine alternative ways of doing, being and knowing that aim to reclaim and restore humanity through creating (esp. material) conditions for belonging. This means that we should actively support each other in doing this work and come together to strategize and mobilize against norms and standards within research practices and traditions that reproduce the status quo while simultaneously denying it.

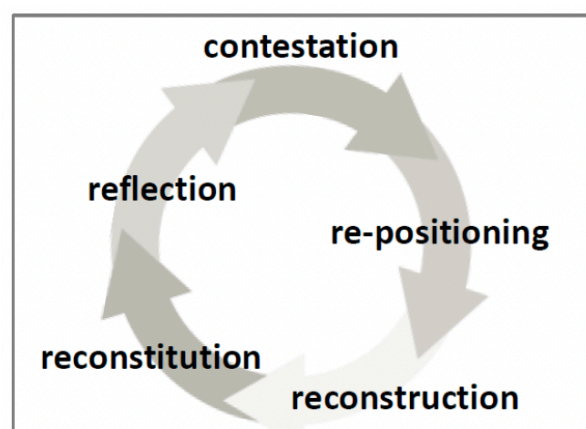
8.3.2. The Role and Scope of Occupational Therapy Practice and Education.

As a profession that aims to promote health and wellbeing through the therapeutic use of occupation (Carey & Baum, 2013), OTs need to consider how the role and scope of OT reflects coloniality and may need to be redetermined by the occupational needs of othered and subjugated identities, rather than the universal “standard bearer for its [occupational therapy] practice” (WFOT website, 2023). We need to reflect on the changes required to genuinely center those we encounter in practice as the experts of their own experiences. What would this mean for the role and scope of OT? What would this mean for OT education? What if ‘restoring dignity’ found expression as a core philosophy and intention of human occupation, health, and wellbeing? What if we could heal ourselves and contribute to the healing of others through OT education and practice? We are at a critical juncture as a profession and have the opportunity to reimagine OT as a profession centered on decoloniality.

Perhaps most telling is that social activists are not recognized as potential service-users within occupational therapy, beyond disability or impaired functioning, which reflects a dominant perspective of health and wellbeing as a bio-medical, and more recently a bio-psycho-social function. The International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health, for example, does not address issues of power, dehumanization and violence as environmental factors that impact health, despite its dominant position globally in the classification of ‘health and health-related domains’ (WHO website, 2023). This contrasts with student activists who identified health as both personal and political, requiring occupational therapists to expand their understanding of health and wellbeing as a synthesis of access, representation, and agency. What might this mean for the role of OT within political spaces? How might OTs develop and offer services beyond traditional sectors such as health, education, labour, and social development, to include justice, economic and governance sectors? OTs are called to engage with activists within their respective communities to better understand protest and violence as human occupation(s); and uncover activists’ and marginalized communities’ occupational needs, to better inform practice models and approaches that are responsive to the politics of health and wellbeing.

Lastly, cannot speak about the implications of this study findings for OT practice without consideration of the implications for OT education. Revisiting core concepts of human occupation and framing these within coloniality as mentioned previously, has potentially controversial implications for OT education. What I mean is, such an endeavour requires institutional recognition of coloniality as context and as a foundational determinant of health and well-being. The Curriculum Change Framework (CCF), developed by the Curriculum Change Working Group (CCWG) at UCT after RMF and FMF protests, asserts that curriculum change is “essentially about contesting power” (UCT Curriculum Change Framework, 2018: 45). With this in mind educators and students are encouraged to adopt a critical-decolonial lens and commit to a process of curriculum change towards exposing the coloniality of knowledge, being and power, and decolonizing the curriculum. Further to this both educators and students are called to engage in critical reflection to identify how coloniality continues to be applied within teaching and learning philosophies, practices, spaces, and institutions and how these can be resisted through re-imagining and reframing the traditional pedagogical relationship. The process for curriculum change outlined in the CCF may be a helpful starting point (figure 25) in this regard.

Figure 25: The Process of Curriculum Change towards Decolonizing the Curriculum (UCT Curriculum Change Framework, 2018: 25).



8.4 Closing Thoughts

8.4.1 The violence of doing research about violence.

Doing this work, although necessary, was extremely challenging. At times I found myself overwhelmed by the magnitude of the task I had undertaken. Furthermore, hearing participants' stories of oppression, dehumanization, denial, and violence within UCT was debilitating; and just like Sandile Ndelu, I found myself negotiating periods of engagement and disengagement to preserve myself. Keeping a research journal allowed me to both express my thoughts and reflect on critical incidents that shaped how I approached, interacted with, and listened to the study participants. This helped me realize that I was meant to do this research. Although initially exposing the ever-present colonial wound, holding space for participants as they told their stories, re-energized me and strengthened my resolve to continue, despite many micro-aggressions and condescending encounters. I have come to realize that the violence of coloniality lies in being denied. Being denied a full existence, although living; being denied a voice although being, willing and able to speak up; and being denied participation, although willing to contribute. The poem below was written during the data collection and analysis process and expresses the process of unravelling, undoing, repositioning, and realignment I went through as a Black researcher investigating violence.

Untitled.

The Big Lie – Unlearning, Relearning.

Violence! – Shhhh! silence. Ignored.

Violence...? - No! Not interested.

But, Violence! - Move on!

Violence - What does this have to do with OT!?

Violent Subtext: Who are you to ask these questions?

Alarm bells - My body is ringing.

Disconnect - Activating zombie mode.

Maximum capacity reached – Death of the colonial self. Relief.

Rebirth – Reawakening. Learning to breathe.

Consciousness - New perspective, Same tools.

Research Embodied – Alignment. Clarity.

- Mapheyeledi Motimele, Research Journal entry, 02.12.2022

Had it not been for my spiritual grounding: a clear understanding of my purpose and love from family and friends, I doubt I would have been able to complete this work without some damage to my sense of self and sense of value as a person. My frustration came from realizing the power of denial and its ability to keep the colonized and decolonial scholars preoccupied with the burden of proof, despite the obvious, and the not so obvious ways coloniality endures and continues to deny the humanity of those occupied in the zone of non-being. As an inhabitant of this zone, who has read the works of those who came before me, I anticipate that decolonial work will be an area of research for many centuries to come. I therefore found myself wondering about the point of it all.

8.4.2. What is the point of it all?

This study, like so many before it, will be added to the University library archive to be read and cited in future. As briefly expressed in the section Colonial Sovereignty, decolonial scholars have named, written, and theorized about coloniality and the need for decoloniality, while others have performed, critiqued, protested, risked their safety, their freedom, and their lives in undertaking decolonial work. Yet, coloniality endures. Fanon's work, although written in the 1960's resonates so loudly and clearly today, as if it was written yesterday. Fanon reportedly spent the last few months of his life writing, 'The Wretched of the Earth', which outlines the violent/dehumanizing effects of colonialism on colonized people(s). He ended this book with a call to "turn over a new leaf" and work out new concepts and perspectives towards "setting afoot a new [hu]man" (Fanon, 1963: 316).

I now understand that if we decolonize our conception of time, notions of yesterday, today, and tomorrow become myths. Decolonial thought collapses the modern-linear notion of time (Anzi, 2021) and offers opportunities for conversation with and insights from our children and ancestors as ourselves (Nhat Hanh, 2022). With this in mind, this work becomes an imperative and necessary tool for rebuilding our collective selves while recognizing and resisting the violence of coloniality within, especially as it tends to 'shape-shift', hide and mask itself within the 'everyday' and 'normal'. My hope is that reading this study, as extensive as it is, will help the reader locate

themselves within coloniality and reflect about their potential contribution to the decolonial project.

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Appendices.

Appendix A: Exmanent Questions for Narrative Interviews.

The questions below represent 'exmanent questions' as discussed in the methodology. These questions were formulated whilst familiarizing myself with the subject under investigation and constructing questions that speak to the core of the topic. Specific questions will only be asked if they do not emerge from the participants narrative, and for purposes of clarification.

Key questions have been formulated using the study's research aims and objectives and have been identified and grouped into the three categories outlined by The Three-Dimensional Space narrative structure (Wang & Geale, 2015) , namely;

- a) Questions pertaining to **Interaction** (personal and social)
- b) Questions pertaining to **Continuity** (past, present and future)
- c) Questions pertaining to **Situation/Place** (context, time and space)

A: Interaction

Personal Interaction (*Look inward to internal conditions, feelings, hopes, aesthetic, reactions, moral dispositions*).

Questions: How did (event) make you feel? What were some of the thoughts you had during this event? *Not to self: take note of physical expressions and reactions.

Social Interaction (*Look outward to existential conditions in the environment with other people and their intentions, purposes, assumptions, and points of view*).

Questions: Who was involved (in described event)? What is/was their relationship to you? Why do you think they did this?

B: Continuity.

Past (*Look backward to remembered experiences, feelings and stories from earlier times*).

Questions: What led up to this happening/event? Have you had similar experience in the past?

Present (*Look at current experiences, feelings and stories relating to actions of an event*)

Questions: How do you feel about this now? What are the current consequences of (described) event? How did (described) events impact your health?

Future (*Look forward to implied and possible experiences and plot lines*)

Questions: What are your thought on the future impact of shared event and experiences?

C: Situation/Place (*Look at context, time and place situated in a physical landscape or setting with topological and spatial boundaries with characters' intentions, purposes and different points of view*)

Questions: Can you describe the (physical, emotional, spiritual, socio-economic, political, historical) space in which (described) events occur?

Appendix B: HREC Ethical Approval.



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
Faculty of Health Sciences
Human Research Ethics Committee



Room E53-46 Old Main Building
Groote Schuur Hospital
Observatory 7925
Telephone [021] 406 6492
Email: sumayah.arietdien@uct.ac.za
Website: www.health.uct.ac.za/fhs/research/humanethics/forms

07 February 2019

HREC REF: 675/2018

Prof E Ramugondo
Division of Occupational Therapy
Department of Health & Rehab Sciences
F-45
OMB

Dear Prof Ramugondo

PROJECT TITLE: UNDERSTANDING VIOLENCE WITHIN PROTEST: A CASE-STUDY ANALYSIS OF THE RHODES MUST FALL MOVEMENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN (2015 - 2016) (PhD Candidate - Ms M. Motimele)

Thank you for your response letter dated 31 January 2019, addressing the issues raised by the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC).

It is a pleasure to Inform you that the HREC has **formally approved** the above-mentioned study.

Approval is granted for one year until the 28 February 2020.

Please submit a progress form, using the standardised Annual Report Form if the study continues beyond the approval period. Please submit a Standard Closure form if the study is completed within the approval period.

(Forms can be found on our website: www.health.uct.ac.za/fhs/research/humanethics/forms)

We acknowledge that the student: Ms Maphyeledi Motimele will also be involved in this study.

Please quote the HREC REF in all your correspondence.

Please note that the ongoing ethical conduct of the study remains the responsibility of the principal investigator.

Please note that for all studies approved by the HREC, the principal investigator **must** obtain appropriate institutional approval, where necessary, before the research may occur.

Yours sincerely

PROFESSOR M BLOCKMAN
CHAIRPERSON, FHS HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

Appendix C: Information Letter and Informed Consent Form.



To: Whom it may concern

My name is Mapheyeledi Motimele, I am a PhD Candidate at the University of Cape Town (UCT) pursuing a doctorate in Occupational Therapy and am employed as a lecturer in the Division of Occupational Therapy. I would like to invite you to participate in my research study which aims to understand violence as expressed within the context of protest. A brief explanation of the study is given in further detail below.

Information about the study

This study is concerned with understanding what violence is an expression of in the context of protest within Post-Apartheid South Africa. I have selected the Rhodes Must Fall (RMF) Movement at The University of Cape Town (UCT) from 2015 - 2016 as a case in order to investigate the actions, practices and processes that manifest violence within protest in the academy as influenced by the broader context.

Purpose of the study

It is my hope that the study findings can inform a more comprehensive understanding of violence within the context of protest in order to inform responses to these and contribute to efforts to promote social justice as key determinants of health and well-being, within context. This will be achieved through contributions to occupational science theory, informing the role and scope of occupational therapy practice in contexts with high incidents of violent protest.

Selection of Participants

You are hereby requested to participate in this study due to your ability to speak to the events that occurred during the RMF protests at UCT between 2015 and 2016. The table below shows the contributing categories of role-players within the protests and identifies suitable persons. Your participation will contribute to building a holistic picture of the issues informing violence within the context of protest during this time.

Participant Category	Appropriate Persons
'Protestors'	Student activists who were/are part of the RMF movement
Institutional Authority	Representatives from UCT management

Service Providers within the institution	Academic Staff, PASS Staff and General Workers employed at UCT
Law-enforcement	Police and/or Private Security personnel

Voluntary Participation

Please note that you are free to remove yourself from the study should you so wish and are not obligated to participate in any way that you may be uncomfortable with. Should you have any queries and/or concerns please contact my supervisors and the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC). Their contact details are tabled below.

First Supervisor	Prof. Elelwani Ramugondo elelwani.ramugondo@uct.ac.za 021 650 2104
Second Supervisor	Dr. Zethu Matebeni zethu.matebeni@gmail.com 0834112661
HREC committee	Room E53-45 Old Main Building Groote Schuur Hospital Observatory 7925 Tel [021] 406 6338 Email: lamees.emjedi@uct.ac.za Website: www.health.uct.ac.za/fhs/research/humanethics/forms

What will be required of the you?

Student Activist:

You will be required to participate *in at least three* (60 - 90 min) interview sessions as outlined below in addition to an initial orientation meeting and final termination meeting. Please note that we may schedule one or two more sessions should the need arise, depending on your willingness and availability. Interviews will be voice-recorded. You will see that I will carry a notebook during the interviews, this if for me to take notes during the initial meeting and briefly reflect on the process of participation with you after the interviews. These notes will be used to reflect within my research journal. Please see the table below for a more detailed outline;

1. Initial meeting (<i>appx 30 min</i>)	During this initial meeting I will share study information and obtain informed consent as outlined by this form. You will also have a chance to ask any questions that you may have. We will then plan and populate an interview schedule, selecting interview dates and sites that suit you.

	The use of artefacts as sources of data within the study will be outlined, discussing means of gathering relevant artefacts to include as mediums within narrative interviews. Lastly, we will exchange contact details and complete the 'plan tool' for preparing to face triggers. This will ensure you have details for adequate support throughout the data collection process.
2.First Interview (60 – 90 min)	Narrative Interview (1): During this interview we will discuss your experience of violence within the context of UCT RMF protests (2015-2016). I have a set of questions that will guide this discussion. These interviews will be voice-recorded. Identified artefacts will be discussed in terms of their representation of key happenings/events/reflections.
3.Second Interview (60 – 90 min)	Narrative Interview (2): narrative interview continues with continued integration and discussion of selected artefacts. You are encouraged to identify and discuss any other artefacts that enable you to best share your experiences.
4. Third Interview (60 – 90 min)	Narrative Interview (3): narrative interview continues and is concluded with continued integration and discussion of selected artefacts.
4.Final meeting (appx 60 min)	Review of transcribed information. This is an opportunity for you review your story as well as an opportunity to add/clarify/modify any aspect of the data you have shared.

Key Informant:

You will be required to participate in *one* 60 - 90 min interview.

What are potential risks and benefits to participating in this study?

I am aware that the RMF protests may have been a stressful, traumatic and sensitive time for you and that discussing these events and associated issues may be a difficult task. Potential risks for participation in this study may include emotional distress and a negative impact on your mood as your recount incidents and experiences of violence within the context of protest. Contact details for psychological support and/or counselling are available below. In addition, a plan tool to help you prepare to face triggers has been included as part of the recruitment and interview process. I have prepared this tool to help you identify and prepare support should you need it during this time. I have made time to discuss this further at the initial meeting.

Service	Contact Details
Trauma Counselling	The Trauma Centre for Survivors of Violence & Torture Trust Address: 126 Chapel St, Zonnebloem, Cape Town, 7925 Webpage: https://traumacentre.org.za/ Phone: 021 465 7373
Family Counselling	FAMSA WC (Observatory) Address: 9 Bowden Rd, Observatory, Cape Town, 7925

(Trauma debriefing and
relationship counselling
etc)

Webpage: <http://www.famsawc.org.za/>
Phone: 021 447 7951

Participation in this study will afford you the opportunity to tell your story, using a variety of mediums to do this. Research benefits to participation in this study include an opportunity to share your experiences of violence within the context of protest, more specifically how violence manifested during this time and what this might have been an expression of. This information will contribute to theory and practice developments in occupational science and occupational therapy respectively.

Confidentiality

Audio-recordings collected will be transferred and stored on an electronic online platform that only I will have access to. This will mean that no hardcopies of the data will be carried on my person. Interviews will be personally transcribed for data analysis purposes. Thereafter, all audio-recorded material will be destroyed. Anonymity will be maintained through selection of a pseudonym of your choice. Please note that there is no general obligation to report information about activities classed as criminal, also, it is possible, although unlikely, that data may be subpoenaed.

Participant Compensation

Please be aware that there will be no compensation offered for participation in this study. There will be liquid refreshments and a light snack provided during scheduled interview slots.

Return of Results

Your contribution to the study findings will be reviewed and finalized in the last meeting. A full copy of the study will be made available to you on completion and final review of this study.

Informed Consent Form

Should you wish to participate in this study, please complete and sign the information below.

I, (full name and
surname) _____, confirm that
(please tick box as appropriate)

1.	I have read and understood the information about the project, as provided in the Information Sheet.	☐
2.	I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and my participation.	☐
3.	I voluntarily agree to participate in the project.	☐
4.	I understand I can withdraw at any time without giving reasons and that I will not be penalized for withdrawing nor will I be questioned on why I have withdrawn.	☐

5.	The procedures regarding confidentiality have been clearly explained (e.g. use of names, pseudonyms, anonymization of data, etc.) to me.	☐
6.	I, along with the Researcher, agree to sign and date this informed consent form.	☐

Participant:

 Name of Participant Signature Date

Researcher:

 Name of Researcher Signature Date

Appendix D: Permission to conduct research with UCT staff.

HR194	ACCESS TO UCT STAFF FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES	 UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN ITUNIVESITHI YASEKAPA • UNIVERSITEIT VAN KAAPSTAD

RECEIVED

05 APR 2019

ED: HR OFFICE

NOTES

- Forms must be downloaded from the UCT website: <http://forms.uct.ac.za/forms.htm>
- This form must be completed by applicants who are requesting to access UCT staff for the purpose of research.
- A copy of the research proposal as well as the Ethics Committee approval must be attached.
- It is the **responsibility of the researcher/s to apply for ethical clearance** from the relevant Faculty's Research in Ethics Committee (RIEC).
- If you are requesting staff information, you are required to complete the HR Information Request Form (HR190) and submit it together with all the required documentation.
- The turnaround time for a reply is **approximately 10 working days unless specified as urgent**.
- Return the completed application form and all the above documentation to Joy Henry via email: joy.henry@uct.ac.za; or deliver to:
For the Attention: Executive Director, Human Resources Department, Bremner Building, Room 214, Lower Campus, UCT.

SECTION A: APPLICANT DETAILS

Title	MS	Name	MAPHEYELEDI MOTIMELE
Telephone number	021 406 6169	Email address	mr.motimele@uct.ac.za
Student number	MTMMAP001	Staff number	01410171
Visiting researcher ID / passport number	N/A		
Faculty Officer contact details	ASSOCIATE PROF. LEOGANG RAMMA lebogang.ramma@uct.ac.za; 021 406 6954		
University or institution at which employed or a registered student	UCT		
Faculty or department in which you are registered or work	FACULTY OF HEALTH SCIENCES, DIVISION OF OCCUPATIONAL THERAPY		
Address (if not UCT)			

SECTION B: SUPERVISOR DETAILS

	Title and name	Telephone number	Email address
Supervisor	PROF. ELELWANI RAMUGONDO	021 650 2104	elelwani.ramugondo@uct.ac.za
Co-Supervisor	DR ZETHU MATEBENI	083 411 2661	zethu.matebeni@gmail.com

SECTION C: APPLICANT'S FIELD OF STUDY (if applicable) / TITLE OF RESEARCH PROJECT / STUDY

Degree	PhD in Occupational Therapy		
Research project or title	UNDERSTANDING VIOLENCE WITHIN PROTEST: A CASE STUDY OF THE RHODES MUST FALL MOVEMENT (2015-2016)		
Research proposal attached	☒ Yes	☐ No	
Target population (number of UCT staff)	UCT MANAGEMENT, ACADEMIC, PASS STAFF AND GENERAL WORKERS		
Amount of time required for an interview and/or questionnaire	AT LEAST 2 X (60 - 90 MIN SESSIONS)		
Lead Researcher details	SAME AS APPLICANT'S DETAILS		
Proof of ethical clearance status attached	☒ Yes	☐ No	

SECTION D: FOR OFFICE USE (Approval status to be completed by the Executive Director, Human Resources or Nominee)

Support or approval	Role	Signature	Date
Supported? ☒ Yes ☐ No	Joy Henry (Office Co-Ordinator)		5/4/19
Approved? ☒ Yes ☐ No	Miriam Hoosain (Executive Director: HR)		05/04/19

Appendix E: Permission to conduct research with members of SAPS.

South African Police Service



South African Police Service

Private Bag X9004

Fax No: 021 417 7416

Reference: 25/7/21(20200054)

PROVINCIAL COMMISSIONER

Enquiries: AC Gomo

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE

Tel: 021 417 7520

WESTERN CAPE

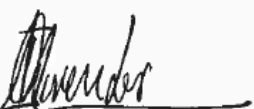
Email: wc.od.research@saps.gov.za

8001

Ms M Motimele
F45 Old main Building
Groote Schuur Hospital
Observatory
7925

**PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE SAPS: UNDERSTANDING VIOLENCE
WITHIN PROTEST: A CASE STUDY OF THE RHODES MUST FALL MOVEMENT AT
THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN (UCT) (2015-2016): UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN:
DOCTORATE DEGREE: RESEARCHER: M MOTIMELE**

1. We are pleased to inform you that your research application as stated above has been approved subject to the conditions stipulated on the legal documents attached.
- 2.1 In order for you to proceed with your research in the province, the following compulsory documents are attached for completion:
 - Conditions
 - Indemnity
 - Undertaking
- 2.2 The above documents must be signed by yourself, as well as your supervisor and the originals returned to this office.


**COLONEL
PROVINCIAL COMMANDER: STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT
IM GOVENDER**

Date: 2020-10-12

Appendix F : Plan Tool - Preparing to Face Triggers: source:
<https://traumainform.wordpress.com/2012/07/09/the-plan-tool-prepare-to-face-triggers-4/>

Step 1: **P**repare for the situation.

Step 2: **L**et go of your worry.

Step 3: **A**ccept that you will experience distress and that it is possible to manage your reactions.

Step 4: **N**ote all of your coping skills and help resources

Step	Guidelines	Application to this study
1. Prepare	Preparing as a means of ensuring a sense of control. This includes reflecting on the experience before the time and identifying anticipated triggers including a supportive non-judgmental person who one can discuss the situation with.	Participants will be oriented with this tool as pre-conditions for data-collection. An 'emergency' contact will be identified, this person will be called should the participant be triggered and need the support. In addition, a list of support services (see below) will be shared with participants.
2. Let Go	The preparation in step one will allow the person to draw comfort from knowing what is expected, allowing them to participate fully and freely. In this step, the person is encouraged to 'Let go' of any worries or fears as steps have been taken to ensure that there will be support available to them should they be triggered.	Participants will have an opportunity to share any concerns linked to participation in the study. These will be addressed. Participants will be encouraged to freely participate knowing that their concerns have been addressed.
3. Accept	Individuals are encouraged to accept that they will experience some distress, with recognition that they have taken the necessary steps to manage their reactions within the previous steps.	Participant's potentially distressing reactions will be discussed with participants before data collection commences. This will be done in order to assure participants that any reactions that may have been expected and accepted as due to the nature of this topic.
4. Note	Individuals are encouraged to note all coping skills and helpful resources available to them, including strategies that have worked in the past.	These will be discussed with participants during orientation to the study. Identifying strategies that have been helpful in the past will inform strategies used for this study.

Support Services available to you should you feel any potential distress arising as a result of sharing your experiences.

Service	Contact Details
Trauma Counselling	The Trauma Centre for Survivors of Violence & Torture Trust Address: 126 Chapel St, Zonnebloem, Cape Town, 7925 Webpage: https://traumacentre.org.za/ Phone: 021 465 7373
Family Counselling (Trauma debriefing and relationship counselling etc)	FAMSA WC (Observatory) Address: 9 Bowden Rd, Observatory, Cape Town, 7925 Webpage: http://www.famsawc.org.za/ Phone: 021 447 7951

Appendix G: Questions for Document Analysis.

1. Is violence defined?	Yes	No
2. How is it defined?		
3. Are violent actions/behaviours/incidents/events/processes/procedures described? (If Not, are they implied?)	Yes	No
4. What are the words used to describe these?		
5. Are there images offered to support this description?	Yes	No
6. How did these violent (actions/behaviours/incidents/events/processes/procedures) manifest?		
7. What might they have been an expression of? What evidence supports this?		
8. In what context are these violent (actions/behaviours/incidents/events/processes/procedures) described? *Make note where this is lacking.		
9. How is context established? Whose agenda does this support? What is the evidence of this?		
10. Are the conditions at UCT that informed the RMF protests described?	Yes	No
11. From whose perspective are these described?		
12. What are these conditions?		
13. Are consequences for participation in protest for student activists described?		
14. Is there mention of how this may affect student activist's health and wellbeing?		
15. What themes, frames and discourses are being represented?		
16. How does this document corroborate or challenge other sources of data?		

Appendix H: Interview Questions for Key informants¹¹

1. Please describe your involvement in the Rhodes Must Fall protests at UCT?
2. How did this involvement come to be?
3. To your knowledge, what were the conditions at UCT that sparked the protests?
4. What are your comments on how UCT management responded to these protests?
5. What is your understanding of violence?
6. What is your understanding of protest?
7. In your experience/to your knowledge, how did violence manifest during the student protests?
8. What do you think this violence was an expression of?
9. Did this experience impact your health and well-being in any way?
10. Student activists accused police of responding with violence to peaceful protest – what is your response to this?
11. In your opinion what was the impact of participation in protest on student activist's health and well-being?
12. Is there a duty of care to these students, and who holds/should hold this responsibility?
13. In your opinion, what have been some of the results/impacts of the RMF student protests?
14. Is there anything else you would like to add?

¹¹ Please note these questions were used as an interview guide. Question 1 was used to start the interview, which took on a conversational style. I checked in with the questions as we progressed to ensure I didn't leave anything out.

Appendix I: Key participant quotes from the case-narrative.

6.2.b) Description of Case Issues	
i	<i>“Based on the historical construct of UCT itself, it is a colonial project; it’s a colonialist project that is built by the colonialist for the purposes of colonial activities... Now, UCT, as an institution, still carries some deep residue of racism. I mean, UCT itself is a product of the colonial project which is supplemented by the Apartheid project, as an extension to that and um, hence then, essentially, because when you say Rhodes Must Fall, essentially, you are saying the culture of racism must fall, essentially, you know, in a deeper sense, but people won’t know.” -KI_17</i> <i>“The physical space is just a space that is reminiscent or that has not moved on from a colonial space, so that means whether it’s the names of the buildings, whether it’s the artworks, whether it’s the statues. So, the physical space itself did not speak to a space that you would think of when you think of an African university right, and a university that is now weaned itself off from colonialism and Apartheid, right? So, the University still resembled a colonial university, both in terms of its physical outlook but structurally as well in terms of the processes that happen at UCT as to, say for example if you look at students, uh, who gets excluded at the end of the year, who gets to get the choice for spaces in residences, who gets to receive these awards at UCT, whose contributions get to be valued at UCT. So, students recognized that in all those, whether structurally or physically, the Black student was really not valued at UCT.” -KI_9:</i> <i>“There is no way all this protest, including UCT can be divorced from our history, because arguments that were being made were about the relationship between colonial history and the experiences that we are going through right now. The link between Apartheid and the experiences that we go through right now. So, I guess my short answer is that the main cause is historical, it is about the injustices of the past, it’s about the inequalities of the past, it is about the unresolved issues of the past, including university spaces that need to be transformed, and to be more accommodating and tolerant of difference.”-KI_3</i>
ii	<i>“Symbolism, symbols, play an important part in any processes of either history or human relations, for example when colonial powers came to conquer or usurp lands, what they would do is that they would conquer people, and if they engage in a battle with indigenous people, chiefs, kings and so on, what they would do after they have defeated their adversaries they would capture their leader, and then cut off his head and take that as a symbol of defeat, that they have defeated their enemy, they would take that skull and display it either at a museum or in some place where they would remind themselves that we were once engaged in a war and we defeated that enemy. And this is how we tell people in the former empires or in the motherlands, but when it comes to statues, it is the same thing. They come, they usurp, they commit acts of genocide and the next thing that</i>

happens is the erection of colonial statues, statues are erected to celebrate those acts of genocide, celebrate those inhumane, cultural genocide, physical genocide, spiritual genocide all those forms of mass killings... they are not just artistic symbols, they embed in them a whole tradition of acts of crime against humanity. When such symbols are still being celebrated in the post-colonial environment, those symbols then speak to a different generation...so that those generations would be told of the great deeds of their forefathers and fore-bearers. Now the question is now what happens is now what happens to the ones who were the victims of genocide? What happens to them? Because theirs now becomes a story that is erased in the telling of a story of a nation, so they become invisible voices, or silenced voices, their pain doesn't matter to those who write history.”- KI_2

“One could also see that even when it comes to representation, there is this, uh, artistic representation on campus, statues, plaques and so on, you know, you had your Smuts, you had your Rhodes, you had your Jameson, all of these started to dawn on us that in fact we have a much bigger problem here, there are structural issues that must be dealt with here, hence the question of decolonization started to, you know form part and parcel of the movement from the very beginning of its formation, because we understood decolonization, to be an attempt, a deliberate political attempt to deal with the structural issues, not just superficial issues, but structural issues because you could deal with superficial issues, but if the structure remains the same, you are still going to have the same behaviour over and over again, until you are able to re-engineer the process structurally.”-KI_3

But ja, it is a violent space in that sense...the symbolism that you walk into, what you see on the walls, how classrooms are organized, all of that contributes to a particular culture, that can reproduce, you know, hierarchy, reproduce discriminatory practices, what you learn in your textbooks, it's a similar thing, when you reproduce a particular way of thinking that can be violent.”-KI_8

“This movement is not just about the removal of a statue. The statue has great symbolic power - it is a glorifying monument to a man who was undeniably a racist, imperialist, colonialist, and misogynist. It stands at the center of what supposedly is the ‘greatest university in Africa’. This presence, which represents South Africa’s history of dispossession and exploitation of Black people, is an act of violence against Black students, workers, and staff. The statue is therefore the perfect embodiment of Black alienation and disempowerment at the hands of UCT’s institutional culture and was the natural starting point of this movement. The removal of the statue will not be the end of this movement, but rather the beginning of the decolonization of the university.” – RMF Manifesto (2015).

iii

“I think that, it [the coming together of Black staff and students]was quiet powerful in the sense that often, you know, when we think about student protests, we think about the

	<i>students are against the rest, they are against us or that they want us to do something that, that changes their lives as students, but here we are actually talking about a much broader issue, in that we were, reflecting on, you know, the hist- where the University came from historically, and how it's not only students, Black students at the time who were, unable to come to UCT, but also Black scholars, and this is, you know these questions of access and exclusion, remain today and so, if we want to stand in front of a classroom and teach Black students and inspire them and uh, give them a space to think about not only what they are learning in class, but also, a future in academia. If there, if there are no Black scholars, then why would... they imagine that that is a possibility for them?"-KI_8.</i> <i>"when the decolonization came to the fore with the RMF movement in March 2015, we realize that essentially we are fighting the same struggle, but we have been fighting these struggles of exclusion in silos, right, so let's join forces, so Black students, facing the same kind of exclusion that we are facing, Black PASS staff members, they would be with the whole Outsourcing Movement they were facing the same exclusionary practices from participating in UCT and from benefitting from UCT, so, so that was the resonance that we found as a common ground between staff and students. All movements of decolonization needed to come together and move collectively because we are essentially fighting the same struggle previously, we were doing it in silos but 2015 really, showed us that collectively we could achieve more than individually."- KI_9.</i> <i>"Coming together was so important because of the common experiences, of the institution, the common sense of alienation of exclusion, uhm, ja, this institutional culture of whiteness that we experience at UCT. So I think that relationship was like fundamental to pushing a particular narrative about the protests, about RMF as not something that had to do with the experiences of students only, but something that has to do with our university, with the experiences of many people in the University, why it has to change, it has to do with what is the role of the university within society, so it was raising issues that were way beyond just the experiences of a group of students at UCT"-KI_8.</i>
iv	<i>"In brief, whereas in the past almost all Black applicants to the University of Cape Town, or UCT, were uncompetitive in terms of their school-leaving results because overwhelmingly they came from poor schools and disadvantaged backgrounds, now many come from good schools and are admitted on a competitive basis in terms of school-leaving results. Others may be less competitive on this basis because there is still educational disadvantage through their school or home backgrounds, but the playing fields can be levelled by taking these backgrounds into account, without reference to race." – 'UCT's new student admission policy explained.', UCT News, 3 July 2014</i> <i>"There were also growing concerns around the current policy's constitutionality (UCT sought legal advice on this score, and the Commission's report acknowledges the constitutionality of the policy); the use of self-declared race; UCT's commitment to non-</i>

	<i>racialism; the small numbers of Black students who are no longer seriously disadvantaged, and the fact that disadvantaged white students do not benefit from the current policy; and the growing number of students who believe it is appropriate not to declare their race.”</i> – UCT News, 25th Feb 2015 <i>“The admissions policy for 2015, adopted by the Council and the Senate in terms of S37 of the Higher Education Act, makes express provision for redress based on how their parents has been classified under Apartheid. Admission is competitive. It is designed to choose, from those whom we believe have the potential to succeed, an incoming class that is diverse, and that provides redress for past disadvantage, and to ensure that we select the best students from those who apply.” – Authorities and Information of Record, 2015: 4)</i>
v	<i>“- Adopt an admissions policy that explicitly uses race as a proxy for disadvantage, prioritising Black applicants.</i> <i>- Remove the NBT as a requirement for admission because it systematically disadvantages all students except those who attend Model C schools and private schools.</i> <i>- Improve academic support programmes.</i> <i>- Meaningfully interrogate why Black students are most often at the brunt of academic exclusion.</i> <i>- Develop an improved financial aid system.</i> <i>- Radically reduce the currently extortionate fees.” - RMF Manifesto</i> <i>“If you carefully look at the policies themselves you then realise that in fact, the policies, they’ve got a discriminatory pattern, you know and of course the use of merit itself, is discriminatory, but it has been deemed as if it is a fair discrimination.”-KI_17</i> <i>“UCT being an expensive university, that positions itself in Africa, it really does not care about the fact that it was African university that should give preferential access to African students, especially Black South African students, so it only cared about its position in these so called global rankings, so then in terms of its access, you would then get to see foreign and white students, are now getting better access to the University and as Black students that manifested in terms of issues of funding, you would not be really valued as a Black student, if you have the money, good for you , if you don’t have the money, too bad, right.” -KI_9</i>
vi	<i>“I mean it is very clear when you look at the numbers, 6000+ beds and 20 000+ students, um, and I was just saying the growing number of Black students at the University, it was going to present a crisis, um, and that crisis came to a head, I mean even being a Black Capetonian student, it is very hard at UCT, because you don’t necessarily, I mean I had friends who spent their entire studies squatting in X[residence]</i>

or X[Residence], and the reason for that was because you get robbed going home in the dark, you know, if you had to take public transport home, and then you walk, and then you get robbed and that is like when you have left campus at 20.00, so the problem as a local student if you don't have transport, your own transport, you have to, um, take public transport, now our public transport is a bit later, but it doesn't help because of like the system, the public transport system, later is still worse, because I am talking about happened to people in the mid-90s, and we have the same terrible, pretty much system because the MyCiti [public bus service] is not much better for people living in townships. And sadly, until today, the University has not decided to extend it shuttle service to take a student who lives in Khayelitsha, home. If you live in Khayelitsha, you must maar be up at four, if you are an engineering student and you have class starts at 8, to be there and ready to go, you have to be up so early in the morning, and your classes run until late"- KI_1.

"To be put in transit housing, uh, and you know also that type of violence, right? The violence of having to ask strangers for places, you know, to sleep, the violence of not having food and the violence of, particularly, of the University not caring right? Or that on this campus in 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, I'm sure, 2020, there are students who are sleeping in toilets."-KI_16.

"On residence allocations, I want to emphasize that RMF is trying to turn the housing problems into a racial issue. They argue that it is white students, foreign students and those who are wealthy enough to live outside that have been given preference while the poorest Black students are excluded from the residences. This is simply not true. 2015's figures show that over 75% of students in residence were Black; and the indications are that the percentage is expected to be higher this year." – 'Campus Update', UCT Campus Communications, 16 Feb 2016.

"So firstly, it was not true that Black students are not getting spaces... it was a Black majority ...it was found that it wasn't allocation that was the problem (laughs). What student housing said is that if we offer a first year a place, we ensure that, that first year gets a place, right, and if the first year doesn't get the place immediately we hire a hotel or transit accommodation and when that period is over, we incorporate them into the residence and that time I knew it! So why are people saying, now they say we have to over allocate because what, people apply we've got hundred places, so we accept hundred and twenty. Just, I'm giving you an example and the reason for that is because not all those hundred will come, they might go to Wits, Pretoria, here, there and everywhere, once they decided where they want to go to, they apply to different universities and so imagine we suddenly just have eighty coming in, we have twenty beds left and that's financially not sustainable for UCT, right? So, we all know that, so the problem was that when X [residence] got full right, the people at X handled their first years, but they didn't realize that Y [residence] had places, because the communication

	<i>system was very bad between residences. So, it was a communication problem not an over allocation problem, so everybody finally saw the light.”-KI_13</i>
vii	<i>“So, UCT was not an inclusive space and in particular it was an exclusionary space for Black – whether it was Black students, or Black staff, so that was the main thing that found resonance with the students... When I joined UCT in a department that is either entirely white or if you're not white you were a foreign Black alright? So, so the department was completely exclusionary to Black South Africans, right and to date I am sitting in a faculty that only has two Black African South Africans in the entire faculty, right, so one who is a Dean, and one who is a junior lecturer, so that is the only two Black African South African academics in the faculty. So, when I joined, there was only one, who is now the Dean at this time, right? So, so, added to those exclusionary practices for Black south Africans, it was the fact that Blacks in general at UCT where not really included in the decision-making processes, in the power structures, and in the career growth trajectories of either the departments, the faculties or the University as a whole, right?”- KI_9.</i> <i>“Look at the representation, how many professors for example, how many white professors, vis a vie Black professors, and we realized that the whole professoriate, the majority of professors are basically white. And it cascades down even to other senior positions in the University. We also had to start from there, who actually teaches here? It matters who teaches, because the person who teaches brings in, not just his or her academic experience, but there is also cultural experience that the person brings into the classroom. For example, Black people do not see professors, who look like themselves, what does that say? What does that mean? If all professors are white, it means that the thinking process of our, of our society is being outsourced to white people, as if Black people cannot actually do the thinking. So those things started to disturb us, they started to disturb us.” – KI_2.</i> Linked to poor representation of Black staff at the university, RMF demanded UCT: <i>“- Radically change the representation of Black lecturers across faculties.</i> <i>- Revise the limitations on access to senior positions for Black academics. This includes interrogating the notion of “academic excellence” which is used to limit Black academics and students' progression within the university.</i> <i>- Increase the representation of Black academics on the currently predominantly white, male decision-making bodies which perpetuate institutional racism.</i> <i>- Provide financial and research support to Black academics and staff.”</i> <i>– RMF Manifesto.</i>
viii	<i>“The factors underlying the staff demographic profile are quite distinct from the student profile and have no bearing on the admissions policy...Here is UCT's analysis of the problem. It generally takes more than 20 years from getting a PhD to becoming a professor. The pool of South African Black academics available for appointment to</i>

	professorship in 2014 is a proportion of the pool of Black PhD graduates in 1994. Given our history, this was a very small pool. Few in that small pool chose academic careers over offers from the new government, civil service and corporates, all desperate to recruit highly skilled Black professionals. So this is not a UCT problem it is a national university sector problem.”- <u>‘Staff Transformation at UCT.’</u>, UCT NEWS, 14 July 2014. “The UCT conditions that exclude staff members, especially Black staff members who are not professors or associate professors from occupying headship positions is colonial. It makes zero sense, and I gave a specific example that we currently sit with a Vice-Chancellor who does not hold a PhD, so what then is this now of requiring a professorship from a Black academic staff member who owns a PhD, to become an HOD which is several levels lower than a Vice Chancellor? A Vice Chancellor chairs Senate, which is supposed to be a body of professors and no professor can be appointed without the approval of the Vice Chancellor, so if a Vice-Chancellor who is taking on such serious academic roles does not even possess a PhD, then why is it necessary for a Black staff member who holds a PhD to be a professor for them to be an HOD?”- KI_9. “We have staff still, Black staff, who do not get promoted when they should, they don’t get inducted into their jobs the way they should, they don’t get the support that they should be getting. Often, they are dumped into – they are hired at quite a junior level and dumped with all the first-year teaching, uhm, disproportionate undergraduate teaching, heavy loads, uhm, it’s also hard to get access to funding.”-KI_8.
ix	“... ‘cos that is the one thing I always felt was the greatest violence. I felt, I constantly felt that people were like, that I don’t belong here.”-KI_20 “I am a part of an institution, but I feel invisible, and I don’t feel like this place is here for me, right? And there is so much, I think that staff have the same story, of like, that we are here, but you don’t actually see us, and you don’t care if we feel comfortable. The organizational culture is a big problem in the University... In terms of conditions, there is definitely still a, an experience of racism. There is a sense of who is believed and who is not believed, you know, um, so there is a lot of subtle, daily micro-aggressions that one experiences at UCT, and not just about when people believe you or not believe you, but also standing in the queue and who gets served first sometimes. There are all these little things that are experiences and, um, or what people think is ok for them to do, or ask you to do, like I had this experience, this professor, in the Law Faculty, an old white man, that you know in the cafeteria queue, he like bust in there ahead of me, but when, in the law building we pour our own coffee from the filter coffee, so I am busy pouring my

	<i>coffee, after he was rude right? Like ignoring my presence there, and then he says to me, can I pour his coffee? (laughs) I mean really?.”- KI_1</i> <i>“Whether you are forced, or you chose, you then assimilate. Based on my readings and my observations of black people, in just around the university, and part of which was the idea that, um, at UCT a black student, in their first year, would show an extreme sense of fear and anxiety and discomfort and all those things, but what was striking, was that seemingly, the same signs that are exhibited by a first year student from Engcobo-Ngcobo [Eastern Cape], who happens to be at UCT, are somehow exhibited by full-time professors, in the sense that people would have PhDs and they are Professors, or Associate Professors, or they are doctors for that matter, then they... you would go to a seminar, of course, usually a seminars full of white people in the universities and black people who are doctors and professors, they don't stand up and speak truth, or speak their truth, you know. And I just felt like, this is kind of a sign, it's a sign of fear.”-KI_17</i>
x	<i>“I had been sexually harassed throughout my first year, I was also raped on campus...It's a lot of the culture around the reses, especially the men's residences, the commodification of women, a lot of the songs that they sing, a lot of the practices, even the so called female residences have a lot of problematic rules like for example, you are not allowed sleep overs in your res, but in the men's reses they allow that. For me it creates this thing, that as a girl you are not supposed to be having sex.”-KI_20.</i> <i>“there are specific issues that have to do with living in a post-colonial society, uhm, you know, we know that the murder rate against women, the murder of women, our rates here are like twice the global average, and so, it's not surprising then that there is a lot of violence against women that happens in the institution like UCT, because we are located in a particular context and as people we have come together in this institution but we have come from this broader context. And so, we have a problem, you know, with sexual harassment, we have a problem with discrimination, uhm, we do have a problem with casualization of labour in that usually it's young women, uhm, so we have various ways in which these broader forms of violence are reproduced in our university space. We have a problem with racism, I mean that's (laughs) no matter how much we talk about it and try and address it, it's just so, um, deep, you know, uhm and so we have to continue to work on these issues.”- KI_8</i> <i>“ This [sexual harassment on campus and in residences] was a very difficult situation and so you know we tried our best we had as committees and we had a rapid fire response committee where we work with social health and sexual harassment issues you know, women being scared, women being harassed, women being molested all these issues but again, we had these fair rules but the violence I mean if you say, if you hassling somebody to go out with you, I mean you knew how to deal with it. If you assaulted or if you harassed very aggressively, we took you to the university court you know that kind of thing. So, I mean we had HAICU [HIV/AIDS unit] and we had the UCT magistrate and</i>

	<i>things like that, but you know the problem with all that was that I thought we were doing a great job (laughs). When students came and explained to me the extent of the harassment and what - how unsafe women felt on that campus, so, so there were real issues and so perhaps you know perhaps, you know, perhaps all our hard work was not enough, we have to look at that.”-KI_13</i>
xi	<i>“Now people will complain about certain things that affect Black people in the University, and of course we are also part of that project, of discussing, whether during the talks, in the University, whether seminars or conferences, and then we will discuss about the suffering and the discrimination of Black people, and, um, but post those talks, we would engage with myself and my friends to discuss, what is it that can be done, that is tangible that is action-based? Over and above theory and the over intellectualization of problems, there is a serious need for action. So, the notion of protest comes out of that very deep-seated idea that over and above, the over-intellectualization of issues, you, we sort of needed action and that action must be a protest.”-KI_17.</i> <i>“I guess, all these talk shops that we have been having over the years, have not yielded any fruit. So maybe let’s try different strategies, strategies around protest, and of course those protests would now put at the very fore of everyone, the University and the South African public that enough is enough with this exclusion of Black students, uh, you are not listening to dialogue so let’s see if you can listen to protest.”-KI_9.</i> <i>“I think when people protest, particularly at a place like UCT, where white privilege is very powerful and dominant, it means that people like, people are beyond exhausted with the situation. I think in that kind of environment with the dominance of white privilege, um, it takes a lot for people to actually step out of line, and I understood that from day one. You know that a lot of people criticized that if you are at UCT, you are so privileged, or like these students are not grateful, was a very strong criticism, and it was one of the things as alumni we really supported the students in that way also, by trying to engage and explain to people and articulate and say, like you have really got it wrong, you need to realized that these students, particularly the Black students, are the ones who didn’t go and join gangs. It took everything to keep yourself doing well at school, to get into university. The last thing you want to do is jeopardize it, so when that student, is burning the artwork, then you need to realize that actually the problem is something more hell of a more serious than you got a clue, because this student is going against everything that they have, you know, they have done everything to keep themselves on a particular pathway and to be here no. This is actually, what does this really say?”-KI_1.</i> <i>“Well then why did it bubble over then”? I think it was probably that the University – that a critical mass of Black students had reached a certain level, so the number of Black students started increasing quite much more rapidly from about 2008, and, um, and that were really only a small number of, um, when the people being alienated are in a small</i>

	minority, it's much harder to organize and have the confidence to organize and hope for that a process will take off and be effective. That it won't just be squashed or silenced, because if you now have, you know more than a quarter, more than a third, maybe even 50%, um, you, I think that it creates, or it stimulates a confidence in the possibility of protest and of solidarity and the effectiveness of the protest." -KI_14
xii	<i>"We need to come to terms with our history, to understand the contribution of those who made their mark on society – often in a complex and contradictory way. To call for their destruction represents a failing. To smear them with faeces is crass, stupid, unsanitary and frankly, criminal. What is required is scholarly and artistic engagement that posits a contrarian view of the past. These students who are pushing for a more draconian reaction would do better to engage in the realm of ideas and contribute to the contextualization of these offending edifices within the framework of current history. And they would do well to remember that history changes over time and that they – nobody – owns it."</i> Ghaleb Cachalia – 'History is Written Over Time, Nobody owns it.', A Letter to Max Price published in UCT News, 31 March 2015. <i>"While universities and scholarship are fundamentally about the preservation of heritage, they are also about engaging critically-and sometimes irreverently-with history. A scholarly approach to history is to understand its complexity, not to reduce it to one narrative. Universities preserve both the good and the bad of our heritage so that people can learn from it. But when we dismantle that heritage, there is nothing left to engage, to study, or to lampoon... Or better yet, why don't we just do what bright young scholars do everywhere. Keep the statue. Learn about it. And yes-parody, lampoon, and even piss on it. Laugh that its head is covered in pigeon shit. The statue is on the one hand triumphalist and dignified, with its equestrian themes and central placement. But there is also something lonely, even pitiable, about it...But that's the thing-our students don't get the irony. They don't understand the joke. They don't know how to be irreverent, wry, or witty. Desecration without destruction is too subtle for them. Rather than emulating artist Beezy Bailey and dressing the statue as a young Xhosa initiate or poking gentle fun at their heritage, our students prefer to emulate ISIS and grab a sledgehammer."</i> – UCT: An Ode to Rhodes, Politics Web, 26 March 2015. Posted in UCT Archives: Debates in higher Education. <i>"I need to say that it has come to my attention that some of the commentary written on the "Have Your Say" notice boards placed next to the Rhodes statue amounts to racist hate speech. This is totally unacceptable, and I condemn this in the strongest possible terms. We recognize how this aggravates the pain and hurt experienced by the targets of such insults and it certainly bedevils genuine debate. If we can identify the writers, we will certainly take disciplinary action. Because we cannot monitor the boards at all times, and to avoid the offence caused by such anonymous posts under UCT's auspices, we have now removed the boards. The first four boards were well used, with many interesting and constructive comments. These are on display in the Molly Blackburn</i>

	<i>Memorial Hall.”- From the VC's Desk: Progress in discussing the removal of Rhodes statue, UCT New, 24 March 2015.</i> <i>“No I gives a flying fuck about you bunch of barbaric kaffirs. A statue won’t get you a degree. Apartheid is over bitches.”- #RhodesMustFall: No End in Sight as Students Sit Tight, Daily Vox, 24 March 2015</i> <i>It is infuriating that management is attempting to open up a process of debate through their plan of action. Alumni have been emailed and asked for input and notice boards have been put up near the statue to allow for comment from the broader student body.</i> <i>This is unacceptable to the Black (by this we mean all oppressed people of colour) students, workers and staff belonging to this movement. It is absurd that anyone besides those who experience the statue as a violent presence should have any say in whether the statue should stay or not. White students in particular cannot be consulted in such a process because they can never truly empathize with the profound violence exerted on the psyche of Black students. Management is making clear through this process that they are not interested in alleviating Black pain unless the move to do so is validated by white voices. Opening up the discussion to an alumnus that is overwhelmingly white, and male will only prejudice Black people, and Black women particularly, in the decision-making process.” - RMF Bremner Occupation Statement, 2015.</i>
xiii	<i>“You know throwing shit at the Statue of CJR, is basically an expression of disdain with which Rhodes has treated our fore-bearers. Cos he treated our people like shit, so we had to return, we had to basically respond to how he treated our ancestors and we came to a resolution that, uh, perhaps the shit would be eh, the most appropriate tool through which we can provoke society to think about, um, how Rhodes as a colonialist par excellence, treated, badly treated our people, and in fact treated them like animals. In fact he never saw Black people and indigenous people in the same way that he saw whites. He was an ardent believer of white supremacy, so Black people to him were basically sub-humans and therefore that’s how he treated them. He extracted labour from them. People worked for him and so on - and he never looked at African people at the same level as whites. So now you have, the statue of such a figure, standing at the central, central prominent space at the University, and we are being made to walk up and down, past the statue, and of course the 9th is the day when, we decided that, uh, we will not allow this provocation to continue any longer”- KI_2.</i> <i>“So many of the students came from communities where there have been service delivery protests for example, where the mode of protest, was um, that mode of protest, was also brought onto campus, so it was an extension of an attitude, of a rejection of the authority, just because it is ANC, doesn’t mean we have to comply, um and also a transfer or spill-over to the mode of protest to the campus, I think. For example the poo-protest, the launch of the RMF protest, that was not the first poo-protest, there have been protests in the Western Cape where poo has been dumped on the entrance of the legislature, there</i>

have been attempts to dump poo at the airport, international airport, it was symbolic, it was linked to the sanitation, you know the failure to provide decent sanitation, and so, you know although it was shocking for the campus, because we have never had anything like that on campus and many people were kind of outraged, because they had a sense that you don't do that on universities, but it was an extension of a mode of protest that was quiet common and not, it didn't carry the same connotation in other environments.”-

KI_14.

“We live in this neo-liberal world and you got to see it with that context so essentially I could understand the students were coming from in many instances...I can remember very clearly standing up at a senior meeting and saying ‘remember as much as we are worried about what is happening, these protesting students are our students and we are in the job of education and we need to constantly remind them, that there's protest and what they're protesting for is valid but the manner in which they're doing it sometimes is not right. I could understand their anger, but my position was that at a university you should be able to articulate what you are feeling and start debate around it. X and I had a few disagreements about certain issues. X said in the situation of protest there can be, you know there's room for rudeness because people are actually... you know, they're tired and they need to make their point emphatically and so sometimes it comes across as rude, but I had a different view on it.” – KI_13.

6.2.c) On the Issue of Violence

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“I think, violence, um, what we consider violence, like a hit or physical assault, um, is something that is really at the end of a pathway of violence, and um, to my mind, we can experience psychological, emotional violence, cultural violence and physical violence and so, X will say, visible and invisible violence and it's like the physical violence is the visible violence, but the invisible are these other elements, like psychological violence, that is things like ignoring me when I am in the queue and then wanting me to serve you and it's so fucking powerful that I even do still pour your coffee, even though I know that this thing has happened.” – KI_1.

“A lot was said and debated about what is violence and how is violence defined and I remember a lot of submissions were made in this regard and one of the key arguments, was that, um, the different forms of violence. We have the violence that is physical, and that is one that was seen during the protest, but you also have the violence that is symbolic and is invisible and that is the violence that students spoke quiet extensively about, to say, all these experiences you are made to feel that you do not belong, you are made to feel inferior. Those experiences are also quite violent, but they are not spoken as such. So obviously, they, the submission was like, look, all of these experiences, amount to a symbolic form of violence, and students spoke quiet extensively about the symbolic nature of violence. No one sees it and it remains continuous and gets to a point where you know it is highly normalized.” – KI_4.

"I would say, you know, any systemic and structural problem that affects me, undermines me, who I am, um, whether it's physically or on a social and psychological level. So, I am saying me, as in individuals, because it's hard to give a specific, you know, I remember that during the protests, there were people who were scared of students and started calling students violent, because they burnt paintings, they blockaded. People were scared of students because they were very aggressive in how they spoke to them. Sometimes people were shoved out of their offices, uhm, and, ya, I mean, that is a form of violence, but we can't talk about that as violent outside of, other types of violence(s), that are less maybe physically threatening to certain people, or that are less emotionally, don't impact on – ya. I mean, it, it can't be divorced. When we define violence, it can't be divorced from the structural issues and how we are positioned as individuals and groups within that structure. So, what somebody experiences everyday coming onto campus, might look normal, to someone who is privileged. But for somebody else, you start to see what they had to do to get here on time, um, (sighs) to get fees to pay for their studies, to, what they – the extent they had to go to, to just have space to prepare an essay. It's a complete, it's part of a completely different, uhm, environment and location of structural violence and so what we perceive, you know, as violence in terms of the physical violence, behaviour and attitudes of people who are talking loudly or (laughs) uh, using particular vocabulary, is only one side of the story. There are many other forms of violence that are, that go unseen, unnoticed, that are silenced, uhm, and it allows certain people to sit back in their comfort zones, and be able to say those people are violent, but me, I'm, I'm not violent."-KI_8.

"I do not subscribe to what UCT's definition of violence is because UCT's definition, right, going back to the presentations from Senate and from liberal staff bodies at the IRTC, their view of violence is physical violence, where people who are breaking things and so forth, so I don't subscribe [to that] in the context of protest. To me violence is much broader, right. So, there might be physical violence but there is also structural violence. So physical violence of course from the University. They would want us to believe it's students destroying infrastructure, um harassing other members of the University community and from the... from the protesters it manifests in say for example, the violence that comes from the security structures, like private security, for example, but to me...to me, that's the way the University views it is really neither here nor there. The way the protest movements view it is quite crucial because if I look at the kind of violence that comes from, from private security, for example, I cannot... I cannot under any circumstance equate to the kind of violence, where people are... say... burning cars, burning statues or paintings and so forth because that in my view is a form of protest, you're not, you're not, you're not harming other human beings....structural violence, is to me the most fundamental form of violence that we need to deal with because it means that UCT in terms of... if policies and procedures and functioning is violent to Black bodies. It is the kind of violence that led to the protest movement to begin with." KI_9.

	<i>“For me, I feel like, violence is disempowering someone somehow, like taking away their agency for example.” – KI_20.</i> <i>“Violence, it can be a lot of things, but, uh if you take it from a normal person’s viewpoint, an everyday student, if you do over and above your normal things, where you start to do violence, violence doesn’t always mean that you have to physically injure people. There are many ways to be involved in violence and for us, to describe violence is to – if I come and I threaten you and I do it with my body and I am really in your face and I engage in your private space basically and I got a violent behaviour and the way you must define violence is how does the person that you are doing it against, how does he accept it? Maybe for a guy that’s used to this, or – its fine, but for somebody that is not used to it, like maybe a lecturer at the University who is maybe an old female, and now all of a sudden, everybody, it is a way of violence because, that person themselves they fear for their lives and for me that is part of violence, you don’t have to physically throw someone with a stone or attack someone with a stick to promote violence, you understand? So, violence is for me like you do over and above what a normal person will do. Different people use different ways of violence. Like I say you can just normally threaten a person... that is a way of violence. You can go further than you can start using instruments like throwing stones, starting to damage property, starting to create a whole fear, a whole fret and that’s when the whole thing starts to snowball.” – KI_12.</i>
XV	<i>“The term violence is difficult to define, so there is obviously a continuum of unacceptable behaviour. I think that one does...one does the concept of violence an injustice if we just lump every, uh, offensive, unacceptable behaviour as violence. While I generally, um, think of violence as violence as against people rather than violence against things. So, I don’t – I would differentiate vandalism, so arson. I don’t know if you want to include that in violence when you are asking me about it. So, arson, I don’t usually think of it as violence, although, I tell you –, I don’t know, maybe it is...Um, it’s not one thing at all times. It changes over time and it even changes within groups. _KI_14.</i> <i>“I think the University is a violent space. There are lots of ways in which um, Black staff have been excluded, alienated, uhm, Black students. There are lots of ways in which discrimination against women scholars takes place, uhm, there is no access for disabled students. It’s really, really bad. So, in many ways it is a violent space. South Africa is a violent society, and uhm, we are just one institution in this country. South Africa alone is not a violent society. Violence is a global – but there are specific things, I think here, that have led to an escalation in violence.”- KI_8.</i> <i>“Violence is - I think you know dehumanization is one way of trying to account for the... for the impacts of...of violence and I mean by and large it’s correct because in effect the impacts...the impacts of violence have the effect of sort of limiting the full humanistic expressions that you can have right?”-KI_16.</i>

“So, for me, I think... became aware of different forms of violence, you know... you would have physical violence, but you would also have the things of, the situation of institutional violence in how an institution can mete out indignities upon people or a particular group of people. So, these aspects of institutional violence is how, what RMF raised essentially, is how, you know we have got a context, and a systemic and structural violence that is being meted to Black people, to women, over a period of time through our structures and our policies, and that’s why things needed to change. The very symbolism of Rhodes sitting on that plinth there in the middle of campus, that for generations, even when I was a student, it was something that we found offensive as Black students and yet, you know, it took how many decades, for that, for it to actually be removed. So, um, for me, the violence is multi-faceted, it’s both, it’s symbolic, it’s spatial it’s physical, it’s through our policies and procedures, structural and then what was expressed through the violence on the side of the institution, I think it was about the exertion of power and also to maintain the status quo, it was about things mustn’t change.”-KI_3

“Well, there is you know systemic violence, the violence that is emitted by the structure. It is structural. It is in the system itself, it’s, by its very design, it’s very nature, it’s designed to eliminate anything that presents itself as either Black – because the system itself is anti-Black- it does not celebrate those ideas that [come] from those Black bodies. It presents a certain kind of an automatic violence that it does not even need the presence of white people to be there for it to act as a violent system. It was made to sustain itself and was made as an engine that will identify anything that seeks to undermine those who regarded themselves as guardians and leaders of modernity.” – KI_2.

“So in 2015, in late October, during the barricades, there were students who wanted to write their exams and there were exams set, and then at the barricades, people at the barricades, um, roughed them up, and one of the lecturers, there was no sort of, there was a heated argument with one of the lecturers, who wanted to allow the students, it was actually an external, it was an accounting exam, for their board exam, to continue with the exam, and they sort of created a barrier and a very aggressive attitude that prevented her from being heard, and really an affront to her dignity. It was an attempt to humiliate her, and there was lots of that throughout the protest, which is on a continuum of, you might call it verbal violence.”-KI_14.

“...or violence is from something that is for me, (sighs) I don’t want violence, but for me it seems like somebody is going to get hurt. Violence is when you do some things, when you damage properties, when you injure bystanders, things like that, when you disrupt things...things like that.” – KI_11.

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“Well, look – the protest, um, in 2015, up until October when it became the FMF protests, the RMF protests, was basically entirely peaceful. There was, very little

	<i>violence, or no violence, and we didn't lose a single day of studies or lectures, with the disruption, we managed to sort of maintain the disruption down around the administration block and Avenue Hall, where the protesting students were living and gathering, so it didn't extend into disrupting lectures or meetings, um there were protests in meetings that, um, were, that couldn't take place, but I wouldn't call that violence, but I think it was generally well-managed, on both sides. The, so, the violent protest started, or the protests turned violent at the end of 2015, there were barricades, when the FMF protest started, that started with barricades and I wouldn't call the barricades violent, they are very disruptive, they may be illegal, but that in itself is not violent."</i> – KI_14. <i>"And then, and when I think about FMF starting at UCT, that's really the first time we experienced violence on that level at the University."</i>-KI_20. <i>"But X makes this interesting point, he says, you know, we had violent intent, but it never acted out, but we could understand what it meant to be violent, and he described that we understood the power of violence, how you could use violence, but that we were a non-violent movement, or something along those lines, and the point that he made was, RMF from its inception, up until the first night of FMF at UCT, that Monday night when the police came, he says during that time period, there is absolutely no violence. There was no incident of burning a tyre, we hypothesized, we theorized, we discussed to death the ability and wanting to burn a tyre. Six months goes, not a single violent incident, not a student, not a single case that I know of, of assault, of attacking another academic, besides an academic who rode over a student, until police came on campus. Until the first time that police come on campus that year, that's when violence breaks out, which I had thought of that way, that there was so much political activity on campus and until police actively came on campus, then all of a sudden there was this violent outbreak, right?"</i>-KI_17.
xvii	<i>"In my view, protest is that right that everybody must have. Well, if, whether or not everyone has that right is something that is debatable. But it is that right that everyone must have to register their disdain, right, against any form of injustice, and whatever – the kinds of actions that they will take to register the displeasure of course must, uh, must in terms of the South African Constitution, I would not say lawful, because I do not know what law would mean, but I would say, in terms of the South African Constitution, if you look at section 9 which speaks of no one can be discriminated against and their rights, against issues such as gender, sex, one of the things that is included in there is conscience, so you cannot be discriminated against based on your conscience...The protest movement then because it's driven by, in my view, it is driven by your conscience, right? Then it means there is a danger right from those people who do not understand your conscience or who are trying to discriminate against your conscience in violation of the South African Constitution and because they do not understand your motivations in terms of your conscience. They will then try to police how you protest? So, if I start from the premise there, right, and I take it to the ITRC Steering Committee, the representatives</i>

from Senate and from some of the liberal staff formations. They were suggesting that UCT must come up with policies to police protest, right? And in particular what they were saying is that they should come up with policies to police violence, but because in their view protests and violence, they were two sides of the same coin.” – KI_9.

“Ok if you have a right to protest but there’s a right way of doing it- you must first apply. But you get other people who go through it without applying and you get others who damage things, which is not the correct way to go about it. They damage property, block the roads which is not the right thing to do. We tell them you have the right to protest but make an application first for whatever demonstration they want to do. We tell them things that they can do and things they cannot do during the protests. Like when you protest you must have marshals to monitor your movements. You must keep a certain distance from the entrance and not to block the road. Maybe you must be a certain number, don’t damage property, not obstruct, or force people who are not part of the demonstrations to take part in the protests. Some of the students were being called rats because they were not part of the protests, and these students must not be prevented from attending classes... According to me it [violence] was when protesters ended up hitting other people. Firstly, it is being violent when you are preventing other people from attending classes, blocking the road with rubble and stones and damaging the school. The protest has now changed from being peaceful to violent now. That is why the police end up being called but if they [students] feel like that is being violent it is because of their conduct during the protests. They don’t have respect towards the police at all, they [students] showed a total disregard for the police. They do not even run away nowadays when they see [police].”- KI_10.

“Protest, in simple terms, protest is an institutional critique against any form of oppression, any form of undermining one’s right either to mobility, vocality or right to live as a human being. So, when you protest, you in fact speak truth to power, because protests are often interventions that are, that occur in instances where, when a people feel that they are being undermined then they stand up against the very thing that seeks to undermine them. So protest is then a form of speaking, that form of speaking cannot, does not always use words. You could protest just by standing and saying nothing. One can also protest through movement. You could use, and an act of art as a way of protest. You could use writing as a way of protest. You could use action as a way of protest. So, protest, the basic tenant of protest is the idea of speaking truth to power.”- KI_2.

“I think protest play a very important role in bringing to the attention of those in power when social justice and individual justice are compromised. I think protests are very, very important and protest with good arguments with well thought arguments, because you must remember you're gonna get an argument from the other side too, you know. So, protests play a very important role, I mean I have no problems with that at all. It’s just that it's the manner in which it is done. You know, if it leaves- if at the end of the day it produces more harm than good, then it’s terrible. It's like this thing you read and hear

about on the news of people burning school, schools that are burnt are serving communities, that so desperately need the school. Now after you are burning the school to demand social justice that doesn't move me at all.”- KI_13.

“Um, so protest to me is... a tool that a person, or a group of people can use in order to elevate their concerns, right? And there is multiple, you know tactics and things that people can do, but essentially, I think, you know, in all of those tactics, what is fundamental in there is that one has to kind of go against, what is, in the normal course of events, acceptable behaviour, right? So, basically subverting the power of being forced to carry on a life that, or an experience in which you aren't um, which isn't friendly to you and changing things, and basically, switching that power up, right?... And so, for me, protest is fundamentally a subversion of disproportionate power relationships, and through that being so disruptive in order to garner a response from the person who in the normal course of events wields more power, so that they can take your demands seriously.”-KI_16.

“So, I think at UCT, that thinking about finding protest questionable, is part of the reason that the violence occurred. Ultimately the violence wouldn't have occurred, if in fact – I had said this one day to the VC in 2016 and to the registrar as well, that if they took more time to talk to the students, this, Shackville, need not to have occurred. It will again happen if you didn't do enough, to engage in dialogue. Because people raised issues in 2015. Did they think the issues and the concerns were going to disappear? Of course, they were not going to disappear. There were altercations in 2015. I mean that was quiet a strong statement about the level of commitment and the issues, and I think that that is so important for people to understand, and I have felt this also in meetings, you know, at the university, that it is your job, when you are in management, because I have been through senior management. It is your job to make sure that your people are not on the pavement protesting, but what does that mean? It means that you must be aware of what is happening, and be aware of what is not working, as the management, you are supposed to be ensuring that things are working, so if people is telling you that things are not working then do something about it, don't be surprised that people is toy-toying on a pavement. I mean it's you not doing your job when people are toy toying on the pavement.”-KI_1.

“The same type of, you know, categorization that all protests by Black people in this country get categorized as, which is violent protest - and whether you are blocking a road, you are burning a tyre, you stand- it is all categorized as violent protest, or public violence, and then your like – but nobody was – we didn't shoot anybody we didn't – things were just burning. Oh ok, so that is categorized as violence now. But what about when we are thrown stun-grenades at?”-KI_19.

“They see Black people, they see violence. I mean, that is not how, it's supposed to be – we are now 27 years in democracy, so, I mean to see it still happening...I don't accept it,

	<i>because say for example it happened to my children, one day, then where must I stand?" – KI_11.</i>
xviii	<i>"On the part of the students, well protestors, they were not all students. There were protestors too. On the part of the protestors there were arson attempts, uh, there was violence in the form of invading spaces that were meant to be protected... There was violence in the form of students marching through buildings, when they were trying to shut down the university... A band of students went through the buildings banging on, they were making, they were banging on drums – intimidating people, banging on doors, sometimes breaking doors, besides marching people out and threatening to injure them if they didn't leave. We had an agreement with RMF and a sense of fervour, that the occupation would be in the Mafeje room, in the foyer outside Mafeje and that people could use the toilets and things like that but that they shouldn't interfere with people doing their work and that was ignored at some point and a group of outside [guests] were essentially frog-marched out, and um, and these are people who had no clue really of what was going on. So, I would call that a form of violence, um and then there were the disruptive lectures, where people would, where students would, um, make a huge noise, prevent the lecture and sort of other students who wanted to participate, from continuing and sometimes it got violent, it got physical. - KI_14.</i> <i>UCT was one of the biggest ones, was one of the most, the most violent ones. What I mean is that there was a lot of damage. I am talking about damage that cost people millions. I mean there were people's vehicles being damaged. There was Jammie Shuttles, that was damaged, I mean, what I am saying is that the busses didn't fight with them, but now everything in the way, they must fight with, even the police." - KI_11.</i> <i>"I can, to an extent understand where the students were coming from, what I didn't actually deal very well with in my mind, was that the enormous hostility in some incidents and instances, you know like we were once made to, they dragged us out - well they didn't drag us out, but they got us out into the parking lot on a very hot afternoon and they made us sit on the tar, and they said 'sit so you can appreciate what our parents go through when they work in the fields', or, you know that [kind of] thing. I call that the politics of hostility and I used to always remind them of rudeness. I said you know what... you need not talk to people who are as old as your parents in a way that you do...there was a protest when X was assaulted [and I was] actually trying to hold the hand of the perpetrator and said 'don't do this'. So I've always pushed the idea that listen we can talk, you don't have to hit somebody- you don't have to hit anybody (laughs), but especially somebody who is old enough to be your dad, you know then the police arrived and it was a whole big thing you know...they were F-ing this and F you, I said you know at the university we should disagree, we should debate and we should pose an intellectual argument but not threaten, not be rude, not be hostile to get your way, you know - the hostility. But I welcomed the fact that students were on a protest because they were allowed to, but I didn't actually agree with, or I wasn't happy with,</i>

	<i>you know, what they've done in many instances when the thing became violent and the burning of the painting and the burning of the buses and the bombing of the Vice Chancellor's office. I was totally, totally, totally against that kind of violence. So, so, so these are the issues, so they're not pretty straight forward, they're not straight forward.”- KI_13.</i> <i>“I should probably mention that I was assaulted once. There was a protest outside X [campus building] and I was surrounded by the protestors. They didn't like what I had to say and they were demanding that I should, that I should call on the police to release one of the det- people who had been detained pending a bail application and I said I wouldn't extend that process and they got very angry that I wouldn't and they couldn't get their way and I said well there is nothing else to say, you have heard my answer and I want to get to my office...I tried to get out of the group and I couldn't. They were surrounding me, and whichever direction I moved they were surrounding me, um and then someone, I know who it was, because I laid charges, punched me in the back, and then when I turned around to see who it was, he accused me of punching him. And then when I turned around again, he punched me again and so then I signaled to the police who were standing about 50m away watching, that they needed to help me get out of the crowd and they fired some stun grenades which dispersed the crowds, and I was able to leave.” – KI_14.</i> <i>“On the one day when they tried to block all the entrances, to the campus, and I was first on the scene then, then they barricade[d], the road, [using] bins and everything. I won't say there were no tyres burning. There was one on the other side, tyres burning. I'm talking now from Cape Town to UCT, that entrance around by the sports centre. So, I had to engage the people, warn them, normally that they must comply, they didn't want to comply. We effected arrests, from there on I moved to the other side, Rondebosch side, and there were three or four different locations where we had to effect arrest and ya, that also lead now to a whole other problem, because, the area where all the students were marching down to Rondebosch Police Station, from there on, there were also arrests made, so ya, it was an ongoing thing.” -KI_12</i>
xix	<i>“But I think that most of our students are Black students. They are confronting the system, now it becomes Blacks in South Africa are violent person, now they show them as a violent person, if you stand up for your rights, then you are violent.” -KI_11.</i> <i>“It was the only way, because, even though people may see it as something that was violent, an approach that violent, but it was the only last resort and a viable and necessary mechanism to make it happen, for both workers and students, to change the institution itself because it speaks to the institution itself. I don't, I do not recall, I think I am one of the people that was mostly present, throughout the protest. I was one of the people that was mostly available throughout the protest. I was one of the people that were mostly present throughout the protests, and I never saw students acting in a violent</i>

	way. However, the struggle itself had a sense of hostility, because people were frustrated and people um were met with police, you see, and police were aggressive.”-KI_6. “And students were, wherever students were, they used whatever was at their disposal. They used garbage cans, you know. They used things to defend themselves, where to the degree that they even threw stones, because these people [police] were shooting at them. What do you expect them to do? So that was the kind of – so when we frame violence in that context, to say that students were violent without acknowledging the fact that the University and the state were also as violent, but when we have a big problem there. But when you then begin to frame the argument to say that in fact it is the state that actually unleashed violence and students were responding to the violence that was unleashed on them by the state, then the question is, who then is violent here in the context of these two? Then that changes the whole makeup of the debate and the whole texture of the debate because now it then shifts the blame and puts it on the state, it shifts the blame and puts it on the University, and that’s what the state and the university did not want.”-KI_2
xx	“A small group of students remained in the Bremner Building on Monday morning, continuing Friday afternoon's peaceful protest and subsequent occupation of the Archie Mafeje Room in the building. On Friday, some 300 students, staff and contract staff gathered to protest in front of Bremner, to demand the Rhodes statue be removed and that a date be given for its removal. We are impressed with the commitment of the members of the Student Representative Council (SRC) and their determination to make a difference.” – ‘Students continue peaceful occupation of Bremner.’, UCT News, 23 March 2015. “As of this morning, Saturday, 1 April 2017, the Bremner building remains occupied. Throughout this time the executive has indicated its willingness to engage but has asked students to do so outside of the Bremner building. The students have refused. The executive has assured the group of its continued commitment to work with them as soon as the occupation has ended. Last night a letter was sent to the group, which laid out the progress that has been made on the issues that had previously been raised by the group. All resolutions that were agreed to in the meeting with the group on Wednesday, 29 March, have now been implemented. The group was assured that work on all further issues raised continues, including the Readmission Appeals Committee reviews of all academic exclusions, which will be concluded early next week. The executive has previously indicated to the group that while some of the demands on the new lists are aligned with what has already been implemented, or are in progress, there are other demands (specifically demand 1) that go far beyond the agreement and can never be met by UCT. The executive has now begun a legal process to remove the group from the Mafeje Room. The executive has appealed to the group to vacate and return to engagement.” – ‘Update on Bremner occupation.’, Campus Announcement, 1 April 2017.

	<i>“The SRC had always indicated that it would end the occupation of the Bremner building following the removal of the statue. They have honoured this commitment. However, the student-staff groupings that occupied Bremner have now splintered and there remain a group under the banner of 'Rhodes Must Fall' that have declared that they will not vacate Bremner, that "transformation is the maintenance and perpetuation of oppression ...", that "our only regret is that we did not take the statue down ourselves. Going forward we will no longer compromise. Management is our enemy." They also state, "let it be known that Azania House is ours and we will not leave." Amongst other non-UCT issues they raise, they state that "the Constitution (is) a document which violently preserves the status quo.” – ‘Urgent update on the Rhodes statue and Bremner occupation’, UCT News, 10 April 2015</i> <i>“The Black Academic Caucus (BAC), also known as TransformUCT, stands against the university's decision to pursue punitive disciplinary action against those involved in the Rhodes Must Fall movement. We ask the university to think about its place in this moment in history. Let it not be remembered as a roadblock to change and rebuilding itself, higher education in our country and our larger society. A policy of criminalization, of bearing down with punitive power on students, staff and faculty associated with the Rhodes Must Fall movement might find the university management on the wrong side of history and its best possibilities. The BAC also recognizes the need for a vibrant student space where students come together, organize themselves, passionately iterate their concerns, thoughtfully reflect on them and enliven the issue of transformation in a transparent manner at the heart of UCT. It calls upon the university to deliver and provide the students such a space. The legitimacy of the university's transformation agenda are contingent on these two critical things – desisting from a policy of criminalization, and delivery of a space where students can organize and enliven the possibilities of decolonization at UCT.”- ‘TransformUCT: Drop punitive policy, give students space.’, UCT News, 08 May 2015.</i> <i>“The email from Dr Max Price, the notice served by Hugh Amoore, and the interdict served to the RMF is a part of management’s attempts to discredit the movement... “You, Max Price, chose not to engage us like humans. You referred to the Black student as a problem...By singling out four individuals, management is attempting a method of divide and conquer.” – ‘Occupiers Speak out against UCT’, IOL News, 13 April 2015.</i>
xxi	<i>“The other form of trying to police the protests from the institution was to actually criminalize the student protestors and especially the protesting, right? So, in that way, so students were facing now multiple actions from the University ranging from disciplinary action to formal Court action and that impacted in their studies because now for example some students may be having, being faced with suspension orders or such other legalistic orders that now made their lives as students to be quiet challenging right. So, so, the impact on the student leaders was in terms of mental health, because now they have</i>

brought to light a discourse that everybody else agrees that it was long overdue, but they are now singled out to pay the price and they paid the price in terms of their studentship, right? It means now that they were fighting for access for Black students to come to UCT and to the other universities but as a result of that fight for access, they were now refused access. It now impacted heavily on their mental health because now when they got these legalistic actions from the University they did not get as much support from the movement and from everybody else as support that people were lending to the protest movements.” - KI_9

“You know in a protest people will get arrested, but you are saying that they deserve to be arrested, you know, they are criminals, they are not students, they are not activists, that for me was the most violent thing. The constant framing of us as these terrible people.”-KI_20.

“To be suspended or to be charged, um, because you initiate a protest, or you lead a protest, that in itself it’s a victimization, ya, that’s the main thing, that is what we were trying to argue there, you know, that because, it was not only us, who were involved in the protest, then the University chose a few people to charge you know, for operational reason of their own and that in itself is, it’s a victimization.”- KI_17.

“I exposed the University for using Apartheid tactics because X could not even talk to people. He was allowed to come onto campus but could not interact with anyone. It was almost like when someone is under house arrest, no one is allowed to come and talk with you. So he was like that, he could be on campus, but he cannot be around a certain number of people because if he does that, it will be regarded as a protest.”-KI_2.

“Now that interdict, okay so that was my first experience when we were sitting in that parking lot for hours and hours in the sun, being humiliated and spoken to ‘phone the Council now tell them that UCT is going to stop lectures’ because we couldn’t, we said ‘we just can’t stop lectures, we have to discuss this with Council. We have to have a special meeting’ and they said, ‘no, no meeting, just phone the chair of Council now and just tell him that students want them to stop and you support it’, you know that kind of thing and eventually they rammed into Bremner right and then the police were called in and there were arrests, now that was my first experience with it ok, and I was watching this and I was part of it and I was also being in a sense not victimized, but I was one of the people they were gunning for if you know what I mean...So it was unpleasant, whether it could have been resolved if there was a good healthy robust argument around the issues, so I am not against protest, but I am very cautious about how a protest should be carried out and at a university, where you are supposed to use your mind because this is part of your training, to say ‘I’m in this situation and I want you to listen to me, I think you’re doing wrong’.- KI_13.

xxii	<i>"We are there to maintain order, so we are not there to come and do our own things. We come there to save lives. That is very important, to protect other people and protect anyone who is in the vicinity, in the whereabouts of that protest, but what I am saying is, they will throw any words at you, like 'msunu kanyoka' [your mother's ass]. It's hurtful. That is words that hurt you, but you must be a strong maar person because at the end of the day, you must stand there, and you must just get it. You just get it, and you must just be strong with it. Sometimes people are getting like, even policemen, if say for example you mention his ma se whatever, they get angry and what they do? They do silly things."</i> KI_12. <i>"Police were called, and police had no patience in arguing or understanding what was happening. They just wanted to silence. They wanted that [destructive/disruptive protest action] to end immediately," -KI_6</i> <i>"Bringing the police in no doubt created a level of frustration. The protestors then ran all over the campus and started creating fires all over including throwing a petrol bomb into my office, which I am sure you know, which was effectively destroyed. There was no one in the office at the time. It was the middle of the night. They were not responding to a direct provocation. There were no guards there. There was nothing happening at the office. It was simply a willful attempt to, uh, sort of attack the institution and destroy it or cause significant harm and damage, and if you ask me why did they do that? How do I explain it? I don't have any other better explanation except that they were trying to cause damage and um, they saw it as a war of some sort, which maybe they thought they could win. I don't know. I don't really understand it." - KI_14.</i>
xxiii	<i>I suppose, I mean, one way or another violence is the expression of power. Violence is in fact expressed through power. It is an exertion of power; power over others...The notion of power, is um, it's a very, it's almost an accepted thing in society. It's almost an accepted thing that that's what power is supposed to do, you know, and somehow no one reads too much into it...Anything outside of the norm, in the university setting will be termed as violent, you know. And then, of course then, the notion of power to define, who defines what, and the naming and the terming of things, you know, of course that again, all of those things are always reserved for those who have got power. "-KI_17.</i> <i>I think it's an expression of a system of oppression. So – systems are structured in a way to violently oppress us. Colonialism is violent because it created conditions and context for divide and rule and seeing people as superior and inferior or taking away and that, that manifests in violence. Capitalism is violent. Patriarchy is violent and its expressions and manifestations are violent, uhm, and I think, yeah, it's an expression of, (sighs), probably an expression of, I won't say fear, because I think we fear a lot of things, but we don't act violently, uhm, but I do think it's an expression of systems of power and oppression."-KI_19.</i>

The University was expressing power and authority, you know and [that]they can choose not to listen to the students, and when the students react to that, they can then use whatever resources they have in abundance to, you know, silence the students. That is what I think the violence used by the University expressed.”- KI_4.

“There is always power struggles during protest activity. So we had a very, there was a very masculinist, nationalist, um, strand to the, some of the protesting students and the ideologies there, which were very violent towards young women, towards, um, gender non-conforming people, and I suppose as well, towards, you know, foreign Blacks, um, and, you know, the push-back from people who were quite privileged, was violent. Um, so, my experience in terms of staff, a lot of white staff digging in their heels, becoming very defensive, and that had a big impact on students and other colleagues, so yeah, there is a lot of – in those kind of, very high, intense spaces of conflict, people get hurt and damaged and I don’t know what we do about that.”-KI_8.

“Because they have a monopoly on the power within the University; on the resources within the University, they were able to put up the signs [binary toilet signs] up literally in a matter of hours, in a matter of like, the next morning they were back up. It wasn’t sort of a – for them, they just put it back up, like, it didn’t necessarily cause the amount of shift that it would have had say for example the signs been off for a full day, um, because the University, basically flexed its muscle and just went, you know fixed whatever had happened, as if it, created a situation as if it had never happened, and that was that.” – KI_16

“UCT responded with violence, in fact, with excessive violence, with excessive violence towards the students, you understand, um, because look at the number of students that are protesting versus, the armed guards that were then hired, put on the University premises with batons, guns and everything, you understand? Ya, so to me, they used very excessive and unnecessary force to the students, who are, who are not even armed at that stage. I mean, look at the UCT and its surroundings. There are no stones. You won’t just be walking around and find stones there. It’s unlike in the townships and any other place, so ya, they, they used, they responded with too much violence in my opinion.”- KI_3.

“One of the things that came out of RMF was in terms of some of the protest strategies, was the occupation movement where students and some staff members started occupying certain UCT buildings, so that would have been 2015 and by June/July 2015 so UCT had indicated that they were charging – they had targeted 4 students, that they were going to charge for occupying. I can’t remember whether it was Avenue house or Bremner, they charged 4 students, and then 240 students signed a petition that said, if you – ‘an injury to one is an injury to all’. So, if you charge one you must charge all, and UCT actually charged all 240 plus students.”-KI_9.

xxiv	<i>“I also think that the violence(s) are around experiences of patriarchy and sexism and misogyny, within the movement. As much as we were saying that feminism was a pillar of our movement, that we needed to do a lot of internal work around what that meant. It’s easy to state something, but where it actually embodies that is very different, and so I think sometimes were not conscious of how we said things, and what we did was violent. Mis-gendering someone is violent...being raped or abused within your political spaces is a violent experience. Uhm, and unfortunately, we were not able to deal with, like all of those issues.”-Kl_19.</i> <i>“You could see in the space, when a topic is being raised, who will actually have a dominant voice, and that dominant voice it comes with certain accents and so on and one could just silence the space, just by pulling out a particular accent, then everybody then becomes disarmed. And then people use these uh, those psychological tools, to silence a debate. And those who came from a certain class, from the ghettos, with an accent of the ghettos, felt that they were not making inroads. You could say the same thing, that would be said by somebody else, but it would only makes sense when it is said, when it comes from a particular person using a particular accent, then it finds expression in the space...I must say this, what became, the most difficult thing to swallow for me, was when for example, you know, students who come from – you remember when I spoke to you about the class issues, so now students now who came from, really – from the ghettos, from ekasi [townships], had to represent themselves at Court, because those who come from well off families were controlling the funds of the movement, decided to withhold money that was made or that was meant to pay for the legal costs of those students who were being taken to Court by the University.”-Kl_2.</i> <i>“Initially, it was a very hopeful environment, you know like, people are singing, we have plans, it is quite a positive environment, and then as the protest progresses, you know like, the arrests, the physical things that are happening, all the violence that is happening, um, you know, you are going from this place where you are so hopeful, you were carrying so much pain and you were in such a horrible place and you were hopeful, and now, all of these things, bad things are happening and within them there is issues like patriarchy and people are getting sexually assaulted, because people have their own baggage, so now, it’s like now, you guys are bringing all of your issues into the space...plus you are always next to these people who are also going through this, and you guys are just feeding off this bad energy and it gets to the point where it becomes violent, where it was a space that was supposed to fight violence, and a space in itself becomes violent. So, I think it was just a lot of things, violent things happening internally and then being combined externally, plus all the other stuff that is happening around you.”- Kl_20.</i>
xxv	<i>“We had asked the University to actually do certain things, we said remove this, remove that, otherwise there is going to be a problem. The University decided not to listen until a point where students were now agitated and they retaliated and then again, the blame</i>

was put on students, not on the institution that actually failed to listen to you know, what the students were saying.”-KI_2

“The violence, this violence, I think it came largely from anger, you know for my personal discussion and again I could understand it. You're a young South African Black, right, in the democracy, ok, you're at university you are going hungry over twenty years after Apartheid was actually dismantled.”- KI_13.

“Anger, frustration, um, I'm going to say depression, but I mean that point, that point when you reach that point where, you are, I'm looking for a word, um (pauses), mmm, what's the words that explains like how you, you are, you have no other - there's no other option, there's no, suppose it's not disillusionment, but when you have no, power to do anything else, um (pauses) I think it's an expression of a very deep anguish, um, feeling of being dispossessed and anguish and yeah. And it's expressed it in different ways, you know. I think the typical ways where we call it violence, because maybe it's some physically aggressive behaviour towards somebody, but people are also violent against themselves, um and sometimes in ways that are obvious like self-harming, sometimes in other ways that are less obvious. I think it's very common amongst women, particular - particularly mothers, you know to have this constant, there's a way in which people cope, that disguises a lot, and um, you know, then the people who are functional alcoholics or functional depressives, because, as I suppose, a woman and a mother, you can't let yourself go because you have all these responsibilities (laughs), but you're just keeping it together.”-KI_8.

“They felt like nobody is listening to them, they wanted attention from the government, like the University is not listening to them and the ministers to intervene because the students were frustrated. That's what I think. They were so frustrated that they wanted attention from other countries because they felt like they were being ignored by the University, so it was better getting attention from other countries.” -KI_10.

“A problem we have in our country is the belief that you get everything right with violence. If you go, let's make an example, if you go make a protest where people are now against circumcision, take an example, there will only be a few people their youngsters, elders, they got their reasons why they are there, and, but they won't even see it in the newspaper. But now all of a sudden, now, it's something different and the belief is if you don't protest violently, the people don't know about it and that's a problem, that's a problem from our history, from the past it's been like that. So, violence will always be a part of protesting, over certain conditions, or certain subjects, if I can say it like that... If there is a thing for this right reason, they don't even make the newspaper, they don't even make the news, but as long as there is violence involved, from page news, on TV all that and that, that is why violence became a measure of being heard.”-KI_12.

xxvi	<i>“Ya, so it was a matter of do it and if you don’t do it – I think there is a quote I’m not sure who used to – there is a quote that says, either you adapt or die, you see, and when the system is aggressive in a way, you must cultivate your mind to encounter, to counter that so you are able to get the outcome of what is necessary, you see, not the outcome of what the system seeks, you see. Because some of the things that are said by the system are not correct, but because even the system is not endorsed by everyone. It is endorsed by certain individuals, and you will find that there is minority that is benefitting from those things that are endorsed by the system. So, when you crack the system, it is never an easy way. It will be violent from the person who benefits from the system, you see. But however, those who are, who have access to the system or change the system, will never easily agree when you challenge and express the violence that is inside, opposed to you by the system; they will see you as violent, so we are violent to a system that is violent to us. In fact, we were changing, we were radically changing the system that was violent to us and dehumanizing us, ya, that was the only option unfortunately.”- KI_7.</i> <i>“I think sometimes it is necessary to use violence, sometimes it is necessary to be on the streets, sometimes it is necessary to be changing laws and to be using the court system, but I feel like, it’s anyway that you are challenging the status quo.”-KI_20.</i> <i>“I think when you have gone through like a year of violence and trauma, by the state and by the University, and it’s not letting up, people are so angry, how do you expect people, you know to respond?”-KI_19.</i> <i>“You cannot expect students to fold their arms when violence is being emitted on them. So, you are not going to... you know... expect them to keep quiet and cry. So of course, students were responding to the violence that was emitted on them or against them and the question is that now, who do we then blame if for example, somebody violates me and I’m responding or retaliating to that violence. Do you blame me as a respondent to that violence or do you also blame the person who also initiated the violence? A lot of people actually missed this point, and it became a public narrative that students are violent. And students actually did their activism and only responded when the institution actually started to become violent with them”-KI_2.</i> <i>“This white student went to where they were protesting right, and started saying this and that to the Africans that were protesting at the time. So, X decided to push him, ‘hey, move out of here, we are not interested in you saying useless things, we are busy,’ so X was eventually charged. So, the students were doing all that. They were cancelling classes. They were blocking the roads, and then the University responded obviously, through either the interdicts or employing private security, to stop what the students were doing, but in doing that there was excessive force, during the process and then the students, they eventually responded to that violence, through more violence. One understands where the students were coming from, you know.”-KI_5.</i>

6.2.d) Consequences	
xxvii	<i>“We were arrested and that in itself, is a form of violence, you know, because there is an assumption that there is something criminal that you have done, ok? And the sad part of it is that no one accounted for that, even if, even if, when people, like it turned out that in fact they were wrong, they just don’t care, they move on. Um, and besides being arrested, we were suspended, you know, and we were expelled. You know, immediately when you get suspended, it means that you are no longer a student anymore, and then you get expelled and you are no longer a student anymore, you know, you have to then go to Court, and now all those processes of Court, they are very painful things, you know, because you never know what’s going to happen, um, you sort of start to doubt, whether you are right or wrong. Now all of those kinds of things tend to come up and you know, naturally, you naturally get sick.” -KI_17.</i> <i>“When I got suspended and expelled and I could no longer participate at the University in the way in which I wanted to, that caused like severe depression and anxiety. I was working at X and had a mental breakdown”-KI_19.</i> <i>“Because of the University’s, you know, power, they essentially – ok let me not say the University, but the panel right, so the panel said, ‘Ok you guys are admitting, but it doesn’t necessarily mean that we can just accept, uhm, we can just let you go off, there is going to have to be some sort of punishment.’ And they on their own accord then decided, ‘ok, this person will be rusticated’, which is just a fancy name for suspension, and so I was suspended for the entirety of 2016, uhm, other people were expelled.”- KI_16.</i> <i>“The pressure that came really with being Black in the space, the space was just anti-Black and the pressure of being poor and the general pressure of just, you know, everything is really, my walls are falling, I am literally turning asunder from within, and people felt that was, and they couldn’t find a space where they could go and heal, because the space that was meant to do that work had already collapsed. The safe space, quote, unquote ‘safe space’ had collapsed, so people felt that there was no hope for them, and they couldn’t make it,”- KI_2.</i>
xxviii	<i>“It was repeated by students and almost everyone, that things became, you know, very violent, and the trauma associated with it, you know, so the impact emotionally and even in terms of health, was the traumatic nature of how things sort turned out; the use of, violent means, or force by the police and how that affected both students and staff. Plenty of examples were shared about how things became extremely violent. Some staff felt that students were attacking them, and some students felt that the police unjustly fired rubber bullets and tear gas on them and it was quiet evident in the interviews that everyone was left feeling extremely traumatized. In fact, some of the interviews were done about a year</i>

	<i>or two years later, but when you listen to how people spoke it was quite evident that many were still feeling traumatized by what happened.”-KI_4.</i> <i>“Some students mentioned that given their daily lived experiences, where they feel they are being marginalized on the basis of their race, on the basis of their gender and the basis of their sexual orientation, some of those experiences affected them emotionally, affected them mentally, affected them psychologically. So, for some, the protests exacerbated their pre-existing mental health difficulties, and they got extremely worse following the protest.”-KI_5.</i> <i>“So, the biggest effect was to the students’ mental health, right, based on now the fact that they themselves, they are now fighting a war to have Black students be allowed access to the university, but now they are being denied that access and no one is coming to their defense. So essentially, they were left out – hung out to dry and that causes severe mental health issues. Of course, in terms of physical health as well that was quite obvious, with brutality coming from the private security and so on and also from the established SAPS, the public order policing. If I look at Shackville for example in February 2016 when the police nyalas came to, to upper campus to demolish the shack, a lot of students had to be hospitalized because of the physical violence. So, in addition to the physical health, the biggest, of course, the biggest impact was in fact on the mental health of the students.” -KI_9.</i> <i>“Yes, for some of them the trauma of being arrested, the trauma of being put in the police van, others get criminal records. I mean you have a criminal record while studying and they just go through school just for the sake of studying knowing that they have no future because of the criminal record. Some you get to only see them when their fingerprints are being taken, others while they are in the holding cells you see the trauma they are under”-KI_10.</i> <i>“Students I spoke to, have very vivid and, um, memories and triggers from the private security and from the police and they say that they just have to – if a policeman comes up to them, now even though they don’t think they have done anything wrong, they, it triggers a reaction because of the severity of the confrontation that they had with the police or with private security during a protest. I think that for the people – for many students who were caught in the middle, they were not active one side or the other, the experience of the disruptive lectures, um was, very traumatic for them and they have avoided any lecture where there might be potential controversy, or there may be a protest because they just can’t handle that anxiety that they feel through the lecture wondering if something is going to happen. So, you know I think it was very severe, very serious.”-KI_14</i>
xxix	<i>“I was absolutely in tears. I could not stop crying, because – and even to this day when I think about the indignity, that’s students, it just bought up to me... to me, a that we were, it was just, it was a feeling of being back in the days, the hay days of Apartheid... I said</i>

to this day when I hear that sound [of a stun grenade], it's like a trigger. So I did have some PTSD because a year later, a year after 2015, 2016 actually and I think it went to 2017, I got so violently sick and I couldn't explain why, and a friend of mine said, oh but it's that same day that you were, you know, put in a back of a police van, so it just goes to show you, that your body doesn't know...it kind of hit home how the environment itself, just, it just when you are operating in that environment long enough, how you can, how you can actually become deeply affected by it, and I always thought I had found ways and coping mechanisms to be able to deal with it, but clearly there were those examples where, I –I just couldn't." -KI_3.

So for many of the staff, they told me, a year later, they just hear toy-toying in the distance and um certain singing or drumming, they go, they get flash-backs and they get sweaty and they get palpitations and they can't work and they have to go home or they have to take a pill, and anxi- pill for anxiety and these were people who were not conservatives, or right-wingers or unfamiliar with protest. These were sort of, um, liberal left, um, people who were my age or younger and had been activists in the UDF and the ANC in the 90s, 70s and 80s. They were very familiar with protest. They were the participants of protests. They had been in police raids in the past, but that doesn't protect you, because there was, you know this experience from 2016 in particular was of the people that experienced this themselves being very frightened, when they – when students came marching through the buildings to disrupt lectures or to push them out of their office." -KI_14.

"We have white staff who are completely terrified of Black students right (laughs) because that is the history they come from and that experience actually made them aware of these kinds of subconscious, unconscious fears, because it became very real." -KI_8

"So, the Black staff members who were fully in support of the protest's movements, right? So, so of course, um, the mental health cannot be denied because if you are in full support of the students, and the students are now suffering battles that you cannot help, for example, they're excluded, and they are facing Court actions that you cannot intervene in. Then also of course for those of us who stood with the students and try to make sure that they are protected from physical harm. We, this kind of staff member will also be subjected to the same kind of physical violence and has effects on their physical health as with these students that they are standing with, right? So, so, the discussion with regard to the staff is quiet complex right, because there is a divide there, where other staff, if you look at say for example management staff whether they are Black or not, their views would more mirror the views of the white staff and then, the fence – sitting staff whether they are Black or not, really did not see the value of protest. They also, their views can also be connected with, the views that were shared by their white counterparts from Senate and then there are Black staff like some of us who completely, unapologetically stood with the students, and with whatever challenges that the students

	were facing. It was not fair to say that the staff members also faced the same kind of challenges whether it is physical health or mental health.” - KI_9.
xxx	“One thing is that we were always open, about talking mental health and I remember something that X would always say. She would say, like once we had left the first occupation of Azania House she said, ‘Oh my psychiatrist thinks that this whole entire experience was an episode’.” -KI_19. “There was a lot of students that I have met, student leaders, activists who are abused alcohol, abused drugs, um, just like, got into a state of not caring about themselves. Others, as I say, there was lots of triggering of mental illness, and others who, you know, I don’t necessarily know what had happened to them, but there were a few students who had taken time, a year off and returned and they did that because they were like, I am in a state and I have to take this time out, um, the and then there were also, you know, I met a lot of students, who, maybe it came from before but who were struggling with depression or anxiety and so on, but in the University there was no real – so it’s weird because UCT has student wellness right? And a lot of universities don’t have as, they might have something like they are not as well staffed, and resourced, but somehow that didn’t always help students.”-KI_1 “What health professionals do when it comes to issues of violence is to deal with its effects at a tertiary level, but less on how violence can be like, prevented – and I am not sure if the view is like an archaic one. If violence is prevented, we will have nothing to do. But also in the health sciences, the violence is political, the violence is sociological, the violence is economic, and we are, we are scientists, we must not become contaminated with anything dirty. Here we provide care, and in fact the real duty to care, it will be that of preventing people from getting injured and having to deal with the effects of violence, be direct or indirect and think it is sort of like high time...I mean we have our government, right? Which basically has full responsibility for looking after these students, be it financially, or otherwise. That’s why in our constitution we have the right to education. So, it cannot be an isolated right to education. I believe that the Department of Education should take full responsibility for whatever is happening to the students, and they have a duty to care for those students.”-KI_4.
xxxii	“Something that was so beautiful in terms of the potential for both workers and students, when they understand the cause together. When they are determined to fix our problems as workers and students, that no one could manage to fix. So it was a beautiful thing to understand that the power lies with students and workers... The educational side; educating one another. Learning the struggles of the workers by students and the struggles of the students by workers, you see. But now, workers would understand the struggles of students and what happens in the life of a student and the life of a worker in the same environment. So, it was so important, that is what I can now say we have learnt things that we never thought about, you see.”-KI_6.

“During RMF, students approached us, to assist with various things. And I think one of the best things we did during that time, was to come and give seminars, lectures, talks, dialogues, during the occupation. So, whilst the students were occupying Bremner buildings, was Azania 1, they invited us to come and talk on different topics...Many of our own colleagues also came and gave talks, and it was so nice. It was a really significant experience for many of us. Because the same things that the students, used to - were talking about in terms of being alienated by the curriculum, we also feel about what are we able to actually teach. And when we do teach the stuff, we want to teach, how is it received? And all of this. So suddenly there is a space, for both students and us, um, to start imagining what a decolonial different university could look like.” - KI_8.

“It was also a space where people socialized, where people broke bread together, where people did things. We did, what do you call, many festivals there. We slaughtered sheep. We had braai there, all sorts of things. So, it was also an opportunity for some people to make friendships, and some friendship lingered, and we also had a marriage that took place in the space. People got married in the space at some point. It was a beautiful thing, and we explored ideas of the Black church where X came and started a Black church there, and these were ideas that we were wrestling with. And of course, after the space had collapsed, we then decided to operate outside of the space, that is where Quilombo, spaces such as Quilombo became significant, the space for the run-away slaves. So, we operated outside of Quilombo to do other activities. And also, you know, inviting students from other universities, and to this very day, people they still walk with those scars, with those bruises, that are there, and you can actually see when you talk to someone that this comrade is really bruised, is scarred and, that’s basically what happened.”-KI_2.

“I think having people show up that you didn’t know, that showed up, that were saying, we understand what you are doing, and we support you. I think that was important for student leaders at the time. And then, like during the occupation in Avenue Road, at Azania House, some of the alumni, we would advertise when students called for different kinds of support, So, we’d say, you know, like – I can’t remember how, but I literally can recall that people would go and drop food.”-KI_1.

“If you were for the protests then the relations with the students, grew stronger. Like I said, before 2015 we are working in silos. We had our protests with our movement like Black Academic Caucus, but after the RMF protest in 2015, the relationship grew stronger with the student protest movement. But for those who were not for the protests, right, so whether those who share the views from Senate or those who sit in management, the relations completely broke down with the students. So, they moved quiet far apart with the students. And if I look at PASS staff members, PASS staff members who were facing exclusionary practice such as um, such that their relationships with students grew very strong, to the extent that now some of them disowned their shop stewards and they now opted to be represented by student leaders, in negotiations with management, right.

	<i>So, on the one side the relationship with students grew very strong, on the other side, it deteriorated phenomenally.” -KI_9.</i>
xxxii	<i>“And we were called monkeys and kaffirs and entitled and disruptors and all of these things and uhm, again this is how things are racialized and how white feelings, white tears matter more than any of our experiences. Their names were clear as day, these white people who said all these things about us. I’ll never forget, uhm. I was standing, blockading during FMF with a group of people, but X and I were standing next to like this plastic barricade, and this white lecturer who is trying to get to class, and he starts calling us ‘cunts’ and this and that, it’s recorded, but nothing happens, to this day, nothing has happened and it’s not just one white lecturer... You know, black people are always told in this country whether it is Apartheid or Colonialism, or whatever we should be over it by now, we should ‘get over it’, I don’t think I will get over it. But the thing is for me, other people have gone on to live their lives abo X and others are in London. They have gone on to be directors of this and that and their lives are fine. But so many people are not ok, because of this. And the thing is for me like where is the justice in all of that? Where is the fucken justice in all of that?”</i> <i>– KI_19.</i> <i>“It was quite evident, that relations where extremely negatively affected, because like for some students, they felt that their staff or in this case the University management could have done things differently [rather] than to call police and private security companies. If the police and private security companies were not called, maybe things would not have gone the way that they did. On the other hand, university management felt that this was the only option that they had because the university property was being damaged and they felt that students who were not protesting, that their lives were put at risk, because some protesting students were extremely violent. So, obviously there were polarized views about how the events were interpreted, and then some actions were taken against some students, some were expelled or suspended from the University, and they felt that their suspension was unjust and unfair and given these polarized views, you know, relations were quite strained.”-KI_3.</i> <i>“I think for many people what was most surprising and most distressing, was that Black students, Black and white students who had been very good friends coming out of school, out of sort of model C schools and private schools, those friendships were cut, they were, cut dead. Many of those Black student leaders said they didn’t want to associate or be friends with anymore, with people who they had been friends with for many years and it had a kind of significant effect in the residences.” – KI_14.</i>
xxxiii	<i>“I hear students, RMF students speaking now, I find it extremely depressing, because many of them have this sense that they fought for nothing. They didn’t win. That they fought for nothing; nothing’s changed at UCT. Um, it’s had a huge impact on their health, um, but they didn’t succeed. And, and lots of people, you know, lost their place at the University. Yeah so, in many ways, I can see how for particular individuals it was –</i>

	<i>they had devastating consequences. But I think the overall narrative that I keep hearing is that, is a negative one around RMF, FMF, whereas I think actually, if you have a bigger global picture of the University, you can see how small changes have happened in different places as a result of that.”- KI_8.</i> <i>“There has been this sense of sort of like taking time, and um, ya, taking time to do it, but of course there, there are some things that aren’t changing right. The question of gender-neutral bathrooms, the situation remains. The situation regarding residence, situation remains. The situation ya, and so the situation about application forms, it by and large remains and so for me, it’s difficult because it’s the University takes... as a huge institution... takes so long and they can hide bureaucracy and um, sort of frustrate you out of your demands as it were.”-KI_16.</i> <i>“One should also not lose the broader view of the impact of the protest, by that I mean, not the negative impact necessarily and all the violence, but the things that were achieved through the protest. The protest achieved a change in the student university system which was very significant and has enabled many people to study who would not have had the money to study and has indirectly given the University a bit more money because it has directed a lot more money into the (inaudible). So, sometimes I worry that we focus too much on the cost and the downside of the protest without looking at the positives and what was achieved. The RMF protest, not only achieved the removal of the statue, which I think was a good thing, but it also achieved a debriefing of we didn’t go back into the debate about decolonization and transformation, and I think they are very similar in the South African context, but it doesn’t matter, but there have been many, many changes. Because I think the campus as a whole, staff and student achieved a much deeper insight into the extent of alienation for marginalized groups, whether they are trans community, Black, or with mental disability, but specifically also the extent to which the University reproduced colonial tropes and colonial style, culture.”-KI_14.</i>
xxxiv	<i>“The starting point of the protests was the Rhodes statue. This was taken down a month after the protests started. Immediately following the removal of the Rhodes statue (before June 2015) the Council mandated the creation of task teams to review the art works and statues on the campus, and the names of buildings.</i> <i>The critiques of curricula were taken seriously by most faculties, which held open assemblies, created curriculum working groups, and invited discussion on curriculum change.</i> <i>Later in 2015, when the #FeesMustFall protests demanded a 0% increase, the UCT Exec and Council had already authorized an increase in financial aid that would guarantee that all students on financial aid including those well above the NSFAS threshold, would not pay any more in 2016 than in 2015 – not even an inflationary increase. This had been accepted by the SRC as protecting poorer students with an effective 0% increase.</i> <i>When the outsourced workers joined the protests and the focus shifted to insourcing, the Executive and Council agreed to the insourcing and committed to doing so within 6</i>

	<i>months, an incredibly short period for such a mammoth task – but a sign of our commitment to its implementation.</i> <i>In response to the last spurt of protests in 2015 demanding that students be allowed to defer writing exams to the following year, this was agreed to – giving all students the choice of writing whenever they wished and facilitating vacation accommodation and additional transport costs home at great expense to the university. I believe management went the extra mile to support students.</i> <i>Around the first week of February, when we encountered the unexpected shortage of residence places, we responded by finding temporary accommodation for everyone and eventually housed everyone in need – before the Shackville escalation.</i> <i>In 2016, in response to appeals about improving mental health services, a task team conducted an audit of the problems and facilities and by end 2016 had made recommendations which were largely implemented by 2017.</i> <i>Similarly, in response to the Rape Survivor protest group, the sexual harassment and violence policies were reviewed; new policies were developed; the Sexual Assault rapid response team was established; DISCHO was reviewed and overhauled.</i> <i>The Disability lobby had a number of complaints about service – a key one being that the disability services were located on the 4th floor of the Steve Biko building which was difficult to access. This was accepted and at the earliest opportunity (long vacation) the offices were moved to a fully accessible location in the building.” - ‘Response to the IRTC report focusing on the Executive summary, Dr Max Price.’</i> <i>“we think what we mean by transformation, by inclusiveness, inclusiveness prior to 2015 was the process of sort of helping disadvantaged students fit in, giving them advanced courses, giving them extra years in study, but it wasn’t in any sense that the university should change to accommodate them, you know, in any fundamental way or should change its identity or its culture to want to be basically be a Harvard or an Oxford at the base of the continent, so um, I think that the, the protests have resulted in a change of thinking about the identity of the University. So, the impact of the protest is wide and powerful, I think it was a watershed for higher education.” - KI_14.</i> <i>“The only two conditions, that I can say might have somewhat improved, is one with regards to the, um, with the FMF, that a certain section of Black students are now not required to pay fees, and I am only saying a certain section, because it is not all Black students, and the other small victory was the ending of the conditions for outsourcing for PASS staff members, right, so those are the two small victories, in my view, that I can say, those are the conditions that have really changed.” -KI_9</i>
xxxv	<i>“On the basis of submissions received and an analysis of policies and other documents, we have, reluctantly, concluded that racism does exist at UCT, that it goes beyond attitudes and beliefs and is aided and abetted by poor management systems which administratively result in discrimination on a racial basis...The response of the university management to the protests that unfolded in 2015, 2016 and 2017 was</i>

inadequate and inappropriate, to say the least, and as such failed to take account of students' experiences of racism, structural violence, discrimination or psychological abuse. Instead of handling the protests with a necessary understanding and sensitivity, the university management was predominantly preoccupied with removing students from the sites they were occupying without giving due consideration to their needs, motivations and reasons for their action.” – (IRTC Final Report, 2019: 2)

“I think that the concept of institutional racism that the ITRC adopted is completely wrong, I don't think it makes sense, and I challenged that.”-KI_14.

“So, I must tell you I was very unhappy with the way the IRTC ran, and I did put in a submission right, to correct some of its findings and then X made their own submission and other people made their own submission(s). But the ITRC, I think it was very selective in who they interviewed and when found you know, allegations of racism or anti-Blackness or something that I did, then let's focus on something that I had allegedly done. So, I actually was very, very concerned that ITRC never called me and said can you answer to these allegations? They accepted those allegations as the absolute truth and that I have a major problem with”. - KI_13.

“As one of the champions of the IRTC process, I am deeply saddened that I am in the position of having to take issue with many aspects of the IRTC report. I believe it lacks credibility because, as I hope to show in this submission, it has not taken care to ensure the views of all parties were heard and taken seriously and it has not tested the truth of the submissions made. This has resulted in one-sided evidence and opinions. I hope to demonstrate that once those competing perspectives are included, and errors of fact corrected, many findings are demonstrably unreasonable let alone unfair.”
– ‘Response to the IRTC report focusing on the Executive summary, Dr Max Price.’

“Concern over the small number (80) of submissions received by the IRTC; with no acknowledgement in the report that there are 25 000+ students and 5000 + staff of campus. The Commission did not consult broadly enough; the findings represent a minority view and can't be given much credence. The only student views presented are those of the protesters. The Commission itself was experienced as partial and bullying of academic and PASS staff who made submissions. Staff who appeared before the commission were traumatized by their reception by the IRTC. This report shows little evidence of scholarship which we would expect for a university commissioned document. It suffers from ideological determination, the use of anecdotes as evidence, and the singling out of particular Departments without testing evidence.”- ‘Summary of comments made by members of Senate (20 March – 20 May 2019) regarding the final IRTC report.’, published March 18, 2019.

xxxvi	<i>"I hope this report will stimulate discussion within departments and among students, course convenors, those on education committees, and anyone interested in interrogating curriculum reform."-, 'Curriculum Change Working Group report.', From the VC's Desk, UCT News, June 2018</i> <i>"I had discussions with X and others of that committee Curriculum Transformation, Working Group and they say, no, no, no, we don't want to interfere with the science and scientific thinking...and I used to worry that, you know what those students really saying that it's not a Black science or white science, it's science that comes from a human brain and if we were given the correct privileges and the correct opportunities you could get another Einstein from Africa, without a problem, the plane is the same, it's the politics that come into it... I've been practicing transformed teaching, and I taught - well I gave tutorials in a transformed way and I'm very proud of it because I've never changed the scientific fact because it was a fact. It wasn't Africa. It wasn't Europe but you could talk around the fact when we speak... when we spoke about what happens in the body. When you had malnutrition, how did the body deal with the malnutrition. Now you know how the body dealt with, how your body deals with things because you're not malnourished. You had a good breakfast this morning in your residences, and you've come to this tutorial. So, you don't have that problem, but I can drive you thirty minutes from here and you'll see malnourished children. Why is that so in the world of plenty? So you got to face the facts. Let's look at the social facts around it, that's transformed teaching and it worked very well for me. So, so it could be done. It could be done in even in the sciences."-KI_13.</i> <i>"There are several issues with the Framework document: some immediate and some potential. The immediate issues are first, that the Framework document is fraught with linguistic indeterminacies and technical jargon that impair, rather than aid, comprehension. Many of its claims and arguments are so ambiguous or obscure that bona fide attempts at understanding, let alone critique and rebuttal, are near impossible. The second immediate issue is that management has yet to clarify the Framework document's purpose. Is it intended as a code of conduct for teaching, that will become university policy? Or is it merely a platform intended to raise points for discussion? The answers to these questions are of grave importance and weigh greatly on whether UCT remains a free and open university. The greatest issues with the Framework document are therefore what will potentially happen if Senate is to adopt the Framework as a policy document, an authoritative statement of what kinds of teaching are and are not allowed at UCT, and who is allowed to teach about what." – 'Open letter to VC Phakeng on the Curriculum Change Framework', Progress SA, 20 February 2019.</i>
xxxvii	<i>"So, in terms of the broader decolonial conditions, nothing has changed. If anything, things have gotten worse. Everything else, remains the same, or has gotten worse. So, they of course, are official changes in conditions around naming of buildings, statues,</i>

and artworks in general. So, we are just seeing superficial changes there, but there is not real commitment to actually go full scale decolonization, right? In terms of the academic conditions for Black staff members, for me things have gotten worse.” -KI_9.

“I would never encourage anyone to burn art let me just say, um, and I didn’t, and I was not present at any of that. But it’s like how much artwork needed to be burnt for meaningful change to happen? People were so angry about that burnt artwork, but somehow it didn’t inspire them to make the changes that needed to be made. And that is why I say it. Because in the end there was still a lot of taking back, and perhaps the greatest success out of everything was that the workers were insourced, you know the lasting, um, success. But, ya, I think for students, there is still shortage of beds. There is still a lot of feeling like you are on your own. There is still a lot of gaps in the support that students receive, um. There is still a lot of, ya, you know that content changes that decolonial content and we are not even talking here about like radical content, but just a less colonial one, didn’t even happen. Um, ya, so and I think a window dressing at the university like the University of Cape Town, like the University of Cape Town, meaning a university that is dominated by white privilege, you know it is intolerable for me”-KI_1.

“I think I mentioned at the beginning that a lot of the hard work that some of us put into changing policies and values and things, at university - at the global level, is slowly eroding, and that worries me. That really worries me. We have a new executive; we have new people in positions of power. A lot of the RMF students are gone. It’s almost like the University is going back to this ‘normal’-KI_8.

“In my view, we may be back to maybe 2005, right? And that is exactly what we - when me and X went to the IRTC commission for our interviews with the commissioner. We made one thing very clear, that people, seem to be excited that we now have a Black Vice Chancellor and a Black Chair of Council. Five years from now, we will be sitting here with commissioners talking about exactly the same things we are talking about now, how unhappy we are that this place is anti-Black right? And that is exactly what some of us are now already experiencing. So, that's why I said from the onset the problems at UCT are structural. We might have individuals, here and there, a Black VC, a Black DVC a few Black deans. They did not change the fact that the structural violence and the structural racism at UCT does not depend on individuals. Those individuals are just there to sustain those structural issues, right? Like so this thing that the DVC or Dean respectively is voted for by a white Senate or a white Faculty Board respectively, those are the structures that are not going to change. The fact that the selection committees are almost entirely all white. Those are the structures that are not changing. So until we fight to change the structures at UCT our battles are going to be the same a hundred years from now.” -KI_9.