

**Surveillance and regulation of protest movements in a
democratic liberal society: exploring the lives of Fees Must
Fall activists at Stellenbosch University.**

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Declaration

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Abstract

The year 2015 marked the beginning of the Fees Must Fall movements in South Africa, this thesis explores the lives of student activists at Stellenbosch University, through the lens of surveillance and regulation. This research has extended for the entire duration of the Fees Must Fall campaign at Stellenbosch University, encompassing interviews, data analysis and participation observation. The core of this thesis looks at the surveillance and regulation of students, by overlaying the idea of the panopticon from theorists Michele Foucault and George Orwell, over the lives of the student activists. Through the lenses of surveillance this thesis explores issues beyond mere surveillance and regulations but encapsulate multiple issues which surfaced during the protests. It looks beyond how students were watched, but looks at the treatment of students, how they were impacted, affected, and retaliated against this surveillance. Through the lens of surveillance, I looked at how the student activist groups were not just watched but what impact it had on the group and individuals, causing social paranoia and a breakdown in the groups trust. Moreover, it looks at how power has taken many forms throughout the campaign, but also how complex power relations are between the two groups. The thesis also shows how through these complex power relations that power can shift and how the activists at Stellenbosch University used sousveillance to shift the power relations but also hold the university accountable for their own actions, using social media campaigns and hashtags. I explored how surveillance and sousveillance played a role in shaping a new age in protesting and how narratives are shaped through this new age of protests. Furthermore, it delves into the countries deep racial history and compare the continuities of lives of apartheid activists and Fess Must Fall activist, and how the idea of the swart gevaar still exists at a place like Stellenbosch University. By understanding the tensions with regards to the way the university produces an image of an ideal student and how when this is translated into reality, racial tensions arise. This thesis looks at vast topics around surveillance but also transformation, as surveillance has become a part of the issue of transformation. This thesis was written in a post Fees Must Fall society but speaks to the continuity of the failure of higher education.

Opsomming

Die jaar 2015 was die begin van die Fees Must Fall-bewegings in Suid-Afrika. Hierdie proefskrif ondersoek die lewens van studente-aktiviste aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch deur middel van toesig en regulering. Hierdie navorsing het vir die hele duur van die Fees Must Fall-veldtog aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch uitgebrei, wat onderhoude, data-analise en waarneming van deelname insluit. Die kern van hierdie proefskrif kyk na die toesig en regulering van studente, deur die idee van die panoptikon van die teoretici Michele Foucault en George Orwell oor die lewens van die studenteaktiviste te bedek. Deur middel van die lense van toesig ondersoek hierdie proefskrif kwessies buite bloot toesig en regulasies, maar omvat verskeie kwessies wat tydens die betogings opgeduik het. Dit kyk verder as hoe studente gekyk is, maar kyk na die behandeling van studente, hoe hulle geraak is, geraak en weerwraak geneem is op hierdie toesig. Deur die lens van toesig het ek gekyk hoe daar nie net gekyk word na die studente-aktivistegroepe nie, maar watter impak dit op die groep en individue gehad het, wat sosiale paranoia en 'n uiteensetting van die groepsvertroue veroorsaak. Daarbenewens word gekyk hoe mag deur die hele veldtog baie vorme aangeneem het, maar ook hoe ingewikkeld magsverhoudings tussen die twee groepe is. Die tesis toon ook aan hoe deur hierdie komplekse magsverhoudinge die mag kan verskuif en hoe die aktiviste aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch sousveillance gebruik het om die magsverhoudinge te verskuif, maar ook die universiteit verantwoordelik hou vir hul eie optrede deur middel van sosiale media-veldtogte en hashtags. Ek het die ondersoek ingestel hoe toesig en sousveillance 'n rol gespeel het in die vorming van 'n nuwe era in protesaksies en hoe narratiewe gevorm word deur hierdie nuwe era van protes. Verder verdiep dit die diep rasse-geskiedenis in die lande en vergelyk dit die lewenskontinuiteite van apartheidsaktiviste en Fees Must Fall-aktivis, en hoe die idee van die swart gevaar steeds bestaan op 'n plek soos die Universiteit Stellenbosch. Deur die spanning te verstaan ten opsigte van die manier waarop die universiteit 'n beeld van 'n ideale student voortbring, en hoe dit in die werklikheid vertaal word, ontstaan daar rass spanning. Hierdie proefskrif kyk na groot onderwerpe rondom waarneming, maar ook transformasie, aangesien toesig 'n deel van die kwessie van transformasie geword het. Hierdie proefskrif is geskryf in 'n berig Fees Must Fall-samelewing, maar spreek van die kontinuïteit van die mislukking van hoër onderwys.

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INTRODUCTION

The Fees Must Fall (FMF) protests, which occurred in South Africa, tend to be considered as an event that occurred in a vacuum as if it were a singular event cut off from the rest of the world. However, if one is to revisit the past, we are confronted with a historical fact that youth struggles in South Africa are connected to a broader history of struggles (South African History Online, 2015). Consider that in 1976, on June 16th, black students took peacefully to the streets of Soweto to march against the medium of instruction in educational settings being changed from English to Afrikaans. By that very afternoon, many of them would be brutally shot by police (Molteno, 1979:54). Anne Heffernan and Noor Nieftagodien (2016:1) argue that 40 years later, the events of 16th of June has garnered even more significance as born-free students, defined as those born after the demise of apartheid in 1994, have been actively connecting their struggles to the struggles of the 1976 generation. While these two events are distinct in nature and take place in contrasting political times¹, both speak to an unnerving similar root cause: the education system failing the youth, thereby resulting in students leading a revolt against their respective government. Using the FMF protests as a site of inquiry, this study seeks to track the trajectory of the crisis of higher education to show how the failure of government to properly intervene in South Africa's higher education landscape had led to the uprising of students once more; however, this time, campuses all across the nation broke out in protest. In an effort to do so, this thesis will explicate what occurred during the FMF movement and, more specifically, post-FMF, which was accompanied by, what I deemed to be, the formation of a new dimension to the crisis in higher education.

Events leading up to FMF.

When FMF emerged for the first time in 2015, there was a notion that the protests were sudden and that there was no prior warning that a movement would emerge. However, as Nuraan Davids and Yusef Waghid (2016) argue, this emergence of student protest was not sudden as students from predominantly black occupied universities had been protesting fees and the cost of higher education regularly since 1994; it simply never made national headlines. However, during 2015, the FMF movement saw every university in the country protesting the proposed

¹ The 1976 marches were located in the height of apartheid and racial segregation and the FMF movement was located in post-racialised South Africa; one built on freedom and democracy.

10.5% increase. To fully understand the trajectory of this, it is necessary to look back to 2008, which saw the investigation of universities and the release of the Ministerial Report.²

On the 26th of February 2008, a video surfaced from the University of the Free State (UFS), which claimed to be made in September the previous year (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2013). The video shows five black employees – cleaning staff to be specific – being mock initiated at a traditionally white male residence. According to media outlet *News24* (2008), the video shows university cleaning staff having to partake in ‘downing’ beers and consuming a mixture, which the group of white male students had secretly urinated in. The video includes narrations, such as “Once upon a time the 'boere’³ lived peacefully here on Reitz Island, until one day when the less-advantaged discovered the word 'integration' in the dictionary.” The video ends with: “That, at the end of the day, this is what we think of integration.” This incident, imbued with racial undertones, occurred in retaliation to the University of the Free State (UFS) integration policy, which would see an allocated percentage of students moving into residences based on racial categories in an effort to diversify the residences. The video indexed an important moment within the South African Higher Education system as the video shed light on the underlining racism which existed within the Higher Education sector. This moment would act as a signal to the impending crisis of higher education, which would play out in the coming years on a national level and lead to the restructuring of a core structure within tertiary education.⁴

The events at Rietz Student Residence therefore pushed at deep social issues rooted within South African society, but also brought to light a revealing social fact: Born-frees were supposed to represent a new generation of South Africa; a generation born under the new flag, regime, and constitution; a generation which was supposed to be tolerant of diversity and embracing of inclusion. Instead, what the video displayed were born-frees expressing a racial attitude that is premised on historical and political attitudes and policies that they were not part of. Jonathan Jansen, an Honorary Professor of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand, deliberated this phenomenon in his book, *Knowledge in the Blood* (2009),

² The name of the full report is Report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions

³ Boere, in its historical context, refers to the descendants of the Dutch colony, which came to settle in South Africa; the word eventually became to mean farmer.

⁴ News clipping.

when he questioned how a generation who has no lived experience of apartheid could uphold its views and values.

The Reitz incident video and public outcry would also lead to then minister of education Naledi Pandor establishing a committee in March of 2008. The focus of the committee was on making recommendations of how to further meaningful transformation, promote social cohesion, and eliminate racial discrimination (Department of Higher Education, 2008:9). The weakness of the report, I suggest, lies in its failure to adopt an intersectional approach to furthering transformation, promoting social cohesion, and eliminating racial discrimination. The report focuses almost exclusively on race, while sometimes mentioning sex, but failing to address issues that often intersect with race, such as homophobia and transphobia, the growing missing middle⁵, the constraints being placed onto the university system, and the failure of infrastructural growth with regards to the government expanding its number of universities. I offer this point, not necessarily as a critique of the ministerial report, but rather a consideration to keep in mind when reviewing and engaging with the report in this thesis as it was later scaled on a national basis and constrained by short timelines. With that in mind, what I rather wish to deliberate on and wrestle with about the ministerial report is that it signalled to the South African public that it was on the precipice of a crisis in higher education as universities were finding themselves facing growing hardship (Department of Higher Education, 2008:46). Further, I argue that the issues of race, class, and the growing missing middle raised in the ministerial report were warning signs for the rupture of protests as it made issues that were manifesting at the surface of higher education public.

Thus, what I reflect upon in this thesis is how the higher education system appeared to be inevitably heading for some form of crisis. This sentiment was captured in the ministerial report, although the formulation differed: The report stated that universities' policy across the country and practice were not aligned because of poor distribution of policy knowledge, lack of awareness regarding the proper implementation of their policies, and a lack of universities will (2008:14). In places like Stellenbosch University (SU), I argue that their crisis was based on the latter. This is because when the way in which SU had addressed issues, such as transformative integration, is considered alongside its diversity policies and belief in its ability

⁵ The missing middle refers to the growing number of households who are too poor to afford university fees but at the same time are not poor enough to qualify for state funding.

to bring in a specific number of diverse students⁶ a gap emerges: There was no policy for the promotion of social cohesion amongst students.⁷ The ministerial report (2008:38) raised that only two universities – excluding SU – addressed social cohesion. It is problematic to exclude social cohesion from diversity policy as its exclusion is often accompanied by the polarisation of race within a diverse group (Taylor & Foster, 2008:153).

More so, the exclusion of social cohesion from transformative policies empties the notion of transformation at universities of any meaningful impact. This is because efforts are not aimed at transformation as an act of change, but rather serves to ensure that transformation policies standards have simply been met. As such, I argue that campuses like SU finds itself in the midst of an education crisis. As universities are being pushed to transform, it only manages to reach transformation at a policy level while failing transform the universities at a social level.

The ministerial report

It is worth reflecting on two points that were covered in the ministerial report. The first point is the transformation of the curriculum. The report states that many universities had failed to engage with the issue of transforming the curriculum⁸. When it was mentioned, it was based on national goals and objectives that translated into the transformation of curriculums which became skill- and capability-based instead of being premised on cultural, social, and political frameworks of understanding. This undermined intentions of creating a more critically aware student body who could critically engage (Ministerial Report, 2008:90). The transformation of the curriculum is imperative as it is based upon what an institution sees as legitimate knowledge. The curriculum of SU is anchored in Eurocentrism, premised on its historical relationship with apartheid⁹ (Fourie, 2016).

⁶ The document “Planning for Diversity at Stellenbosch University” considers diversity on the basis of the amount of different students are in housing according to race. It conceptualises diversity in terms of goals and objectives but fails to consider the transformation of its student body in a more critical manner, especially as it does not consider social cohesion. Available at: <https://www.sun.ac.za/english/learning-teaching/ctl/Documents/Stellenbosch%20University%20Institutional%20Plan%202017-2022.pdf>

⁷ This issue is further addressed in Chapter One.

⁸ The ministerial Report (2008:92) explores the notion of Africanisation where knowledge production should be situated within a local context; where local does not just mean South Africa, but Africa itself. Heleta (2016:2) speaks of decolonising the curriculum where concepts and events such as colonisation and apartheid, for example, entrenched in and with white supremacy, affected more than political rights and freedom, but placed white bodies – particularly white male bodies – at the centre of knowledge production.

⁹ Stellenbosch University was the birthplace of the framework of apartheid. The department of Volkekunde was the head of operations where the apartheid framework was carefully crafted and perfected. Available at: <https://mg.co.za/article/2013-06-08-rethinking-maties-apartheid-past>

This first point manifested in the first student protest of 2015, #RhodesMustFall, which was followed shortly by #OpenStellenbosch. As Pather (2015:1) argues, the Rhodes Must Fall movement was not merely about the removal of the Cecil John Rhodes statue; it was about the removal of a symbol of Eurocentric, coloniser knowledge. #OpenStellenbosch emerged at a prime decolonisation moment in 2015 to launch its campaign to see the fall of Afrikaans as a language of instruction at the SU.¹⁰ The language is not only closely linked to a particular history, which resulted in violence to black non-Afrikaans speaking students, but also excluded those who cannot understand it. In this way, it acted as a core mechanism for keeping the historically marginalised students away from the predominantly white Afrikaans space of Stellenbosch. The Ministerial Report (2008:76) picked up on the way in which student experiences were shaped by race and language by highlighting videos such as Luister.¹¹ What is of particular importance here is the way the apartheid era and post-apartheid era weaponised Afrikaans by using it as a means of regulation, where one needs to conform to not only the language of instruction, but to assimilate into the culture in which it embodies. The weaponisation of a language acts silently as it curtails access and reflects who the institution was designed for.

Secondly, the issue of access had become central in the debate in the crisis of higher education. Here I turn to the intersection of finance and access. The report discusses the early signs of the crisis of fees affecting universities at a national level, which had placed an immense burden on the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) (2008:65 & 73). Despite the significant injection of state capital into the NSFAS scheme – 1.5 Billion ZAR in 2008 and 2009 – it was still not sufficient as universities found themselves having to spread NSFAS fees over a large proportion of students. The funds were not able to cover everything, which resulted in students having to drop out. The committee, recognising its inefficiency, believed that additional funds should be allocated to the higher education system, which was believed to help historically marginalised students access universities (2008:16).

While the issue of fees and access were briefly covered in the 2008 ministerial report, the 2013 ministerial report further probed the issues of fees and the funding of universities in South Africa. From the report, it was noted that the NSFAS budget had increased over the past few

¹⁰ The primary motives for protest of Open Stellenbosch were similar to that of the Sharpeville massacre protest, as both these bodies were opposing Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in their educational settings.

¹¹ Luister, which translates to “listen” in English, was a video produced by #OpenStellenbosch where they looked at Black students’ experiences on the campus of SU.

years; however, of concern was that the budget had been placed under tremendous pressures as the inflation of student fees increased, which affected low- to middle-class families'¹² ability to afford the price of a university degree. This resulted in an ever-widening gap for students to access higher education, which was shown to emerge along clear racial lines as the number of coloured and black students were relatively low (The Ministerial Report, 2013:8).

By 2015, the issues raised in the 2013 report came to the fore with students expressing similar concerns with the funding of higher education. When a fee increment of 10.5% was proposed, protests started at the University of Witwatersrand, this had a triggering reaction where other universities then started protesting at their own campuses. Towards the end of 2015, universities across South Africa found themselves either being shut down or attempts to have universities shut down by students protesting the 10,5 % fees increase (Naicker 2016:53-54). The following year, there were another round of protests calling for free education; something which the first democratic government had promised its constituents when it adapted the freedom charter¹³ into the constitution (Alliance, 1955:3).

FMF was one of the campaigns aimed at highlighting the high cost of student fees, which would leave many individuals in debt long after graduating, thereby crippling their chances of social mobility, or delaying it. As such, FMF spoke to two important issues. The first was the core issue of the ever-growing inequality gap, where students from lower- and middle-class households could not afford the fees and other associated costs of a university degree. The second was that FMF reflected the growing number of students who could not access infrastructure, such as universities, thereby limiting their chances of accessing financially stable and secure jobs. In light of the issues being raised by FMF and other important stakeholders, it became clear that the fees model, changed in 2017, was no longer viable (Pumza, 2019). Off the back of these insights, I argue that FMF was a catalyst for the accelerated timeline and implementation of the new funding systems at universities.

Transformation in higher education

Returning to the ministerial report of 2008, it reflected on many different issues, including the physical and cultural aspects of residences, the ways in which sexual harassment was handled,

¹² This is known as the missing middle, where families cannot afford the funds to pay tuition, but these families are considered not poor enough to qualify for government funding. Available at: <https://www.bursariesportal.co.za/content/what-missing-middle>.

¹³ The freedom charter states that education shall be free. Available at: http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv_pdf/AD1137/AD1137-Ea6-1-001-jpeg.pdf

the dominance of white men in professorship positions, staff experiences, issues around university language policies, management and their lack of accountability, issues of governance, and cultures of silence. These are a handful of themes that the ministerial report addressed. In this thesis, I am not attempting to unpack and offer a discussion of the different themes per se. Rather, I aim to show how the erosion of these different elements lead to the crisis of higher education.

The concerns brought up within the ministerial report have translated into issues of contention and protests actions at university campuses. These elements of the higher education system have been under strain for years, and the result of failure to address them or insufficient addressing has led to the eruption of protests against universities and government in an attempt to coerce these educational and state institutions to address the issues. Further, with all the concerns raised by staff and students in the reports and protests, it is clear that at the heart of these movements is the issue of transformation. Or more specifically, the lack of or failure of transformation within the higher education system. Consider that the roots of FMF lie within the financial exclusion of bodies from working class members of society, which stems from the apartheid system. This has led to a long history of skewed development, even with the disablement of the apartheid system, these inequalities persist. The main focus of the FMF is to correct this by addressing the financial exclusion of previously disadvantaged families.

The development of the crisis of higher education within a Post-FMF context is where I situate my work. The context of my work has arisen from student protests and how universities in South Africa responded to student activists. My thesis reflects on the SU context in particular, where I will look at the criminalisation of student activists during the FMF period, but also the persistence of the criminalisation in the post-FMF environment. I see the surveillance and regulation of student activists as a new element to the crisis of higher education, one which speaks directly to the issue of transformation.

Research questions

This thesis therefore aims to answer four core research questions:

1. How does university policy frame the environment of the student experience?
2. How are student protestors constructed in reality?
3. What forms of regulation and surveillance are student protestors subjected to?

4. How do students experience, regulate, and negotiate their surveillance?

My research questions stem from the observation that, during Fees Must Fall protests in 2015 and 2016, universities across the country started using interdicts and court trials to discipline the students who were protesting the fee increments but also government's failure to deliver on their promise of free education. Looking towards Stellenbosch University, the campus became militarised by not only campus security and police, but also two different private security firms. There was not just an intensification of armed forces, but also the increased use of cameras and control access points.

The university started using surveillance techniques such as using cameras, having students followed, monitoring data from student card logs, reviewing internet history, switching off registered devices, and spying on their social media accounts. All of the above mentioned was ultimately used to punish and criminalise students. They were not just put through internal disciplinary hearings (in some cases using unapproved University constitution) but were also being interdicted and having charges brought up against them. In 2018, most of these students were still facing court trials while their interdicts still stood against them.

In 2018, both Brooks and Peter raised questions as to why students interdict still stood and what the sole purposes of these court trials were. Using Brooks and Peter as a point of departure, I argue that there are two imperative observations worth making. The first being that SU abused its power in taking questionable actions to ban or suppress student activists on the campus; a point I will unpack further on in the thesis. The second being the treatment of students, which not only left students emotionally, psychologically, and physically traumatised but it also set a precedent that, at the heart of SU, was anti-transformational and thrived on the culture of silencing to ensure its capabilities to function as normal, while its minority students suffered.

I argue that the way in which student activist bodies were regulated, controlled, and surveyed was not a by-product of the crisis of higher education, but one of the dimensions of the crisis of higher education. To illustrate this, Boulton and Lucas (2008:4) argue that within the ever-changing world, universities have become the core source of knowledge production and innovative thinking, which is supposed to have produced agents of social justice across racial and gendered lines. However, looking at the way Stellenbosch University has criminalised, oppressed, and silenced voices trying to bring forth social change, it becomes clear that Universities such as Stellenbosch are contributing to the crisis of education by actively working

against true transformation and ensuring that Afrikaans as the mainstream culture of the campus, at the expense of an ever-diversifying student body, persists.

The intention for my thesis is to therefore explore the experiences of the surveillance and regulation of FMF activists. However, as I progressed with my fieldwork, it became clear that this thesis was about more than surveillance and regulation. It was also imbricated in other pressing events which occurred within in a Pre-FMF world. What was happening to my participants at the time of fieldwork was not merely an ordinary university reaction, it was the silencing of black bodies by a predominantly white ran and socially dominated university. The surveillance and regulating of FMF students is rooted within an apartheid system of silencing progress.

Methodology

When Fees Must Fall occurred in October of 2015, I, like many people, questioned the movement and the actions of those involved in what was happening. For the first two days, I was at my family home in Cape Town and I had been booked off sick by a doctor. By the third day of the Fees Must Fall campaign, I made my way back to my apartment in Stellenbosch as I had to get to class. What I recall the most vividly was fearing for my safety once I had made my way to campus. The only sources I had gathered information from was from social media pages and news. What I thought awaited me were unruly disruptive students who were hell bent on delaying me from graduating. What I was confronted with were students who were fighting for the future of millions of young South Africans.

The protests were not violent in nature. Rather, students were peacefully protesting and holding dialogues and discussions with university management with regards to their concerns and options to the fee increment. Over the next two weeks, I protested in solidarity with the student activists. My place of privilege became quickly apparent within the protest and amongst the student activists as I reflected on how my family could afford to financially support me throughout my undergraduate and postgraduate studies. While I never felt personally discriminated against per se, I felt it was important to join the protests not necessarily from a methodological standpoint, but to fully immerse myself in the process of learning and unlearning from the very student body attempting to hold the government accountable. Part of this process involved speaking to students who shared their stories and experiences of discrimination and violence, which related to finances but other areas as well.

At this point, I had been at university about to graduate with a degree in Social Dynamics, majoring in Sociology and Social Anthropology, and, for the first time, I was moving beyond the boundaries of the lecture rooms where we often had discussions based on research papers about people. This time I was with people and learning about their reality; people I knew and interacted with daily. For me, there was no other response but to get involved with my fellow students. In this way, my curiosity turned into participation that led me to write about these activists as they had sacrificed their education and future for generations to come.

The participants

When I began my fieldwork in 2016 many of the participants, I interviewed were either friends or people I knew by association. I mention this because, I would argue, the nature of my relationship with them was a crucial element in my study for two reasons. The first is because many of my discussions were about the surveillance and regulation of student activists; a topic of conversation that doesn't easily lend itself to openness out of fear of retribution that would be directed towards by my participants at the time. This point bleeds into the second reason. The environment of mistrust in which my participants found themselves was rampant. The concern about whether someone could be trusted, and discernible feelings of mistrust were palpable. It is for these reasons that I say my relationship with my participants was crucial. To illustrate this, because many of the student activists moved in clusters, I was still able to access certain types of information in my personal capacity that I was able to follow up on more formally for the purposes of this thesis.

By the end of 2016, my participants were entering a difficult space. Members of the movement were severing ties with others within the movement as there was a concern that not everybody, albeit part of the movement, could be trusted. My entry into the field came at an opportune moment in this regard. I was considered to be occupying both an insider and outsider position to the movement. Insider in the regard that I was either friends or friendly with many of the student activists. But an outsider in that I wasn't necessarily considered to be a member of the movement per se. This unique position allowed to slowly build and maintain trust, especially as I was able to maintain some distance from group dynamics that were pivotal to the facilitation of mistrust amongst members.

In an effort to maintain trust with my participants, I sought to be as open as I could be with them. For instance, after 2015, in early 2016, I made it clear that my presence at marches, meetings, and protests were for academic purpose, although in theory I did support the

objectives of the movement. As I reiterated to my participants, I was there to observe and observe the trajectory of the movements and document themes that emerged during this time.

I believed that it was important to document and write about what was occurring. There are many stories and perspectives written about the #FeesMustFall movement. I wanted to contribute to the documentation of the stories and experiences of the student activist at SU by capturing what happened in their words. Thus, I always tried to ensure that the student activists knew that my intention was to write about them and their experiences, and that they wouldn't be rendered invisible as many had felt pre-FMF. This was critical, especially in a period where the movement was fragmenting and many felt like they could not trust the broader group. Many activists pulled away or closed themselves off into smaller circles. Belonging to or being able to gain access to people's inner circles helped me gain access to certain types of information and people that I wouldn't otherwise have had access to. Additionally, the topics covered in my interviews were considered *loaded* as I was asking them about issues of surveillance and regulation, including their experiences of it; issues that left many traumatised during the FMF period. To build and maintain trust with them during these conversations, I would show them my notes so that they always knew what I was writing about. Ultimately, what I wanted to demonstrate to them was that I held no ulterior motives; I was merely a writing instrument.

With regards to the actual recruitment process, I identified a list of students I wanted to recruit for the study, when it came to identifying students, I looked at the students who were vocal and always deemed as being 'on the front lines' of the protest. Once I had compiled the list, I began reaching out to students. I first reached out to certain participants that I interviewed for my Honours research. I then reached out to my other participants. It's worth noting that all my participants were "high ranking" members who operated throughout the different student protests at SU. Here, I made use of friends in the movements to get me contact details or I used social media to track them down and reach out to them. Not everyone I approached, including old or potential participants, agreed to do the interview. Some students cited reasoning such as they just don't feel safe talking about their experiences and some potential protesters said they didn't trust talking about what had happened as they feared what could happen to them if they spoke. All these individuals had managed to gain some form of allyship working for the legal counsel of SU or were just staff members involved in helping students fight back at SU.

Interviews and focus groups.

For this thesis, a core of the data came from interviews I conducted. I chose the semi-structured interviews because, according to Mathers, Fox and Hunn (1998:2-3), semi-structured interviews are best suited for exploratory research, where the researcher can follow a particular line of inquiry or response, they deem appropriate. Furthermore, with my semi-structured interviews, I set out thematically questions based around particular themes. Thus, instead of setting out block questions, I was more concerned with setting out questions that covered topics and themes which I deemed important but allowed for participant to also bring up their own issues they deemed important.¹⁴ Blee and Taylor (2002:94) argue that it is important to note, particularly with social movements, that the use of semi-structured interviews allows the researcher to introduce topics and themes as well the participant. The participants also inputted a theme or topic they deemed as important, further they challenged certain questions, elaborated and recontextualise the content of my questions and topics. It allowed the interviews to feel more like a conversation, as it was less rigid.

The most important aspect of the semi-structured interviews was my relationship with these individuals as the interviews and data which I collected from my participants yielded rich datasets. Algeo (2013:1) argues that the relationship between the researcher and their participants is an integral aspect to the quality of the data, where the crucial aspect to achieving this is by establishing and maintaining a deep relationship of trust. As previously mentioned, I many of my participants struggled with trusting their own comrades. However, they entrusted me with sensitive information about their lives; information which at times they found hard to talk about. One of my participants was even willing to take me to their lawyers where they shared information of their client's trial and we spoke about the logistics of the surveillance and regulation. The dynamic of these relationships was important as the relationship was balanced between friendship and a professional research relationship. However, over time, I had noticed that my participants became more relaxed with me as our relationship grew, and we had gotten to learn more about each other and shared time together in a different setting. Thus, for me, I had felt as if the quantity and quality of information I received had increased as our friendships matured.

Further, the interviews I conducted did not follow a consistent interview format where interviews are conducted under the same conditions (i.e. place or time). Rather, I allowed my participants to guide me to some extent as to the context in which they wanted to be

¹⁴ Find a copy of the thematic questions and a copy of the consent form in the appendix. Marked Appendix semi-structured questions & consent form.

interviewed, which proved to be crucial. Dumay and Qu (2011:242), for example, argue that we should see interviews as locations of knowledge where the context under which interviews are held should be carefully considered; we cannot remove the interview out of our world and examine it as an objective practice.

In a similar vein, Elmir, Schmied, Jackson and Wilkes (2011:14) suggest that the environment and appropriateness of the venue should be given top priority when setting up interviews as a researcher's primary concerns should be about the safety and comfortability of their participants. What Elmir, Schmied and Wilkes (2011) describe is the spirit under which I took my interviews. This meant that how and where the interviews occurred was imperative as I had to consider an appropriate venue in light of the way that student activists felt they were being watched on campus. So, I had secured a venue within the confines of the town, but none of the interviews took place within the venue. In the end, only one interview occurred on the SU campus while the rest took place at participants' homes, coffee shops, and one over skype. All these locations were chosen by my participants. I had made it clear to them that I had secured what I considered to be a safe venue; however, in the interest of my participants, they had the option to choose their own venue. What was of importance to me was my participants level of comfort.

During their interviews, they expressed their comfort with being in the town and talking about their experiences of surveillance and regulation. To an outsider, it would sound paranoid, but to an extent, I could understand my participants comfort and their fear that they lived with. With regards to the interviews itself, there were occasions when the interview would not happen on the day it was scheduled. My participant and I would meet up, but we would socialise perhaps or discuss matters related to their court case. This occurred with more of my longer-term participants. With my more recent participants, we would meet up socialise for a short period of time and then do the interview. There was one participant who agreed to do the interview but did not want to meet face-to-face and asked if we could do a skype interview. I gladly agreed to the interview.

While the interviews all occurred under different conditions, these conditions played an important role. To illustrate this, my older participants were comfortable with a more public setting. Some suggested we meet at a restaurant or coffee shop because this felt more natural when it came to socialising. Whereas with many of my newer participants, they plainly cited they would like to meet up in more personal setting such as their home or, in one instance, a

participant suggested we meet up in the Cape Town Gardens as it's an open secure space but still entails privacy. However, as stated before, the core concern for all participants is that the interview does not occur within the geographical borders of Stellenbosch. This for me was a clear indicator of how the protests affected my participants. Every aspect of these interviews was of importance to me.

Further, I had planned to make use of focus groups as methodological tool. But ultimately, the focus groups never happened. The idea behind the focus groups was to get two groups of my participants together where we could talk about their experience of surveillance and regulation in a shared space as the protests were not experienced alone, but as a collective. However, when recruiting my participants for the interviews, almost all the participants refused to partake in the study if they had to do the focus group. They either didn't trust other people outside their small circles that they had formed, or they didn't feel comfortable talking at all in front of other group members. So, while I didn't use focus groups, I mention it because my participants' reactions signalled something for me. Later, I would come to find out that these reactions were reflecting group fragmentation and the erosion of trust.

Lastly, once the interviews were completed, I transcribed the datasets. Once an interview was transcribed, I would reflect upon the interview itself and add from memory what stood out for me in the interview and how certain things were said like the emotions conveyed or the body language. Once, I had completed the entire transcribing process I created themes and grouped different sections of the interviews into the different themes they covered. This helped me focus on looking at a certain theme from the different perspectives of my participants.

Socially constructed knowledge

Writing about people's experiences meant I needed to treat knowledge as a social construction as the knowledge produced occurred under circumstance which cannot be replicated again. Andrews (2012:40) argues that social constructionism is about viewing knowledge and "truths" as something that is constructed. As we interact with the world and individuals, we construct knowledge and come to believe certain things as true. Murphy, Dingwall, Greatbatch and Parker (1998:4) indicate that we need to note that our membership in social and cultural groups will influence the kind of reality and knowledge we construct.

Socially produced knowledge played a crucial role within the context of this social movement as many student activists argued that we should not privilege one type of knowledge over another; that for us to fully comprehend and understand the world, we need to look at

knowledge as equal. Knowledge is something which is socially produced as we produce knowledge within our environments and the way we interact, but, more importantly, how our environment interacts with us. Thus, the social production of knowledge should be seen as linked closely to experience. Here, with regards to the students' experiences, student activists believed that we should consider their experiences of university and financial exclusion as a form of knowledge, especially as it will bring forth a different perspective to the crisis of higher education.

Flohr (2009:1125) argues that the interactions with our environment and experiences results in knowledge. This is a crucial factor for the movement at large as they called to have knowledge decolonised where students are demanding to not exclusively focus on European models of understanding, but to also engage with an Africanised model of concepts and understandings. Building on this, Mortensen (2009:4) argues that through conceptualising first-hand experiences, we can provide people with useful knowledge which can, in turn, generate collaboration amongst people. So, all the data I gathered from interviews I have treated as valid knowledge as this kind of knowledge can only be produced through experience.

Observations and research environment

The environments I was in were not always easy to navigate; most of the time they were tense, anxiety-invoking, fearful, and imbued with sadness. While doing observations, I always carried a small satchel with me. Inside the satchel was my clearance forms from the University as I always feared that I would get mistaken for a protestor and get assaulted by police or arrested. There were many occasions when I bore witness to what I would call police brutality with multiple police beating up one student, tear gassing another, or threatening students with physical harm including moments of sexual threat.¹⁵

There were even occasions where I had been under some threat. For instance, I had a gun pointed at me, tear gas shot in my direction, and moments where I had to run away from police, hide in buildings, or try and escape from a building. Over time, I got the impression that my association with the student activists had rendered me a protestor in police's eyes or at least assumed to be "a trouble maker" like one policeman told me. I was never seriously physically harmed or arrested; however, I got a glimpse of what it must feel like to be a student protestor operating within these kinds of violent environments. To this, Chabot and Shoveller (2011:105)

¹⁵ Throughout the protests at SU many of the student protestors spoke about how the private security would threaten to sexually assault them if they were caught alone on campus or around the town.

argue that participating in fieldwork allows one to bridge the gap between insider and outsider by becoming more aware of what and how our participants feel and experiences. Thus, partaking in protests allowed me to further understand how visible protestors can feel. I developed this sense that I was constantly being watched. This feeling followed me throughout my research period of FMF even though I had ethical clearance to do this research. And, while I was never being physically harmed, it weighed on me emotionally and psychologically to the extent that I had been filled with anxiety even when I was not doing fieldwork. I felt its effects on me months after finishing up my fieldwork. I reflected in-depth about the way the research made me feel and trying to comprehend how my participants must have felt who were actual targets to the university.

All this said, I knew I was placed in a unique position where I occupied different positionalities at the same time: I was an insider and an outsider. I had to find a unique balance between the two worlds I was occupying, because I started out protesting alongside these students as an ally, but through my research I had become more of an observer (Ann & Tolhurst, 2002:7). Thus, even though I was *seen* protesting alongside the student activists, my positionality was not that of a protestor but a researcher. Over time this became more complex as it was compounded by the lens under which I was under. I had to balance these worlds for myself, but further, under certain moments, I had to make my positionality clear to other student activists and authorities who were involved that I held both labels: protestor and researcher. This all depended upon the situation and environment. I had to constantly remind myself where the ethical lines were because while I had permission to follow along and do observations on campus, there were restrictions. I could march with the student activists, including occupy buildings, but I could never follow along in “inciting violence”. In the field, I had to consistently reflect on how far I could go, what I could and could not participate in, and when I had to merely stand aside and do pure observation. Thus, after years of participating alongside students, there were compounding moments where I felt as if I was a student activist operating on campus, but at the same time I also had to remind myself I was merely there for research purposes.

Furthermore, my observations became complex when I was in the field because, as the researcher, I could internally dispute how far I could go or how far I was willing to go. There were moments in which these internal disputes became more public, as I would be given instruction by a student protestor or activist to stand back and watch how events would play out. This confused many people. For example, most student activists knew who I was but for

those who did not it would come across as if I was not willing to sacrifice as much as what other students were. In their eyes, they were “laying it all on the line” but I was not willing to. To some students it did not matter what I was doing there; the fact remained that I had been there almost since the beginning of the protests. In these instances, I felt like I was a complete outsider, like I could never make proper connections with some of these students, because of my ‘inability’ to push past my own cause and join theirs. In other moments, such as meetings, even though I operated as a student activist by being privy to meetings and information, there were cases where I was told I can’t attend certain closed meetings because I wasn’t really a student activist. Fundamentally, I was a researcher. Yet, to the outside world though I looked like an insider. I would have friends, acquaintances, and lecturers ask me what was happening at the time, what were the groups’ position on certain subjects, and many a times I was even expected to defend and debate the actions of the group. In this way, they treated me as a member of the group.

With regards to police and other security forces, during occupations and disruptions I was protected because I had the permission of the university to be present at these events. However, there were moments where I had to declare that I’m a researcher and produce my clearance documents because from first impressions, I was just another protestor. But, once the exchanges had occurred, I was no longer a threat. Despite this, there was certain moments where this exchange did not happen and to them, I was merely another protestor. During my observations, I was constantly moving from this insider and outsider space. For me, what was of importance is the way different individuals treated me when they found out I was a researcher and how this label of insider or outsider shifted, and how the label of insider and outsider became a positive or negative connotation. In many ways, this complex network I was interacting with constantly pushed me as a researcher and produced rich field notes on the way people perceived and trusted based upon the assignment of a superficial label. For the duration of my observation period, I was able to fully submerge myself in the field. I spent my days at rallies, marches meetings, and discussions. On different occasions I would observe the student activists disrupting classes and exams. While I never get involved myself, I watched and took note of what was occurring.

An opposing perspective: the documents analysis

Denzin and Lincoln (2005:6) suggest that the deployment of multiple methods reflects a researcher’s ability to acquire an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon in question. The

third method which I have used is document analysis. I believe this last methodical tool is imperative to the study as this adds another overlapping viewpoint onto the study. As mentioned, the study always set out to be an explorative study of student experience, which meant that I needed to assess all aspects of the protests which occurred. Thus, I deployed semi-structured interviews to allow myself to gain insight and datasets around my particular interests on the subject matter but theirs too. My primary motivation for conducting observations was to gain first-hand experience of what my participants experienced but also to an extent how it made them feel. Even after the deployment of these two methodologies, I believe that I still needed more data. However, this time with regards to the university itself.

I wanted to see how it constructed the protests and what evidence had it produced to substantiate its claims against their own students. In 2019, students were still interdicted and facing trials. For me to fully comprehend what was occurring at SU during the protest periods, I needed to create a holistic viewpoint. Bowen (2017:29) argues that the deployment of these multiple methods or triangulation allows for the convergence and corroboration of the data collected. Further, Angers and Machtmes (2005:778) made use of this form of data gathering in their study by conducting observations, semi-structured interviews, and a document analysis, which, these authors argue, allowed them to corroborate their datasets but also validate them. Finally, triangulating the data is an attempt to provide researchers a convergence of evidence from different datasets which ensures credibility of the data and evidence gathered (Eisner, 1991:110).

In order for me to gain the most holistic view of events, I decided that I would need to look into how the university viewed these events. I decided to make use of the court case dockets, which are large documents that contain interdicts, affidavits, and visual evidence used in the court cases against student activists. Bryman (2015:543) notes that the use of documents is a low intensive source of information as it is not time consuming and is unobtrusive. This was ideal for me as it was hard to track down university staff for this kind of information. For example, I approached the Stellenbosch legal team with the help of the head of transformation at the time. I was simply told these documents do not exist; however, after months of searching, the opposing council generously gave me copies of the documents. This meant that I did not have to track and search for multiple different members at SU. These documents allowed me to plot out a contrasting viewpoint from that of my participants. It also served as a vital source of information and provided a clear path as to how the university constructed the reality of student protests on campus. Understanding how the university constructed its operating space

in conjunction with surveillance was of particular interest to me as I sought to understand how data was compiled and used against student activists, and show how this impacted them in turn. Therefore, the document analysis was aimed at understanding how Stellenbosch as a space was constructed and show surveillance was used to regulate student activists.

Moreover, when reading through the data, the question of credibility was raised for me. As Mogalakwe (2006:221) suggests, we need to be concerned with the question of credibility to the extent to which the observers of the documents were earnest about their point of view and their attempts in recording the data accurately. With regards to my own participants, for most of these events I was present; I was able to make judgments on the ways they constructed certain events. Whereas with the documents, it was never complied by the people trying to prosecute the students. It was from stills that were taken from cut video footage, security personnel and random eyewitnesses. This allowed me to take the two different timelines and stories and weigh them up against one another to see where the different points converged and, more importantly, deviated from one another. There were moments where the two stories did not align; however, when combing through my fieldnotes and evidence, I had found evidence which supported the student activist story and not the university. This was of importance when triangulating data as it not only created a holistic viewpoint of events occurring but allowed me to assess the validity of what was held to be true. The document analysis therefore became source of data particularly when I was analysing the SU's perspective on events.

Further, when I sat down with all my different datasets and notes, I realised that every portion of data I had collected was imperative because this formed part of the knowledge about the protest. These datasets were created under particular conditions and set within a certain political climate; all datasets gathered from the work on student protests should be valued because it allows us to understand how and why certain events occurred. In this case, the social construction of knowledge is central as the research is an explorative study based upon student activist experiences and, without the help of my participants, the study would not have been possible.

The importance of reflection and socially constructed knowledge

Understanding one's experience is crucial as it is a form of knowledge production. That is why I believe it's crucial to self-reflect. To this point, Schön (1983) believes that critical reflection is important as we, in essence, try to make sense of our research field, world, or phenomenon. Building on this, Cheng and Corduneanu (2015:3) see critical reflection as the process where

we need to question our assumptions and positions to understand them better and to understand the underlying logic behind it. This was an imperative step in the research that I carried into the writing process. I constantly had to reflect on the meaning of events or certain occurrences. This was important because as I interacted with my research world and environment, I had begun thinking in paradigms, and reflecting on these paradigms helped me understand the way I was interpreting particular events. To illustrate what I mean by this, I now turn to my experience of applying for ethics and dealing with the university afterwards.

A critical step within the research process is the Research Ethical Clearance process (REC). Navigating the regulations of research was intriguing because, for me, it related closely to my research topic. To expand on this, it is useful to reflect on both my Honours and Masters experience with REC. I am choosing to include my honours experience because I see my Masters as an extension of my Honours where my experience from my Honours had informed me as to how to move forward during my Masters.

During my Honours, I had encountered many different obstacles with regards to obtaining my ethical clearance. The ethics board felt that my work should take place in an appropriate time and space, they felt that my work on protests should be conducted after the protests, when the activists were not protesting and when the space of Stellenbosch was not being politicized, in short what I took away from this was that they did not want me to create issues or problems for them (SU) by stirring up any controversy through my research. The ethics board also attempted to argue that my research had the potential to be triggering to protests. They attempted to argue that I should wait for a better time to speak about protests and violence as it might cause even more psychological harm to my participants.

I found this incredibly frustrating when receiving the news, because at that particular time, I saw it as ironic that the ethics board of my university was concerned for my participants yet not one of them had actively tried engaging with the protests or at least my participants. The process to receive research clearance was tedious; a constant back and forth between the ethics committee and I meant that I almost missed the deadline to submit my Honours dissertation, and I had made them aware of this many a times. The truth is, I felt victimised by the ethics process. I was constantly being blocked by the committee and even when I came up with a solution, more issues would arise. At some point it felt as if I was a target of the university to try and suppress my work. However, being persistent, I had eventually received clearance and collected my data.

When starting my Masters, I had already begun to panic and feel a sense of hopelessness as my research topic delved deeper into the lives and experiences of SU protestors. However, feeling a great sense of anxiety, I had chosen to take a different approach to gaining my clearance especially with regards to the subject matter. With my Masters, I had arranged meetings with individuals within the REC department where I sat down with them and explained my research and the measures I would use in this project, as the methods didn't always conform to the universities standards. Thus, I had to lay the groundwork in before, so that when my proposal made it to the board, there would be someone who understood the logic or methods I was using. For instance, the university wanted me to back up my datasets on their servers. However, my participants would not feel comfortable with this as the data being stored on their servers meant that they would have access to my datasets. A primary concern for me was my participants did not trust the data privacy of SU. Thus, when writing up my research protocols, I had to put in additional measures my peers did not have to. I had to constantly speak to individuals within the REC department to help guide me to ensure my proposal would make it through clearance. These particular individuals sat in on the meeting and could, if needed, explain my reasoning and logic. The second submission of my REC application went well; I had minimal changes with most of them being small changes.

Once ethical clearance was obtained, I had reached out to the head of the legal team of the university to request the interdict files. I had received permission from the ethics committee to access and use these files; however, when I had asked legal for them, they had outright denied their existence and told me that I should reach out to the university private security firms. At this point, I had visited the head of transformation for the university to try and help me access the files to no avail; he was unsuccessful being told these files do not exist too. I searched for these files for months and asking many people at the university to point me in the right direction. Instead, I was rejected from seeing them. I even visited the high court on many occasions and the interdict files could simply not be found. I had eventually managed to receive the files from the defendant's advocate. Small occurrences like these continuously held up the progress of my Masters.

Most of my interactions with the REC and legal department has not been pleasant and had left me feeling like I was under surveillance and being regulated. This had, for an extensive period, influenced the paradigm under which I viewed the university. It affected the way I had interacted with the university and, on many levels, it fostered a deep mistrust in the university.

This whole process became important for me in the research process for two reasons. The first is that I felt on some level closer to my participants, even though we were ‘fighting’ the university under vastly different circumstances. I had felt as if I was also being watched and to a large extent, I felt as if the university was trying to regulate my work. Secondly, the REC process and trying to procure these documents, I had gained valuable knowledge about my research with regards to understanding my participants. I had this experience of how students might feel marginalised by SU. Once I had sat and thought about this process for a long time, I had come to the realisation that through this process, I had gained first-hand experience of how SU tries to regulate bodies and how emotionally taxing it could be. Through this research process, and even during my writing period, critical reflection was imperative, as it had helped me understand my process and understanding clearer. My experiences are part of this research and in order for me to write about these students experiences, I had to first understand how my experiences affected me, so that I could always try and write from an academic standpoint and not one based on emotion. However, in many ways, my experiences were also crucial to the research as it helped and guided me throughout the duration of the research process, whereby my experiences became knowledge for my research.

Chapter outline

The thesis is organised into four main chapters. All four chapter explore core themes and examine surveillance and regulation from different standpoints. The thesis follows a linear time scale, it starts at a pre-FMF SU and moves towards the period encapsulating FMF.

Chapter one, which is the point of departure for this thesis, looks at the transformation policy of SU and the comparison to reality. I argue that SU transformation policy was aiding the racial tension at SU. It would not be possible to write this thesis without looking at policy as it played a crucial role within the crisis of higher education. The Ministerial Report, which I looked at in the introduction, speaks to the failure of policy where there is no policy implementation or the policy is being implemented poorly. These were the factors which lead to the rupture within the higher educational sector in South Africa. I also argue that an important element to understanding the protests at SU, one needs to understand the pretext of FMF of SU. I then discuss the crucial problems which are associated with the transformation document. What I show the reader is that the policy not only failed students but itself and the university. I then move away from focusing exclusively on the policy to look at the way the implementation and maintenances of this policy affected students by looking at the reality of SU students.

In chapter two, I explore the continuities and discontinuity of the apartheid state and Stellenbosch. I argue that people of colour (POC)¹⁶ students are still being treated in a very similar manner to the way in which protestors were treated during the apartheid era. The crux of this chapter is that today, in our present-day democratic society, white institutions are still using violent and damaging tactics to stop and suppress POC voices. I also look at the continuities between the Soweto uprising and the FMF protests.

In the third chapter, I argue that SU has created a superpanopticon, and its reach of surveillance and regulation had become all encompassing, where this reach had eventually played a role in the downfall of the FMF group by shattering its social capital and creating group instability. Taking cue from Michele Foucault's idea of the Panopticons, I investigate the rise of the information age and technological revolution makes it possible to make the panopticon a digital structure, which is not limited by space and time. I also scrutinise the reality of paranoia, and how the student activist felt this sense of paranoia stemming from the SU surveillance mechanisms. I then go on further to look at the way individual(s) paranoia can affect and fragment the group. This I will argue is another form of apartheid tactic, by creating intergroup conflict to divide the group and its power.

In the fourth chapter, and final chapter, I argue that FMF students were not merely idle participants within the power matrix between SU and the FMF protestors. I argue that they wielded the ability to shift the power dynamic. I move back to the focus of surveillance, but here I explore the notion of sousveillance¹⁷ to examine the importance of this concept within surveillance work. However, in doing so, I also examine its limitations and develop the concept further by looking at the way information technologies and sousveillance can coincide. I then explore the idea of dynamic surveillance by looking at how these shifts in surveillance creates more active members surrounding the protests. In closing, I look at how surveillance has moved from a one-way linear relationship to a network like structure where information is constantly flowing and how this causes a shift within power dynamics.

¹⁶ I use the term POC as a sociological term to express the different ranges of ethnicities and racial categories for people who do not identify as white. POC is an inclusive term which encapsulates many different people and their experiences.

¹⁷ Sousveillance is the concept used when those who are under surveillance enact surveillance upon their surveyors.

CHAPTER ONE

The clash of policy and reality

Policy is vital as it sets out a guiding standard for an institution (Freeman, 2018: 7). This chapter investigates how the process of implementation can hamper policy efficiency. More specifically, I want to look at the transformation policy of SU; not the newer one post-FMF (2019) but rather the older policy (2014) pre-FMF. It is important to understand the latter, as it was a point of contention for minority students. In the introduction, I looked at the Ministerial report which pointed out that universities were in crisis, due to a variety of factors, but mostly due to the absence of proper policy. The one in place at the time was problematic; it addressed the symptoms of the issues but not their causes. To demonstrate this, the gap between the core points of the transformation policy and the reality of my participants and some other students will be exposed. To do so, I will draw on stories, on research conducted and concerned with the lives of minority SU students, and lastly, on the video ‘Luister’ which came out in in 2017. The aim of this chapter is to exhibit how this set of policies strove for a version of transformation which was unattainable, unsustainable and which failed to cater to the true reality of SU. Ultimately, these elements are shown to have participated in leading SU to the crisis it faced during the periods of 2016- 2018.

To understand what occurred at SU, one needs to understand what happened before the events of FMF. While this thesis focuses mainly on the lived experiences of students during the protest, this chapter delivers an understanding of the context of these minority students lives prior to the protest. The aim is to lay a foundation to student experiences during the FMF movement.

As stated before, historically Stellenbosch University has a long-standing racialized history involving strong ties to apartheid (South African History Online, 2017). However, it has tried

to take responsibility for this. One critical way it has done so is by launching its Transformation policy, which aspires to make the university a more diverse space in terms of its staff and students. Nevertheless, the policy in recent years has come under much scrutiny. It must be noted that the intention of this thesis is not to paint the university in a bad light, but rather to report on facts, and what occurred. In fact, this policy has frequently been updated and the newest version (the post-FMF one) appears to be much more comprehensive and to address issues which its predecessor had missed or failed to address. This illustrates an instance of successful revision of inefficient policy. However, *the Equality and Human Rights Commission* (2019) argues that universities must collect and analyse data to fully comprehend the effectiveness of their policies and procedures by examining complaints received from their students. As will be shown, this was not the case for the FMF case study due to underestimation of the magnitude of the problem at hand and the absence of a policy soundness assessment procedure. Five key points of the policy (2014) exemplify these two issues:

1. That the bringing about of a corps of excellent students and academic and administrative staff members that is demographically more representative of South African society, must be fundamental to all our actions.
2. That we shall make a concerted effort to utilise the rich diversity of the country as an asset.
3. SU puts a high premium on diversity of ideas and is successfully attracting both staff and students from diverse sections of our society. There is an ease of acceptance regarding the various cultural backgrounds. There is a keen demand for SU graduates in the labour market. Students and staff alike find SU an environment eminently suited to learning and self-development.
4. Afrikaans is accepted as a language of teaching, scholarship, and science, successful in giving students access to world-class scholarly and scientific practice in a uniquely multilingual context.
5. That we will continuously subject the accessibility of the University to critical evaluation.
6. The University could hardly be a positive role player in the building of a new society in South Africa if our demographic profile remains a reflection of our apartheid past.

The first three reveal what the university aims for in this process of transformation. The main objective clearly appears to be augmenting diversity. Ahmed, Swan and Turner (2006, 34) argue that the problem with the term diversity, when it comes to educational institutions, is that it is used superficially. More specifically, the term points to the number of diverse bodies,

which forms a part of the education institution. Although these bodies represent a plurality, they do are not necessarily truly diverse as they lack the exact mechanisms (social cohesion) of being diverse.

An issue which was raised by my supervisor Professor Robert Pattman in my second-year sociology class is how SU presents itself as diverse but lacks social cohesion amongst its students. He pointed to the fact that, although the body of students was diverse, its members did not intermingle. Hence a microcosm of racially homogenous groups formed and their members interacted with mostly with students from their own microcosm. This social phenomenon would play a significant factor during the protests and would lead to much contention amongst the student body.

The fourth issue here was the issue of language. Afrikaans is a politically charged language since it was one used by the apartheid government. Our country's history is punctuated by shifts in linguistic power. Indeed, languages have been imposed, with the assistance of coercion, on South Africans ¹⁸ (South African History Online, 2007). Afrikaans holds an oppressive connotation due to its link to the during which the apartheid governments ruled¹⁹. Today South Africa, recognizes eleven official languages, two of which I speak I am proficient in – English and Afrikaans. In spite of this linguistic diversity, the oldest set of transformation policy pushed for Afrikaans as a language of instruction. Yet, many students were incapable of speaking or understanding it. This obstructed their academic success and further hindered relational ties between students. Therefore, language was a point of contention spilling on racial issues as Afrikaans was still closely linked to whiteness. It represented the oppressive roots of the country's past. In short, Afrikaans was acting as a barrier socially but also academically for many students.

The fifth point carries on from the fourth point. Racially many students who were black didn't want to speak the language or lacked the linguistical abilities to be able to learn the language, as a result of this many students didn't want to attend SU because it pushed to keep Afrikaans as a language of instruction. The policy had already failed itself, as the university was pushing for a language which made the university inaccessible to many students as they could not speak the language or did not want to be educated in the language. Furthermore, Doriani (2014, 1) suggests that speakers being taught in their native tongue outperform those receiving an

¹⁸ Here I refer to the Soweto Uprising, I speak about the Soweto uprising in the proceeding chapter.

¹⁹ For more information on Afrikaans and its ties to apartheid, visit the South African History Online archive at: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/afrikaans-language-black-and-coloured-dissent>

education in their second language, the second language speakers struggled to keep pace and didn't favour as well as their native language counterparts. Here I argue that second language speakers would be put directly into a disadvantage over their Afrikaans speaking counterparts, as they would be receiving their education in a language they barely understood or didn't speak at all.

Lastly, I want to address the issue which is being stated by the university that for the university to be a positive role player, it needs to build a profile matching one of that of South Africa. The issue here is the use of the word profile, as stated before the university is using numbers as a model to address transformation. This to a certain extent is required, the university needs to ensure that it has a diverse profile, but it's not pushing at the real issue at hand, there is no merit in having a diverse student body if the student body remains racially unsaturated. There is no emphasis placed or formal plan in place to encourage social cohesion amongst its students. It is merely implying that it promises to diversify its racial profile.

The last point is imperative; it is the starting point for what I want to discuss next. What was happening at SU is that we had a mixed profile of students which was at the university, but this simply was not enough. The core idea here was that if the university diversified its profile, this would be enough. Here I want to talk about policy. The policy being used was successful if looked at from a theoretical perspective; it was bringing in students from racially different backgrounds and ethnicities. But the failure lied in its implementation. The implementation of this policy, as stated before, was superficial, as there was a diverse body of students on the campus, but there was a lack of social cohesion amongst its students. This, I argue, led to tension between the policy and the reality when the policy was implemented. Vincent (2008, 1426) argues that even with the fall of apartheid and different racial groups coming into close contact with one another, this has not translated into racial integration, as these interactions still occur within racial power relations of blackness and whiteness. I argue that what Vincent (2008) is pointing out is what was happening at SU at the time, where we find that there was a lack of social cohesion amongst the racially different groups on campus, because of different experiences of the campus by the different racial groups. This, in terms, had fuelled or heightened the mounting tension amongst the student body. I bring this point up here because, during the FMF period on campus, the protests became racialised, it became a story of 'us VS them'. Here I argue that if the policy were implemented in a way which brought in a diverse student body but at the same time addressed social cohesion, the outcomes of the environment on campus could have been different. If racial groups were interacting more and forming

relations between each other, the possibility existed that the flow of information between the groups could have been highly possible. By the flow of information, I am speaking about the personal connection between people; if there was a high social capital presence between a racially mixed student body, this could hold the potential of having dialogue and reflection between racially mixed groups. Where the understanding and significance of FMF could be debated and discussed amongst students. However, what was occurring on the campus was the development of racial microcosm.

Moving to the next section of this chapter I want to look at the way implications of this policy had through understanding stories of students and constructed events, it's important to understand what was occurring at SU before FMF, as the environment of the campus was already under racial strain. I want to look at a Critical Race Theory (CRT) here, as Brown (2016,14) and De La Garza and Ono (2016, 1) states the basic understanding of CRT is that membership pertaining to one's race is socially constructed and thus it's rooted into political, economic, cultural and social phenomena. Race goes beyond mere skin colour; it is woven into the fabric of society. Delgado and Stefancic (2001, 38 & 39) argues that with CRT, we need to look at the lived experiences and stories of the marginalised to understand how race works. Further, Harden (2016,36) argues that CRT rejects the idea of meritocracy within an institution as this presumes that all individuals will have access to the opportunities and success, through understanding the lived experiences of race and race relations, we can see how these groups of people are marginalised through the internal workings of an institution.

Understanding the experience of SU from 'other' students.

I want to now look at the reality of what was happening at SU at the time, focusing on the experience of POC students. By doing this, I want to show how the SU transformation policy strove for transformation, it failed because it pushed Afrikaans as a language of instruction and that the lack of trying to foster social cohesion created racial tension amongst groups. Du Toit and Michael (2011, 540-541) argues that increased social contact between races does not guarantee a reduction in prejudice and an increase in the ties between these groups, social cohesion requires optimal conditions for this to occur in, even spaces like universities, which should hold optimal conditions, fails and shows low meanings of contact. They argue that the legal and social desegregation has had a little impact on this segregation culture. Instead, Racial interactions should be understood in how we come to understand space, and through the remaking of space, we reshape and remake race (Neely & Samura, 2011:1934). Nelson (2002,

28) further asserts that through the control of space, we mark different racial groups as inferior, through defining, regulating, and confining space. First, I want to look at the issue of language, as stated before, for me a critical failure of the university was the maintaining of Afrikaans as a dominant language in what they deemed was a multilingual context. Looking at the idea of multilingual, SU is situated in South Africa, which acknowledges eleven official languages, the issue here was that SU was pushing for a bilingual context of learning, but this went further even the culture of SU was very Afrikaans driven. The issue here is that one cannot have a multilingual institution if one language is given preferential treatment over others. Afrikaans students have a benefit over many other students, receiving their education in their native language and their second additional language. Where for others English might be their second language and Afrikaans their third language, or they might not be able to speak/understand it at all. The space cannot be understood as multi-cultural if the language and the culture are heavily defined and influenced by Afrikaans; it dominates the institution and life within the institution. This, I argue, creates tension, especially in a context like South Africa, where the language is closely linked to race.

Furthermore, looking at Durheim, Motose and Brown (year, 116) speaks of *place identity* this refers to the way a particular place has attained its meaning it has for people, where the language is a driving force which binds people to places. As we use language to represent our external environments, thus we use language to construct and communicate the meanings of places, we express our sense of belonging and with this expression we also express who belongs in a place and who doesn't. We can see how language is a driving force in the creation of place identity as we have these stereotypes built up such as farms are spaces of whiteness, townships are spaces of blackness and a place like the Cape Flats are a space of colouredness. What Durheim et al. (year, 117) further pushes at is that this can happen on a large or small scale, places like universities can become associated with a race, looking at a space historically we can see how these places have developed their racial meanings. In the case of SU, it has a long-standing Afrikaans history linked to the upkeep of Afrikaans as a language and to the suppression of all that opposes whiteness. It has a long-standing history as a space for whites and especially white Afrikaners.

So, I came to Stellenbosch in 2015, and during welcoming(week), I had people use my race, it was a racist incident. I didn't know who to talk to about it, so this one guy, we talking about the elections. We were the 2014 batch that could vote and I was like I'm not pro ANC, I think they have fucked up a lot but I think there are merits why they were voted in. This guys like the only reason you say that is because you brown and

you should just go back to Zuma and the monkeys. And I was like “ohhhhhh, okay, okay.” And I thought to myself what is wrong with this place? In the first few days of my arrival I was already questioning this place. And then I went to my linguistics class, and everything was Afrikaans, and he asked how many people wanted translation devices or how many people speak English only, and there was only 4 of us, and he's like it's not just enough for me to swop over, so he asked who needs translation devices, I put up my hand, and I never got the device I attended a few classes, and I use to even ask to them, and we eventually changed modules, I was born in South Africa but grew up broad and only returned in grade 11, I had never done or learnt to speak Afrikaans. Eventually, I started to pick up a lot of different small problem or weird things...

-Lillian

Looking at Lillian first, this is a story which I have heard many a time from students, where they have come to SU but feel as if it was a mistake and regrets coming to SU to study. This feeling of unwelcomeness and a sense of not belonging is a recurring theme. Here we have a coloured student who is attacked for showing interest in understanding the support for the ANC. She is attacked and told to go back to then-President Jacob Zuma and his monkeys. The image of black people being used here is an issue of its own. However, it speaks to the daily racism, which is occurring at SU. Mapedzahama and Kwansah-Aidoo (2017, 1) argues that POC bodies in white spaces have always been constructed as a problematic difference, it is seen as inferior and othered, blackness is perceived as the opposition to whiteness, therefore blackness defines what whiteness is but at the same time is made subordinate by whiteness. POC bodies at SU are perceived in this manner, the crude stereotype in SA that black people and our ruling party are monkeys, in this context blackness is portrayed as uncivil and one step below humanness. The immediate reaction after this is Lillian is told she does not belong at SU because she is brown, a direct indicator to who the perpetrator feels belongs at SU and that is white (especially Afrikaans) people. Harwood, S.A., Mendenhall Lee, Riopelle, C. and Hunt (2018, 3) argues that racism is linked through the power structures found in a space, where the marginalised group is underrepresented or not represented at all through physical or institutional cultural aspects, such as campus activities, artwork and building names to mention a few. At SU buildings names, most of the artwork and cultural activities are representative of white Afrikaans culture. An added layer is the language here, as Afrikaans predominately represents whiteness. As SU managerial structures safeguards it, it reinforces the idea that SU is not a multilingual or multi-racial institution but merely an institution for the white Afrikaners students.

Further, looking at what occurs in her linguistics class, the lecture feels that there are not enough English speaking students in the class to conduct the class in English and Afrikaans which was the direct policy of SU at the time. They are not given translators they are merely forgotten about, there is an aspect of silencing at play here. Buchanan and Settles (2019, 2) argues that the dominant group is visible because they have the power and determine policies', practices and standards. By default, the marginalised groups are denied recognition and become invisible, putting them at a disadvantage, because once deemed invisible, they are denied recognition. Lillian and her classmates are denied the opportunity to learn and pushed aside until they remove themselves from this Afrikaans space. There is the protectionism of Afrikaans in this space, where lectures themselves violate the policies of SU to benefit the Afrikaans speaking students only. These kinds of instances solidified the mounting racial tension at SU as one language was preferred over others and allowing for Afrikaans students to feel as if SU was their space and nobody else's. For me, these kinds of interactions pushed at this idea that one needs to assimilate, be quiet and happy that you have even been given the opportunity to come to the university. If one cannot assimilate ,be silent and happy for being at a place like SU, then you need to leave.

*The colour of skin in Stellenbosch is a social burden.
 If you do not speak Afrikaans, you do not belong here.
 If you protest the language policy, its seen as immoral.
 I would rather kill my child then have them go through SU.
 You feel so unwelcomed here, it feels like a different country.
 -excerpts from "Luister."*

During 2015, before the rupture of FMF SU faced backlash and witnessed the rise in support of Open Stellenbosch (OS) this was a group which campaigned for the push to make SU accessible by removing Afrikaans as a language of instruction and the push towards the upholding of an Afrikaans centric university. During 2015 a documentary was released on YouTube called 'Luister'²⁰, this documentary was a compilation of SU students speaking about their experience of the university and how they uphold of Afrikaans played a central role in shaping their experiences of SU and their lives at SU. Above I have pulled out excerpts from what some the students had to say. What is clear is that they felt unwelcomed at SU that a space like SU prioritises a certain student and that this was not a place for them. What some of these

²⁰ Lustier is Afrikaans for listen. Available at: <https://youtu.be/sF3rTBQTQk4>

students were conveying was not only shocking but upsetting, that they felt like SU was a different country, they would rather kill their own children than allow them to experience what they have at SU and that their skin tone was a burden to them. I want to point to the one excerpt which speaks about the protesting of the language policy, the idea that one protesting not for the downfall of Afrikaans but merely the removal of the language as an institutional medium is immoral. This is the viewpoint many white Afrikaans students has conveyed to them, the protection of their language in an academic space which only favours them. This speaks to the failure of SU as an institution as they reinforce this through the policies they upheld. When one watches *Luister* you can see the true depth of what the upholding of the language policy was doing at SU. Easterwood (2016, 1) and McGregor (2017, 9-10) suggests that black students experience a different university campus compared to their white counterparts, as black students sense of belonging relies on the campuses racial climate, if the campuses racial climate is skewed against them, their experiences of campuses will differ tremendously compared to their white counterparts, their experiences of campus would be hostile, violent and damaging. I would argue that the racial climate of SU's campus is skewed against POC students, where POC students are coerced into adapting and accepting the language. Through this coercion, it has allowed the space of SU to remain a space for white Afrikaners to feel entitled to the space. Historically it was a space where Afrikaans thrived, maintaining these kinds of power relations through the medium of policy only strengthen this belief and allows for the creation of racialised interaction and mounting tension. For me it was simple, SU had to remove Afrikaans as an institutional language as it closes off SU and allowed for the conditions of SU to operate as a space of whiteness, the fall of apartheid should have signified the opening of space, it is not merely enough to argue that if one doesn't speak Afrikaans, they should not attend SU as this will continue to widen the gap of integration of race within our society. Spaces like SU has had a direct impact on the racial segregation not only within the institution but within the broader South African context, as it breeds the upholding of the white superiority.

In this last section, I speak about the language issue; here I want to address the issue attached to language at SU, at SU language and culture is closely linked. The issue here is that SU embraces and upholds a culture of Afrikaans. This is another issue of contentions which will further later cause strain on the socio-political climate terrain of SU. The institutional culture at SU directly impacts the experience of SU for students, as seen in the quote above, at SU assimilation is key to survival, but this in itself is wrong, as SU 'pushes' for transformation and to embrace a space which represents the demography of the current South Africa. The

policy being used hinders this as it safeguards Afrikaans, and by default, it safeguards the Afrikaans culture at SU. This safeguarding of language and culture translates into the further alienation of POC students at SU. One's experience of SU is determined by one's skin colour or in some cases, one's ability to assimilate and embrace this hegemonic Afrikaans culture. This othering of POC students had placed tremendous pressure on race relations and the ever-increasing corrosion of social cohesion amongst students. Here I argue that SU has used its spaces to safeguard its historical culture and language and wanting students to assimilate into it by bringing diverse bodies of students onto its campus and branding it as social transformation when what in reality is occurring is the increasing gap between racially different students and a prime factor in this broadening gap is SU, as it allows for a certain violent culture to persist on campus. Where white bodies are seen, and they live in a normalised environment, and POC bodies are pushed to the periphery and silenced.

Coming to SU I was so excited, I had gotten into a good university, and my mom was so proud of how far I had come in life so far, but then I had been here a few days and finally started seeing SU true colours. During skakeling the white men would not want to come close to me; they would actively avoid trying to interact with me; they would speak in Afrikaans and point towards their friends and me would laugh. Nobody stood up for me, the members of the HK²¹ would turn a blind eye and pretend like they never saw, nobody tried to put an end to the cruelty and racism of those boys. – Cindy

Skakeling at SU has been a tradition which has been carried out for many years; it is a tradition which stems from the single sex residence policy. Where the female and male residences around campus gets the opportunity to meet and interact with one another, this is to foster relations amongst females and males (which is already in itself an issue, it merely assumes blank heterosexuality). The issue with skakeling is that it is a raced event, where whites do not want to skakel or interact with black and coloured girls when they are chosen. In Pattman and Carolissen (2008, 205-206) they look at this point, that skakeling is a raced event, where black and coloured students are treated differently based upon their race, where the experience of skakeling differs on skin colour. They demonstrated racial experiences through a focus group of different female students. What the focus group shows is how coloured student's experience of skakeling is based upon racial relational, and a racial incident and a white student's experience of skakeling is fun, and her bad experience was getting dressed up and missing the event. Fisher, David and Hartman (1995, 117 & 118) argues that black students experience and treatment on campus would be majorly different to that of their white counterparts, the

²¹ HK is an Afrikaans abbreviation for a residence house committee.

intersection of race and the lived experience here is central as this is the first year's first encounters of the campus and the institutional culture of the campus. Even with this being a first-year event and trying to get different students to interact, the event does the opposite; it triggers the initial racial bordering between the students. The problem here is that the university still chooses to keep events such as skakeling ongoing every year without trying to address the issues of the events or create events which are aimed at creating social cohesion in a positive environment.

...I went to lunch, we grabbed food in the Neelsie, and then we headed out, we just wanted to go somewhere and figure out at the time what was going on. And we started walking around town, like Dorp street area, and then we started realising that this guy had followed us from the Neelsie up and down and as we were walking into the streets and shops, and he was following us and then, followed my friend home and sang Die Stem outside her bedroom window. In my first year I a street away from the main campus but eventually I couldn't, and I had to move completely out of town, I just needed to get away, but yes there was this one guy across the road from me, two of my friends and I was sitting on the front porch, and he came out and came across and said to us I recognise all of you, he then pointed at me and said "if you cause any trouble I'm going to kill you" ...- Richard

When I spoke to Richard, I asked him if he had experienced any racial incidents during the time he was protesting, he provided me with these two stories, from after he joined the OS protests. He spoke about when a white student followed him and a few friends; the student then proceeded to sing 'Die Stem'²² outside his friend's window. Die Stem or The Call of South Africa (its English name) was the old anthem of the colonial and apartheid-era of South Africa. Die Stem has its history in origins in our countries racist background; it is a point of contention in our countries socio-political background, it is the equivalent of displaying the old apartheid flag. I argue the point of singing Die Stem in this context was a symbolic representation of the student showing his support for the old regime and that black students were not welcomed in the institution of apartheid.

Further, Richard was a protesting student, and the death threat was because these protesting students were protesting the language policy and the institutional culture of apartheid. This threat was based around the students causing trouble at SU and trying to change its internal monologues to move away from its Afrikaans heritage to an inclusive one. What is of great

²² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Die_Stem_van_Suid-Afrika

concern in these moments is the born-free²³ generation expressing racist sentiments, the born free generation has not grown up under apartheid and has no experiences of apartheid, yet what we find is that there is still a proportion of born-free generation expressing these apartheid sentiments, a form of nostalgia for days they were never a part of or can recall. Mattes (2012, 134-135) problematizes this as he argues that the born-free generation seems less committed to democracy and equality; this is a deeply rooted issue we face as a nation. The issue is how do we as a nation move to a space of racial equality if the born-free generation lacks commitment to moving forward and healing. This is worsened by policies instated at SU, as the internal culture of the university is geared towards Afrikaans and the protection of Afrikaans as a language and Afrikaner culture, because of this the experiences of POC students at the university is violent. As they are simply seen as a threat to the long-standing history of Afrikaans at the university. All these different racial experiences at SU has created a rift amongst its students, this is not to say that there was not a racial gap amongst students before, but SU being an educational institution, their function is to educate students and foster an environment where students can learn and unlearn these racialised ways of thinking.

“Stellenbosch University vice-chancellor Wim de Villiers said it’s sad that some students are exposed to racism and discrimination. “However, to insinuate that the university is not serious about transformation, that it turns a blind eye to flagrant racism or that it in some sense advocates or maintains a culture of Apartheid at the university, is simply not true and cannot go unchallenged.”-Nicolson (2015)

After the lustier video was released, it received major media and political attention. SU was summoned to appear in our parliament. The quote from above is the response from the university’s rector; it is a denial of the racism and experience of the racism on campus. Van Dijk (1992, 87) argues that a core property of racism is denialism; if racism does not exist, then it cannot be real or addressed. What was occurring on campus was evident; the blatant racism and discrimination of students was part of their daily lives. I argue that the denialism of racism of campus was a ploy by the university to protect its corporate image and its ideals of what they deemed transformation was. This response of the university contributes to the silencing of POC bodies in a white space, it’s not merely an act of silencing but anti-transformative as it violated its own policies, where it states that SU “ will continuously subject the accessibility of the University to critical evaluation” if the university is actively denying its role in the racist occurrences and the manners in which they have fostered racism at SU then by default it is not

²³ The born free generation refers to the post-apartheid generation of south African youth, these members of the youth is supposed to be the generation of freedom born into democracy. <https://anthronow.com/print/the-born-free-generation>

open to critical evaluation. As the individuals involved in trying to bring forth the issue of racism at SU were their own students, this was not an external source but their own students. The experiences of SU for POC students are violent; they are discriminated against upon the colour of their skin but also expected to adjust to a culture which is so closely linked to apartheid. SU students are expected to not only be successful academically but also to be moulded into the Matie²⁴ Image.

In closing this chapter, I want to reflect on what was bubbling at the surface of the SU environment. SU had tried to maintain its whiteness and claim to its Afrikaans roots for many years after the dawn of the South African democracy, the policies allowed for the maintenance of this. What was happening in the daily lives of students was the build-up of racialised tensions. When the protests occurred, I argue that the response of the university had escalated it, what the reader will see in the following chapters is what the universities did to suppress protests and how protestors were punished. FMF was about the issue of the fee increment, but the political anger and hostility ran much deeper, the acts of students was not merely regarding fees. It was about POC students feeling as if they do not belong in this space, about feeling invisible and marginalised, the fee increment for students was another way in which the university could maintain its white Afrikaans heritage and close itself off further. Even though the 2015 fee increment was a government announcement by the Minister of Higher Education, when the students protested, they were not met with understanding or a mutual understanding that many students would be forced to leave SU, they were met with hostility and SU actively pushed against these students trying to suppress their actions to bring forth change through militarising the campus and punishing them for fighting for their educations and futures.

²⁴ Matie is the term used to refer to a student or students who studies or studied at SU.

CHAPTER TWO

I think history repeats itself. There is a constant conversation between the oppressed and the oppressor. -Michael B Jordan

This chapter is aimed at being a historical chapter, But I want to bring the past into the present. I want to look at what occurred at the protests during apartheid, then examine how similar these were in post-apartheid South Africa. The key argument in this chapter is that POC students are still being criminalised and treated in similar ways as POC South African citizens during apartheid. This is crucial because both institutions (SU and the apartheid government) were and remain white-run institutions and the treatment of POC bodies are uncanny. This chapter is split into two sections, the first being the physical treatment of the protestors and the reactions of their respective institutions to the protests. In the second section, I will look at the ways in which different legal strategies were used to suppress and punish bodies who stood up to their institutions. In the first section of the chapter I will look at the Soweto uprising and then compare it to the FMF movement. This is important as they were both student protests which took place under different regimes, but which also occurred more than 40 years apart. With this comparison, I will look at the physical environment of the two protests and point out the similarities in the ways in which these students were treated and what occurred during these protests. In the second section of the chapter, I will look at the Sharpeville Massacre and the Soweto uprising before comparing them to the FMF movement and how legal strategies were deployed to suppress and punish individuals. This chapter is not merely about how the past has a way of repeating itself, but also the contexts of the respective regimes. One which strove for racial segregation under law while the other occurred under democratic rule. Looking at the way(s) in which white-run institutions acted and still act upon POC bodies when trying to protect their liberties and freedom. Before getting into this chapter, I want to point out that having to write this chapter was not easy, not just because I had to read about the injustices of my country's past, but particularly because these injustices are still alive and thriving under the blanket of democracy.

Fees Must Fall is historically significant as it is the first major student protest in Post-Apartheid South Africa. For SU as an institution, this matter is deeply ingrained in its history. As

mentioned in Chapter One, SU is a university which is predominantly white-run and -owned. It is also the birthplace of the Volkekunde²⁵ framework. During the FMF period(s), the campus for many of us (students) transformed into a place we had never known before. There was an increase in camera presence, as well as policies which were directly aimed at monitoring the movement of students, illegally adopted new codes of conduct and heavy security presence. Individuals from the SAPS, the MIB and private security would guard buildings and do patrols around campus on foot or Casspir²⁶ vehicles. Certain areas were blocked off. Access to buildings was controlled and a campus curfew on buildings was imposed. This for me did not signal freedom or democracy, but rather apartheid. Apartheid was a violent era in South Africa's history. It was plagued by oppression, violence, unrest, bloodshed, and death. There were many moments in apartheid which stand out for many - not just South Africans. However, here I want to focus on a particular moment within apartheid which is significant to me. That is the Soweto Uprising and the massacre of innocent youths. The Soweto uprising is important for me to talk about as it relates to the FMF on many levels. However, the most striking of all is that the Soweto uprising occurred during apartheid, while FMF occurred 20 years into our country's democracy.

Soweto Youth Uprising

FMF did not exist in isolation, the conditions of 2015 created the perfect system for the moment to be brought to the fore of South African universities. The beginning of 2015 saw the rise of decolonial movements in South Africa. At Stellenbosch, there was Open Stellenbosch, coupled with a rise in feminist movements to end rape culture at the university and the addressing the male violence within protests movements. During the 2015 FMF campaign, students joined

²⁵ Volkekunde was a branch of anthropology which took inspiration from German and American anthropology, where the focal point was racial or cultural differences in a society. These preconditions were rooted in pre-colonial narratives. Volkekunde dealt with policies of separate development and formed the framework of apartheid. Its entrenchment into runs even deeper into the past of South Africa. The nation's armed forces and government officials also received training on the doctrine of Volkekunde. (<https://www.asnathome.org/about-the-asna/history-and-mission>).

²⁶ The Casspir is a heavy armoured protection and ambushing vehicle, used during periods of war in South Africa, but were also deployed during the apartheid era in townships. For more information: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Casspir>.

with workers for the end outsourcing campaign²⁷. In short, the socio-political environment at SU coupled with the proposed fees increment created the perfect catalyst for the first major national student protest in post-apartheid South Africa. However, this was not the first time that a major student protest had broken out in South Africa. During 1974, the apartheid government made Afrikaans the language of instruction alongside English. This would add to the already building tensions between black and white South Africans, which would lead to the triggering of the events surrounding the massacre of students, and a nationwide act of defiance and unrest. The 16th of June 1976 was a critical moment in the history of South Africa. It marks a significant socio-political event which would spread from Soweto and across the nation. The apartheid youth uprising had an immediate trigger, but this trigger was compounded by a bedrock of underlying tension existing between students and the apartheid government. The build-up of tension can be traced back to the 1950s. The apartheid government introduced the Bantu Education act in 1953. This was another measure to ensure that races developed within their 'correct' place in education, insofar as education was racialised and one's type of education and standards were determined by their race. Throughout the apartheid era, education was targeted by the government. It created separate development policies for education, with constant cuts to POC education funds as well as the introduction of bush colleges. Cadden (2017:23) suggests the latter a governmental tool to entrench the racial system within the class system in order to subject black people to a state of subordination. However, the black population of apartheid South Africa would not be held down by the education restraints: the 1960s marked the beginning and rise of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) in SA, and the formation of the South African Student Organisation (SASO), founded in 1968. BCM and SASO would raise the political consciousness for numerous students and inspire many of them to join the Anti-apartheid Movement. Furthermore, for many of these students, the BCM drew their attention to the site of higher education. They looked at universities as places of struggle and social oppression which not only served the desires of the apartheid system but further entrenched black South Africans' subordinate 'place' within the broader landscape of apartheid South Africa (Cadden, 2017:2).

²⁷ The End outsourcing campaign was to address the issue of SU hiring labour brokers to bring in cleaning and maintenance staff. This meant that outsourced workers received no benefits and were not protected by unions as their work was contractual.

Returning to the 16th of June 1976, this day would be remembered as the Soweto Uprising, when Apartheid South Africa saw students mobilise and take to the streets of Soweto. The events of this day did not unfold as expected. The police massacred innocent, peacefully protesting students, which in turn triggered a retaliation which surpassed the confines of Soweto and spread nationally. The protesting students were met by police brutality. During the peaceful march, the students encountered heavily armed police who fired tear gas into the crowd and later opened fire on the protesting students using live ammunition. The violent actions of the police on that day sparked wide outrage and triggered the revolt which would then spread nationwide and last for a year.

The very same people who were police ministers, who were in the military in apartheid are the very same people in the institution. If you look at the person who is currently running campus security. And you look through his record and at his background. He was not top rank, but he was definitely in the military (Viljoen) and with that you need to understand that the institutional culture then informs how they make decisions. It informs their ideologies because you cannot separate that from who you are. And you can see how they engage with student protests, engage with these people, you can still how they are okay with what they are doing, using these apartheid-like tactics here. - Cindy

Throughout the FMF period, protesters would speak of the militarisation of the campus, frequently comparing it to warzone. This is the reason I have chosen to keep using the word militarisation. In what is to follow, I want to show the reader what the students meant by the militarisation of the campuses because for them, the campus was a place of hostility, violence, and trauma. The reason I have chosen to keep using the term militarisation in this chapter is simple: this dissertation is about the protesting students who were at SU, and this was their experience of the campus. I believe it is imperative to use certain terms and language because it captures what their experience was: altering the language used would change the intensity of their experience. When looking at the broader movements on a national scale, it is evident that certain university campuses were more hostile and violent than SU, however it is not about comparing campuses and experiences. It is about understanding the experience of SU activists. In the case of my participants, they felt the university was acting in a militant way, using what they deemed 'apartheid tactics'. They conducted research on those who oversaw security, and for them, these individuals' pasts represent who they still are to this day. This sentiment is not

lost on me either, moving forward in this chapter I will look at the continuities between a protest which took place during apartheid and the FMF.

Ullrich and Knopp (2018, 184) argue that surveillance cameras are integral to the monitoring of protests and protestors. They are powerful monitoring tools which can run endlessly, record footage, and allow for the exploration of the footage. Over the course of the FMF movement, I started noticing the increasing number of cameras on campus. Upon returning to campus in January of 2016, I was met with additional camera presence on campus. I remember spotting two new sets of cameras outside my Faculty building. These were placed above to see who was accessing the front of the building. The second set was placed by the doors so that the SU intelligence team could identify every individual's face. What became evident to me was that SU did not care for its students, but rather for themselves. SU as an open campus has always battled with students being the target of crimes. Even I was a victim. I was brutally attacked by three men, stabbed in the head four times, and received four blows to my torso. The reality is that SU students are targets of crimes because we are perceived as 'rich kids' attending this university. There were attempted kidnappings, rapes, robberies and stabbings inflicted on many students. There were many different safety strategies. Despite this, the university's response was this multi-layered surveillance approach: an excessive number of cameras to protect their '*students*' and property. There was a need to increase safety in this manner when students were protesting but not when students were getting attacked daily from an external threat. Returning to FMF, I started noticing new cameras almost everywhere - inside and outside of buildings. The infamous Rooiplein camera fitted with flood lights and 360-degree rotating cameras. The point here is that SU allocated a vast amount of funds to the securitisation of its campus, ironically during a protest against the cost of its students' education.

These vast allocations of funds were not just for cameras, but also for a large number of security forces. There was more than one company employed at SU with regards to pro events²⁸. One of the companies offered surveillance at the civilian or militant levels. These security companies were hired at SU to perform exhaustive tasks, one being the surveillance of activists (I will elaborate in more detail later in the chapter), patrolling the campus, controlling access at FMF temporary access points, crowd control, building protection and what I would argue as the intimidation of FMF activists²⁹. The private security which was employed has faced

²⁸ <https://www.proevents-sa.co.za/technical-counter-surveillance-company/>

²⁹ <https://mg.co.za/article/2016-11-16-00-stellenbosch-students-traumatized-by-men-in-black-still-have-to-write-exams/>

accusations of assault, rape, and discrimination. I can testify to at least one of the above accusations. While entering my faculty building with my supervisor via the entrance reserved for lectures and postgraduate students, across the hallway we could see one of the post-doctorate fellows trying to use the entrance. The security did not want him to enter, refusing to believe that he held a PhD and that he worked for the university, and did not grant him access. The late Dr Gugu was black. Immediately, we knew that this was the issue., Once my supervisor, who is an elderly white man, went over and reiterated that Dr Gugu was indeed telling the truth, they let him in. This was one of many moments I have witnessed of private security using their own judgement to make decisions. The security hired by SU carried out many different tasks, but the one which stood out the most for me was the task of patrol and visibility. They moved around campus with such intensity - they wanted to make you aware of their presence. Furthermore, our movements were restricted on campus, with controlled access points where you had to use your student card or present it in order to access certain buildings or areas. As you enter the admin building, you are met by a guard behind the door and stationed in front of a camera screen, mounted above the door outside. These were the small things I noticed. This is what SU students meant by the militarisation of the campus, as the campus became a hostile environment, filled with tension and unprecedented violence. It was not a place where they felt safe, and even I no longer felt safe. The campus had undergone a transformation overnight.

Soweto Youth Uprising & Fees Must Fall

There was an uncanny similarity between what happened at SU and the Soweto uprising. In this section, I will look at the similarities between the two events. It is important to draw upon these events as they were the two major protest movements which were driven by students. They were racially divided with white bodies in positions of power and black bodies having to fight against this white-centred power. However, the crux of the similarities is that these events occurred forty years apart, with one occurring during apartheid and the other occurring post-apartheid.

A main feature of the apartheid system was the use of security forces. The police and armies' main purpose was to hunt down and control the enemy of the post-apartheid state, which was anybody but white South African citizens. The state was out to suppress and eliminate its own people. The police and army would continuously use a range of harmful manners to try and

control POC bodies. However, many times we look at the physical trauma. The first continuity I want to look at is the mental trauma of these events. Foster et al (1987) and Pillay (1993) suggest that individuals who experienced abuse and torture during periods of political unrest tend to exhibit serious psychological trauma with long-term effects. Shek (2020, 4) speaks of a mental health tsunami in his research on individuals who experience trauma or PTSD after protesting. His research particularly focussed on the 2019 Hong Kong protests where citizens clashed with police and armed forces. Kagee (2005) conducted a study which involved measuring the Trauma of black individual in South Africa who have experienced forms of physical abuse or torture during the apartheid era. The study found that symptoms of PTSD were present in these individuals and that elevated distress levels were not uncommon (Kagee, 2005:177). I want to look at just one common method of crowd control used during protests, which is tear gas. During the Soweto uprising, police and military officials made use of teargas to disrupt crowds. Morton (2010:499) describes the 1970s as a tear-gassed period, where children were often subjected to these crude occurrences. It is evident that the apartheid government had no regard for the mental health of individuals. Their actions left many South Africans physically and emotionally traumatised. Further, during the FMF protests, pepper spray was used many a times as a means of dispersing the crowds of students. This is an extract from the university interdict files.

“.... the security personnel released pepper spray into the air to disperse the remaining protesting students. Several students who had inhaled pepper spray were treated for inhalation at Student Health services..... No serious injuries were reported by the protesting students.” Stellenbosch University VS 13 Responders(B) (2016: 34).

“The events of the library still haunt me to this day... it was so traumatic. I can still remember the feeling of everything burning. My nose, eyes and throat were on fire. I found it so hard to breathe. For a long time, I had nightmares about that day. I would wake up sweating and feeling so scared and helpless. I'd just turn around and cry myself back to sleep.” -Ashley.

What I would like to point out here is that students were not physically injured, but that the actions of the university left behind invisible scars trauma. Also, the university does not seem to care about the long-term effects it has or had on its students. In the file, they only reflect on the injuries caused from the altercation. However, it is evident from Ashley's extract that the use of such methods against students caused deep trauma which can persist years after the events of those days. The irony around these events is that students were treated in a similar manner under which their parents were treated during the apartheid period.

“...apartheid ended, but what did that mean for Stellenbosch? The tactic is still here.”-Cindy.

Here, we have two white-run institutions that traumatised black-majority protest groups. The legacy of apartheid has continued in places like SU, seen in the way students are treated and the disregard for their mental health. Earlier, I touched on the use of *apartheid tactics* like the use of pepper spray or tear gas on protesting students. During the apartheid era, students were treated like terrorists. The Soweto uprising and its aftermath were horrendous. Students were massacred by police using live ammunition on them. *Maupasant Mochele* describes the way in which the police came into townships to abduct and interrogate, but worse still, he describes how police would shoot these students and load up their lifeless or sometimes half-alive bodies into waste disposal trucks (Houston *et al*, 2016: 4-5).

Townships were at the heart of the Soweto uprising. Therefore, they became spaces of contention for the apartheid government: they were put under lockdown and surveillance methods were implemented to spy on its own citizens. According to the South African archive, during the Soweto uprising, police presence was high in townships. Armed forces with a range of different guns and rifles also took up strategic positions in and around the townships, with helicopters flying above the area. Furthermore, specialised intelligence teams were operating. Pigou (2010, 221) looks at evidence presented to the TRC regarding the Soweto Intelligence Unit, a group of security police deployed to perform illegal acts to give credibility to their agents and collect information. What was occurring on the ground were not just mere acts of violence against black bodies, but an active campaign to monitor the townships and suppress the actions of the students. Grassow and Le Bruyns (2017, 5) argue that universities used the interdicts for many different reasons, but one of the main reasons for the interdicts was to allow the deployment of police onto the campuses. This indicated that universities did not want peaceful dialogue but that in actuality, it was about power relations - ensuring power remained on their side, while forcing students to desist their actions and denying them their full access to the university. Langa and Eagle (2017, 42) argue that universities became militarised during the protests, as multiple armed forces were deployed onto campuses, which soon became sites of surveillance and oppression.

Looking at the transcript from file 2 of the interdict files:

.....at the joint operations centre of the university we have got a procedure to keep a log, a continuous log in the operations centre...I have got operations managers on the ground. I've got operations managers on the ground and intelligence staff on the ground among the students....We've got CCTV cameras constantly running that we

keep a record.....we copy and paste photos and photographs... we also... the ops room also gets information from social media while we are running and where we can, we connect a face or an incident or a video clip to the log....the communications department has got a 24/7 focus on social media postings, twitter, Facebook.... So we get a constant stream of WhatsApp messages with postings from social media and from twitter.....At the student affairs department this time we wanted to make sure who we were referring to and who the students involved in the different incidents were. So, there are different departments which include the campus security department, the IT department - where we've got crime intelligence staff or incident intelligence staff...then we've also got student affairs and staff discipline which are separate divisions which we called. Last Sunday evening, we realised that we really have to identify and make a log of all the students because they are moving targets. - Stellenbosch University VS 13 Responders(A) (2016: 127-141)

Looking at the language used, it seems to me that the priority of these squads was to monitor, track and log all possible information about the protesters. Further, SU has deployed a whole range of surveillance methods against student activists. From the above excerpt we can see that the students were not just being monitored by cameras but physically watched by individuals. However, here we see that their private lives were under scrutiny. Their social media accounts were constantly being monitored and the level of surveillance used for students was threefold. The students were placed under intense surveillance; they were treated like constant active threats, and a large amount of resources was poured into the monitoring and surveillance of the students. I argue that this speaks volumes about the university's true intentions. They were not interested in dialogue or attempting to help students. They were only interested in the protection of themselves and their institution, an institution which has been and remains dominated by whiteness. The heart of this operation was based around oppressing these students, in the very same way the apartheid government oppressed many of their parents. What was forming in those moments at SU was a violent cycle of oppression. Put into layman's terms, SU activists became the target of a campaign to survey and oppress them, just as students were during the Soweto uprising. In both cases, white-run power structures watched and silenced these minority groups.

Furthermore, I want to look at the legal implications of the FMF movement, and the use of interdicts as a form of suppression, before juxtaposing the apartheid period with the FMF movement. The interdict was an instrumental tool for SU in their efforts to try and suppress the protests and the students holding them. Before looking at SU itself, I want to point out that the use of tactics was not just linked to SU, but almost every other university in South Africa. Grassow and Le Bruyns (2017, 5) argue that universities used interdicts to counteract protests.

However, in doing this, they allowed police onto campuses. The institutions' willingness to allow this kind of presence testifies to the institutions' intent, which was to threaten students and staff through these power structures, while ensuring that these students were not treated as full 'citizens' of the campus. Malabela (2017,145) suggests that the implementation of the interdicts allowed protests to become more violent as it justified the presence of police and private security on campus, angering students and causing more tensions. Reinders (2019, 75) argues that the universities' priorities were clear. They placed security and militarisation over dialogue. They created a hostile environment instead of trying to foster communication and support for their students. Langa (2017: 8-9) points out that there is a common pattern in the tactics used by universities when it comes to the militarisation of campuses. First, there is the removal of students from campuses via suspension, expulsion, or the arrest of students. Second, a state of surveillance is created through large-scale policing and security presence, the control of bodies via CCTV, and the implementation of strict access control in and around the campus. Lastly, there is the suppression of protests by means of long and costly court cases against students. These extreme measures are used to suppress and dominate the protesting student body. All these measures and forces were used, yet no form of open and honest engagement between the university and student bodies were used. What was occurring was that universities were addressing the symptoms and not trying to address and fix the problems. Reinders (2019,79) suggests that university management has adopted a policy of ruling their campuses by fear and force, as their interests lie with themselves and not their students. Returning to SU, I want to mention that SU has made use of all these tactics. While SU protests were the least violent protests during the FMF movement, court cases are still pending, and students are still interdicted.

The law and suppression

I want to look at the interdict files of SU and what they consist of. The interdict files are a testament to the power of Sathé two files I hold in my possession are large and comprehensive. The interdicts themselves are diverse in terms of their data. The SU files includes affidavits offered up by multiple members of staff, SU students and even private security, however these are merely the affidavits. They also include screenshots of protesters' personal social media accounts, screenshots of their tweets (mostly), and their social media accounts were being monitored 24 hours (a day) for any information which could be gathered and used. SU actively

surveyed these students' social media accounts. Understandably, social media is a platform which everyone has the right to use and where information does not refer to private matters. However, the issue at hand here is that almost all aspects of these students were under active surveillance. The interdicts tell a comprehensive story of the measures which SU applies to watch and suppress its students, not only invading their personal media accounts but also tracking their movements on camera. The interdict files have produced a wealth of knowledge about how SU can track students. They keep logs containing data on students around campus, recording entry and exit logs by means of SU student cards, or otherwise through the many cameras on campus. The interdict files make use of images, these narration of what was happening in these images are added, and the private security which writes up interdict reports. I have compiled examples of the latter and have added them to the appendix. The interdict makes use of many sources and has produced a wealth of evidence against protesting students. The interdict files are supposed to be a testament to the ways in which SU has victimised and criminalised these students.

Before moving on, I want to present the reader with some excerpts from the interdict to show the reader the lengths SU has gone to in surveying these students. Image 2.1.1 is an excerpt from a student card log. It shows the student's student card number which acts as an identity number on campus. The log also reveals a digital trail of the building a student has entered, the entrance location, and even the turnstile number with entry and exit times. It also shows if the student card had access to the building or not. From the log, we can see that the student was denied access to their residence (dormitory). For 2 hours, this student was locked out and denied entrance to their place of residence. Image 2.1.2 and Image 2.1.3 are student incident logs. Stills of videos are pasted into the interdicts, followed by a logged incident report, which is a timeline of the events as SU recorded them. In the logs, we can see that when a student is identified, it is placed in bold. The incident log reports are a handwritten report, in which video recordings are transcribed in the form of a timeline. The example shown here is just one of many logged incident reports. Image 2.1.4 is a screenshot of an email containing a thread of tweets from one of the student's twitter pages. Throughout the interdict, there are tweets which are used against the SU activists. Image 2.1.5 is an affidavit. There were many affidavits in the report - all from different bodies within the university. The affidavits are eyewitness accounts of the events. The interdict also holds the transcripts from between judges and SU legal team when they requested the interdicts. I wanted to pull out examples from the interdict to demonstrate the intricacy of the interdict files to the reader. They are a large volume of data

which was collected against these students. The compilation of this document could not have been easy nor cheap, therefore they reflect the lengths SU went to in order to suppress these students, not to mention the funds they were willing to allocate to the silencing of these students. Indeed, one needs to consider that these interdict files were not the only measure taken against these students. The manpower hired to create these documents, the operational teams, the different security bodies deployed to work 24 hours on campus, and the upgrades to the existing surveillance infrastructure all point to a considerable investment.

Moreover, the problem with the interdicts is that they were used not only to quell the protests but also to single out certain individuals and punish these SU students. In 2019, when I last checked the interdict status, it was still restricting protesting students who had left SU and those who were still at the campus. I argue that the interdicts were used in a twofold manner, the first being a form of surveillance and to militarise the campus through heavy policing on campus, and the second being a way to restrain students via legal action and using the interdicts to keep them off campus. There was a period of time when 12 students (The Stellenbosch 12) were banned from campus. I remember seeing three of them standing in the road, and I wanted to hug one of them. They asked me to step off the sidewalk and walk onto the street so that I could hug them. They were too scared to even hug me as I was on SU property.

Furthermore, the interdict represent is an extended form of concealment and punishment as they (interdicts) still applied to these students even years after the protests had ended. Most of the students who had left SU struggled to move forward in their professional careers as the interdicts followed them around. I also want to point out that because of the interdicts as well as the internal disciplinary hearings, SU activists were subjected not only to the laws of the Republic of South Africa, but also to internal panels. SU not only tried to suppress these students but also to cause a complete rupture in their lives through legal and academic means of repression.

As stated before, SU students were treated as criminals and active threats on campus. These operations were costly and turned the campus into a violent space crawling with security officers, a large array of security personal and the personnel running the “ops” in the background. The upgrading of SU camera systems and the dispensing of legal teams to compile these interdicts should also be borne in mind. I argue that the monetary resources which were at SU’s disposal were used to criminalise and marginalise these students. The funds which were

allocated towards these operations *could* have been used for aid, however they were used to cause further trauma and to criminalise students instead.

SAHO (2012)³⁰ suggests that a powerful tool for the oppressive South African apartheid state was the use of states of emergency. These were effective during periods of revolt as the state of emergency allowed for a lockdown to occur. The first major political revolt during which state of emergency was declared was the Sharpeville Massacre. The Sharpeville Massacre was a protest in 1960. Black South Africans protested the carrying of *dompas*³¹. The police ended up massacring innocent members of the Sharpeville community during a peaceful protest. I choose the Sharpeville Massacre in this section to look at the aftermath of the massacre. A state of emergency was once again declared after the Soweto Uprising. Laws aimed at the suppression, surveillance and intimidation of protesters were triggered. These laws are important to look at if we are looking at the continuity between the apartheid state and SU.

Amnesty International (1989, 19) reported that the government used the *Public safety Act* of the 1960s to declare a state of emergency. This state of emergency was triggered by the civil unrest of anti-apartheid movements and POC citizens. As protests and acts of defiance spread across the country in the wake of the Sharpeville Massacre, the government declared a state of emergency. Once the state of emergency was declared, the use of detention without trial was permitted. This allowed the government to arrest and incarcerate individuals involved or suspected of involvement in anti-apartheid activities, without being granted a trial (Foster:1989, 21). Detention without trial was an act of repression by the government to curb the growing civil unrest and mass acts of defiance against the apartheid government. Foster (1989, 22) states that during the state of emergency, the government also banned the meeting of groups and organisations, passing loosely defined security laws, and ramping up security and police presence. The 1960s saw *The Unlawful Organizations Act* which was used to immediately ban political groups and came with a 10 year prison sentence if found guilty; there was also the *Sabotage Act* which, if found guilty, incurred the death penalty (Amnesty international, 1989, 19). Furthermore, Merrett (1990, 55) argues that the purpose of detention without trial was not merely about repression but was threefold. It allowed for intelligence gathering and was aimed at the separation of key members from their group or organisation but

³⁰ <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/states-emergency-south-africa-1960s-and-1980s>

³¹ Originating from the pass law, a *dompas* acted as an internal passport for black people. Without a *dompas*, black people were not allowed to be in certain geographical locations, or not allowed to be in certain geographical locations before certain times of the day.

in a general sense, was used to intimidate citizens, disrupt the progress of anti-apartheid movements and deter anyone from trying to challenge the government.

Looking at what happened at SU, the Sharpeville Massacre and the Soweto uprising, one must note that these were three different important events which shaped the climates of their respective environments, and in no means am I arguing that they are the same event, or that one is more important than another. What I want to point out is their similarities, namely the use of the law and the states of emergency. Even though SU did not have a state of emergency, that is what the campus felt like. There was an increase, both digital and physical, in guard presence, as well as fencing around the campus, checkpoints for entry and a night-time curfew. I remember days when sections of the campus were quiet, tense and to a certain degree, deserted. The campus in itself became a microcosm of the national states of emergency seen during the apartheid period the comparison is noteworthy. Whether we are discussing apartheid South Africa or post-apartheid SU, in both cases the law was used to try and resist the mounting pressure placed on these various institutions, but also to oppress and bring these protests to a halt. In the case of South Africa, it was the various laws brought into power by the government; at SU, it was the use of the interdicts. Finally, for me, the law in both cases was used to punish anyone who dared to stand up to these institutions. SU has kept these interdicts in place even years after the FMF campaign ended, while the violation of the apartheid laws incurred hefty incarceration periods or could even result in death.

Before closing this chapter, I want to reflect on the problem at hand. Progress is always violent and disordered - this is understandable. The fight against apartheid was violent and dangerous, but it was required to bring forth change. What for me is of greatest concern is that there are such stark continuities between the protests of apartheid and a protest over 20 years after the fall of apartheid and the birth of our democracy. I wrote this chapter to show the reader what students have been subjected to but also how these students find themselves in a place which is similar to that of their parents: being criminalised and prosecuted for fighting for their education, and being oppressed and monitored. The similarities to the violent reactions to the way black were and remain treated in its simplest form is dehumanising. These protestors were treated as targets and handled as terrorists, shown in the deployment of multiple armed forces, the increase in surveillance, the tracking of students, the 24-hour surveillance of their social media accounts, and the use of interdicts. For me as a researcher, the measures taken were extreme. SU's intentions were clear: it did not support the movement. That most protesters were non-white, that many would not have been able to afford the fee increment and that the

latter would have led to a decline in the number of (non-white) students all point to SU's intentions to retain its predominantly white student body with perhaps even an increase in white students. The protection of whiteness was the end goal for SU, and the methods employed were similar to those of a government which did anything possible to protect and support its white citizens, while oppressing anyone who did not meet the requirements of whiteness. This chapter was a past-meets-present chapter. It was aimed at understanding what fuelled the students' anger. Many of these students were angry and devastated at the fee increment, but what escalated the protests and anger of students was the way in which the university dealt with these students. The protesters were never treated as upset students, but rather as criminals. The university's aim was not that of peaceful dialogue for paving the way forward. It was aimed at oppressing black bodies. In my next chapter, I want to delve deeper into the mechanism of surveillance to fully understand the ways in which SU used its surveillance techniques, and how these impacted and caused the rupture of the group. A group is always more powerful when it is united. SU's surveillance aim was to divide and conquer this was achieved through the mechanisms of surveillance.

CHAPTER THREE

The foundation of surveillance is built upon theoretical constructs like the panopticon. Even as a mere theoretical construct, it holds powerful ideas, concepts, and understandings for ways in which we can control and regulate the body or subject(s). Unpacking Foucault's idea of the panopticon is imperative to understand operations of surveillance and control. Here, I want to draw on the metaphor of the panopticon to understand the fundamental mechanism of control and regulation. However, in this chapter I want to move away from this 'standard' understanding of the panopticon's surveillance apparatus. I want to move to a more post-panoptic framework as the panopticon is an institutionalised building with a set structure and location where its power is located. I want to engage with the concept of the superpanopticon as this concept takes into consideration the relationship between digital infrastructure and surveillance to create a new era of control, one which renders the concept of space secondary. It blurs the lines between public and private. The power of the gaze, I will argue, is intensified in the case of the superpanopticon. Using SU as a case study, I want to apply the concept of the superpanopticon to SU, moving away from a theoretical construct of a panopticon. Additionally, I want to look at the panoptic function of visibility and how this generates social paranoia. I then want to take this idea of social paranoia and explore how it influences social capital and, inevitably, what it means for group stability. Fundamentally in this chapter, I am investigating what forms of surveillance tactics SU uses on student activists, and how these forms of surveillance have affected this group.

A new era of the panopticon.

Foucault (1977, 27) argues that we should stop thinking of power as something which corrupts and/or makes us mad, but rather that power and knowledge are things which presuppose one another, as they exist in relation to one another. Knowledge produces power, while knowledge allows us to understand how to control power. At the same time, power produces knowledge, because when we hold power, we have the ability to produce knowledge. Power in this sense becomes a way to control and regulate the body. By understanding the body, we can gain power over it, and by having power over it, we have the knowledge of how to exert more control over the body. Essentially, knowledge and power exist within a matrix, where the two are so closely tied and related, that it seems that for Foucault, one cannot exist without the other. Where there

is knowledge, there is power, and vice versa. For *Foucault*, a way to gain a totality of power over the body was through Jeremy Bentham's (1785) prison design, the panopticon.

The panopticon was a building designed to produce knowledge about controlling the body through surveillance while simultaneously controlling it. The building would be circular, with a watchtower in the centre; the cells would be built facing the watchtower and anything between the watchtower and the cells would be air (Foucault, 1977:200). The watchtower would have windows where the prison guards and warden would be able to see into the individual cells, while prisoners would not be able to see out into the watchtower or into the cells surrounding them. The latter plays an imperative role, as the panopticon's purpose is the internalisation of desired behaviour. This is achieved through discipline, which in turn is achieved through the surveillance of the body. For Foucault (1977, 138), the body was something which could be broken down, trained, and manipulated, so that it can be controlled in a desirable manner. Thus, those inside the cells are placed under constant surveillance or at least, the illusion of constant surveillance. Since the line of sight only travels in one direction, it is impossible to determine when one is being watched. The function here is to ensure that one becomes hyperaware of their visibility, where the notion of surveillance is permanent in its effect, even when the act of surveillance is suspended (Foucault, 1977:201). Because of this, coupled with the threat of punishment, the prisoners or subjects are forced into internalising good behaviour and self-regulating their behaviour. Therefore, the premise is that those within the cells will internalise the desired behaviour as they never know when '*the all-seeing eye*' turns its gaze onto their cell. The surveillance then becomes internalised, and one starts to survey one's own body and action (Koskela, 2003:292). This approach was created to be a controlling system of power, where the body is the source of knowledge and power while under surveillance.

When we suspend the body under these forms of panopticon like surveillance, knowledge for controlling the body is produced, and power can be fully exercised. As the exercise of power increases, we produce more knowledge about controlling the body, and this is achieved through surveillance. The panopticon is imagined as a prison; however, it could also be imagined as a school, an asylum, a hospital, or another institution. Here, what one must note is that the panopticon derives its power from space; space ensures that power is concentrated. Writing on urban spaces, Koskela (2003,295) argues that we cannot have the power-knowledge matrix without space, as space enables the existence of this matrix. While the panopticon occupies a certain amount of space to which its captives are confined, its power only exists and indeed

can only be exercised within that space. If we used this model by Foucault, power and knowledge become dissociated and inevitably completely evaporate outside these panoptic institutions. The reason for this is that we cannot control nor train that which is not under the surveyed space. The gaze is then essentially confined to space.

Foucault (1977:141) believes that discipline requires enclosure, as the body can be suspended into the power-knowledge matrix. The panopticon might well be the perfect structure to understand power, knowledge, and surveillance, however, the panopticon is a theoretically constructed prison which hinges upon the notion of space. Applying this concept to large areas of space should then be impossible. Looking at urban spaces, Koskela (2003, 297) notes that we need to acknowledge the complexity of urban space and the concept of space on which Foucault's prison was based. A city reverses the idea of isolation. Cities and towns bring people together and create endless interactions. City spaces allow for a great range of diversity in terms of social interaction and operational powers, while prisons are polarised homogeneous spaces. However, I argue that larger spaces such as cities have not diminished the power of the panopticon, but instead have increased and intensified it. This coincides with the rise of the information age.

This brings me to *Nineteen Eighty-Four* by George Orwell (1949). Orwell's fictional city of Oceania uses a panopticon like structure. However, this more expansive view of surveillance is more closely related to Orwell's idea of total control. In his novel, he imagines a city which is under total control. 'The Party'³² has managed to put every person under total surveillance. Every aspect of one's existence is under scrutiny; the idea of private and public space has been abolished. The fictional character Winston describes this sense of overexposure as being seen and heard:

"...so long as he remained within the field of vision which the metal plaque commanded, he could be seen as well as heard. There was of course no way of knowing whether you were being watched at any given moment. How often, or on what system, the Thought Police plugged in on any individual wire was guesswork. It was even conceivable that they watched everybody all the time. But at any rate they could plug in your wire whenever they wanted to. You had to live — did live, from habit that became instinct..., every movement scrutinized" -Orwell (1949:2)

The scene described here is from Winston sitting in his apartment. We see how the division between the public and private spheres is corroded, and that one is constantly confronted with

³² 'The Party' is the fictional name in the novel for the ruling party.

this idea of being watched. I used this passage because I want to show how, in the Foucauldian sense, the ‘prisoner’ can be surveyed from the confines of their cell. However, Winston is not a prisoner but a citizen in his own home. Orwell pushes surveillance in totality. The idea of private does not exist; for ‘The Party’, all spaces are considered public. Even the mind is considered public space. With the existence of thought crimes, the mind is placed under surveillance; even incorrect thoughts are acts of treason. All factors of life are under threat of surveillance: the physical body, the mind, and inner thoughts are watched. Orwell’s expression of surveillance and regulation surpasses that of Foucault since Foucault speaks of surveillance in a closed system. Orwell looks at surveillance on this broader level: he examines a world where surveillance is built into the social level of society. In Orwell’s novel, we see the power of surveillance on this level. Here, power does not just monitor and watch, but ultimately creates a sense of self-regulation within individuals, because of the element of hypervigilance. One is constantly aware of the ‘all-seeing eye’.

The rise of the information age has seen the advancement of technology and technological devices to create a society which is predominantly knowledge-based. It is closely linked to a global intertwined economy which runs on digital infrastructure. Technology and its devices have become integrated into our daily lives as they help us function and perform tasks at an ever-increasing rate. It has profoundly shaped the world we live in today as almost everything we do has a digital footprint³³. This is important to note, as the information age has given rise to digital surveillance, where the panopticon is no longer a watchtower in the prison; instead, it has been relocated; it is now found in cameras, smartphones, laptops, wearable technology, smart home systems, biometrics, and the collection of data and its algorithms (Sheridan, 2016,3). Poster (1990: 93) suggests that today’s networks of communication and the databases that they produce have given rise to the super-panopticon, as this is a system which goes beyond walls, windows, towers, guards, and their wardens. The information age has allowed for dataveillance, which is the collection, organisation, and storage of a person’s digital information (Simon, 2005:1). What we find here is the intensification of the panopticon’s gaze. Whereas with Foucault’s model of the panopticon, one could still locate the source of the surveillance (the watchtower), with the rise of information technology, the hypervisibility has become intensified because the source of surveillance is constantly around us. We ourselves carry these devices of surveillance with us (Green, 1999: 30). Here, we find that there is an

³³ A digital footprint is a trail of data you create while using the Internet. (for more information: https://techterms.com/definition/digital_footprint).

increase in power over the individual. Even within urban spaces, where the surface area of the cities is larger than that of the panopticon prison, the surveillance which can be imposed upon a body in the city is more intense than that of the body in the panopticon prison. What Poster (1990) calls the superpanopticon alters the way we then view space; space becomes secondary to the creation of power as the superpanopticon is not restricted to space. What becomes central is the erosion of public and private domains. In urban spaces, we can negotiate between private and public space. However, with the rise of the information age, what is private, and public becomes blurred; here, private spaces can become public, but even private data or information can become public. An example of how public and private can be understood is through the United States National Security Agency (NSA) Surveillance programme, Prism³⁴. This dataveillance programme shows us the extent to which the panopticon gaze may reach. Surveillance programs such as Prism blur the lines between what we define as public and private, as we are surrounded by technological devices which are capable of being hacked. More than that, our digital footprints and data are being stored and used. Mass surveillance has made it possible for almost every person to be under surveillance. In public and private spaces, the gaze of the panopticon has become far-reaching as it goes beyond the tracking of the body's physical movements. I argue that this makes the power-knowledge matrix more powerful since the level of control which the panopticon can impose upon the body is stronger. As the gaze now sees more than just the physical sphere, the knowledge that it can gather is far more sophisticated than that pertaining to mere body movements. This implies that the level of control it can impose on the body has intensified; the more control it has over the body, the more knowledge it can gain about the body and its mechanism. Therefore, with these new forms of surveillance, the gaze is more intense as the body is not restricted in movement. The body can and most probably *will* interact with many other different bodies and systems, but it can remain under surveillance; even when the body is willingly isolated from the world, it can remain under the gaze of the superpanopticon. Here, I want to return to SU and look at the spatial layout of the university in relation to the town.

Stellenbosch the panopticon

³⁴ Prism is a surveillance programme in the United States characterised by the NSA spying on its citizens, telecommunication companies being forced by US courts to hand over their users' telephone data, and the direct tapping of multinational Social Media corporations such as Facebook and Google to track online communications. For more information on the Prism Program: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-23123964>.

Jansen (2017:113) argues that with the escalation of the student protests, one word became entrenched within the managerial arsenal of universities which were trying to control and suppress students. That word was *intelligence*. He further goes on to state that universities had no choice per se, that they entered a climate of reaction as there were too many unexpected disturbances to the university's daily operations, of and 'calamitous' revolts by students.

Here, I want to look at SU's location and the microcosm it has formed within the town. In the next section, I will argue that the space of Stellenbosch operates like one of these 'superpanopticons'. SU is located within the town of Stellenbosch. However, what makes the town spatially interesting is that the university is integrated into the town, making it an open campus, but also one where it is hard to determine where the university ends, and where the town begins. Several participants raised the point that during the FMF period, the level of surveillance used by SU became evident to them, and they found that they were the focus of this gaze. Further, SU made use of task teams to identify student activists, as seen in the previous chapter. Thus, the university has the ability to track physical movements but also, like the superpanopticon, has the ability to track students' digital lives, and have access to personal data. It has the ability to blur the lines of what is public and what is private.

SU has the ability to survey the body both in its physical and digital forms. Firstly, looking at the physical movements of the body, SU has a powerful array of cameras throughout their campus. These include 360° cameras in open spaces on campus (such as the one on the rooiplien), cameras on the sides of buildings, indoor and outdoor cameras near building entrances, and indoor cameras around buildings. There is almost no building entrance which is not equipped with a camera. The body can be tracked almost anywhere on campus. The power of SU's camera system was strengthened and expanded in 2014 when SU entered into an agreement with the municipality of Stellenbosch whereby the camera systems would be integrated to help support each other's incentives to fight crime (Stellenbosch University-Students' Representative Council, 2014:2).

...never mind the CCTV cameras on campus...there was a day UCT cadres came to show support...bitch do they not have pictures from the day they entered the town... those cameras, as you enter yay,yay,yay pictures. They have the details; they tracked all our moves that day. – Ngoyi

Student activists themselves have been subjected to the gaze of these cameras. During protests, this new 'safety' system was used to survey student activists all over town, tracking them even

when they were not on SU campus yet. The linked camera system initiative was motivated by the high crime rate in the Stellenbosch district. However, cameras have also been used to spy and survey student activists. In this instance, the camera system has become a measure of control over the body of the student activist. The camera gaze may follow student activist bodies on campus, but also through the town.

SU also makes use of student card access points, which log its students' movements not just in terms of entering and exiting, but also within buildings. Here, the body in its physical form can become subject to SU's gaze. The gaze extends far beyond the perimeters of what the university owns: the body can be under SU's gaze even when it is not on its property. SU not only has the ability to track the physical body of any given student, but just like the superpanopticon, it is capable of monitoring students' data and personal information through dataveillance. SU has a policy on the rights to privacy and data security. In this policy on the right to privacy, it is stated that the university respects the rights of its users' data and electronic products but does reserve the rights to tap into devices under necessary conditions (Electronic Communication policy, 2003:8). By reviewing the policy, we know that the university is capable of tapping into students' registered tablets, iPads, mobile devices, and laptops to gain access to all their data and personal information.

Aaaa and inetkey is the main thing right. Those logged into inetkey - they can tap into your devices. My one friend googled how to make a petrol bomb, and that was the basis of his prosecution. -Dorothy

Here, I want to state that I do not support the use of petrol bombs, however, I want to look at the way SU has made use of tapping students' devices. The basis of this individual's prosecution was a Google search. The issue I raise here is that SU can monitor the digital body by tapping into students' personal devices. These devices are no longer treated as personal devices: they become part of the system of control. They become a way for the gaze of SU to move past the surveillance of the physical body and with tapping and monitoring of students' personal data, blur the line between what is public and what is private.. Through the way in which places like SU deploy surveillance tactics, surveillance becomes about control. The idea of the superpanopticon then is a way of taking control to new levels. It is about being able to control the body to a much greater extent since the panopticon is no longer an institutionalised space. The superpanopticon is about creating an ever-present watchtower, where a number of bodies can be put under surveillance at any given time or even constantly. This is done not just

through the physical gaze, but also by creating a digital gaze where the bodies' digital data and information also become targets of surveillance.

The eye of paranoia...

...it also has a very severe emotional impact because you think why..., why me? Why not other people who were just so involved? But then you also have this sort of feeling of hypervigilance and sort of like you('re) constantly being watched. You walk on campus and you will see the security guards, and you('re) like OMG- are they watching me? You have this feeling like your skin is crawling. It's this constant feeling of being on high alert...-Jean Sinclair.

In the previous section, I have tried to show that the rise of digital infrastructure coupled with surveillance have seen the reimagining of the panopticon in the form of the superpanopticon, where the panopticon's gaze is no longer just physical but digital too, and where the gaze can now focus on many bodies simultaneously. Rabinow (1984: 19) states that the panopticon brings together power by controlling the body or groups and the knowledge they generate. It locates individuals in space and makes them visible, meaning that the panopticon's gaze is ever-present, and constantly trying to regulate its bodies. I therefore argue that paranoia is a function of the panopticon, especially within the superpanopticon, as the gaze is consistently acting as a regulating force upon its subjects. As Harper (2008:3) argues, the rise of paranoia is based on awareness, specifically how we have become aware of the way in which populations are being surveyed. Even when we are not in a panoptical setting, a subject may still act as if they are under surveillance because of the function of paranoia. The subject believes they may be under constant surveillance. As prolonged exposure to surveillance, brings forth the feeling of being constantly hypervisible (Harper, 2008:6).

Here, I use the concept of paranoia not in its pathological sense, which can be understood as anxiety, depression, suspicions, hallucinations, and a fragile inner self (Sen & Chowdhury, 2006:176-177). Rather, I see it as social paranoia, which is the inflated mistrust of an institution's power. Indeed, Holm (2009: 39) suggests that under certain socio-political conditions, paranoia in this sense is not irrational; it is more of a rational response to the socio-political climate. Additionally, individuals with pathological paranoia perceive the world as hostile and conspiratorial against the subject, whereas social paranoia refers to when the individual has a feeling of persecution whereby they find themselves against a certain

institution or power whose decisions affect not just the institution or power but many other subjects too (Marcus, 1999:1).

Looking at the socio-political environment of FMF, it was evident that the dominant white Afrikaans culture at SU created a hostile environment for activists, and one where the university deployed any resource to try and stop the protesting of the fee increase, and ‘continue business as usual’³⁵. Many of these vocal students were subjected to physical and digital forms of surveillance and data was collected. Additionally, they were regulated through these mechanisms for an extended period of time, similarly to the holding of interdicts against students. Looking at the extract from Jean Sinclair, she expresses the concern that she feels like she is hypervisible and constantly watched with even the sight of security triggering her to question if she is being watched. Patai (1992:35) argues that minorities, in this case SU student activists, are forced to choose between invisibility or surplus visibility, in other words hypervisible. For these activists, there is no middle ground. Surplus visibility occurs when minorities become visible when they resist the very nature of being invisible and they pushback at crude stereotypes and name their struggle (Francis, 2017:208). While both these conditions were placed upon the students, the activists wanted to be seen, they wanted to be noticed by the university and engage with the university about what was occurring to these very students who were mainly marginalized.

Thus, during the FMF movement, student activists highlighted the need for the government and universities to re-evaluate and redesign the existing model for fees. In this sense, they were naming their struggle. Student activist bodies became hypervisible through the act of protesting the fee hike, as Francis (2017, 208) states, dominate groups allocates crude labels to the group who is hypervisible. Further within an environment such as SU that is not just located in a multicultural environment but also a space for higher learning, we need to develop a sense of understanding how different cultures are rooted into power relations (Francis & Hemson, 2010: 220). I as a nation we have many different cultural beliefs that has been shaped over time through our countries complex history. Looking at SU as a space of higher learning, its has always been accessible to white bodies and the space of SU is dominated by a white culture. The student activists had surplus visibility and stigma, the dominate group (SU) labelled the

³⁵ This is the way that Stellenbosch University was described in the media, while other Universities battled with protests in 2016. <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/business-as-usual-at-stellenbosch-university-after-fees-announcement-20160919>

student activists as loud, offensive, dangerous and uncontrollable, also displayed through their actions to militarize the campus and deploy surveillance method for the group of activists. We need to understand the student activists' anger and actions not in an anti-white oppressive belief but from a space of understanding how one culture and racial group has dominated the space of SU. The student activists need to be understood as a group fighting for a space at SU, put in its simplest form SU activist are fighting for their seat at the higher education table, which has been dominated by whittens. Our views held on cultures may be clouded by previous prejudices ingrained into us through our historical cultural beliefs of one another.

However, I also argue that their sense of hypervisibility became intensified with the surveillance they were placed under, as the gaze could constantly be placed upon the student activist subject and could last for a prolonged period. Holm (2009, 45) argues that the logic of paranoia lies in the way it privileges observation. It is seen as a site of power; it seeks to see and observe all, to know all. This, I argue, is central here. The constant gaze which watches and tries to regulate its subject is at the origin of paranoia. The gaze of the superpanopticon, which observes both physically but digitally, erodes the dimension of space, especially in the case of SU activists. They were placed under surveillance and dataveillance. The effects of the gaze have persisted for many of my participants since the university has made use of different systems of surveillance to create this constant gaze on student activists.

Dorothy expressed to me that she feels this sense of paranoia with regard to the university to the point where she left Facebook and even created an anonymous Twitter account, because she feared that the university might watch her social media accounts and use them against her. For Simon (2005, 6), a primary purpose of placing the subject under the panopticon is to internalise the regulating gaze, which is meant to cause that distinct paranoia within its subject to question if they are being watched at any moment. The simple act of tweeting triggers this policing of the self, just like Jean Sinclair, who is triggered by the sight of private security on campus. The panopticon is meant to induce this state of self-policing, as the subject does not know if they are at the centre of the gaze. The gaze can watch them, and many others around them. The integration of the panopticon within digital infrastructure has given rise to a new age of social paranoia.

A fragmented movement.

As Foucault (1977:201) states, a major effect of the panopticon is to induce a state of conscious and permanent visibility within the subject. This ensures that the subject experiences the effects

of surveillance fully, even in the absence of surveillance itself and even if the inspector is not verifiable or visible. Here, I argue that even within the superpanopticon where these forms of surveillance are less ambiguous, that notion of ambiguous surveillance still operates. As Foucault notes, the figures which survey the student activists are not always visible nor verifiable, so as for surveillance to operate more effectively. The greatest tool the panopticon can deploy is the invisibility of the guards and the warden. The subject is never aware of the guards in the watchtower. Even if the subject were aware of the guard's visibility, the guard would still be considered invisible. If the guard's identity were unknown, the guard would merely be a figure. With the superpanopticon, things become more complex since SU has an entire unique security force. However, in this section, I want to look at the figure of the informant as a guard figure for the panopticon. Furthermore, I want to examine the ways in which paranoia intersects with the student activists' social capital, and how paranoia causes the fragmentation of social capital.

During the protest period of 2016, a vital member of the FMF movement left the organisation because of fragmentation within the movement...

Dorothy: Yes, and trust issues. The reason why I left in 2016 was because TK accused me of like being a spy, and I was like [gasps] I am done. Y'all do stupid shit on your own. I am not here for this. But then turns out L was the spy...but I left because people did not trust me.

Ashwin: How did you figure that one out?

Dorothy: Well, it is not that hard... he has a big mouth...he told us.

...

Dorothy: L had a mandate from SASCO national, and L needed it to look like that mandate was being pushed right. And this is why he pushed and dominated, because for SASCO, it needs to look like they are dominating and gaining power. This nonpartisan thing is not healthy. So, we had a riff because of L.

For Diani (1997: 129) social capital is a crucial tie between individuals and groups. This should be based on mutual trust and mutual recognition between actors. For Diani (1997:130), the impact or influence a social movement can have over a political terrain is dependent upon its structural positions, in other words the bonds between its actors, and the solidarity found within the movements. For social movements to operate and bring about significant change, there needs to be a significant amount of social capital amongst its actors, especially with regards to groups like FMF.

The FMF movement is made of leaderless groups. Student activists do not arrange themselves around leaders and in traditional hierarchical positions. Rather, everyone who is active in the movement is in a sense a leader, allowing for a diverse range of voices to be heard (Jansen, 2017: 109 & 110). I argue that leaderless movements need to maintain and generate a stronger sense of social capital than traditional social movements with leadership structures. Koustous, Kwantes, Thrasher and Fernando (2013:50) highlight that communication and information are imperative for the success of leaderless groups. When social capital is absent or fragmented, information and communication are weak and lacking. This contributes not to the group's success but rather to its failure as there is either a lack of trust or a lack of recognition of the actors. Looking at SU activists, I want to look at the lack of trust amongst student activists as it pertains to matters of surveillance and paranoia.

During the FMF movement of 2015, student activists started to grow weary of SU, as many activists expressed to me. It always seemed as if SU knew what the groups' next move was, and even what was said in private meetings. They believed that the university had infiltrated the movement by paying someone to gather information on the movement. By 2016, the FMF movement lost one of its crucial figures, an individual who was particularly vocal within the movement. Dorothy left the movement - not just FMF but also OS - because it became clear to her that the movement had made up its mind that she was the informant and that they no longer trusted her. Wood, Ball, Lyon, Norris, & Raab (2006:16) argue that surveillance regimes, holds a strong sense of mistrust and a fear of infiltration. Given the socio-political climate activists found themselves in, it seems logical that an overt sense of mistrust developed within SU, particularly surrounding the risk of infiltration from the inside. I argue that social paranoia, a function of the panopticon brought by prolonged surveillance, can also act as a safety mechanism for the social movement. Marx (1974: 402 & 405) argues that subjects within a social movement who become informants threaten the actions of the group and their interdependence, with the result that this infiltration can lead to internal dissension. Cloete (2014:2) argues that social cohesion and social capital are interdependent and that these two components are foundational to group stability. When one of them is under threat, the stability of the group is also threatened. With regard to the student activists, the immediate reaction was to try and dispel the informant from the movement. I believe this was an attempt to stabilise the group. In cases like the FMF movement where the leadership structure is horizontal, communication and the flow of information are imperative: the movement operates as a unit. Herreros (2004) points out that a social network influences the quantity and quality of

information which flows throughout the network. Here, I argue that when the network becomes ‘compromised’ by informants, the network starts to shut down or fragment. The presence of an unknown informant or more can have a large impact on the network, since social capital and social cohesion can start to break down. Trust is the basic component of social capital and cohesion. As Kramer (1999: 571) states, trust entails being in a state of vulnerability or risk as the individual has no certainty of the motives and intentions of the individual upon whom they are depending. Thus, within leaderless movements, there is even greater emphasis placed upon trust compared to groups with hierarchical structures. This is because with hierarchies, the leadership can compartmentalise information from the lower ranks, concentrating it in the hands of only a few. This is not to say that informants cannot rise to leadership roles. However, with leaderless movements, since the group makes decisions as a collective, the information needs to be communicated to all members of the group to decide what steps to take, and how to achieve their goals. Thus, here I argue that when the activist was confronted with the possibility that there could be an informant amongst its ranks, that communication became strained and in certain instances, shut down. Below, I argue that the social paranoia harvested towards the university spilled over into the movement. Even after Dorothy’s expulsion, the effects of paranoia can be seen in the movement’s actions.

It is clear that the group was fragmented during the 2016 period of the FMF movement. Here, I am not arguing that the fragmentation was caused solely by the infiltration of the informant, however I do see it as one of the main factors. I observed that the group was not as organised as it was the year before (2015). There were different clusters forming within the movement, and each cluster had its own agenda that it was trying to execute. As the days went by, support for the FMF movement - a small group at SU even to begin with - dwindled rapidly. For the activists, the university had managed to incorporate their movement into the structure which was trying to survey and regulate them. Thus, the group stability was compromised. The panoptic gaze had found a new way of monitoring and trying to regulate the group. The gaze was now no longer coming from above, but from within the group: the gaze was now horizontal. In the next chapter, I want to look at this idea of a multi-optic gaze, moving away from this notion that surveillance only occurs in a linear top-down fashion. In the next section, I want to look at the different directions the gaze can go in, as I will argue that the holder of the gaze will depend upon the direction in which the gaze is looking.

In this chapter, I wanted to highlight three important points. Firstly, I wanted to address the way in which surveillance has evolved. In the first section, I looked at the inner workings of

the panopticon. Its core concepts and ideas are still imperative, even as we move into a post-panoptic age, the panopticon is a theoretical construct for the surveillance of a small proportion of people in a confined space. The notion of power is also tested here, as power exists only within the confines of the panoptic. I then argued that we need to adapt our understanding of the way in which the panopticon can be seen and/or operates. With the rise of the information age what we have found is the digitisation of surveillance, where mass surveillance is now possible. The information age has created the conditions for the panopticon to be integrated within digital platforms, and where the idea of space has become secondary. Masses of individuals can now be placed under surveillance. The distinction between the public and private spheres is gradually eroded since the digitisation of surveillance equates to a constant gaze for the sake of discipline and regulation. In this new era of surveillance, I have argued that in certain instances, such as with SU, individuals can suffer because of social paranoia. With social paranoia comes the inflated mistrust of an institution. I argued that social paranoia is a function of being in a panoptic setting, but that it serves a protective role since social paranoia can fragment group stability and cohesion. I made use of a case study where trust started eroding due to a lack of social cohesion.

CHAPTER FOUR

The power of counter surveillance

“Where there is power, there is resistance.”

— *Michel Foucault*

In the previous chapter, I looked at the theoretical concepts around surveillance and the methods of surveillance used during the FMF protests at SU. This chapter follows on from the previous chapter, however I will move away from a static point of reference of surveillance to a more dynamic point of reference. By looking at the concept of sousveillance and social media, I look at the way power can be shifted from the surveyor to the surveyed. This chapter was the one I most looked forward to writing. Often when we think of surveillance, we place it in a linear relationship where surveillance is imposed upon a person, group, or society from a dominating person or group. However, this does not always have to be the case. This chapter looks at sousveillance, in other words when the submissive group starts to regulate and survey the dominating group. These acts of counter-surveillance involve the disruption of power, as they unsettle the normative power patterns of a relationship between dominating and submissive forces. It creates a new power dynamic between entities, one which is no longer held by just one entity. This chapter is important for two reasons. Firstly, it looks at protesting students not as submissive beings in a dominated relationship but as individuals and groups with agency. This directly relates to my research question. I was interested in understanding not just how surveillance works, but how it affects the protesters and how protesters mitigate the power of surveillance by reciprocating it back onto the university. This brings me to my second point. As human beings, we are always changing and adapting. This is influenced by many factors. Over the last decade, we as a species have been primarily influenced by information technologies. Information technologies have simply become such an integral part of most people's lives in the 21st century that I had to explore the relationship between protesters and information technologies. This is the core of this chapter. In this chapter, I look at how the average person can disrupt normal relationships of power through the use of smart devices and social media. I set this out first by outlining the theories surrounding sousveillance, hashtag activism and social media, then by demonstrating how this can be understood in terms of the FMF movement and the protesters. Fundamentally, I am looking at the way in which the

average person, in this case a student activist, can disrupt the power structure by disrupting the normative flow of power.

The rise of sousveillance

The September 9/11 attack is an important historical marker for many reasons. For surveillance studies, the events of 9/11 allowed for the intensification of surveillance and regulation within civil society (Tai, 2005: 90). However, since then, technological advancement has continued to expand at an ever-increasing speed. Surveillance has become about gathering information, or simply trying to impose control over individuals. Giroux (2015, 110) addresses the issue of the violation and shrinking of privacy. She focuses on governments and institutions being able to access the *secure* data of private individuals and citizens and spying on these individuals in their own or private spaces. In recent years, we have seen these exact phenomena occurring, where governments around the world have created surveillance programmes to spy on their own citizens. In the past few years, many of these programmes have been exposed, such as PRISM by Edward Snowden, Mastering the Internet in the United Kingdom, and The Golden Shield, China's programme based around censorship, media control of its people, and a high-tech surveillance programme (Verble, 2014, 14; Schwarck, 2017; Bump, 2013). At the time of writing this chapter, I had relocated to Shanghai to work and travel. Upon my arrival, I had to create a smart identity account by scanning my passport, fingerprints, and face. Wherever I go in China, facial recognition can track my movements. I bought a sim card for my phone. All that was required was to show my valid passport and scan my thumb and face on the national Chinese system. Everything is linked and digitally controlled here. Mass surveillance has not only increased: the way this can be done has intensified. Countries can spy and indeed are spying on all its citizens under the guise of public safety (Amatuzzo, 2019: 493). Here, I need to point out that there is merit in these mass surveillance programs. As Bowden (2013, 7) points out for the EU Directorate, it has the possibility to make the world safer by acting as a security system. These programmes counter terrorism and crime. However, I want to point out that mass surveillance is not the most significant issue here. Wood, Ball, Lyon, Norris and Raab (2006, 2) explore the crucial issues surrounding mass surveillance. The first is that power corrupts; the programmes as well as the bodies that run them are unregulated. Secondly, many of these programmes were signed and implemented covertly, which has an undertone of maliciousness to it. The issue of mass surveillance is that it operates on a secretive level which violates the idea of human privacy and erodes the idea of freedom.

Here, I want to turn to a powerful concept within the studies of surveillance. It is a concept which shifts the power dynamics in a power matrix - *Sousveillance*. Foucault (1978,95) himself spoke about this relationship or disequilibrium of power. At some level, the submissive entity exerts a certain amount of resistance against its dominator. The idea of *sousveillance* pushes this disequilibrium of power between two entities. *Sousveillance* is a tool designed to shift the equilibrium between the entities, or completely flip the relationship. The power shift *sousveillance* can create within the power matrix shifts the positionality of the relationships within the power matrix. The power behind surveillance is that it is a static relationship, where power runs in a linear one-way dimensionality and where one body or entity watches or controls the other. It can either gain information or watch and control the second body within the power matrix. *Sousveillance* can disrupt this relationship, thus shifting the power dynamics and positionality of the relationship. Surveillance is about invisibility and unobtrusively, the technologies being used to survey people are becoming increasingly invisible and built into everyday materials. In most cases, it is about clandestine power, where private becomes public, and there is a loss of control for those in the private sphere. Mann (2004, 620) suggests that one way to disrupt this power relation is to turn surveillance upon its masters, where the surveyed start to survey the surveyor. In Foucauldian terms, we as the masses or surveyed create a reverse panopticon, and this idea created the term *sousveillance*. The term *sousveillance* when translated from French means ‘below’ (*sous*) and ‘to watch’ (*veiller*)- (Mann, 2016:2).

Sousveillance is a form of “reflectionism”. It originates from a philosophical sense where the use of technologies to mirror what intrusions and bodies do with technology aids in the confrontation of these institutionalised bodies. When these technologies are used back at them, the institutions are forced to consider whether *they* like what they see or feel. Reflectionism and *sousveillance* are one. Together, they represent a crucial tool used by individuals to observe their institutional observer. *Sousveillance* concentrates on improving the capacity of everyday people to access and collect data on their surveyor and in essence, neutralise the surveillance threat. *Sousveillance* is not silent; it does not operate secretively like surveillance bodies do. Instead, it is an act of non-compliance that refuses to the state of submission in a power matrix. Here, I will point out two critical aspects. The first is that with *sousveillance*, the relationship is shifted from linear and one-dimensional to a state where power shifts between parties, and power is no longer held by one entity. The second is that it restructures the positionality of the power matrix because the dominator can be shifted to a submissive position. However,

depending on its response to sousveillance, it can also become a resistor, since the resistance has the ability to become the dominator in the power matrix. It is then not only a matter of powershifting, but also of the positionality of the matrix's parties. It opens up a whole new range of dynamics within the system.

Mann's concept of Sousveillance, or at least the original understanding of it, is limited. It only addresses one, albeit essential aspect of the ability to shift the power dynamic. *Mann* coined this term in 2004: at this point, the technology was not nearly as advanced as it is today. The development of information technologies has given rise to the smartphone, the tablet, smart watches, and social media, the latter of which can be loaded to these devices via apps. These technological advancements have enabled cameras and microphones to be merged into our smart devices and have the ability to connect to the internet and social media platforms. This is where I want to push the concept of sousveillance - with the rise and merging of social media into everyday lives. Most people globally have accounts on one or many different social media platforms³⁶. *Mann's* understanding of Sousveillance does not compensate for what occurs with the data collected by these institutions. Once we successfully turn our surveillance devices upon the very bodies which survey us, how do we shift the power? I therefore argue that *Mann's* concept of sousveillance is limiting. It introduces us to the first step of shifting the power: surveying our surveyor. However, this does not directly translate into shifting the dynamics of power or neutralising the surveillance threat. It is merely a method of watching the surveyors. Sousveillance addresses the concept reflectionism, where the dominant party or institution is or can be confronted with the feeling of how it feels to be surveyed. At this point, I want to broaden the concept of sousveillance by arguing that we should give the sousveillance an online presence. Here, I want to turn to the idea of the 'Citizen Journalist'. These are individuals who make use of methods of sousveillance but use social media in the process of this inverse surveillance. They achieve this by posting captured to social media in an attempt to hold the dominant party accountable (Mallén, 2012:1). Furthermore, Ganascia (2010:9) discusses the catopticon. This essentially opposes the panopticon as it is a structure which is based upon three principles. The first two are transparency and fundamental equality, where everybody has the ability both to watch and control; and lastly, the presence of total communication, which allows for the total exchange of information to anybody and everybody. The Catopticon can be

³⁶ Here, I understand social media as an interactive smart device-mediated technology, which consists of virtual communities and networks, where media and information flow through these communities and networks. Platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Snapchat, Instagram, and Pinterest.

understood as information technologies. They have the ability to facilitate total transparency, equality, and most importantly, communication, according to Ganascia (2009,9-10). The power information technologies hold is imperative because these technologies are capable of accessing the internet and social media platforms. Mobile phones have integrated social media and recording media. As social media platforms have evolved into powerful sites, they have become spaces where we share information and can access media. These platforms can be the tool used to curtail and shift the power dynamic between the two entities. In a study on social media and social change, with a focus on the positive aspects of social media, Mangi, Tabassum and Ali Baloch (2018, 46) hold that a positive relationship exists between the two and that social media has the ability to conduct social change. This is because social media is a growing space where individuals can keep up with friends, families, interests, news, and occurrences happening at the moment: information is more readily available with instant updates. This section is imperative because it concerns the dynamics of power. In a Foucauldian sense, power is static: one controls it and exerts it over another weaker body. Here, I want to point out that technology has allowed this dynamic to be shifted as the subject of surveillance can now return the gaze upon its surveyor. Power no longer flows in a unidirectional, top-down model. Through the shifting of the gaze, power can flow from the bottom up. However, it is not just the physical technology which has created this shift, but the way in which the technology is deployed via social media. In this next section, I want to look at hashtags and social media campaigns driving these hashtags.

#Activism and the power of social media

Since social media platforms are made up of members who share a common interest, with family and friends sharing different spaces and connections, an intricate web is created (Utz & Muscanell, 2015: 240). Here, data has the ability to spread from one point to multiple points by flowing through the different spaces, and the members which are linked to them. Social media has created a convergent web of information (Cammaerts, 2015:2). Social media makes use of hashtag (#) functions by combining a word or phrases with the # (symbol). This has allowed people to create symbolised spaces on social media platforms in which members of social media can form communities or causes around movements (Rauschnabel, Sheldon & Herzfeldt, 2019:1). The hashtag acts as a digital footprint for information related to the hashtag. Putting a # in front of a word or phrase means that the word or phrase becomes easily searchable on social media platforms. It allows the user to pull up any media available under the hashtag.

This means that information can be tagged not just geographically through geotags, but also through categories of association with hashtags. The hashtag has occupied an interesting space on social media. With the rise of #activism, it has allowed for protests to occur not just on physical streets but also on social media. It has allowed groups fighting for the same or similar causes to unite across the globe, and share stories or information (Yang, 2009: 13). Looking at popular examples of well-known hashtag online campaigns, De Choudhury, Jhaver, Sugar and Weber (2016:1) argue that the driving force behind the Arab Spring, Occupy Movement, and Black Lives Matter came from their online presence. Social media became a space where information could be spread to many people at an accelerated rate than what was occurring around them, or in other parts of the world. These kinds of online campaigns explode across social media since people reshare the information, informing people of what is occurring around these events. You are granted access to more information when you click on the hashtag or simply just search the hashtag.

Social media and hashtags are a tool which is shaping the landscape of social movements as it can set an agenda and assist in the collective action of those participating in the protest in an online or offline capacity. However, the crux of the latter is that it not only connects individuals locally but also internationally; it gives ordinary citizens the chance to connect and organise themselves around civil right movements at little to no cost, and has given a voice to the voiceless (Lopes, 2014: 2). Social media has become a digital space where civil rights movements have created and opened up spaces to bring awareness to the violations of civil rights or dignities of others. It holds the ability to bring forth social change, by holding institutions accountable or applying pressures to them to bring forth some sort of social change. Lastly, I argue that social media has become a space where communication can be democratised. Indeed, Castells (2009: 413) points to the fact that social media can challenge the narratives created by mainstream media and institutions; it opens proper channels of communications between members of society. This here is imperative, and what I deem as *narratives of power*. These are the ways events and protests are constructed through powerful institutions or media outlets. The narratives are told from those with power. This creates alternative narratives to the events which are actually occurring. Clark (2012:8) argues for the use of social media as a means of communication as it has the ability to bypass the bias of sources deemed official as well as media outlets; it gives a voice to ordinary citizens to transform political landscapes within their countries or spaces. Through social media and hashtags, what is occurring on the ground can be posted; ordinary individuals can share with

others what is occurring and share information about events which might not be shown or showcased in media outlets. Ordinary citizens are then given the power to represent the events in the way they see it occurring. It creates a power shift where the ordinary citizen is given the power and allowed to create narratives which challenge these created alternative narratives. The construction of narratives is important to consider when events are occurring as they shape the way in which these events are perceived and dealt with.

Put simply, through technological advancements, our devices have become smart enough to do multiple critical tasks. An individual being surveyed can take a video or photographs of what was occurring to them using their smartphone. They can then upload this footage or live stream it using their smartphones; by adding hashtags, the information becomes even more discoverable. Thus, enough people doing this can raise social awareness of what is occurring, as similar types of information would show up through the same spaces or hashtags. This can curtail the institutions' power and shift the power, because the power of social media means that the occurrences become public knowledge. Other bodies or institutions can take legal action or spark social media campaigns which put social pressures on the surveying institution to stop or make them accountable for their actions.

In this section, I want to draw upon an example to demonstrate the power and significance of sousveillance in curbing alternative narratives and the power of institutional bodies. In the United Kingdom in 2011, a protest was held against the opening of a chain store in a local area. The protests were reported to have turned violent: this was what media coverage suggested and reported. Some media outlets even accused the protesters of petrol bombing the local store. In short, the media coverage was built around an alternative narrative (Reilly, 2015: 756). However, these narratives crafted the reality of what was occurring in a manner which placed the victims as the perpetrators (protestors) and the institution of power (the police) in the victim's role. These alternative narratives switch the positionality of the relationship between the police and the protesters. What occurred was police brutality against protestors. Clips uploaded to a social media site (YouTube) allowed for a more truth-based narrative to surface (Reilly, 2014:4-5). These clips acted as a counterreaction to what had truly happened and created a breakdown of the alternative narratives by showing the reality of what had occurred via video footage uploaded to YouTube (Neumayer & Stald, 2014: 118). However, here I point out the importance of the rise of social media. Social media allows all with access to it to access the information it holds. Social media acts as a platform on which we can weigh up the reality

of the truth. Without social media, this kind of information would be hard to obtain or not as easily accessible. Social media has allowed for different narratives to be displayed but has also created a space where debates can be sparked over who is to blame for the fabrication and creation of alternative narratives. The true power behind sousveillance lies within information technologies. As more people gain access to smartphones and the internet, they have greater chances of shifting the power dynamic in such moments. Social media is a powerful tool which can be utilised in shifting the narratives and the dynamics as it creates a space where individuals can be held accountable for their actions. It can act as a shield protecting civil liberties. This was merely an example of sousveillance used at a protest. Now, I want to look at the FMF movement at SU, and two critical moments at SU which have two narratives attached to them. One is crafted by the university. I propose that this is the alternative narrative, and that the second is the truthful narrative experienced by student activists through recording devices and then uploaded to social media. (What I need to state here is I was present for both events I'm going to discuss). I want to show how these narratives were built through surveillance and sousveillance, and how the power dynamics shifted between these two narratives.

The case study of the #LibraryOccupation & #WhereIsWim

#WhereIsWim: the case of the missing rector.

Aidan: Well, for me the # has a lot of meaning, even though people think we're being disrespectful, but it's not meant as disrespect; we're asking who (the) management (is). At the end of the day, he is just a name...he's a puppet, and for us, I think it becomes symbolic. We were calling him by his first name, but for me, calling him by his first name - we're demystifying him, we're shifting the power dynamic from where he is - at the top, making choices (about us)... but he's just a figurehead. He is not making the actual decisions. We are saying: come down to our level; let's talk about it. We want to talk to you about these problems. Talking can lead to solutions, but when he eventually came to talk to us, he made promises he never kept, and I think that's when the main protests broke out...it's this constant battle. 'Where is Wim?' is meant to bring him here to us. We want to know where he is and what he is doing to help us...but it seems like he is never around to help. This is why Wim is still just a name to me and not a real person.

Lillian: Okay, with the #WhereisWim - I had seen him on the rector's' welcoming day and the one time, he came to receive a memorandum. And that's that. And as O.S we sent him chocolates to ask him to respond to the memorandum, and I thought it was very sweet. Apparently from their side they did not think it was sweet but dangerous - they thought we had poisoned the chocolates, and we just sent him chocolates to say

'hey, please respond'. This university is so extra. We are literally all students, we don't know how to get hold of him or get his attention, so we thought we would do something nice. But at least now he recognises me. I saw him last year and he asked me what I (was) doing next year. I said, 'thinking about leaving S.U' and he said it was a brilliant idea and I was like okay...and then, he saw me this year and he was shocked. He was like: 'what are you doing here?' and he was not very pleased that I stayed. Ya, so where is Wim? Because people don't know where he is or who he is. He's so inaccessible and we wanted a way to hold him accountable. ...it helped me to see how social media played a massive part in Fees Must Fall. There was this one incident and students need assistance - I sent a tweet out and people, lecturers and students brought food, beds, clothes and medical supplies... it was just amazing - and that was all coordinated over social media.

In 2015 during the first FMF occurrence at SU, most of the time, students were met with the same bureaucratic statement which went something along the lines of: “management has received your letters/memorandums of demands and will meet with you in due course”. What became confusing for many students, including myself, was the figure of management. For many of the activists, including myself, management became this mythical figure which oversaw Stellenbosch University. Here I say ‘mythical figure’ because the figure of management was always in flux: it never remained the same. This body of predominantly white men would be escorted in by the ‘Men in Black’ to the building steps. These stone-faced men would then stand there and read a statement which generally stated that the university was doing everything in their power to help students, or at the very least, meet them halfway. During protests and sit-ins, I would hear students discussing the figure of management. I joined in on a few of the discussions. For most of them, I just listened and took notes. What became evident to me was that I agreed with the majority of opinions of what the figure of management was. For us, it was a body of anonymous men who acted as gatekeepers of Stellenbosch University. It was this figure of power which resided in the Admin B building³⁷. However, as the days went by, many people started questioning the figure of management and started questioning where our rector was. We had not heard from him in days. The protestors were looking for the man who was in charge of running our institution. He was the face and leader of SU whether students liked it or not; at such a critical moment, students were tired of the *figure* of management, and simply wanted to see our rector Prof Wim De Villers. I remember arriving on campus one afternoon during the FMF movement of 2015. I was headed towards the group of protesting students, but all I recall is hearing the chant: “WHERE IS WIM! WHERE IS

³⁷ Admin B is the name of the building where many of the most powerful and high-ranking members who run Stellenbosch University offices are located.

WIM!” Many students were holding up posters with #WhereIsWim. Protesters’ Twitter networks came alive with tweets (plain text, pictures of the different figures of management, and video footage of their ‘speeches’ addressing the crowds) aimed at SU, demanding to see Prof De Villiers, or simply just memes³⁸ about his absence on campus. Students were not just attending protests but using social media activism to hold Prof De Villiers accountable. They felt he was the true manager of our university and were using social media to show the general public that they felt our Vice Chancellor and Rector did not really care. They managed to force him out of what they considered hiding, through publicly questioning his lack of appearance via social media.

Jimada (2019, 1) argues that social media has become a space where individuals can collect and share data as well as communicate with each other, but that it has also opened up channels for bodies within society that historically did not have the opportunity to be very active or vocal. They have been given a platform to become active and vocal, and demand accountability. Further, Almen and Burell, (2018: 2-3) argue that civil society and social movement plays a crucial role in applying pressure onto institutions. Social media is an important mechanism of social accountability since it takes a bottom-up approach. Almen and Burell (2018:3) additionally highlight that social accountability here is about responsiveness, which is based upon answerability, in other words where the top becomes answerable to the bottom. Anderson, Toor, Rainie and Smith (2018: 9) suggest that most people feel that social media campaigns are a reliable way of keeping powerful people accountable for their actions. Here, I turn to two famous social media campaigns which made use of protests and online social media campaigns. Hamdi and Schreier (2013:50) point out that the #OccupyWallStreet movement questioned the fall of the financial system, sought to hold criminal investigations into those accountable for the downfall of the economic market, and have them held accountable for their actions via the legal system. Schultz (2017:5) looks at how the #BlackLivesMatter campaign was created in response to the perception of racial injustice, with police violence targeting black bodies, and sought to investigate the many cases surrounding the victims and the police. The power of both campaigns was felt globally because of its use of protests and social media campaigns. The dual combination has allowed the spotlight to be

³⁸ A meme is an animated picture, which often conveys a funny or ironic message about a particular phenomenon, theme, or meaning (Wikipedia definition).

cast down on imperative issues and has brought some form of accountability upon those who were responsible for these different occurrences.

Returning to the case of Stellenbosch, I argue that through the use of social media, the social media campaign (#WhereIsWim), and the protests held against him, the activist achieved the very thing they set out to do: to deal directly with the Rector. A few days after the social media campaign, Prof De Villiers had a question and answer session with protesters which went on for hours. What was significant about this moment for FMF was that students were noticing our VC's absence and indifference in critical moments. Through the use of social media and hashtags, they were holding him accountable for his lack of public action, and for the use of this anonymous body in dealing with critical student relations. I would argue that the #WhereIsWim did not just hold Prof De Villiers responsible to the protesters by posing the question: 'where is our rector?'. They were asking: does he really care about what is happening below him? If he does, why is he not present at the moment with us? Why are we, as a student body, having to deal with an anonymous body of people? These kinds of social media campaigns are about shifting the power dynamic by bringing the top down to the bottom and holding the powerful accountable for its actions. Here, I want to highlight the true power behind these campaigns. They are an act of *sousveillance* because they show how a group of protesting students can turn the surveillance upon the institution of SU and launch a campaign aimed at asking about the whereabouts of the upper level management. Simply put, the campaign was about saying: 'we are watching you too - -where is our rector? We see that he is not present in this crucial moment.' #WhereIsWim pushed the focus of the narrative, from the '*violent protesting students*' to the location of our universities figure head in space and time. The online campaign only lasted a few days, but the focus of the protests shifted from the fee hike to the absence of our rector. It further eroded trust and relation between the two entities. The case of the missing rector should be remembered, as it correlates to more than just the subject of this thesis. It evokes a much more pressing matter at SU, which was and remains a lack of change. If students could not depend on their Rector at such a critical moment in the history of South African higher education, how could they trust the Rector in the day-to-day running of the institution? But most importantly, how could they trust the promise of bringing change to SU?

#LibraryOccupation: the power of sousveillance's.

In 2009 during a protest in London, a newspaper vendor named Ian Thomlinson who was trying to make his way home died. Later, it was reported and confirmed by an autopsy that he had died of natural causes and that police officers had helped in every way possible to revive and save him (Ruiz, 2017: 2). However, people present at the protest started posting photos and videos of what had occurred. The story quickly took a tragic turn. It was revealed that Thomlinson's death was from natural causes but from police brutality. Images and video footage from the events leading to his death shows how he came into physical contact with police officers. Even though he was not part of the protest or acting hostile, he was physically assaulted by members of the police force (Ruiz, 2017: 2-3). This story portrayed the ways in which institutions wheeling power can alter events to suit the narrative as they see fit. This reminded me of what Orwell (1949,35) deemed 'reality control'- "If all records told the same tale - then the lie passed into history and became truth. 'Who controls the past'... 'controls the future: who controls the present controls the past". Orwell (1949) was talking about 'The Party' who controlled the factual narratives of events by altering all literature and press, coercing people into believing that events occurred in a certain manner true or not, as long as they suited their (The Party's) narrative. I argue that under the Orwellian context of reality control, this is what occurred in the Thomlinson case. Greer and Mc Laughlin (2010: 1043) argue that media outlets tend to side with institutions of power, in this case the police. Even when protests are calm, they still favoured the institution of power, when reporting. The reason I chose this story for this section is that it is similar to the case of the SU library occupation, for which were two conflicting stories around the same event. SU had reconstructed the events of the Library occupation in their court interdict, while activists had done the same through social media and their #LibraryOccupation campaign. In this section, I want to present both narratives and take a closer look at how the activists used sousveillance on SU, and how sousveillance has shown the ways in which SU has constructed events in their favour.

In September of 2016, there was an incident between protesting students and the Men in Black which turned violent. The incident known as the #LibraryOccupation started out as a peaceful building occupation similar to many other occupations, but over the course of several days, the occupation turned violent. It was during the examination period: a group of students decided to have a sit-in.

Chandra: So, this is how the library occupation started..., we're at this hoe's anonymous meeting at pulp, and we are getting into it about the university, and I'm like: tonight we're going to show them - we going to occupy the library! And they like - yes bitch! We are going to have a Rosa Parks sitting and we're going to sit and stay

babes. So, we go from this meeting and we go and occupy the bib...and what became clear is that people were hungry... so by hungry, we were literally done with this...our bank accounts were on zero... we haven't seen results yet...

On the 12th of September towards closing time, the library occupation began. This was during the September exam period, where many students including myself, would normally find ourselves sitting and studying, or working on end-of-year assignments. The events which were about to occur were about trying to communicate student needs to the university. Many of the student activists' accounts were frozen. They could not even afford to pay for their courses. The cost of attending SU was high. Students wanted to address the issue of the fee increment and find a way of accessing their academic results. Thus, the occupation of the library took place. The disruption and blockage of access to the library was symbolic of their lives. They were being blocked from moving forward in their lives. The disruption and multiple occupations were aimed at disrupting the normal flow of people's lives - to demonstrate to them how it feels to be placed in these kinds of situations. What was clear about this moment for me at least, was that this was never meant to turn violent. This was supposed to be a sit-in which made the daily operations of the university and the lives of non-protesting students difficult or at least uneasy. After a few days of back and forth between protesting students and the university, things turned violent. A fight broke out between the two parties. What intrigued me about the occupation was its aftermath, and how narratives were emerging. If one were to read the university interdicts, emails, or social media accounts of the incident, the reflections they presented would stand in total contrast to what I had witnessed. There were two narratives portrayed here, the first presenting protesters as violent, trying to deface and destroy university property:

The applicant's functionaries/ security staff attempted to close the metal shutter door to the entrance of the J.S Gericke library to secure the library. Some protesting students tried to prevent the door from being closed. The door was damaged in the process... one of the protesting students, who was still present inside the J.S Gericke Library during this time, had a seizure. Protesting students attempted to prevent a nurse employed by the applicant from attending to the student. Only after negotiations with the protesting students did they allow the nurse to take the student who had had the seizure to the state hospital in the ambulance provided by the applicant... After the student with the seizure was taken to the hospital, the security personnel released pepper spray into the air to disperse the remaining protesting students... no serious injuries were reported by protesting students. - Stellenbosch University VS 13 Responders(B) (2016: 33-35)

The court interdict shapes the narrative very differently. It identifies students as a hostile group which needed to be dealt with quickly and at all costs. Greer and McLaughlin (2010, 1043)

argue that when institutions do not act in accordance with what is deemed as right or fair, they often develop ways of denying their failures or simply explaining the failures which cannot be hidden. I argue that this is what was occurring here. The university had positioned the narrative in such a way as to present protestors as violent, damaging SU property and risking the life of a fellow protestor, while SU was helping students even after what had occurred and claiming that there were no severe injuries. The court interdict is detailed in this manner. It provides photographic ‘evidence’, stills from videos, tweets from protesters, their movement logs, emails and affidavits from members at SU. It truly provides a detailed account of events which occurred. However, as someone who was present at these events, the problem with the interdict files is that they shift the blame and create alternative narratives which don’t hold the university accountable in any manner. Before continuing here, I need to state that in no way shape or form am I trying to absolve activists for what they have done or for the part they played during the protest. Times of war and civil unrest are violent, and sometimes it is required - I understand this point. I am not claiming their innocence, and neither are they. Many of them have owned up to their actions. They are conscious of the choices they have made during the FMF period and understood at the time that there would be consequences for their actions. They understood what was at stake. However, a discussion which was constantly brought up between protesters and myself is the PR machine. This refers to the SU’s ability and resources to recreate stories that portray a fake narrative about them and the extent of their actions. SU was above all concerned about their “corporate image³⁹”. The public image of what was occurring at the university was their prime concern and not the situation that was unfolding at SU. The university warped the events to show themselves in a better light., It was about their innocence and punishing students for protesting a fee increment which would have affected most university students across the country. Student activists were protesting the growing inaccessibility of institutions such as SU, where the university tries to cover up this truth.

Aidan: okay, so we use photos and videos to upload it to social media to try and keep the university accountable for their actions. At that protest and at court, the university had basically used video footage that we had taken. One of my friends had taken the video with her phone, and that video had been one of the reasons which had helped many people well helped the court case along. It was not used as evidence in the end...MIB was in the video and it shows them ignoring me while men were basically attacking me where the video was pivotal information. My one friend was having a seizure, and they would not let her out...they pepper-sprayed some of my friends in the face.

³⁹ These are the exact words used by SU rector Prof Wim De Villers in a public email to all students. See the addendum image B.

The use of counter-surveillance was imperative to reverse the narratives of the story during the protest period or even simply to show what was actually occurring on the ground. It would thus enable students to hold the university accountable for their actions as well. This was done by trying to damage the public image of SU. Student activists uploaded pictures and videos to their personal social media accounts with a common hashtag, in this case the #libraryoccupation. The hashtag acted as a space where student activists could tell *their* side of the events as it happened. With almost unlimited resources at SU's disposal, it might be presumed that convincing people of its narrative was an easy affair. However, by using smartphones, student activists had the ability to disrupt the university's alternative narrative by surveying it, using the data captured to hold it accountable, and appealing to social media users by showing them the violence of the events. They demonstrated that the SU management had not been truthful in what had occurred. I spoke to Cindy about what had occurred on that day with her seizure. This is what she said:

Cindy: I got hold of the paramedic driver... I was the one who had the seizure. The new mixtape⁴⁰ says that protesters prevented students from getting medical assistance. CiCi, the medic, was like no, they stopped me from coming in, they had to carry me out to the ambulance, the ambulance! Eventually, the ambulance was allowed to get closer. Campus security had stopped the ambulance. And I do not think things would have escalated if they had just let me out. At that point, people lost it completely. If you look at the video, people were ready to break down doors to get me out. If you look at the mixtape, they have pictures of everything else, but of them not allowing us out the library... They have everything except that. Ask yourself why.

The protesting students made use of their smartphones during this time. They used them to videotape the MIB to show the "outside" world what was happening, and how the truth was being altered in SU's favour. They then uploaded the data to their social media accounts using the #LibraryOccupation hashtag. Reilly (2015, 756) points to the same occurrence in 2011, when news outlets were linking the violence of a local protest to the protesting group, which turned out to be false. The violence stemmed from private security on protestors. The protesters themselves turned to social media with footage to disprove the falsehood of these claims. In both cases, what is highlighted here is that social media has the ability to highlight the importance of truth and break down fabricated falsehoods or narratives generated around a group. Hall, Critcher, Clarke and Robertson (1978: 58) argue that the reporting of what is deemed criminality and disarray is shaped

⁴⁰ 'Mixtape' is a satirical reference to the interdicts. New interdicts were released like albums of famous artists, without prior warning or 'advertisement' of them. They would simply materialise.

by the elite, those who are not just at the top of powerful institutions but that also represent them. They find themselves at the top of hierarchical credibility. Thus, I argue that in the case of the library occupation, the activists were aware that they needed to deploy measures (sousveillance tactics) to ensure that their timeline of events could come to the fore too. Through these tactics of deploying mobile phones and social media, they were able to present their timeline of the events.

Thus, a new era has emerged which places the average individual in the power seat. Social media has allowed for the shift in informational power. Bowman and Willis (2003, 7) describe social media as a new form of journalism, where bodies of institutional power no longer find themselves as the gatekeepers of information. Instead, the average citizen can be placed in the active role to collect, process, and publish information. This new active role we have been given has allowed for the shift in informational power. Westerman, Spence and Van der Heide (2013, 171) suggest that social media has become a tool for the distribution and sharing of information. This is imperative as it levels out the dynamic with the old gatekeepers of information. With regard to SU, social media has opened new channels for these students to step into an active role and thus has helped shift the power dynamic between themselves and SU. They could collect their own information on the state of events, share it, and display their perspectives of the events to the outside world. Van Zoonen, Vis and Mihelj (2011: 259) suggest that being active on these platforms is a way in which citizens can claim back their right to speak, or in this case, be heard. The use of the social media campaign is significant for two reasons. First, it acted as a way to help corrode the narratives which were being produced by the university against them. Second, it showed the truth around the events by pointing out the brutality the activists experienced at the hands of police and the MIB. Social media has been imperative for the student activists. The use of social media allowed them to capture their own narrative of events and bring it forth within civil society. This also meant that student activists could counter the narratives and stigma attached to themselves to some extent, as people could gain a glimpse into their world, and understand what was happening but from their point of view. Legally, the activists had counterevidence they could produce to dispute the allegations of the mixtape.

In closing this chapter, I want to reflect on the intricacy of data. In the previous chapter, I looked at the way in which data can be used to survey and control the body, starting with a very Foucauldian point before moving to an Orwellian view. Here, I wanted to show how easy it became to monitor and survey a body of students. Due to the rise of information technologies, data collection data on individuals, or in this case a group, has become significantly easier. However, the very technology which has and can help survey and control these individuals is

the same technology which has allowed these groups to regain some control back and reverse the gaze. In this chapter, I looked at the way in which the average individual can deploy their own data-collecting methods upon institutions, an ability which yields a tremendous amount of power. In short, individuals can reverse the effect of the gaze of the panopticon by deploying their own sousveillance tactics. Social Media and smartphones have enabled this power shift to occur. They have been a driving force behind the dynamic shift. The true power behind them comes from the way in which the technology was used. Technology is powerful, but only when used in the correct manner to achieve an end. Since the dynamics of technology and its uses are constantly changing, the power between these two groups is constantly shifting; and it arises from intricate a web of surveillance and sousveillance. Power is always shifting, but power does not always have to be fought over or for. In Chapter Three, I looked at the way in which the university created a static power dynamic.

CONCLUSION

Fees Must Fall was a significant movement, for many reasons. It has highlighted injustices being faced and injustices many students would face. For SU in particular it highlighted two things, the racial socio-economic injustices students were facing, even before the announcement of the fee increment and then lastly the reaction of our institution when these issues were being raised by the black student body.

For SU, these problems ran deeper than mere surface level issues. The institution had failed in its policy, as its policy aimed for an unrealistic view of transformation. One which honoured its apartheid roots and disadvantaged many students who did not speak or understand Afrikaans. The situation at SU was further compounded by the fact that the policy failed to critically evaluate itself, which it stated it would. By keeping the culture and language of Afrikaans alive as one of the dominant languages at the institution it created racial tension between white and POC students. The policy had failed to bring forth transformation but rather create racial tension and a racialized environment on campus. The protests which occurred at SU was not pushing at new issues but rather pushing at pre-existing issues which had then come to the fore.

Furthermore, to understand the complexity of what was happening at SU one needed to understand the historical aspects of protests in South Africa. South Africa has a violent past, when looking at the experiences of the student activist and the stories from the Soweto Uprising and Sharpeville Massacre there were many continuities which persisted between these events. The physical tactics and legal tactics of these events held many similarities between themselves. However, what is important to understand is that the latter occurred during apartheid and the FMF protests occurred more than 20 years into South Africa's Democracy. This means that after years of democratic rule there are still white-run institutions which oppress and treat POC bodies the same way POC bodies were treated during 'high' apartheid. The way bodies are treated in society is important, we can understand the dynamics or situation by looking at how bodies are treated. POC bodies are still being criminalized and regulated by white-run institution, thus the youth growing up in a liberal democratic society is being treated like most of their parents were being treated under apartheid.

Additionally, looking at the experiences of these students was also important to be able to engage with the regulation and surveillance they had experienced during the protests. The idea

of the panopticon is central to thinking about and engaging with the topic of surveillance and regulation. Foucault spoke about the panopticon but with the rise of information technologies, this advancement has given humans the ability to impose greater control over groups of people. Information technologies has given rise to the superpanopticon, this has blurred the lines between the ideas around public and private space. Looking at the space of SU as a superpanopticon and student activists experiences of surveillance and regulating. Students having a sense of being under surveillance all day had caused a rupture in the student activist social capital. This sense of hypervisibility students felt caused social paranoia and this led to the rupture of the group, the eroding of trust and social capital. What happened at SU was that the University had treated students as threats and placed them under Surveillance, the idea around surveillance and regulation is that a group divided is a group which is losing power. By eroding the groups social capital and contributing to the trust issues the group was facing, SU was managing to oppress the protests.

Moreover, the story of these activists runs deeper than just the surveillance and regulation imposed upon them, it is not a story of victimhood, it is also a story of power and the shifting of power. The rise of information technologies has also given rise to the concept of sousveillance. Sousveillance is the key to disturbing the power matrix in terms of surveillance and regulation, a core idea behind surveillance and regulation is that the gaze flows linearly, but with sousveillance the gaze can flow in more than one direction, thus power can be held by different people or groups at different periods and times. The activists at SU deployed this method as an act of counter surveillance. Making use of sousveillance techniques helped hold bodies accountable to their actions but also fight back to alternative narratives created by the university. The use of sousveillance methods were imperative to the movement as it shifts the power dynamics between themselves and the university, the shift in power shows that student activist can wield power too and do not always need to occupy the submissive position within the power matrix. It shows us that power can be created or shifted, that within the matrix positionality and power does not always have to be fixed, the bodies or groups within the matrix can always be under flux.

In closing I want to speak about two issues. The first is the crisis of education, the way universities dealt with their students, through surveillance and regulation, this is an issue which needs to be addressed. These forms of oppression violate the rights of South Africans, their right to freedom of speech, their right to protest and their right to privacy. These protests showed that our democracy is still young and fragile, as the government allowed multiple

institutions to criminalize students for protesting for their right to education which was promised to us in the freedom charter. The second is the events of FMF was imperative as it highlighted important socio-economic struggles of students, even though the majority was students of colour and black students, this did not mean that this would not affect white students. There were white students present at the protests, this was an issue of students. However, it highlighted the inequality amongst races how the majority was POC students, and the minority was white students. FMF spoke to many fundamental issues we face as a country, but what needs to be highlighted is that students are in a state of crisis, with many struggling to pay off for their studies and with inflation this will become more expensive as time progresses. FMF highlighted that if universities and government does not work with students that there will be a continuous vicious cycle repeating itself. To close the socio-economic gap in South Africa we need to be working on many aspects and the one aspect is that of education, universities in South Africa are becoming more inaccessible, in order to have social progress we need to be able to equip the youth with tools to better themselves and have social mobility. Let Fees Must Fall not be forgotten but let it be a lesson to us as South African's about what happens when we ignore pressing matters.

Appendix

150

Pag. "SB1.74"

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|---|------|
| Allowed | 2016-09-15 07:18:32 | Irene Skuifdeur Noord | 2610 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-15 09:31:47 | JS Gericke Bib - Turnstile 5 In | 1070 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-15 11:23:17 | JS Gericke Bib - Turnstile 6 In | 1071 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-15 11:29:48 | JS Gericke Leerarea Studente - In | 1414 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-15 13:48:48 | JS Gericke Leerarea Studente - UIT | 1494 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-15 13:49:20 | JS Gericke Bib - Turnstile 2 Uit | 1067 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-15 16:23:56 | Irene Trapdeur Noord | 2612 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-15 16:23:56 | Irene Trapdeur Noord | 2612 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-15 16:24:08 | Irene Skuifdeur Noord | 2610 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-16 14:34:49 | Admin A - Inligting Turnstiles In2 | 2059 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-16 14:37:02 | Admin A - Inligting Turnstiles UIT1 | 2055 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-19 06:56:36 | Irene Trapdeur Noord | 2612 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-19 18:42:54 | Irene Trapdeur Noord | 2612 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-20 08:01:18 | Irene Trapdeur Noord | 2612 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-20 08:13:02 | Irene Trapdeur Noord | 2612 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-20 13:32:10 | Ing Kennisentrum Biblioteek Trnstile Uit | 1973 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-20 13:39:17 | Ing - Kennisentrum Oos Uit | 1743 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-20 13:51:34 | Irene Trapdeur Noord | 2612 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-20 13:51:52 | Irene Skuifdeur Noord | 2610 |
| Not Allowed - Salto invalid key | 2016-09-20 17:23:58 | Irene Skuifdeur Noord | 2610 |
| Not Allowed - Salto invalid key | 2016-09-20 17:24:02 | Irene Skuifdeur Noord | 2610 |
| Not Allowed - Salto invalid key | 2016-09-20 21:24:42 | Irene Eetsaal Noord | 7611 |
| Not Allowed - Salto invalid key | 2016-09-20 21:24:52 | Irene Eetsaal Noord | 2611 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-22 09:11:28 | Irene Trapdeur Noord | 2612 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-22 09:11:44 | Irene Eetsaal Noord | 2611 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-23 10:22:00 | Irene Trapdeur Noord | 2612 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-23 10:22:18 | Irene Skuifdeur Noord | 2610 |
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| Allowed | 2016-09-23 16:40:10 | Irene Eetsaal Noord | 2611 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-23 22:51:55 | Irene Eetsaal Noord | 2611 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-24 16:12:28 | Irene Eetsaal Noord | 2611 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-24 16:12:41 | Irene Trapdeur Noord | 2612 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-24 16:15:52 | Irene Waskamer | 2583 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-24 16:27:02 | Irene Skuifdeur Noord | 2610 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-24 16:28:10 | Irene Waskamer | 2583 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-25 09:01:51 | Irene Trapdeur Noord | 2612 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-25 09:02:01 | Irene Waskamer | 2583 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-25 09:02:41 | Irene Waskamer | 2583 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-25 09:10:24 | Irene Trapdeur Noord | 2612 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-25 09:24:14 | Irene Waskamer | 2583 |
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| Allowed | 2016-09-25 09:51:34 | Irene Eetsaal Noord | 2611 |
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| Allowed | 2016-09-25 20:14:34 | Irene Skuifdeur Noord | 2610 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-26 10:01:06 | Irene Trapdeur Noord | 2612 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-26 10:01:28 | Irene Skuifdeur Noord | 2610 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-26 13:00:53 | Admin A - Narga Hoofingang 2de vloer In | 765 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-26 18:30:18 | Admin A - Narga Hoofingang 2de vloer UIT | 766 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-27 11:01:46 | Ing - Kennisentrum Oos In | 1742 |
| Allowed | 2016-09-27 11:02:03 | Ing Kennisentrum Biblioteek Trnstile In 2 | 1971 |

Besetting - JSG Bib - 15 Sept 2016

| | |
|------|--|
| 7:00 | Studente het binne en buite deurnag. |
| 7:20 | Bib personeel rapporteer van intimidering deur besetters. Een student het gees dat sekuriteit vermind. |
| 7:29 | Biblioteekpersoneel ontsteld en bang agv intimidasie deur groep. |
| 9:00 | Studente-dekaan (Tonia) weer met groep vergader en kollokwium voorgestel, 3 van die studente was |
| 9:03 | Een brandblusser se seel is gebreek en aan gepeuter. Claud kan persoon id. |
| 9:21 | Groep binne sing. |
| 9:28 | BIB se deure is geopen. |
| 9:45 | Situasie tans gespanne. Groep besetters poog steeds om ander studente te weerhou van ingang. Ange |
| 9:47 | CCTV - afro hare persoon blok iemand om in te kom. |



| | |
|-------|--|
| | Info: Ma, Catherine Lotter, dogter student Jenna het gister klag gemaak van aanranding. Beweer besetti |
| 10:05 | MAS 573/09 gemaak. Sy versoek verdere stappe. Ook ontevrede oor sekuriteit-beampte wat hulp gewe |
| 10:12 | Krisdiens, Louis Vlok, is versoek om bib se personeel bystand te bied vir personeel wat traumaties voe |
| 10:18 | Studente wat toegang tot bib wil verkry, het tans toegang via ander ingang. |
| 10:20 | Brief vir waarkuwing vir uitsetting is gedoen en oppad bib toe. |
| 10:29 | Daar is van die besetters wat die bib begin verlaat. |
| 10:34 | Besetters het vrywilliglik bib verlaat agv studente sake (Birgit; Tonia) se onderhandelinge. Daar was blyk weg. |
| 10:35 | Notice is nie gedoen nie. |
| 10:41 | Groepe opgebreek, van hul in Metanoia in en van hul in Neethlingstraat, Skuilhoek se kant toe. |
| 10:42 | Sekuriteit is by admin geboue ontplooi vir in geval. |
| 10:45 | Lyk meeste van die studente is by Metanoia in, van hul met kaarte en van hul het nie kaarte nie. |
| 10:50 | Fire pro beampte is vanoggend intimideer tydens ondersoek van brandblusser. Mahoney het verklaring |
| 10:52 | CCTV van Metanoia word gemonitor. |
| 11:11 | Nagaan van Metanoia cctv - oud-prim van Metanoia, Ashanti ge-id. |
| 11:50 | Prof Schoonwinkel - clear trespassing of disciplinary SU rules - preventing academic, intimidation and da Person in charge of lib lay charge. Crim cases - saps handle. |
| 11:59 | Student met brandblusser ge-id: |

Image 2.1.2

B
21

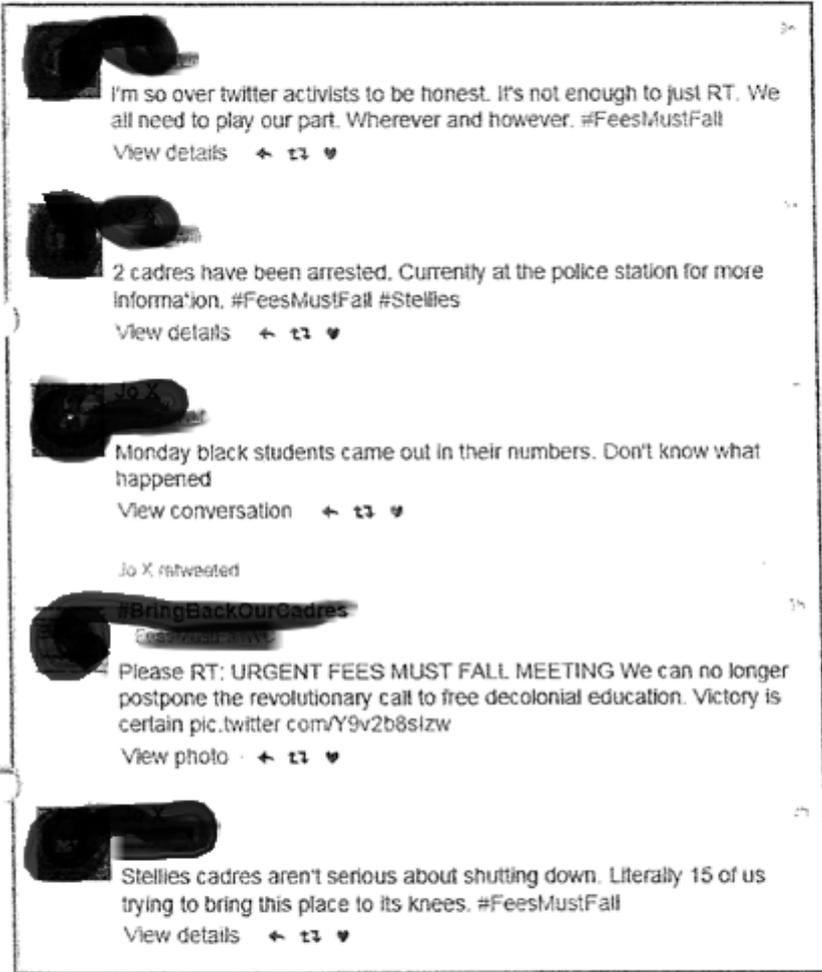
20-Sep Incident Log Stellenbosch University Campus 20-09-2016

| | |
|-------|---|
| 06:31 | Students barricade entrance to parking at Admin A with steel bicycle racks. Racks were removed at 09:00. Students sat across to stop cars from coming in |
| 07:00 | Wilcocks Main and West entrance barricaded and closed from the inside with furniture stopping access to the building from the outside. ¹² Students |
| 07:18 | Staff tried to remove the furniture from the entrances to allow access to the building - main and side entrance |
| 07:33 | Protesting students move the furniture back against the doors |
| 07:43 | Students use the legs of the table to jam the push bars to the front entrance doors so people can't get in. Main entrance. |
| 07:46 | Two staff members remove the table, jamming the front access door, to allow entrance for the staff |
| 07:47 | Students put the furniture back and barricade the door again |
| 07:49 | Ashanti Kunene breaks the front door when pushing furniture against it - Student number 1783642 |
| 07:53 | Altercation between protesting students and people who want to enter the building. Main entrance. |
| 07:57 | Jodi Williams arrives at the entrance and opens the door to come in. People wanting to leave the building. A fight breaks out between unidentified student/staff member & Jodi Williams, Aden Bartes and Kunene. |
| 07:58 | Pieter Kloppers arrives and the fight is stopped. Students barricade the entrance again. |
| 07:59 | MIB arrive and leave via back. Students open the doors and barricade with furniture. |
| 08:07 | West entrance Wilcocks Building- assault by Anelisiwe Mbude and Nicole Matiwane (Person assaulted is Salome Cilliers - 073 72 95232 - from International office) |
| 08:31 | Students sitting on furniture at the entrance of Wilcocks Building. |
| 08:49 | Food arrives for protesting students at Wilcocks Building. |
| 09:00 | The group of protesting students that blocked Admin A parking moved to buildings and broke the break glasses. Law faculty - student got panic attack when break glasses was broken |
| 09:50 | Students dancing outside the main entrance of Wilcocks Building |

Image 2.1.3

Herna Bevis-Crainor

From:
Sent:
To:
Cc:
Subject:

A screenshot of a Twitter thread with five tweets. Each tweet has a redacted profile picture. The tweets discuss the #FeesMustFall movement, mentioning arrests of cadres and a meeting. The fifth tweet includes a link to a photo.

I'm so over twitter activists to be honest. It's not enough to just RT. We all need to play our part. Wherever and however. #FeesMustFall
View details

2 cadres have been arrested. Currently at the police station for more information. #FeesMustFall #Stellies
View details

Monday black students came out in their numbers. Don't know what happened
View conversation

Jo X retweeted

#BringBackOurCadres
Please RT: URGENT FEES MUST FALL MEETING We can no longer postpone the revolutionary call to free decolonial education. Victory is certain pic.twitter.com/Y9v2b8slzw
View photo

Stellies cadres aren't serious about shutting down. Literally 15 of us trying to bring this place to its knees. #FeesMustFall
View details

1

AB C

Image 2.1.4

Semi-structured interview questions

Preliminary questions

- Students will be asked to introduce themselves with their chosen pseudonym

Surveillance

- Do you think the university makes use of surveillance techniques against you as a student activist?
- During periods of protests have you ever felt like you were being watched? If so how did that make you feel?
- Have you ever been followed by police, private security or men in black at Stellenbosch?
 - If so, how? Why? What was your reaction to the event?
- Have you ever experienced private security knowing private details/knowledge about you or have you ever see this happen to other students?
 - If yes, how did they use it? Can you describe the moment to me?
 - How these impacted on their lives, their work, their health, their relations with other students (those involved in the protests and those who weren't) and with staff
 - Whether this still impacts on their lives now and if so how
 - How they responded to forms of surveillance and ways of mitigating the impact of this?

Sousveillance

- Do you make use of your social media accounts during periods of protest, if yes, how do you use it?
- How do you see the use of different hashtags relating to protests?
- What was the significance of the hashtag #whereiswim and the #free(comrades name)?
- How do you use the footage that you have captured during fees must fall, such as videos and photos?

Regulation

- How would you describe the way the university sees you as a student activist?
- Would you say that the perceived image of the student activist by the university influence the way in which other none-protesting students see you or interact with you?
- How would you define privacy at Stellenbosch university?
- What is your experience of university safety?
- Have you ever been threatened or harassed by the universities private security ?

Consent form



UNIVERSITEIT • STELLENBOSCH • UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

Participants Research consent/information sheet

You are requested to participate in a research study conducted by Ashwin Phillips, a master's student in Sociology in the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, at the University of Stellenbosch, South Africa. The research is being conducted as part of my postgraduate programme.

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to answer various questions relating to the experience of surveillance and regulations at Stellenbosch University. You will be interviewed by me, the time allocation should be 30-60 minutes and will be arranged at a time and place to suit you. Participation in this research is voluntary and participants are free to withdraw at any time without negative consequences of any kind. If you agree to be in the study, you may also choose not to answer certain questions. No payment will be made for your participation.

Your identity will be kept confidential and not revealed through the study. Pseudonyms will be used during interviews and when reporting on findings to ensure that responses cannot be traced to individual respondents. Due to the long nature of the interview, which will yield large data sets, the interviews will be audio-taped for ease of accurate recording; however, once the interviews are transcribed by me, the recordings will be destroyed, and nobody but myself will have access to the recordings. Data that is collected from participants will only be used for the purposes of this study. The data will be kept in a secure manner. It will not be made available to third parties other than to my supervisor for the purposes of my study, unless the relevant participant has given permission for this to happen. Once the study is complete an electronic copy will be available through the library of the University of Stellenbosch.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to discuss them with me. My contact details are [email address] or [phone number]. You may also contact my supervisor(s), Prof Dennis Francis or Prof Robert Pattman, in the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, University of Stellenbosch, South Africa, at [supervisors email address]. If you have any concerns you may also contact: 021 808 9184, the research division of Stellenbosch University. If you feel in any manner distressed or experiencing any form of trauma, you may contact one of the clinics found below from the @heart counselling services.

Ashwin Lorenzo Phillips

____[signature will appear here]_____

Date:_____

| | |
|---|---|
| Kayamandi Clinic Tel 021 8895061 | Mon – Fr 08h00-16h00 |
| Counselling Personnel isiXhosa, English | Nondumiso Dina-Phato Zanele Mda Sithembele Nqothole |
| Kylemore Clinic Tel 021 8852504 | Mon, Tues and Fri 08h00 – 16h00 |
| Counselling Personnel English, Afrkaans | Mashiela Cupido |
| Cloetesville Day Hospital Tel 021 8870310 | Mon – Fri 08h00 – 16h00 |
| Counselling Personnel isiXhosa, English, Afrkaans | Christine Steyn Bulelwa Kabane |
| Idas Valley Clinic Tel 021 8872048 | Mon – Fri 08h00- 16h00 |
| Counselling Personnel isiXhosa, English | Khululwa Ntontela |
| Aan het Pad Clinic (Cloetesville) Tel 021 8895002 | Mon – Fr 08h00 – 16h00 |
| Counselling Personnel English, Afrkaans | Olga Jacobs |
| Groendal Clinic Tel 021 8763714 | Mon – Fri 08h00 – 16h00, ART service on Thursdays |
| Counselling Personnel isiXhosa, English, Afrikaans | Nompumelelo Melapi Masande Nyanga |
| Jamestown Clinic Tel 021 8800357 | Mondays & Wednesday, 08h00 – 16h00 |
| Counselling Personnel isiXhosa, English, Afrkaans | Patricia Dyata |
| Klapmuts Clinic Tel 021 8755206 | Mon – Fr 08h00 – 16h00 |
| Counselling Personnel isiXhosa, English, Afrkaans, Sotho | Samantha Peter Nosibele Gcwabe |
| Stellenbosch District Hospital Tel 021 8870310 | Mon – Fr 08h00 – 16h00 |
| Counselling Personnel isiXhosa, English, Afrkaans | Vuyelwa Mandala |
| @heart Kayamandi Corridor Centre Wellness Facility Tel 021 8082931 | Monday to Friday 08h00 – 16h00 |
| Clinical & Counselling Personnel isiXhosa, English, Afrkaans | Sr Rachel Hendricks (Site Supervisor) Magda Jooste (EN) Princess Nomfundo Faku (Aux Social Worker) Cebisa Velani (ENA) |
| @heart, Old Luckhoff School Building, Banghoek Rd, Stellenbosch Tel 021 8082931 atheart@sun.ac.za | Monday to Friday 08h00 – 16h00 |
| Clinical & Counselling Personnel isiXhosa, English, Afrkaans | Sr Rachel Hendricks (Site Supervisor) Siphokazi Wonxi Najewa Moffat Lynette Rademeyer-Bosman |

| DIVISION/Afdeling : Legal Services/Regsdienste | |
|--|----------|
| Student Name/Naam: | Case ID: |
| Student Number/Nommer: | |
| Address/Adres (as student): | |
| Contact number/Kontaknommer: | |
| Date/Datum: | |

Please write neat and legible (Black pen only)/Skryf asb in netjiese leesbare handskrif (Swart pen alleenlik)

Sign immediately after written text and draw line through the rest of the page.

Teken onmiddellik na die geskrewe gedeelte en trek 'n streep deur die res van die bladsy

Ek was teenwoordig met die onderbreking van die beskiedenis 246 Eksamen. Die ~~stude~~ mense het by die deure probeer inkom en Professor Anton Ehlers het dit toe gehou, hulle het hom uit die pad uit forseer en die teenwoordige mans studente het met hom hardhandig geras. Hulle het in die gange af gestap en die studente se vraestelle en antwoordstelle opgeskeer. Die studente wat hulle vraestelle vasgedruk het onder hulle hande, se vraestelle was met geweld geneem en opgeskeer. Professor Ehlers het vir almal oor die mikrofoon gevra om kalm te bly en nie te reageer nie. Hulle het aangehou sing en dans en uitgeloop.

Daar is 'n video aan my gewys deur Mr Paul Beresford op 3 Oktober 2016. Daar is studente wat op die 3de vloer van die BA gebou ingegaan het, ek kon die 2de ~~stude~~ persoc

Image 2.1.5

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