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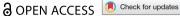
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Why the violence? Translocal justifications of violence in student protests

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ABSTRACT

Student protests frequently turn violent; however, how student activists justify their use of violence is scarcely researched. Using photovoice data created by former activists from five South African universities, I uncover four discourses on violence and its justification in the context of the #FeesMustFall protests: violence as assertion of identity and agency; violence as form of advocacy for social justice; violence as defence against state and institutional violence; and violence as expression of victimhood. By exploring the translocality of these justifications, I show how activists mobilise various translocal resources to challenge university authorities and justify their use of emancipatory violence.

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Introduction

Student activism by means of violent protests is one of the ways in which students voice their discontent and demands, often articulating their concerns across boundaries of space, time and identity. Several global studies of student protests show that student activism remains a potent force in the twenty-first century (Altbach and Klemenčič 2014; Altbach and Luescher 2020). Since the global financial crisis of 2008, some of the main student movements have focused on the effects of austerity measures in the education sector, including in England in 2010-2011; Italy in 2010; Chile in 2011-2012; Canada during the Maple Spring in 2012; and South Africa during the #FeesMustFall protests of 2015-2016 (Cini, della Porta, and Guzmán-Concha 2021). In the latter half of the 2010s, student activism increasingly related to social injustice concerns, discrimination, and oppression on the basis of race, gender, sexuality and their intersections - for example, in Black on Campus and Black Lives Matter protests that took place in the United States (US) (Kelley 2018; Nielsen and Luescher forthcoming). Even during the COVID-19 university shutdowns of the early 2020s, student activists across the world continued to organise, conscientise and mobilise students and other social groups to raise awareness and protest about important societal and educational matters (Luescher and Türkoğlu 2022). In many cases, these protests were characterised by significant levels of violence on the part of student protesters, police, and security personnel.

Between March 2015 and December 2016, South African universities were engulfed by several waves of student protests demanding free decolonised African higher education. The protests started at the University of Cape Town under the banner of #RhodesMustFall but soon gained

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momentum, incorporating broader demands and becoming known nationally and internationally as the #FeesMustFall campaign. In this article, I explore students' justifications of violence in the context of these protests. Student protest actions often turn from being peaceful to being highly confrontational and aggressive in South Africa, to the point that they can involve high levels of violence. In response to student protests (whether they are violent or not), university authorities often choose to call police and private security to act against protesting students. This kind of response is known to escalate violence on both sides (Altbach 1987; 1991; 2006; Langa 2017). Such violence can be followed by disciplinary proceedings against students (that may result in rustication or expulsion) and even criminal proceedings. It often also leads to solutions being found to address students' original demands, as was seen in the case of #FeesMustFall.

Considering the high stakes involved for student activists (as well as other members of university communities), it is worth trying to understand the causes of violence and how these are perceived in the context of student activism. In order to investigate this in a systematic way, I propose the following questions:

- (1) What kinds of violence are students articulating in relation to the student movement?
- (2) How do student activists justify their use of violence in protests?
- (3) How do these justifications invoke translocal connections of the movement beyond the local university?

By placing the focus on students' perceptions, articulations and justifications of violence I do not mean to suggest that students are the source or the main perpetrators of student movement-related violence. Indeed, as I will show in this article, student activists frequently justify their use of violence as a form of self-defence. Moreover, current research also shows that private security and police play a key role in provoking, initiating, perpetuating, and escalating violence on and off university campuses (Langa 2017; Phillips 2021; van der Westhuizen, Labuschagne, and Kekana 2016; von Holdt 2014).

Scholarly findings on violence and its justification in the context of student movements

Research on the student protests in South Africa during 2015-2016 often includes a prominent focus on violence. As early as 2016, Hodes contended that the new South African student movement significantly expanded 'the intellectual frames of violence and oppression to include symbolic, structural, and epistemic forms' in addition to physical violence and violations (Hodes 2016, 145). Subsequent research on the movement has frequently taken violence as a central topic.

Studies on the South African student movement often refer to a context of violence, which is discussed in terms of unjust colonial and apartheid legacies as 'structural violence' that continues to manifest in widespread inequality, poverty, unemployment, black and female landlessness, and rampant gender-based violence. On university campuses, scholars have discussed it in terms of student poverty on campus, food insecurity among students, and 'violent institutional cultures' that may manifest as racism, sexism, hetero-normativity, ethnic chauvinism, xenophobia, and other forms of discrimination (Ahmed 2019; Carlse 2020; Dullah Omar Institute 2018; Gassiep 2020; Kessi and Cornell 2015; Phillips 2021; Steyn and Van Zyl 2001). The notion of 'symbolic violence' has been used in relation to historical symbols that commemorate the country's violent colonial and apartheid history, such as the statue of British imperialist Cecil J. Rhodes at the University of Cape Town, which was the focal point of the Rhodes Must Fall movement (Ahmed 2019; Chikane 2018; Naidoo 2020). Some studies also focus on 'academic violence', 'intellectual violence' or 'epistemic violence' to conceptualise inequities in pedagogy, curricula, language use, and scholarship that privilege and exclude; and alien academic norms, traditions, policies and practices (Ahmed 2019; Heleta 2016; Mpatlanyane 2018; Naidoo 2020; Nyamnjoh 2022). Moreover, the prevalence of gender-based violence on some university campuses, for example, led female student activists at Rhodes University in the Eastern Cape to start the social media campaign #RUReferenceList with the aim of exposing sex pests

(Maylam 2017; Seddon 2016). In addition, given the correlation of race and class structures in South African society and its mirroring in universities' student and staff bodies, many student demands related to transformation in the demographics of staff and students, and specific to poor students, the hardship of poverty on campus and inequities in the student financial aid system, all of which have been characterised by racial undertones. The failure to challenge and transform an inequitable status quo may be seen as legitimising and implicitly justifying the experiences of violence of marginalised and oppressed communities by university authorities (Carlse 2020). This, in turn, may serve as justification for transformative action by affected communities.

Structures and cultures of violence may also infiltrate the student movement itself. Andestad (2018), for example, studied the exclusion of white students from active participation in some spaces and leadership roles in the student movement in South Africa. She found that Rhodes Must Fall justified the exclusion of white student allies by emphasising the need for a 'black space' and a black-led movement that could foreground black students' experiences and voices; address students' 'black pain' and live 'black love' in the absence of whiteness (Andestad 2018; also see: Ahmed 2019; Chikane 2018). Similarly, black women students and their allies protesting against patriarchal norms and values in society and the university, reported their experiences with 'hyper-masculine' activists within their own movement (Gassiep 2020). Protests by sexual minorities such as lesbian, gay, and transgender students were occasionally also marginalised in the broader movement, indicating entrenched heterosexist and cis-gender normative positions (Gassiep 2020; Xaba 2017). Conflicts over leadership, strategy, and the exclusion of certain voices often had a gendered dimension (Sibanda 2022).

The use of violence against protesting students as well as their surveillance by security services has typically been justified by university authorities as necessary to maintain (or restore) law and order and the proper functioning of the university, protect university property, and safeguard the rights of other members of the university community (Habib 2019; Mbatyoti 2022; Phillips 2021; Wang 2022). Using court interdicts against student protests and individual student leaders typically legitimises the repression of protests in undemocratic ways (Mandyoli 2019). Mbatyoti (2022) also found that police behaviour significantly changed after key announcements and legal interventions against student protests. Similarly, media reporting has played a significant role in legitimising the use of violence against student protesters. Ahmed (2019), Mandyoli (2019) and Mbatyoti (2022) observe a shift in the media discourse from initially supporting the protestors to increasingly characterising them in negative terms as unreasonable, anarchic, violent, and criminal (Ndelu in Langa 2017; Mbhele and Sibanyoni 2022; also see: Jansen 2017). Violent action against students - sometimes escalating to a 'militarisation' or 'securitisation' of campuses (Naicker in Booysen 2016; Habib 2019; Langa 2017) - have included harassing student leaders and activists; using surveillance and intimidation tactics; blocking access to campuses and strategic points to prevent student gatherings and marches; manhandling, kicking and beating protesters; the use of stun grenades, tear gas, water cannons and rubber bullets to control and disperse marches; arresting and detaining students and their sympathisers (including academics); sexual harassment and assault, particularly of women; and psychological violence through the display of force, use of riot gear and deployment of aggressive tactics (Morwe 2020; Phillips 2021; Sibanda 2022).

Student protestors also deployed violence in ways that were highly contested within the movement itself and by observers. They engaged in intimidation and harassment, causing harm to the psychological, emotional or physical integrity of members of university communities, and damaging university property. Forms of protest have included sit-ins and marches that have sought to disrupt university operations and normal life; blockading campus access routes and campus lock-downs; and social media campaigns that have included offensive content. Protest actions have led to damage to property and violent clashes with security personnel and police (Langa 2017; Morwe 2020).

The literature on #FeesMustFall offers a few reasons why students employed violent repertoires during their protests. A comparative study across nine universities conducted by Langa (2017) found that the escalation of violence occurred as a form of student retaliation against the involvement of police and private security and their attempts at repressing protests, thus suggesting that the initiative to turn to violence did not come from students. Sibanda (2022) explores how violence is mobilised and legitimised through the lens of masculinity, arguing that some male students engaged in violent acts to assert their manhood and challenge their perceived emasculation, justifying their actions with reference to historical discourses of resistance and liberation (also see: Hungwe and Divala 2020). Other studies observed forms of 'toxic hypermasculinity' in the student movement (Gassiep 2020; Mbatyoti 2022; Morwe 2020; Wang 2022). Morwe's 2020 study of movement-related violence across three university campuses in South Africa found a culture of violence embedded within a broad societal acceptance and normalisation of violence in protests. She was shocked to find cases in which students spoke of 'violence as fun' (Morwe 2020). Habib, in turn, talks of the 'politics of spectacle', that is, the strategic use of dramatic, highly visible actions, often involving different forms of violence, and rhetoric by certain (typically political party-aligned) student groups and charismatic leaders for political ends (also see Ndelu in Langa 2017), Meanwhile, Ndelu (in Langa 2017) finds that students' use of violence was rationalised by some in ideological terms, often with reference to Frantz Fanon's (1963/1990) argument about revolutionary, cleansing (or cathartic) violence, and a belief that protest violence was a legitimate response to the violence(s) students perceived at university and beyond (also see: Ahmed 2019; Habib 2019).

Overall, the literature review shows that many types of violence are implicated in the student movement. The literature also starts to engage with both, local and translocal justifications of violence, albeit without making the analytical attempt to disentangle and further reflect on them critically. By adding an explicit and critical analytical focus on the translocal connections and disconnections, and 'the circulation of people, resources, practices and ideas' across boundaries and between different locales (Greiner and Sakdapolrak 2013, 375) in the context of #FeesMustFall, I want to pay specific attention to the translocality involved in violence-related justifications of student protest violence.

Violence, translocality and justification

The complexity of the concept of 'violence' is shown in the conceptual examination undertaken by Khanyile (2021) in his work on violence in the context of the South African student movement. Khanyile points out that 'violence can take many forms (e.g. spectacle, symbolic, embodied, systemic, implicit in the everyday conditions of life)'; it can be experienced on the physical body of a person, but also emotionally, psychologically, and socially (2021, 185). Bodily experiences of violence as well as disruptions (or violations) of an individual's personhood and dignity may influence not only how violence is understood but also how the surrounding world is perceived and rationalised. Khanyile's 'comprehensive notion of violence' (Bufacchi 2005) therefore encompasses Galtung's concept of structural violence (1969). Moreover, the theory of intersectionality (Collins 2019) shows that the social injustices and inequalities that accompany different identity markers (such as gender, race, ethnicity, class and sexual orientation) can interconnect to produce forms of discrimination that reinforce each other, leading to individuals being prevented from developing and enacting their capabilities in violation of their pursuit of substantial freedom.

In this context, violence perpetrated by students in student protests is a form of political and collective violence (in contrast to, for example, personal or family violence, or many cases of criminal violence). Political violence is differentiated from other forms of violence by its collective and representative character. According to Du Toit (1993, 6), political violence typically involves claims related to 'a special moral or public legitimation for the injury and harm done to others, as well as by the representative character of the agents and targets of these acts of violence' (du Toit and Manganyi 1990). Such violence may also acquire 'a notable symbolic and discursive character [and] acquire and generate special public significance resonating far beyond the immediate harm or injury done (Apter and Sawa 1984)' (Du Toit 1993, 6).

The notion of translocality provides a new perspective on student discourses of violence and for understanding students' justification of violent protests. I use the notion of translocality to highlight critical interconnections between differently situated agents, events, conditions and ideas that transcend the real and imagined boundaries of the locale (Freitag and Oppen 2005; Greiner and Sakdapolrak 2013). If the locality describes a situated 'boundedness', the translocal critically surpasses the limitations of the locale in socio-spatial as well as temporal and ideational terms. Translocal justifications are therefore articulations of reasons for or in defence of one's actions that explicitly conjure up (dis)connections between places, ideas and people in critical spatial, positional, and temporal ways. In this regard, the notion of translocal justification is similar to that of translocal articulations (Nielsen and Luescher forthcoming, 3; Nielsen 2025), albeit focused on the legitimatory effort involved in such articulations. Moreover, like the notion of articulation (in Stuart Hall's terms), justification involves more than one sense: It is not only about giving reasons for one's actions, but also refers to the process (and result) of seeking alignment within a predetermined frame. It describes a form of optimisation that seeks to distribute different (discursive) elements in a way to achieve rationality and a sense of balance and coherence. Thus, paradoxically, by justifying violence, actors using violence may seek conformity within shared boundaries and common ground, reflecting broader themes of order and structure.

Translocality in relation to justifications of violence therefore invites a focus on how such justifications are articulated in and across different locales; and how they evoke (dis)connections between ideas, places, and people across spatial, socio-positional, and temporal planes. Translocality in relation to justifications for political violence further invites critical analysis of the representative character of the agents of the violence and their claims, repertoires, and targets; and the ways in which these political actors may seek common ground, for example, through appeals to shared values, mutually intelligible rationales, and other ideological devices, as they try to legitimise their actions and critique or defend social orders.

Methodology

The research project 'Understanding Violence and Wellbeing in the Context of the Student Movement' (V&W) undertaken by a research team led by me from 2018 to 2022, provides the empirical material for this study. The project used rapid photovoice (RPV) to explore with 35 former student activists from five South African universities their reflections on violence and wellbeing during the student movement. The process and outcomes of this project have been documented in a range of publications and photovoice exhibitions (Luescher et al. 2021; Luescher et al. 2022; Wilson Fadiji, Luescher, and Morwe 2023). The data collected through RPV mainly comprises photographs received from the student activists which were collectively discussed in workshop sessions on campus, and reflective captions (titles and descriptions) for the photographs that they drafted to give meaning to the images. These photos and captions provide the empirical material used in this article. While the analysis, findings and conclusions are mine, earlier versions of this article where shared for comment with several former student activists who had participated in the RPV process (as memberchecks) and whose critical comments were integrated in the further development of the argument.

I use van Dijk's method of critical discourse analysis (CDA) to analyse some of the photos and captions generated by the project. CDA is 'a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context' (van Dijk 2003, 352). CDA aims to critically analyse text and talk in its context, in order to identify elements that reveal the underlying ideology that governs the social relations and interactions among, and the collective actions of, group members and which is fundamental to the intra- and inter-group legitimation of actions. While discourse analysis was developed as a way of typically uncover and critique dominant ideas that serve to legitimise, conceal and reify relations of domination by discursive means, it may also be directed to study the mobilisation of meaning and oppositional ideas in discourses of resistance that serve an emancipatory purpose, such as black consciousness or feminism (Du Toit 1994; Seliger in Eagleton 1991, 6; also see: Reddy 2000).

I present the photos and captions with reference to their immediate context and setting to establish their situatedness within campus-based student struggles. I then analyse their contents in terms of the structures of political discourse to identify the ways in which violence is implicated in the image and text, including direct references to violence as well as to agents, claims, actions, and targets of violence. Thus, in keeping with van Dyke, I consider the modalities by which meaning is established; the power dynamics and positionalities that are implied; and the discursive strategies that are used, in particular the promises, accusations and interactions promoted by the photos and texts, as well as the strategies of group polarisation employed, which van Dyke calls the 'ideological square' (Amaireh 2024; van Dijk 2006, 734). Understanding the student activist discourse on violence primarily as discourse of resistance, my interest is in uncovering translocal elements in the discourse that seek to legitimise student activists' use of (emancipatory) violence.

Ethics, positionality and relevance

Ethics approval for the V&W project was received from the research ethics committee of the Human Sciences Research Council (REC 2/18/04/18c, 8 March 2019); and institutional permission to conduct research was granted by the five selected universities. All student participants gave their informed consent, including permission to be personally identifiable (or not). In addition, ongoing consent was obtained to use their photos, including selfies, in scientific outputs. All ethical considerations and processes are discussed in detail by Luescher et al. (2021).

My interest in and approach to this research topic is influenced by my translocal socio-spatial positionality, which includes my working-class upbringing in Europe; my student history as a first-generation and international student studying on financial aid at an elite African university; and my involvement in student politics and my political identity, all of which inform my commitment to anti-racism, anti-sexism, equality, freedom, democracy and social justice. Moreover, living and working in a country that has been characterised around the time of the #FeesMustFall protests as 'violent democracy' (von Holdt 2014), 'protest nation' (Duncan 2016a) and the 'protest capital of the world' (Bond 2017, 105), makes it even more pressing to investigate what informs the use of violence by young protesters.

Conceptually, my interest is to expand understanding of the factors involved in the emergence of violent student protests building on Altbach's theory (e.g. Altbach 1991; 2006; Luescher 2018), and exploring the place of 'translocal articulations' (Nielsen 2025; Nielsen and Luescher forthcoming) in how student activism turns violent. Finally, while I personally abhor violence and prefer political methods that break cycles of violence, I cautiously agree with Du Toit (1993, 43) that violence can be morally justifiable in extreme cases, such as in self-defence or resistance to severe oppression. I must emphasise, however, the critical importance of exploring non-violent methods of protest and engagement. The normalisation of violence, even when justified, risks perpetuating cycles of harm and undermining the very principles of justice and equity that movements seek to uphold. I hope that creating a better understanding of students' justifications for violence provides an opportunity to address grievances through proactive, non-violent dialogue and systemic reforms.

Activists' discourses of violence in the student movement

Translocal justifications of violence in student protests can be identified in four discourses of violence in the student movement generated by the photovoice contributions of the former student activists participating in the V&W project. The discourses tell different stories about violence in the context of the student movement that reflect a wide spectrum of considerations involving assertions of identity and agency; intergenerational and emancipatory struggles against oppression; deep commitments to and advocacy for social justice; self-defence against state and institutional violence; and feelings of victimhood. This section presents the four discourses and related photovoice contributions.



Discourse 1: 'The struggle is real'

In this discourse, present manifestations of violence on university campuses are viewed as a perpetuation of a violent history; as the product of a legacy that remains unredeemed; and as an aspect of a struggle that has yet to achieve its virtuous ends. While this discourse features elements of symbolic and cultural violence, it is primarily concerned with students' awareness of, and resistance to, intergenerational structural violence and references a politics of identity that rails against inequality, privilege, marginalisation and exclusion. It is characterised by student outrage at a lack of progress in redressing and transforming historical legacies and emphasises the intersectional dimension of the violence that these legacies perpetuate. It further calls for student solidarity in continuing an unfinished struggle. This discourse was foundational to movements in the metropolitan, historically white universities in South Africa, such as Rhodes Must Fall at UCT, but was also evident across historically black and rural higher education institutions in South Africa. Four V&W photovoice contributions are discussed to illustrate this discourse.



There is no revolution without women

The struggle for women is real and it continues to be the pillar of a revolution, our contribution towards the struggle is of vital importance as we continue to instill motivation and peace among our activists.

Our women continue to fight against any injustice that faces the black masses as they have carried our nation in their womb. The passion of women leading and being able to have a voice gives me enjoyment and happiness that we are liberated.

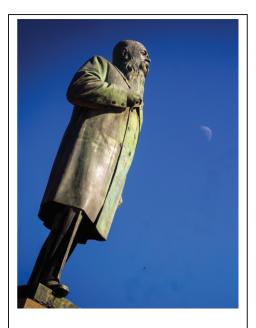
By Anonymous

'There is no revolution without women'

The photo entitled 'There is no revolution without women' depicts a march of female students at the University of Venda (Univen), a historically black university located in the rural town of Tohoyandou in the Limpopo Province, marching against gender-based violence. In the tradition of naked protests to disrupt the patriarchal public sphere, some of the women protesters removed their shirts and wear only their bras. Placards in the photo say: 'Let us use the death penalty against rapists'; '#Masturbation is free'; and 'Being drunk does not mean yes!'.

The caption that the former student activist, who wants to remain anonymous, has provided does not engage with the content of that protest directly. Rather, the student reflects on the place of women in protest movements arguing that a movement (or revolution) has no legitimacy unless it includes women: 'our contribution to the struggle is of vital importance'. Women must have a voice and lead. The target of their struggle is systemic, and also involves elements of race and class struggle: 'any injustice that faces the black masses'.

The idea of continuity is emphasised in the short caption. The word 'continue' appears three times: 'Our women continue to fight'; 'continue to instil motivation and peace among our activists'; and the women's struggle 'continues to be the pillar of a revolution'. Only by being representative of women and valuing women's contribution to the protests can the student movement claim legitimacy. While



White Stand Violent Symbolism

This picture is a symbolic sight of uninterrupted white hegemony, racism and an extreme attitude of symbolic antiblackness. The opening sentence is justified by understanding Maphike (2018:5), that symbols in any society are attached to values, representation, art and celebration of history. The symbol presented in this picture presents a false sense of white purity and a superiority mentality encompassed by both white students and white members of staff. According to Maphike (2018: 5), such viewed symbols are 'territorial symbols'. **Territorial** symbols normally built to mark a territory of a particular group, celebrating victory over a dominated group etc. The statute of Steyn is a reminder that RACIST AFRIKANNER NATIONALISM reigns supreme in this university. Moreover, it articulates an artistic meaning that this space was not meant for people of colour. A violent articulation.

By Kamohelo Maphike

this proclamation does not justify violence per se, claims to representativeness are a key way of justifying political violence (as noted above). A related photovoice contribution provided by another female student from the same university (see 'Defence mechanism' below) shows that women's contribution to the student protests at Univen also included acts that enabled resistance by supporting physical violence, for example, by providing bricks as ammunition to the (mostly male) students who violently enforced the closure of the Univen campus at its main entrance.

'White stand' and violent symbolism at the 'University of the Unfree State'

Kamohelo Maphike, a student from the historically white University of the Free State (UFS) in central South Africa, submitted a photo of a statue. Shot from the ground up, looking at the towering monument, the photo depicts the statue of an old white man with a long beard and long coat who is looking into the distance, past the silhouette of a day-time moon. The statue depicts Marthinus Theunis Steyn, the last colonial-era president of the Afrikaner Republic of the Orange Free State (1896-1902). The statue used to stand in prominent position on the university's Red Square in front of the UFS Main Building. (The statue was quietly removed by the university management during the COVID-19 lockdown in 2020.)

As the caption ('White stand') indicates, the statue is viewed by black students like Maphike as a celebration of racism, white hegemony and anti-blackness at the university. He sees in the location and character of the statue a continuation of white territorial and cultural claims over the university. To Maphike (and referring in the caption to a publication in which he previously reflected on the statue), the statue is a deeply offensive, violent symbol. Words in the caption like 'white hegemony', 'racism', 'anti-blackness', 'superiority mentality', 'domination' and 'violence' articulate the sense of violent symbolism that Maphike ascribes to the statue. Maphike denounces the symbol as 'false', 'a reminder of racist Afrikaner nationalism' and 'a violent articulation'.

The photo and caption thus illustrate how historical (and ongoing) experiences of violence -



University of the Unfree State

We will never forget the brutalities of the #ShimalsParkIncident. This eruption followed a few years later after the #ReitzIncident, which the institution failed to address thoroughly [...] instead opting for a very cosmetic approach.

This university is deeply embedded in racism and racial inequality. The protest was never meant to be violent but because when we challenge the space we are directly confronting privilege, the white students had to defend what they hold dear, a rugby match, over the lives of black

students and workers who are affected by the violent systematic inequalities.

By Anonymous

the colonial conquest of the lands and people of the Free State; past Afrikaner political and cultural domination; territorial dispossession; and the political, economic and cultural marginalisation of black communities – were monumentalised and continue to be celebrated without regard how this symbolically perpetuates violence in the present context.

Another photo captioned 'University of the Unfree State' also submitted by a UFS student activist, shows a physically violent encounter between black and white students, staff and spectators of a rugby match at the same university. On 22 February 2016, in an effort to win the attention of the university's vice-chancellor, black workers and supporting black students took their protest against the outsourcing of UFS support staff to the university's Shimla Park rugby field where a match between the UFS rugby team and an opposing team was underway. The photo depicts a frontline of white spectators, who look like students, standing on the pitch facing black students ready to fight, with the two groups separated only by a few security guards.

The protests by students and workers that culminated in the so-called 'Shimla Park Incident' were part of the #FeesMustFall-related #EndOutsourcing campaign of 2015/16, under which students protested in solidarity with outsourced support staff, including cleaners, gardeners, maintenance workers, caterers and security personnel, in a bid to promote their direct employment by universities. In this instance, an attack on the black protesters by white spectators led to an exchange of violence and the removal of the protesters from the rugby field. In retaliation, students damaged university property, including a student residence preferred by white male students. The police then intervened on campus over several days, engulfing the whole campus in violence, targeting particularly protesting black students and student leaders (see van der Westhuizen, Labuschagne, and Kekana 2016).



Student and worker relations at UWC

This picture was taken in 2016. We had an exhibition with the workers. The banner says 'Black Pain. Free Our Parents. End Outsourcing' which summarises the experience of our parents at the university. It is a representation of the #EndOutsourcing protests that led to 143 security workers being fired. It further invokes an anxiety and anger in us that understand the plight of the workers.

By Azania Simthandile Tyhali

To the student who presented the photo 'University of the Unfree State', the Shimla Park Incident and subsequent violence against black students were symptomatic of the way white privilege and racism continued to be perpetuated and protected at the university. In this regard, the student ascribes culpability to 'the institution [which] failed to address' the racist incidents thoroughly and was responsible for perpetuating 'violent systematic inequalities' affecting the lives of black students and workers at UFS.

Student and worker relations at UWC

Azania Tyhali, a former president of the Students' Representative Council of the University of the Western Cape (UWC), submitted a photo of a small monument on campus depicting female domestic worker and her son celebrating his graduation. In the photo, the monument was modified to raise awareness of the #EndOutsourcing campaign which was part of #Fees-MustFall. The mother now wears the apron of a UWC cleaner and both mother and son are in chains. The

plinth is wrapped with a banner that says 'Black Pain. Free our Parents. #EndOutsourcing'.

While the original sculpture by David Hlongwane, called 'The Beginning and the End', was meant to celebrate UWC's contribution to intergenerational social mobility in the black working class communities served by the institution, the modified sculpture draws attention to intergenerational bondage and emancipation: the plight of outsourced workers whose labour is being exploited, and the 'black pain', 'anxiety', and 'anger' that this 'experience of our parents' creates for black students. The caption also draws attention to the 143 security personnel at UWC who were fired for participating in #EndOutsourcing protests.

While the original sculpture therefore focused on the son, the modified sculpture focuses on the mother. Chaining them together and inscribing the modified sculpture with the call to 'Free our

Parents' shows how the son's freedom can never be complete as long as his mother remains entrapped in the exploitative practice of outsourcing. The accompanying caption by Tyhali emphasises the contemporary struggle for emancipation. It implies that the hyper-exploitation of black workers through practices such as outsourcing cannot be redressed by the academic success of the next generation, and calls for protest in solidarity with these workers.

This first cluster of photographs and captions illuminate different aspects of a discourse that talks about the legacy of colonialism and apartheid; discrimination, marginalisation, and exploitation; and the unfinished process of black, female, and working class liberation in South Africa. Student identities and agency are affirmed; gender, race, class and their intersections feature prominently as structures of oppression, markers of solidarity and mobilising resistance. Structural, systemic, symbolic and physical violences are described by the student activists and connections are made across histories, generations, and locations; past and present struggles; individuals and political identities; and in relation to intersectional solidarities. Reference is made to struggles in the physical and social media realms and scholarship (in the case of Maphike). Interestingly, the violence perpetrated by students is typically mentioned only in passing or is withheld.

Discourse 2: 'We were fighting for a just cause'

In the 'just cause' discourse, student protests – whether they are violent or not – are justified in terms of a greater good or a right that should be realised. This form of justification was widely deployed in the #FeesMustFall campaign, which called for free decolonised higher education and a realisation of the constitutional right to education (Ahmed 2019; Nyamnjoh 2022). In this discourse, the violence perpetrated by students occupies a central role. Two photovoice contributions from the V&W project illustrate the discourse.

'Defence mechanism'

Kulani Mlambo, a former student leader and activist at Univen submitted a photo captioned 'Defence mechanism', which depicts two female students pushing a shopping cart filled with bricks on a road on campus. In explaining the photo, Mlambo refers to the provisioning of frontline student 'soldiers' with bricks as one of the ways in which female student activists supported the protest cause. The bricks served as ammunition for the (male) students as they manned their barricade of the university access road at Golgatha bridge against the police.

While the photo does not depict actual violence, it clearly denotes violence, as Mlambo's caption indicates: 'We did not have guns; we had to protect our self with stones'. In this regard, she further laments: 'as for the black student, everything had to be war, fights, and violence' (in defence of their cause).

Two themes stand out in Mlambo's caption. First, she contrasts black students and the black child from 'the A-class [who] were receiving everything on a silver platter'. In this context, the black students who were forced to engage in activism to get 'closer to our freedom' are further contrasted with those who 'never had a reason to protest'. While she explicitly identifies the activists in racial terms, the non-participant students are defined in class terms. In the context of Univen, where almost all students are black, referring explicitly to race is thus a way of indicating a political identity, representivity of the student struggle, and promoting solidarity; conversely, reference to class differences shows that there are divisions within and beyond this group.

Secondly, Mlambo's caption indicates why students are fighting, and what she sees as worthy of defence: 'we were fighting a just cause'; 'fighting for academic freedom'; because 'we wanted to save a black child's future'. She further notes the relevance of violence in defending and advancing this cause: 'when the police ran away from the stones, it was a sign that we are making a valid statement to everyone'. Mlambo thus draws a connection between the use of violence and the 'validity' or righteousness of the students' cause.



Defence mechanism

This was our source of strength. We did not have guns; we had to protect our self with stones; this was our shield, our protection; this was a constant reminder that a black student has to fight to break the shackles of academic chains; as we threw each and every stone; we saw ourselves getting closer to our freedom; when the police ran away from the stones, it was a sign that we are making a valid statement to everyone.

However, it was painful to see ourselves fighting for academic freedom while other students from the A-class were receiving everything on a silver platter; they have never fought for anything; they had never had a reason to protest as if the country belonged to them. As for the black student, everything had to be war, fights and violence.

We never lost hope, because we knew that we were fighting a just cause; we were ready for anything, because we wanted to save a black child's future; we didn't have proper fighting materials; we only had stones - stones inside a trolley.

By Kulani Mlambo

'Walk for a just cause'

The photovoice contribution 'Walk for a just cause' by Sphelele Khumalo echoes both of Mlambo's themes. The photo Khumalo submitted shows a protest of about 200 students of UWC and the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT), marching from UWC to the Cape Town International Airport on 23 October 2015. Like Mlambo, Khumalo notes that unity among the students was not a given. While Mlambo speaks of the 'A-class', Khumalo notes that there was 'pushback' from some of 'the oppressed'. Accordingly, he argues, activists always had to conscientise other students and the public 'why we were protesting, what our demands were'.

The 'just cause' of the student rally referenced in Khumalo's caption is not specifically identified, even as the action is described as part of 'a revolt against oppression' and as contributing to 'a discourse towards the fulfilment of our generational mission, as the great thinker Frantz Fanon would have it'.

Khumalo's contribution indicates several translocal connections in the UWC #FeesWillFall protests of late 2015. Drawing on Fanon, he speaks of the 'generational mission' of the students - linking the student movement of 2015 to the African decolonisation struggles of the 1950s and 1960s. In addition, he identifies the oppressed as 'black young generation', which may indicate a connection with the youthled protests against the apartheid education system that took place in South Africa from 1976 knows as the Soweto Uprising. Similarly, instead of referencing the cause of the protests in student-ish terms, he deploys a broader lexicon, mentioning 'oppression' and 'oppressed' five times and 'suffering' three times, as well as 'protest', 'protesting', and 'revolt'. Meanwhile, the oppressor who is the target of the protests is identified as a 'self-reproducing machine'. Khumalo's wide-ranging translocal discourse, may be viewed as



Walk for a just cause

Sometimes the oppressed give into their oppression and internalise their sufferings. In the moment of internalising the sufferings, one then further disallows themselves any thought that may speak to the end of their suffering.

The 2015/16 student protests, like any other revolt against oppression, was not without pushback. Lo and behold, some of that pushback came from the oppressed that the movement rallied for. This is telling of how deep the oppression goes; also, it is revealing in how it has managed to create a selfreproducing machine that is well protected by its very victims.

This constantly led to the need for us, protesting students, to always make it clear why we were protesting, what our demands were and importantly, why the movement was not just an unfortunate event of our time but a discourse towards the fulfilment of our generational mission, as the great thinker Frantz Fanon would have it. Black young generation standing firm. Enough is enough!

By Sphelele Khumalo

reflecting the character of the protest a march to an international airport which was undertaken by UWC and CPUT student activists in a bid to gain national (and possibly global) attention.

In relation to the constitutional right to post-secondary education in South Africa, the stock of photovoice images also included a photo titled 'Section 29', which shows students from several Capetonian universities marching to the Parliament Building in Cape Town on 9 November 2015 when the Minister of Finance was delivering his mid-year budget speech. A large banner held up by students quotes the South African Constitution: 'Section 29 (Education): (1) everyone has the right (b) to further education, which the state through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible'. A smaller banner says: 'So much for being born free'.

Under the 'just cause' discourse, protest action is justified as a way of drawing attention to injustices and provoking change in support of a right, ideal or principle. The discourse juxtaposes current conditions of oppression with aspirations towards a future ideal, thus justifying protest action, which may include disruption and liberatory violence undertaken in an effort to promote and defend the voice of the oppressed.

Discourse 3: 'We were responding to the violence'

Probably the most common justification for the use of political violence in discourses of resistance - whether in the context of the student movement or elsewhere - is the self-defence argument. Two photos and captions from the V&W study are included here to illustrate this discourse.



Response

This picture was taken at UWC in 2015 during the #FeesWillFall campaign. Songezo is holding up the cardboard with Bongo next to him. For me the cardboard shows the true narrative how it was: it is a true eve-opener. Ours was that we were responding to the violence, we were retaliating, not the other way around.

By Asandiswa Bomvana

'Response'

Asandiswa Bomvana from UWC submitted a striking picture of a student holding up a placard with the words: 'You kill us, we kill you'. Behind him are two other students, one of which is wearing the T-shirt of a pan-African political student organisation looking directly at the camera

Bomvana notes that the photo was taken during the campaign #FeesWillFall UWC. For her it showed 'the true discourse', namely that 'we were responding to the violence, we were retaliating, not the other way around'.

Entitled 'response', this students' photo and caption argues that there was only one 'true discourse' concerning the violence during the student movement, which was that students were responding to violence, students were retaliating against violence, and, therefore, that students were acting in self-defence.

'The battle of Liberty'

photovoice Another contribution from UWC shows students responding apparently overwhelming force of security personnel in riot gear. The photo was submitted

and the caption written by Siyasanga Ndwayi, a former student activist from UWC. The photo shows a frontline of about 20 security personnel, most in full uniform and riot gear, with hard plastic shields and helmets, and several more behind them in plain security uniforms. They are facing a line of about ten students who are shielding themselves behind black wheelie bins. Some of the students are holding bricks ready to hurl at the security, and there are many bricks littered across the street. A security guard is firing a rifle at the students.

Ndwayi captioned the picture 'The battle of Liberty or the epitome of violence?'. The civil warlike image captures the physical violence of the protest moment. Ndwayi underscores this with his caption. He notes that the policy and security personnel 'were attacking us' and 'we were forced to retaliate using dust bins to shield ourselves'. He notes that the protest took place 'on 11 November 2015 during the #FeesWillFall protests' next to the UWC Liberty Residence (a student residence). There is no context and no further information on how the violence had escalated to this level.

In the 'we were responding to violence' discourse, student activists justify their use of violence as a form of self-defence against police escalation of violence. Aspects of this discourse also appear in



The battle of Liberty or the epitome of violence?

The police and private security were attacking us in residences. This was next to the Liberty Residence, hence we called it 'The battle of Liberty'.

The picture depicts the epitome of state violence and how we were forced to retaliate using dust bins to shield ourselves. It was on 11 November 2015 during the #FeesWillFall protests. Pastor Xola Skosana wrote a beautiful piece on this day.

By Siyasanga Ndwayi

the accounts of other student activists (see above Discourse 2: 'Defense Mechanism'). The use of the hashtag #FeesWillFall, which is a UWC version of #Fees-MustFall, in the 'Battle of Liberty' caption references a social media link, inviting solidarity from groups beyond the UWC campus. The T-shirt worn by one of the students in the picture, which proclaims allegiance to the Pan Africanist Student Movement of Azania (PASMA), references an appeal to a broader and ideology organisational structure. The mention of Pastor Skosana seeks to indicate that there is support and spiritual sanction for the student protest from a church leader beyond the campus in the large Capetonian township of Khayelitsha.

Discourse 4: 'Here lies the remains'

This discourse brings together former student activists' reflections on the harmful consequences of their activism. In this discourse, students emphasise that they are the true victims of

violence, irrespective of the nature of their involvement in violent protests, whether as bystanders or perpetrators, initiators or responders.

'Mandla Tibane'

Bob Sandile Masango, a former student activist of Univen, contributed the photo 'Mandla Tibane'. Masango explains that this was a photo of a friend of his called Mandla Tibane, who had been attacked and shot with rubber bullets by the police. The picture shows Tibane with more than ten serious bruises and open flesh wounds from having been hit by rubber bullets on his left arm and body. The photo caption does not provide any context about when and why Tibane had been shot by the police. Masango argues, however, that Tibane was a victim of police brutality. He writes Tibane had been 'brutally attacked by police' in a 'brutalising treatment'. His close friend had been 'badly injured' and 'detained for no reason' and he makes mention of 'fabricated charges'. Meanwhile, Tibane himself is described in positive terms as a 'close friend and comrade ... about to register for a PhD', who, along with his fellow activists, 'struggled to raise money to pay lawyers' to address the 'fabricated charges' that had been laid against them. As Masango notes, Tibane had died by the time of the photovoice project, although the circumstances of his death; his connection to

student protests; and precisely when and how he sustained his injuries, are unclear. Masango mentions that Tibane died without having been able to register for his PhD, because of his pending case and because 'the universities are antiblack'.

There is a huge amount of pain noted in the photo and caption. The picture, showing the extent of wounds that rubber bullets inflict on a young man's body, is shocking. The caption is similarly



Mandla Tibane

This is a photo of a late close friend and comrade of mine who was brutally attacked by police. After the brutalising treatment, he was badly injured. The police still detained him for no reason. He was about to register for a PhD but because the universities are antiblack. his life was shortened and he died having a pending case. I remember how we struggled to raise money to pay lawyers after the charges were fabricated against us.

By Bob Sandile Masango

forthright in its accusation. At the same time, the caption is entirely silent on the circumstances under which Tibane was wounded and why he was detained and charged.

'A violent record'

A number of the student submissions in the V&W project refer to an 'institutionalisation' of violence at universities, the idea that the conditions and routine processes at these places are violent. A former activist from UFS, who wants to remain anonymous, submitted an image titled 'A violent record'. The student argues in his caption that the violence that occurred in February 2016 during the Shimla Park Incident and its aftermath (see above 'University of the Unfree State') had the effect of violating black students at the institution, leaving them psychologically scarred and traumatised. The student says that the university had failed to resolve the matter or remove the erstwhile perpetrators of the violence, even years after the incident at the time of the photovoice research. Thus, the violence was continuing and impacted on students' wellbeing: 'we are suffering from collective trauma as black students'; 'we are sharing space with the same people that violated us'; they 'continue to violate us'. The student says, 'we are finding it very difficult to breathe', in allusion to the cry 'I can't breathe' against racial injustice and police brutality, associated with the Black Lives Matter movement in the United States.

The student also references practices of financial and academic exclusion which disproportionately affect black students in South African universities (Batisai, Makhafola, and Maoba 2022). The student describes the impacts of this exclusion alongside the psychological impacts of the violence at the rugby field through an image of a 'violent record' which shows a deterioration in the academic performance of a student over



the course of three years after a bright start. Their disappointment is profound: 'Here lies the remains of what could have been a brilliant future'.

The 'here lies the remains' discourse raises questions about the proportionality of the violence perpetrated by student protestors compared with the violence that they encountered and which has continued to have an impact. The logic of this discourse requires that students' own involvement in violence tends to be suppressed as irrelevant because they have been violently victimised.

Discussion

The four student discourses of violence related to #FeesMustFall convey a sense of emancipatory resistance fuelled by activists' intimate awareness of historical legacies and contemporary injustices; socio-spatial positionalities and related politics of identity and representation; and broader historical, national and international discourses on rights and social justice. Student activists articulate nuanced understandings of different kinds of violences as part of their varied experiences of violence that extend beyond physical acts to encompass symbolic, structural and epistemic dimensions.

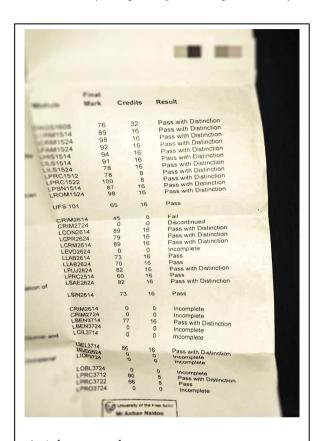
The four discourses of resistance generate ample justification for students' own use of protest violence: (1) The discourse 'The struggle is real' primarily justifies violence as assertion of identity and agency in the context of intergenerational and emancipatory struggles against oppression; (2) 'We were fighting for a just cause' seeks to legitimise students' protest violence as a form of advocacy for social justice and rights; (3) the discourse labelled 'We were responding to the violence' justifies violence as self-defence, a way of defending the student struggle in the face of state and institutional violence; and (4) 'Here lies the remains' shows how student activists rationalise student protest violence in relation to their victimisation. The four discourses not only overlap; they are also multifunctional. They don't only serve to justify protest violence, but in many cases also provide the very reason for protesting. They expose student experiences and understandings of violence, seek to inform and conscientise non-activists and mobilise solidarities, and only in the third place, actually work to justify violent resistance.

Local justifications of violence in student protests are present in students' arguments of being victimised and therefore engaging in self-defence (across all discourses); in arguments about the (lack of) proportionality of violence inflicted on students (as strikingly illustrated in the photo and caption 'Mandla Tibane'); and in reference to the consequences of violence wreaked upon students. Conversely, the translocal exalts students' justifications beyond the immediate and local campus context; the activists involved, their local demands and local resistance; and thus provides the material for their critical intelligibility.

The translocal is evident in articulations that conjure up solidarities, organisational and ideational connections beyond the present campus. Firstly, the four discourses variably feature photos and captions showing partisan organisational connections and other beyond-campus solidarities, and the use of hashtags like #FeesWillFall, #FeesMustFall and #EndOutsourcing connects the local campus protests explicitly to the national student movement and campaigns using online protest repertoires.

Secondly, with appeal to race, gender, class, and intergenerationality, intersectional socio-political identities are evoked connecting present students' experiences of struggle and violence to broader social movements and struggles (such as the African anti-colonial struggle; the struggle against apartheid; the feminist movement; and the class struggle) and the ongoing struggles against structural inequities, discrimination and exploitation connected to various identity markers. In this sense, the student activists see the #FeesMustFall movement (and related campaigns like #EndOutsourcing) within a historical continuum of resistance. The photo 'Student and worker relations at UWC' is particularly evocative of the longue durée of struggle and need for intergenerational solidarity.

Thirdly, justifications beyond the local also connect local protests to national and global discourses on principles, rights and social justice; and borrow from other movements, like Black Lives Matter, by using their protest slogan. Fourthly, even with respect to offline protest repertoires



A violent record

Here lies the remains of what could have been a brilliant future, the impact of systematic violence is very psychological and long term. We are suffering from collective trauma as black students in this institution. We are sharing space with the same people that violated us at Shimla Park and people who continue to violate us. We have to walk through the same corridors that we were manhandled in by the police. We are finding it very difficult to breathe because at any given time you may get financially or academically excluded, expelled, or suspended.

By Anonyomous

there is a link, for example, between the Univen naked protest ('There is no revolution without women') and similar protest forms on other South African university campuses (e.g. the RUReferenceList protests at Rhodes University against 'rape culture'; and the naked protest at the Wits in 2016) as common decolonial praxis (Mathebula 2022).

Lastly, the discursive strategy in the student discourses used to mobilise solidarities is what van Dijk calls the 'ideological square'. In keeping with his concept of ideology, defined as 'the foundation of the social representations shared by a social group', emancipatory groups like students may use the same strategies of in-group / out-group polarisation found in discourses of domination. Thus, they employ an 'us' versus 'them' schema and strategically emphasise 'our good things' and 'their bad things', while de-emphasising 'our bad things' and 'their good things' (van Dijk 2006, 729, 734). In this respect, the in-group in the student activist discourses analysed in this study tends to be represented (with increasing specificity) as all oppressed and exploited people; previously colonised people; black people, poor and working class people, and women; black and female students; black students who have been victimised in the context of their university studies; and students (particularly black women students) who have been victimised in the context of the student movement. In their discourses, the student activists thus position themselves socio-spatially within the emancipatory struggle of these groups. Conversely, the out-group, which is not always specified as clearly in the discourses, is largely represented as 'the system' and its beneficiaries; (colonial, apartheid era, and current) oppressors and exploiters; whites, the 'Elite' or 'A-class', and sexist males (of any race); white students and (sexually predatory) male students; the state and university authorities and their repressive security apparatus; and students who are non-activist, reactionary, and/or victimise (e.g. sexually abuse) other (particularly female) students. The ideological square comes into play specifically in the discourses and related photos and captions where in-group violent acts are not mentioned (i.e. suppressed) but out-group violence is emphasised strongly. Model cases of this can be found across all four discourses but particularly in discourses 2 and 4, and the photovoice contributions 'Mandla Tibane' and 'A violent record'. Conversely, cases where 'our good' is particularly emphasised and 'their good' de-emphasised can be found in contributions to discourses 1 and 3, but particularly in the contribution 'There is no revolution without women'. The ideological square thus is part of the translocal resourcing of students' discourses of resistance and translocal justification of violence.

In Banerjee's (2011) terms, the sum of translocal connections define the student movement as a model case of emancipatory translocal resistance that draws on translocal resources to garner legitimacy in its challenge to university authorities, the state and an unequal society, while also providing the material to justify students' use of emancipatory violence.

Conclusion

In the global context of student protests, South Africa's student movement frequently stands out as especially violent. Among the reasons for student violence heard in the media are such chilling statements as 'Burn to be heard' (Duncan 2016b; Hungwe and Divala 2020), which insinuate that student violence such as burning buildings and vehicles at universities was a way to underscore the seriousness of students' demands and provoke attention beyond campus. In this article, I used critical discourse analysis and photovoice data to investigate student discourses of violence and the ways they may serve to justify student activists' use of protest violence. In the process, I identified four discourses of resistance involved in student activists' reflections on protest violence: violence as assertion of identity and agency in the context of intergenerational and emancipatory struggles; violence as a form of advocacy for social justice and rights; violence as way of defending oneself against state and institutional violence; and violence as an expression of and response to victimhood. The four discourses of resistance mobilise various kinds of translocal resources and provide activists with the material to justify their use of emancipatory violence.

The article shows that former student activists' photovoice contributions provide ample material for analysis and to identify translocal articulations and justifications of violence. While photovoice provides a rich, participatory method for capturing activists' experiences and reflections, it also has limitations. The nature of participants will lead to an overrepresentation of certain narratives, particularly those aligned with the objectives of the original V&W study. Efforts were made to address this by selecting diverse voices and conducting member-checks to ensure that findings were reflective of broader dynamics. Meanwhile, the five universities where the student activists were located and the research was conducted are not the typical 'cosmopolitan and prestigious universities' where activism beyond bread-and-butter issues is expected (Altbach 1997, xxxvi). Indeed, they were selected for this study precisely because they are part of the 'mid-range' of public universities in South Africa; located outside the three major metropolitan centres; and typically not in the spotlight of media and research. Nonetheless, the student activist discourses from these universities are deeply resourceful and translocally connected.

A key finding of the study is that student activists who experienced violence at university – whether as perpetrators, victims, or observers - saw students' use of violence in protests as justifiable on a number of common grounds. This is highly problematic: violence of whatever nature should never be at the centre of the educational experience (Wilson Fadiji, Luescher, and Morwe 2023). Moreover, the implications of violent protests are felt acutely by other members of university communities. For example, non-activist students often experience interruptions to their education, compounding anxiety and potentially delaying their studies and graduation. Similarly, university staff face the academic and emotional toll of prolonged protests and university closures. However, as long as students feel obliged and justified use violence, there is clearly an unacceptable level of inequity and dysfunctionality in the higher education system and institutions, and beyond. There is therefore an urgent need for policy makers, university leaders, academics and student affairs practitioners to engage with the inequities and dysfunctions that students articulate and that perpetuate various types of violence and protests. Although some of the 'systemic oppressions' identified by the students require a concerted macro-political, economic and social response, the higher education system and institutions can and must consider ways in which they may be addressed within the sector. Rethinking inclusion and developing academic, governance and social interventions is crucial (Batisai, Makhafola, and Maoba 2022; Morwe, Luescher, and Wilson Fadiji 2022).

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