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Student Protests at UCT: An Analysis of UCT Community's Perspectives of Tactics Used in the Fallist Movement

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STUDENT PROTESTS AT UCT: AN ANALYSIS OF UCT
COMMUNITY'S PERSPECTIVES OF TACTICS USED IN THE
FALLIST MOVEMENT

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Abstract

This study investigates the opinions of Rhodes Must Fall from the perspective of various members of the UCT community. Violence has been a term used to describe the tactics used in protests during the Fallist movement. I argue against condemning the students based on this reasoning, citing Fanon, Robins, among others.

Through six interviews and observations, I gathered different narratives and accounts of the Fallist events at UCT. This study includes perspectives from activists involved in the Fallist movement, other forms of activism, and some who oppose the movement as a whole. It seeks to gain different narratives than are portrayed in mainstream media outlets.

Many people across campus felt excluded from the movement, and Rhodes Must Fall has entered a period of question of how best to achieve their ambitious goals, but also be inclusive and avoid being part of oppressive systems themselves. Analysis of positionality has led to the argument that exclusion comes from conflicts within personal identity. Different factions of Fallism have emerged, as people have expressed different priorities for the future of student activism. In my findings, I argue that Rhodes Must Fall protests left many people feeling excluded, which was often a result of aspects of their identity, but ultimately it shook up the status quo and has led to significant changes for all members of the UCT community.

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Finally, I would like to thank the student activists at UCT and across South Africa for inspiring me. The passion, tenacity, and love that embodies each one of these people brings me hope and excitement for the future. I have learned so much from their strength and fearlessness. I hope to someday embrace the traits these activists display daily.

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Introduction

1. What is your topic?

In the past year, student activism has erupted and unified universities across South Africa, creating drama, disruptions, and ultimately change. News coverage has followed the disruptions bubbling up on all the major universities, which even included a mass shut down. Each month, more protests have happened and new demands are brought to administration to improve conditions for black and underprivileged students. Teaching in Afrikaans, colonialist statues and building names, increases in tuition fees, outsourcing, lack of housing and more have been hot topics for protests across South Africa. In the recent weeks and months, more protests, occupations, and demonstrations have occurred, often creating disruptions on campuses and resulting in damages to property, but also to students' bodies in a backlash of the fight for justice.

i. Historical Context

Student activism has a huge legacy of resisting dominating power structures in South Africa. The Soweto uprisings of 1976 are a well-known moment for students, but: "the participation of young people in the liberation struggle preceded the student uprising of June 16, 1976" ("Youth and the National Liberation Struggle", 2016, par. 1). In the 1930s, many of the most famous leaders of the anti-Apartheid emerged. These youth leaders emerged as a result of a greater access to education: "Many young people received an education, while their parents may have belonged to a generation in which education was not considered a key to a good life" ("Youth and the National Liberation Struggle", 2016, par. 6). The exposure they had to the injustices of the greater South Africa led them to take powerful stances in the upcoming decades. Pivotal moments such as the Soweto uprising brought about significant change and started a chain reaction of resistance across the country. It also led to a change of tactics of protesters to more aggressive styles that pushed along the movement. People were outraged at the contrast of police officers shooting running children, and their only retaliation being throwing stones and sticks. Tactics changed "In the rural areas, [where] school riots turned violent when students damaged school property. There were student arrests and court sentences of fines or corporal punishment," ("Youth and the National Liberation Struggle", 2016, par. 18). More and more pressure was put on the Apartheid government by student disruptions, especially when they involved damaging property. The students proved to be a force to be reckoned with. Their boldness (and the violent backlash from the government and police) only brought more comrades into the movement. Student activism only grew with

time. Their tactics grew with their anger and sense of injustice: "Student activists adopted a militant approach targeted against any symbols of authority" ("Youth and the National Liberation Struggle", 2016, 32). Without students' sacrifices of time, money, and life, democracy may not have ensued until much later. Under the Apartheid regime, students acted as catalysts for change, throwing themselves into the frontlines against an oppressive government.

ii. Recent Activism

Throughout the 21st century, bouts of protest have emerged at major universities throughout South Africa. Most of the activism did not receive a large amount of media attention until March of 2015 when a UCT student, Chumani Maxwele threw human excrement at a statue of the colonialist, Cecil John Rhodes. This action spurred protests and calls for action over the course of the year. After the first incident, "Weeks of protest began with a group of students . . . saying that [the Rhodes statue's] continued presence on the university's campus was testament to the institution's failure to meaningfully transform" (Davis, 2015, par. 3). On social media, the term #RhodesMustFall was coined and eventually became a group of black and white activists who were dedicated to transformation in higher education in South Africa. In early April, the school announced the Rhodes statue would be removed from its position on campus. The SRC, UCT's student governing body acknowledged: "the removal of Rhodes' statue was only the first step" (Davis, 2015, par. 13). When the statue fell, it was not the end, but only the beginning of a year of intense student activism.

In October 2015, the Fees Must Fall movement emerged and spread across the country. Beginning at the University of Witwatersrand after an announcement of a fee increase for tuition, it quickly spread to UCT and all the major universities in the country. Tactics in this movement included disruptions: "There have been reports of students, some armed with sticks, turning people away from the campus. Some students were also reportedly barricading entrances with burning tyres" (Quintal, 2015, par. 8). Students who felt they had silenced voices disrupted the lives of students and administrators to gain attention. UCT campus joined in the protests: "The University of Cape Town's middle and upper campuses were barricaded with rocks, benches and dustbins on Monday morning" (Quintal, 2015, par. 12). Students occupied an administrative building, and some were arrested. The University of Cape Town was forced to shut down. In the end of October, students stormed Parliament in protest, and President Zuma announced there would be no fee increases at any university for

the upcoming year. The cooperation of the universities created a massive uproar that could not be ignored by the government.

In early 2016, UCT students erected a shack in the middle of campus in response to a lack of housing for students. Activists claimed those without housing were predominately black students, and called for action against the discrimination. The events on campus escalated when administration ordered the removal of the shack. One media report says, "student protesters seemingly under the #RhodesMustFall banner reacted violently to the institution's request to move their protest shack. Students invaded residencies and kitchens, burning barricades (Tandwa, 2016, par. 7). On top of this, "one of the university's Jammie Shuttle buses was set alight outside the Tugwell residence" (Tandwa, 2016, par. 8). The protests received national attention, with media outlets displaying images of students burning property and running through campus. The most discussed tactic in the media were the burning of pieces of artwork by protesters, some of which were created by black artists (Tandwa, 2016, par. 10). The university has repeatedly made claims denying the racialized aspect of the lack of housing. They have offered explanations for the lack of housing, though no compromise has been made regarding this matter at the point of this paper. One UCT student during a discussion I observed said, "2015 wasn't just a year. 2015 was something that happened to you." This description summarizes the events of the past year. Change is happening, students are making their voices heard, and their tactics are being discussed and debated in all forms of conversation.

Students have been at the forefront of activism and have been willing to go to more extreme measures than others. All of these measures have culminated into one word: Fallism. This ideology has spread across South Africa and encompasses the decolonialist thinking of activists in the current day and age. They have a fierce sense of vitality and justice, and higher education often exposes them to more global thinking, which they turn to critically evaluate the injustices before them. This work is important because student activism takes place across the globe, and if one is not informed of the reasons behind controversial tactics, it is easy to condemn the entire movement and not feel the need to participate in the fight against racism. The protests are happening all the time, and are a recent staple of South African politics. This means there has not been much research and understanding of the protests, other than what the dominant media sources convey. These are the reasons why the following research findings are relevant and necessary to understand.

2. What did you set out to study?

I am studying the student body response to controversial tactics used in student protests at UCT in the past year. I want to investigate how disruptions, and arguably violent actions, have promoted social change in higher education. The objectives of the study are to challenge dominant narratives condemning the disruptions and argue for its importance in student activism. The media has presented one side of the story, but I hoped to discover varying opinions. I worked to gain an understanding of the strategy and reasoning behind the protest tactics that have taken place in 2015 and 2016. I will offer an alternative narrative to the dominant one, allowing this study's audience to consider something other than that in which they are usually exposed. In interviewing members of various identities, I aim to complicate the issue, and at least show that condemning students should not be done without more consideration. I hope to show how Fallism has created positive solidarity at UCT and connected people across South Africa.

My question is: What was the response of the UCT community as a result of Rhodes Must Fall protests? Through the use of interviews and observation of happenings on campus, in meetings, and in discussion groups, I hoped to analyze angles from various communities and identities at UCT. My question led me to people who presented very different ideas of the protests. This study aims to challenge the viewpoints and allow its readers to understand a perspective not acknowledged in mainstream media.

3. Structure of Paper

The structure of this paper includes an introduction, followed by a literature review of material surrounding protest tactics and theories on violence, then the methodology I used to conduct the research, then the main body where I lay out my findings and analyze them. I have chosen to combine findings and analysis to create a more fluid argument. In my findings, I argue that Rhodes Must Fall protests left many people feeling excluded, which was often a result of aspects of their identity, but ultimately it shook up the status quo and has led to significant changes for all members of the UCT community. This will be followed by a conclusion of my findings, including Fallism as an ideology. I will end with recommendations I have for further research.

The research in this paper consists of a combination of outside literature and publications discussing protest tactics as well as popular media commenting specifically on UCT protests. The majority of the argument will be supported through the use of interviews with UCT students. There will also be information through observations of demonstrations and discussions. I have witnessed. To gain a full perspective of the conversation surrounding

tactics used in protests, the paper will contain discussion and interviews from people who are not involved in the protests. This will give a rounded perspective of the conversations on campus about the protest tactics.

5. Limitations

The biggest limitation of my study is the one that is the most impossible to change. My positionality as a white, American person has made it difficult to approach students I have encountered who have been parts of disruptions on campus. There were times I was on campus when students have been discussing the nature of campus climate for black students in front of larger groups, and it was not possible for me to approach these students. The context of the situation made it impossible for me, as the only white person present, to find a way to introduce myself to the students. For me to wait until they were finished speaking and approach them would have been inappropriate and uncomfortable for myself and the other students. In these situations, it simply was not my place as a white person to ask the black students to provide me with information. On top of my whiteness, being American made me an outsider. I am not a student at UCT and have only been in the country long enough to learn a taste of the climate on campus. Until I began seeking interviews, I had only been on the campus once. The information about the protests I knew has been coming from secondary sources, not from actual experience or conversations with students involved, until I received a referral from the professor I blindly reached out to. These limitations made it difficult for me to access the groups of students leading the way. I was only able to approach students who were more indirectly involved. On top of this, having no contacts to initiate conversation at the beginning of the research made it even more difficult to gain access to these groups.

My positionality and other factors of which I may not be aware have led to a significant lack of email response from the Rhodes Must Fall organization. I did not have any inside contacts initially who may have encouraged a response from other members of the group. I was forced to send messages through the organization's generic email address, which could get hundreds of messages each day. Also, though I tried to explain myself through email, it is difficult to understand. The members of the group may not have seen my email as worthy of their time. For whatever the reason, I received a lack of response from the Rhodes Must Fall that hindered my ability to interview the people most involved. Fortunately, I was able to meet with a founding member after the referral. He had been a major part of the conceptualization of the movement, so the initial struggles to find participants was worth the wait.

An unexpected limitation was a lack of white voice of activists. White activists I reached out to were not willing to be interviewed because of their belief that white voices have already received too much attention. They were not interested in taking up space in the conversation because of their beliefs and how they viewed their own positionality. The Disrupting Whiteness group was most accessible as far as white activists, but I was not able to interview any members of the group because of their own personal time constraints. At the same time, it is important to recognize it is admirable that the current movement's white activists understanding the power of their positionality. Discourses have emerged that white activists are allowed more of a voice in mainstream media, and this is a case where they recognize this, and have worked to change the systems in place. In this way, white activists are acting as genuine allies to black activists.

In general, time constraints was a major limitation for this study. I was able to establish contacts, reach out, and interview people in a few short weeks, but I was limited to a certain number of people. It meant I was only able to reach a certain audience, which could be biased and not provide a holistic understanding of the issues at hand.

There is no easy way to collect data, especially with these limitations. However, I feel I have worked hard to gather quality data in the most ethical ways possible. The findings from my research are important because this issue is the center of many conversations and is changing each day. It is hard to keep up with the latest news of student activism, but there are many events worth noting from the past year to understand its history, and predict the movement as it continues forward.

Literature Review

There is a prevalence of literature on activism, student activism, and how change is best achieved through varying means of protest and strategy. Activism has taken place in many different contexts and settings, and in looking back on certain movements, previous literature has drawn conclusions on what made it effective or not. One theorist often cited by UCT student activists is Franz Fanon. Fanon's "The Wretched of the Earth" spells out a major theory about activism and violence as a necessary means of protest. In understanding this theory and combining it with others who have written on these topics, I have formed an argument. Based on past literature applied to the Fallist movements, I argue the colonialist violence implemented and lived every day by black students at UCT justifies their tactics used during protests.

1. Colonialists are the Origin of Violence

Fanon argues that colonialists implemented violence originally, and any violence from the colonized is in response to them. From the beginning, colonists treated natives with violence, and have continued to deprive them of resources. Fanon (1961) says, "Violence . . . has ruled over the ordering of the colonial world, which has ceaselessly drummed the rhythm for the destruction of native social forms and broken up without reserve the systems of reference of the economy, the customs of dress and external life" (39). The constant state of oppression has led natives to take equal measures against their oppressor. South Africa still clings to its colonialist past, and these symbols and structures have caused students to rise against them. Durheim, Foster, and Tredoux (1995) explain the violent responses of frustrated black South Africans through their theory of relative deprivation (par. 8). When black South Africans compare their status to that of white South Africans, they perceive themselves as inferior (Durheim et. al, 1995, par. 7). As a response, they recognize that white "economic, social, and political domination invokes relative deprivation and militancy among blacks," (Durheim et. al, 1995, par. 8). Durheim's theory fits into Fanon's ideas that black people are acting in response to their positionality. When they compare themselves to white South Africans, they may begin to recognize the violence acted upon them. After this recognition takes place, they may begin to seek ways to resist this violence.

It was easy to see under the Apartheid regime, but black people at UCT have increased their consciousness of colonialism's continuation and have used tactics of an equal level they see used against them. Fanon's theory can be applied to the student protests at UCT. Many people have been critical of their tactics, but when one considers the structural

violence perpetuated upon black people in everyday life, Fanon (1961) would say a violent response is justified because "the violence of the colonial regime and the counter-violence of the native balance each other and respond to each other in an extraordinary reciprocal homogeneity" (87). The UCT protests were therefore balancing out the more unseen forms of violence committed against them daily. They were bringing to light this violence by using tactics that would force people to listen.

Pearlman's (2012) research on the differences in violence and non-violence takes an approach asking the question, why movements do not use non-violent methods of protest, rather than asking why use violence (24). She came to the conclusion that violent protests arise when there is a lack of "internal political cohesion" (Pearlman, 2012, 24). It is clear at UCT there is a lack of cohesion, based on the criticism of the movement by other sectors of the student population, such as the transgender community, the Trans Collective, and the feminist community, Patriarchy Must Fall. Both have argued Rhodes Must Fall has not been inclusive and intersectional with their populations. This lack of cohesion could have contributed to the activists' tactics. UCT Professor Xolela Mangcu's shared his insights on the future of the movement, which fit into Pearlman's theory. He says, "It remains to be seen how the students can sustain such militant action, without alienating important sections of the student body" (Mangcu, 2016, p. 31). Mangcu recognizes the divisions in the student body, and speculates if the movements will be sustainable if they do not overcome their differences in the fight. The divisions among the students at UCT could have been a factor in the protest tactics.

2. Dismantling the Structure through Violent means

After acknowledging colonists as the source of violence, Fanon argues that the only way to decolonize is by retaliating with the same methods used against the people. Not only is violence understandable, but it is necessary in the fight toward justice. A lot of rhetoric following Apartheid involved compromise, healing, and reform. Fanon (1961) eschews this language, saying change "cannot come as a result of magical practices, nor of a natural shock, nor of a friendly understanding" (35). He does not agree with the idea of the 'rainbow nation' that appreciates all people and works to compromise to create a united nation. Acceptable forms of protest at UCT -- marches, occupations, etc. -- he would view as compromising on the issues at hand. To truly dismantle the system, he avoids the ideas of integration and cooperation. Rather, Fanon (1961) describes the logic behind black's use of violence historically:

"The starving peasant, outside the class system, is the first among the exploited to discover that only violence pays. For him there is no compromise, no possible coming to terms; colonization and decolonization are simply a question of relative strength. The exploited man sees that his liberation implies the use of all means, and that of force first and foremost. It is violence in its natural state, and it will only yield when confronted with greater violence" (60).

Fanon sees violence as the only feasible way to overthrow the system of oppression. Fanon also recognizes activist violence as a response to oppressive violence by police and security guards. He points out that often, activists are not the initiator of violence. They are merely acting to protect their bodies from the harmful violence of the oppressors. At UCT, students have recognized the systems that keep them stuck in the same spaces and positions, and they are taking matters into their own hands to disrupt the system. They have refused to compromise with administration (and the government during Fees Must Fall).

3. Tactics as Retaliation from Structural Violence

In Hugo Gorringer's article, "Which is Violence?", he discusses the narrow definition often used for violence, and argues that violence should not always be seen as innately bad. Instead of viewing violence through singular events, Gorringer (2006) argues that: "Violence must . . . be understood as a continuum rather than an isolated act" (119). For critics of violence to see it as an isolated act, or a series of isolated acts, takes out any consideration for the reasons for the actions. Actions of the UCT student activists do not exist in a vacuum -- there are reasons for it, and dominant narratives often frame them as having no basis and that they are acting out of the blue. On top of this, Gorringer argues violence is not always destructive. He says, "Violence is creative, in that it helps to forge a sense of identity and patterns people's daily lives, as well as destructive. (Gorringer, 2006, 118). This is displayed at UCT through the conversation that has been created as a result of the protests. Mainstream media, students, Parliament, and families have all begun conversations as a result of these actions. This changes the perspective that violence only destroys things.

The biggest point Gorringer makes in his research, is that violent protests can be considered retaliation for structural violence against protesters. He says, "Questioning the motives of actors is essential in order to make moral judgments about violence" (Gorringer, 2006, 120). Without asking why these tactics were used, it is easy to condemn it. Structural violence is present in the lives of those oppressed, who eventually become activists to resist these forces. For these people, structural violence shapes their perspective of life. That being said, "When violence informs people's activity and way of seeing the world it may cease to be extraordinary and become part of a common currency of interaction" (Gorringer, 2006,

133). When this happens, acting out with violent means is not even out of the norm. These actions seem the only logical option for fighting against their experienced violence. When one considers this perspective, it is easier to recognize the violence against the protesters at UCT, and understand why they have acted in the ways they did. They are merely responding to the same violence in which they constantly face.

4. Black Consciousness Leads to Violence

Black consciousness and the realization of the various forms of oppression faced by black people are essential in dismantling of the system. Steve Biko's definition of Black Consciousness, from his book, *I Write What I Like* (1978), combined with Fanon's theory can help explain the protest tactics used at UCT. Fanon (1961) talks of the realization that Black people are not inferior to whites, and when this happens, the person comes to the conclusion the only answer is violence (44). Biko (1978) describes his definition, saying "The basic tenet of black consciousness is that the black man must reject all value systems that seek to make him a foreigner in the country of his birth and reduce his basic human dignity" (47). Students at UCT have become conscious of the white colonialism that encompass the space. After becoming aware of this, they have began to reject it through the use of protests. Black consciousness has empowered students at UCT to defend their rights and work toward a more fair system. One can combine Biko's Black Consciousness with Fanon's views that once this is realized, violence may occur. These ideas are lived out in the activism at UCT. Students have finally spoken out about Black Pain and their grievances, and this has led to violent action in retaliation.

UCT uses media spectacles to draw attention to the issues on campus that have previously been silenced. Robins (2014) distinguishes these media spectacles, what she refers to as 'fast activism', from 'slow activism' (92). Slow activism is the long-term activism that involves more organization and planning whereas fast activism happens quickly and creates a dramatic event (Robins, 2014, 92). In her research, she points out the changes in protest tactics as a result of the digital age. She states: "The post-apartheid period has witnessed the emergence of a proliferation of media technologies as well as new forms of media-based political mobilisation" (Robins, 2014, 93). This can be seen in the movements at UCT considering their names were derived from trending hashtags on Twitter. They have been using fast activism to gain attention and disrupt daily life on campus. Robins (2014) concludes that fast activism does not create lasting results (105). In the case of the UCT fast activism, it is too soon to tell the lasting impact it will have on future students.

Fanon speaks of the symbolic reminders of colonialism that bring about a consciousness to black people about their inferior position. These reminders consist of "a world of statues: the statue of the general who carried out the conquest . . . a world which is sure of itself, which crushes with its stones the backs flayed by whips: this is the colonial world (Fanon, 1961, 51). This applies directly to the Rhodes statue that provoked the Fallist movement. Fanon's point that colonialism's effects still remain were clear to the students at UCT and likely influenced their actions in protesting. The reminder of the violence of colonialism was present on that campus every day because of that statue. Robins points out that fast activism is often the most criticized and controversial. She says, "Neither do these [critical] accounts acknowledge the complex organisational work of community-based actors who translate and mediate these historically situated political logics and activist repertoires" (Robins, 2014, 93). Robins argues that activists are easily shut down without consideration of the complex planning and motivation for their actions. Overall, many theories and studies have come to the conclusion that activism is more complicated and thought-out than many critics are willing to give credit. These theories can be applied and compared to the actions of student protesters at UCT.

Methodology

I conducted six interviews of various members of the UCT community. Two participants were from a Libertarian political organization, one was affiliated with Rhodes Must Fall, another was a member of Patriarchy Must Fall, one was a professor at UCT, and one was an environmental activist. I included another participant who was part of a residential hall, after receiving verbal permission, to use her comments during the discussion as part of my research. All participants were students (and one professor) at UCT and were upperclassmen or even higher level students. In addition, I attended several meetings and discussions through Disrupting Whiteness and a residential dorm on the UCT campus. In these meetings, I acted as an observer, taking in the conversation, discussion, and dynamics of the conversation. I documented these observations after each meeting and have included them in my findings to supplement the interviews.

Interviews were the most logical interview method because finding information from other, dominant sources, would have overshadowed the voices of the activists. The majority of the information about the protests and tactics have been from mainstream media outlets, showing images of burning fire and angry faces. I sought to talk to students, both involved heavily, somewhat involved, and not involved in Fallism at all, to gain a perspective of students' sentiments surrounding the protests. Through the interview process, the participants were able to share personal stories of how they have been affected by the protests on campus. Those involved were able to explain the reasoning for their actions and the history behind it. According to Slim, Thompson, Bennett, and Cross (1994), "A fundamental part of this stage has to be a consideration not just of the social, economic, environmental or working worlds of the potential interviewees, but also of the cultural context in which the interviewing will take place" (61). Understanding my need to heavily consider the positionality of the participants, I made sure to avoid making my questions pointed or judgmental. I started out with open statements, informing them that I wanted to hear what they had to say because all I knew was what was broadcasted in the media, and I suspected this was not the full story. Right away, I acknowledged myself as an outsider, and I am making the participant make adjustments for me, both in the way we were talking about these issues, but also in the language differences as a whole. Slim, et. al (1994) says, "This incompatibility can create problems for people who, as interviewees, are forced to express themselves in an unfamiliar speech format" (61). In this case, there was no getting around it, but I made sure to

acknowledge their efforts and the fact that they had to work around my lack of understanding of their languages.

My interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner. I had some questions planned out, formed in sections of themes I knew I wanted to discuss. I had a variety of similar questions prepared within each category so during the interview, I was able to select the ones most appropriate to their previous answers. For each person, I considered my questions and adjusted them slightly based on who I was interviewing. I wanted to allow room for myself to ask follow-up questions, ask them about some things they mentioned during another answer, and make them feel comfortable to share whatever they feel is pertinent to the conversation. Despite my research, I do not pretend to know everything about this topic -- that is why I am studying it. Because of this, I wanted to allow for some room for things of which I am not aware. I explained to the participants my experiences with hearing narratives of Black Lives Matter, and my inspiration for this study. I will tell them I am here to understand the methods and the reasoning behind it, not to judge and condemn it. By sharing these experiences in my initial emails to them, I hoped to show that I was working toward the same goals as they. The general themes of questions I asked from were basic information about their activist history, how they see the Rhodes Must Fall (and other) movements, what criticism they hear, how they respond to it, and how do they perceive the tactics of the protests. I met each participant at UCT in various locations of their choosing.

For the observation portion of my research, I attended meetings with students and also explored the UCT campus and came across some moments of activism that I included in my findings. One of these meetings was a general Disrupting Whiteness meeting. Two were conversations intentionally about race, UCT, and South Africa. In the two conversations, there were several overlapping people, one of which ended up being a participant in which I obtained verbal permission to use her comments from the discussion. Observations became necessary for my research when I discovered it was more difficult than anticipated to interview activists. For a number of factors -- my positionality, the fact that it was midterms at UCT, and that I was an outsider with no contacts -- made it difficult to discuss these topics with UCT activists. Therefore, I chose to supplement my interview findings with observations of the climate at UCT from my own perspective. This was the next best option to use in conjunction with interviews because I could compare the ideas and comments of students with my own observations after being on campus.

During my observations, I had to be prepared with which type of observer style I would adopt. In the case of the discussions, I fluctuated between being a complete observer and an observer as participant (Glesne, 2006, 50). In both cases, I made sure to follow the rule that: "Your focus is on your research participants, and you work to stay out of the limelight" (Glesne, 2006, 51). In all cases of observation, I never initiated conversation. If someone directly asked me a question, I would answer, but other than that, I stayed out of the discussions. This way, I avoided changing the dynamic of the conversation as much as possible.

There were benefits of my ability to observe the UCT campus from my own perspective, but a bias is the fact that I was only there for short periods of time. Often, I happened to be in the right place at the right time to witness moments of activism. I was not usually aware these things were about to take place, but was able to stumble upon them. Things are happening often, so it was not hard to see signs, but at the same time, this made it a limited perspective. Also, not being a student meant I was restricted access from certain places like the library and dorms. This meant I only saw the displays in the most public, central spaces. Because of these reasons, I see my observations as a supplement to my interviews, which will drive the main portion of my argument.

Introduction to Participants:

Participant 1: This man is a leading member of the Libertarian society at UCT. He is a second year, white, male student from Cape Town majoring in Political Science, Economics, and Philosophy. After reaching out to the email alias of the Libertarian organization, he replied to say their group did not support the protests. He followed this by saying their group was very interested in conversation and dialogue of any kind, so he would still be interested in the interview. Although this narrative was not the main focus of the research, it added a unique perspective into the mix. This participant had a lot to share about Libertarian theory and how it shaped his views of the protests at UCT.

Participant 2: I did not originally plan to interview this participant, but he was invited by Participant 1 to the interview. Participant 2 is also on the leadership board of the Libertarian club at UCT. He is a second year, white male from Cape Town. This participant was not as heavily involved in the Cape Town Libertarian community, though his ideas of the UCT protests were shaped by his political beliefs. He was much quieter than Participant 1 and was often overshadowed in the conversation. However, he contributed important details and

sometimes challenged Participant 1 when he said something too extreme or veered off track of the intended topics.

Participant 3: This participant is a current, full-time professor at UCT in the sociology department. He is a middle-age, black man who has been active in forms of racial justice for over twenty years. He is published in many newspapers and appears on radio segments speaking out against the racial injustice at UCT and otherwise. This participant acts as a mentor to Rhodes Must Fall activists at UCT. He sits in on Rhodes Must Fall meetings and offers his opinion about the tactics and plans of the group.

Participant 4: This black woman is a leader in a residential hall and a student activist at UCT. She is an upperclassman majoring in Political Science hoping to work for United Nations after graduation. She is the leader of 'transformation' in her dorm, and is responsible for hosting conversations and discussions about race, South Africa, and social justice. I observed this participant in several discussions I attended. I received her verbal consent to use her comments in my findings. We had agreed to meet for a full interview, but when the time came, she had another obligation and because of the timing with finals, she was unable to reschedule.

Participant 5: This black man is a PhD student at UCT and was one of the founding members of Rhodes Must Fall. He has been a part of the key decisions of the group, mostly before it was formalized. He was heavily involved in the discussions that took place before Maxwele threw feces at the Rhodes statue. He has written opinion articles and released statements on behalf of the early forms of the organization. He offered insights and explanations and reasoning behind the actions within the movement. He was able to give a detailed outline of Rhodes Must Fall's history.

Participant 6: This black woman is a second year student at UCT and on the leadership team of the Patriarchy Must Fall movement. She became formally involved in the organization at the end of last semester and has been involved in the organizing and planning of demonstrations and meetings for the group. She offered opinions both from the perspective of a Patriarchy Must Fall member, but also how she views Fallism from her own perspective.

Participant 7: This white man acts as the Institutional Development chair of the UCT Green Campus Initiative. He has been a part of the organization at UCT for five years and is new to the Institutional Development position. He is only the second person to hold this position, as it was formed last year. He mentioned that because of this new position, he was still working to figure out his role and learn how best to fulfill the position.

Research Findings and Analysis

As with any research, I ran into barriers and unforeseen difficulties that shaped my findings. The question I asked changed from my initial plan. After struggling to find activists to interview, as well as hoping to avoid a single narrative of like-minded people, I decided to change my question to broaden my potential interview candidates. My question ended up as such: What was the response of the UCT community as a result of Rhodes Must Fall protests? I hoped to analyze angles from various communities and identities at UCT. I knew there would be many different opinions and perspectives of the events at UCT, and I hoped to understand where these opinions come from. From this question, I came across what I was looking for -- tons of different accounts of the same events and sometimes even statements that seemed in complete opposition. In my findings, I argue that Rhodes Must Fall protests left many people feeling excluded, which was often a result of aspects of their identity, but ultimately it shook up the status quo and has led to significant changes for all members of the UCT community.

1. Exclusion from Rhodes Must Fall

i. Patriarchy Must Fall

Feelings of exclusion from Rhodes Must Fall was a common theme that emerged during interviews with members of the UCT community. The most vocal sentiments of exclusion have been from Fallist movements that have risen as a response to Rhodes Must Fall. Patriarchy Must Fall is a key example of a movement formed because as Rhodes Must Fall was raising issues of colonialism and institutional racism, they were ignoring the patriarchal tendencies. Patriarchy Must Fall was created because members of the community oppressed by patriarchy were systematically excluded from the movement. They formed around the basis of exclusion and have been vocal in speaking out against this system. Patriarchy Must Fall emerged through an occupation of a dorm after a verbal altercation that highlighted the greater issues many saw and felt on campus.

Participant #6's involvement in Patriarchy Must Fall has led her to be vocal in (and members of the community oppressed by patriarchy) the exclusion from Rhodes Must Fall. Rhodes Must Fall has been criticized for its predominately black male leadership team and lack of acknowledgement of patriarchy in meetings and protest spaces. This controversy has caused Patriarchy Must Fall to speak out against the injustice. Participant #6 said, "We're not letting things slide under the rug for some bigger agenda. If there are issues with the movement, Patriarchy Must Fall says we can't move on because these spaces aren't conducive

with us being here, they are violent toward us" (Participant #6, personal communication, April 26, 2016). The members of Patriarchy Must Fall see themselves as a voice for the oppressed within the Rhodes Must Fall movement. Not only are they forcing consciousness, but they are promoting change and action against these structures. This is taking place within Rhodes Must Fall, but has expanded beyond.

Patriarchy Must Fall's formation has brought about greater change than simply holding protesters accountable. Patriarchy Must Fall has combated oppressive actions (and inactions) across the UCT campus. This exclusion from the protest movement made the oppression more visible to the student body than it had previously been. This visibility inspired protests against patriarchy and rape culture of the campus itself. As a result of Rhodes Must Fall, marginalized groups oppressed by patriarchy were able to come together and vocalize their oppression.

ii. Other Identities Creating Divisions

Complications within identities created feelings of exclusion of some of the participants from Rhodes Must Fall. During a discussion that took place in a residential hall, the topic of the exclusivity of Rhodes Must Fall came up for debate (personal communication, April 24, 2016). The discussion was all women, mostly identifying as black, with two women who identified as Coloured. At the heart of the discussion was the questions of each one's place within the activist movements. Many factors within each identity were brought up as conflicting with their chances of identifying with Rhodes Must Fall. Besides their placement as a woman, and the lack of recognition of gendered oppression, the women discussed other aspects of their identities.

One woman in the group pointed out different parts of identity that were represented by those involved in the discussion. She pointed out that she spoke a different language than most people in the Western Cape, there was a woman from Zimbabwe, and a woman who identified as Coloured in the room, and these were only three examples of people who felt excluded from Rhodes Must Fall (personal communication, April 24, 2016). Each of them felt excluded for different aspects of their identity, but they shared the sentiment that because they did not fit into the dominant identity of Rhodes Must Fall and its leaders, they did not feel a part of it. The woman who spoke expressed similar ideology as Rhodes Must Fall, and a desire to partake in its initiatives, but felt it was not inclusive to her because of certain aspects of her identity. Within the discussion, it became evident that language created a strong identity that created a separation from some of the women and their ability to identify

with Rhodes Must Fall. Coming from another country also created a division because, as they discussed, a lot of the rhetoric of Rhodes Must Fall is specific to South Africa and the history of Apartheid. This woman had a shared colonized history, but because of the specific examples to South Africa, found it more difficult to find a place within the group.

Generational differences created a feeling of exclusion for Participant #3. Although he has been heavily involved in Rhodes Must Fall by offering advice and suggestions to the group, age has created a division between him and the group. He discussed his role as an educator and mentor to the students. When offering advice, Participant #3 says sometimes: "They disregard my criticism sometimes and come back and wish they had listened to me. They get into trouble and say 'oh I wish we had listened.' There's always a sense that they don't want to be controlled or told what to do" (Participant #3, personal communication, April 25, 2016). He attributes this sense to their age. He understands their feelings because he said, "I was there thirty years ago. I was doing the same sort of things." Despite his understanding of having once been in the same mindset of the students, he distances himself from the group, because he often foresees problems. He sees his age and experience as reason for the students to take his advice. He never identified with the movement itself because of his position as a professor, but the students' tactics he disagreed with made him feel farther from the group than he may have otherwise.

iii. Other Organizations Left Out

The Green Campus Initiative has felt frustrated with Rhodes Must Fall in its lack of concern for the environment. The changes across campus as a result of Rhodes Must Fall protests effected the environmentalist movement. They worked to be more intersectional by recognizing and fighting against the stereotype of the 'white environmentalist.' The Green Campus Initiative took concerted steps to support Rhodes Must Fall, but now that a year has passed, they are feeling as if their work was not acknowledged properly. Participant #7 described his attempts to reach out to members of Rhodes Must Fall to be included in the movement. From his perspective, there was a complete lack of response as a result of his efforts. Participant #7 said: "RMF and the others are hard to access. I tried to get them to be part of this process, but things got pretty out of hand earlier in the semester. So I have to kind of give them space" (Participant #7, personal communication, April 26, 2016). Participant #7 is referring to the Shackville protests that took place in early 2016. He distances himself from the protest tactics used during that time. He sees the two groups as separate entities with different goals. From his statements, it seems he feels he needs to incorporate some of the

Rhodes Must Fall ideology into Green Campus Initiative, but he in no way expresses shared identity with Rhodes Must Fall itself.

Participant #7 explained his feeling of division between the groups as a lack of effort on Rhodes Must Fall's part. He feels the Green Campus Initiative made an effort to change their ways as a result of Rhodes Must Fall, and now he is looking for a collaboration. Green Campus Initiative had recently put on a workshop to discuss environmental racism, but he was disappointed with the lack of diverse turnout. He recognizes the challenges with this goal of collaboration, saying: "I'm sensitive to that because with this type of movement, it has to be organic, which means it will probably never happen. That's why we've been having these workshops, like 'please anyone talk to us'," (Participant #7, personal communication, April 26, 2016). In this way, Participant #7 has placed the responsibility of collaboration on Rhodes Must Fall. When the group had not responded in the ways he had hoped, he felt excluded.

Participant #7 separates himself further from Rhodes Must Fall when asked about his ideas of the future of the movement. He did not seem to have a full understanding of Rhodes Must Fall's goals, and in this limited understanding, he worked to insert his own values into it. When talking about what Rhodes Must Fall is striving for, Participant #7 said: "Rhodes Must Fall is very idealistic. They seem to want a complete revolution of everything. That probably means they want socialist education, environment, everything. We just hope that everyone would ride bicycles in that system or take public transport" (Participant #7, personal communication, April 26, 2016). In his understanding of Rhodes Must Fall, he projected his own identity and values to create meaning. Again, he describes Rhodes Must Fall and their agenda as separate from his. His identity as an environmentalist, and how he sees that play out in his life, made him less able to identify with the Rhodes Must Fall movement.

Participant #7 acknowledged his positionality as part of the lack of successful collaboration saying: "As a white person, I can't go in there and say, 'environment, guys' or I am literally perpetuating the white environmentalism" (Participant #7, personal communication, April 26, 2016). He recognizes the challenges and criticism of the environmentalist movement. In understanding these challenges, he chooses to wait until Rhodes Must Fall becomes more open to collaboration. He struggles to understand his role in trying to be helpful to the movement, but also including his own group's interests.

Another person who felt isolated, and even victimized by Rhodes Must Fall protests was one member of the UCT Libertarian group. The tactics used by Rhodes Must Fall were threatening to Participant #1 because he described it as unjustified, racialized attacks. There

were two major problems this participant had with the protest tactics. First, they did not feel they should be blamed for the problems marginalized students. Participant #1 said, "I am not Rhodes, I am not an administration of UCT. I have not done any of these discrimination things. I should not be punished for it. I should not be threatened" (Participant #1, personal communication, April 14, 2016). This participant does not identify with any of the arguments of Rhodes Must Fall. He sees the protest tactics as a personal threat that has no basis. The attacks on whiteness and privilege are interpreted to be black students' goals to blame him for historical problems. He even goes so far as to say the protests are: "used as a form to intimidate people. So by definition, it's terrorism. It's defined as indirectly damaging people or property in order to get a reaction from someone else" (Participant #1, personal communication, April 14, 2016). His extreme views reflect his identity of one who does not experience the oppression of many of the protesters.

Not only does he see the protest tactics as unjustified, but he also condemns the reasoning by the protests. Participant #1 does not believe there to be any racism at UCT. Amending his initial statement, he said: "There might be institutional racism. I don't know. But what I've seen, the only institutional racism is that there are lower standards of admittance for some students" (Participant #1, personal communication, April 14, 2016). From this comment, it can be inferred he is referencing Affirmative Action programs at UCT. His identity has allowed him to view the protests as unjustified in every way. He views race relations from his perspective that entails a lack of understanding of what it means to be a black person at UCT. It is clear he understands race as how it effects himself. He does not see any racial injustice at UCT because he does not experience it himself. For Participant #1, white people are unfairly targeted by the movement. This has left his feeling isolated and victimized by the activists.

iv. Analysis

It is clear that for a wide variety of reasons, many people at UCT are feeling excluded or victimized by the protest movement. A year has passed since the movement was sparked, and it seems that members of the UCT community are trying to find their place and make meaning in a movement that seems to be a constant feature of campus life. The events that took place last year were a whirlwind of drama and protest, but at this point, the group is established and has had many groups following it. Activists with multiple identities are struggling to find their places within the movement. No matter the case, students on campus are working to understand how they are affected by the protests and form an opinion based on

this. Participant #5 outlined his belief that as Rhodes Must Fall moves forward, inclusivity is at the forefront of their minds. He detailed the conflicts that are most pressing to the movement:

"Now the situation is people are disjointed. There are these fights that are emerging from within the student movements. You have the Trans Collective saying, our struggle is as important. It was easier at first. Everybody knew we had a common enemy -- Fees Must Fall. But now that whole vision got contaminated with other voices and it became problematic for anyone to organize around a common idea" (Participant #5, personal communication, April 25, 2016).

Participant #5 talked about the conflicts within the groups and how activists are beginning to split because of differing priorities. He acknowledges the problems, and said he was open to criticism, but was not sure how to proceed. It was easier when all the groups had a single goal, but once that goal was achieved, activists had to evaluate what their next step would be. In this evaluation, activists had different ideas in mind of what should come.

Participant #5 explained the difficulty Rhodes Must Fall has been experiencing in understanding the criticism and trying to improve itself. He talked about how confusing it was to think about all the aspects of the issues at hand. Participant #5:

"You should expect moments of confusion. Decolonization is never a conclusive process. It has its own limits. Whenever we speak of it, we speak in colonial terms. We express it in a borrowed language. Those limitations will always lead us to a confused situation at some point. We need to understand and express it in our own mother tongue so we can claim full ownership of the process" (Participant #5, personal communication, April 25, 2016).

Participant #5 defends Rhodes Must Fall, acknowledging the problems, but explaining they are doing their best. The group knows people feel victimized and excluded, but there are many layers to the situation. They have chosen to push ahead, despite the difficulty and confusion. Rhodes Must Fall uses controversial tactics, and because of its mentality, it has left many people unsure if they belong. Rhodes Must Fall has certain characteristics that make up its reputation of who belongs. For those who do not match this description, it is a time of grappling with questions of belonging, understanding, and support. Rhodes Must Fall is asking these same questions, working to find answers in how to be inclusive.

2. Identity and Openness to Rhodes Must Fall tactics

i. Terrorism of Rhodes Must Fall

Participant #1 and Participant #2 were least willing to be open to more militant tactics of protests, and this response comes as a result of many factors of their identity allowing them to draw this conclusion. Participant #2 condemned the actions of the protesters, saying "There is a minority that has a problem. The vast majority of people of all racial groups are

fine. It's a few radicals that are fueling the fire" (Participant #2, personal communication, April 14, 2016). They do not agree with Rhodes Must Fall, let alone radical tactics. There were two major reasons they had for being against the protests. The first was based in the ideology fueling the protests itself. Both the participants believed identity politics were wrong, which reflects their identities as Libertarians. They found the separation of blacks from other students to be against their ideas of how society should work. Participant #1 said, "One of the themes of Libertarianism is we don't care what race you are, we don't care what gender you are, as long as you respect other people's freedom" (Participant #1, personal communication, April 14, 2016). His values of individual freedom and expression conflict with Rhodes Must Fall's grouping people into categories of black and white. A fundamental reason these participants disagreed with Rhodes Must Fall was because of the idea of identity politics. Participant #2 explained: "People who are pushing identity politics are manufacturing the problems they are trying to fix, even when they talk about inherent privileges. They are collectivizing this tiny group and makes people treat different groups differently" (Participant #2, personal communication, April 14, 2016). The emphasis placed on individual expression causes these men to refuse to acknowledge similar experiences based on grouping. They do not place value on solidarity, thinking this to be problematic. Their identity as highly individualistic Libertarians influences their understanding of Fallism. It appears they understand people to have complete control over their lives, and it is within each person's own ability to be successful. Their understanding of individual's ability is likely in part due to their whiteness. As white people, it can be assumed they have been treated as individuals their entire lives, not a representative for their race or other identity group. Their ability to be treated as individuals reflects their views on identity politics and therefore Rhodes Must Fall.

The second reason these participants condemned the protests was based on the tactics used. The Libertarian participants saw the tactics as threatening to white people. Participant #1 felt particularly personally attacked and shared his views on Rhodes Must Fall tactics: "Mostly it was the racialized rhetoric that was scary. In the past, I have compared Rhodes Must Fall to fascists. They do target groups. They will say the whites must leave the country. They will use hate speech. The thing is, I'll say it, maybe you have an excuse, but as a white person you can't expect me to like you if you're telling me you want to kill me" (Participant #1, personal communication, April 14, 2016).

This extreme view could come from a backlash of feeling personally attacked. He expresses views of Rhodes Must Fall, comparing it to fascism because he feels targeted by their protests. He had previously expressed his belief that he has no part in the oppressive system because he is not Rhodes or the administration, so the protests seem unjustified. Participant #1 described the Rhodes Must Fall protests as both terrorism and fascism. These labels show the threat that he feels when oppressed students spoke out. Near the end of the interview, Participant #2 allowed: "Even if they are morally right, their tactics are inexcusable. I think the breaking point was the art burning. There's something there that people tend to like art. And they don't like ignorant destruction of it" (Participant #2, personal communication, April 14, 2016). From Participant #2's perspective, artwork held a higher value on campus that swayed any neutral student against the movement. Because of their positionality as white men, Participant #1 and #2 have never experienced racism or sexism, which has shaped their views of Rhodes Must Fall.

The participants felt threatened by Rhodes Must Fall, as well as described their feelings of the changes since 1994. Both men described the identity politics as a hindrance to progress. Participant #1 discussed the recent changes in South Africa that were threatening to him. He said, "We have a really growing number of whites under the poverty line. That's a big problem" (Participant #1, personal communication, April 14, 2016). This shows the ideas that any improvement for black people must balance out with a greater struggle for white people. In his description of Rhodes Must Fall and his position as a white person, he expresses fear of giving up privilege. Although he does not acknowledge privilege as something he has, through his language, he shows identity with whiteness and therefore wants to protect this part of his identity. Any time this was threatened, he was quick to judge the voices against it with individualist thinking. The Libertarians saw themselves as individualistic, yet they strongly identified with their whiteness, though it was never explicitly stated. They discussed their ties to certain people over others, and always othered black people, especially protesters. Their stance with regards to Rhodes Must Fall tactics seems to come from a privileged understanding of race relations. The identities that seemed to influence their thinking the most were their whiteness and political leanings.

ii. Impractical Idealism of Rhodes Must Fall

The environment was at the core of Participant #7's thinking and it remained so in his openness to militaristic tactics of protest. He spoke as an outsider to the movement, trying to understand their tactics, which made his answers limited to his own understanding of the

group. Instead of criticizing the tactics of Rhodes Must Fall, his biggest critique was their lack of acknowledgement of the environment. He said, "Any transformation is good, but anything is always better if we care about the environment" (Participant #7, personal communication, April 26, 2016). He was open to the tactics of Rhodes Must Fall, clearly noting the influence it has had on his own thinking of race and the student body at UCT. However, his own values and priorities trumped his acceptance of their actions. He shows more lack of understanding when he tries to describe Rhodes Must Fall's goals. Participant #7 said, "Rhodes Must Fall is very idealistic. They seem to want a complete revolution of everything. That probably means they want socialist education, environment, everything. We just hope that everyone would ride bicycles in that system or take public transport" (Participant #7, personal communication, April 26, 2016). His tone in describing a revolution was skeptical. He did not believe this to be feasible. He saw Rhodes Must Fall goals as lofty and impractical compared to his goals in relation to the environment. His greatest opinion of Rhodes Must Fall is for acknowledgement and support for the environment within their movement. Rather than condemning the tactics, he wanted to collaborate with the group. He did not seem really concerned with the long-term goals of Rhodes Must Fall because they did not seem realistic to him.

Instead of feeling concerned about what the Rhodes Must Fall revolution would look like, Participant #7 prioritized his goals included. Participant #7 said, "There are people who don't care about the environment that are very involved in black consciousness" (Participant #7, personal communication, April 26, 2016). He sees the two movements as very separate, when they need to be integrated. Participant #7 made statements along the lines that Black Consciousness will not matter if the environment is destroyed. There will be no way for anyone to survive if environmentalism is not the priority activist movement at UCT and globally. The way that Participant #7 discusses the environment's place in Rhodes Must Fall is very passive. He describes Rhodes Must Fall as the group with agency to choose to support the environment and integrate it within their movement. He talks about a few things the Green Campus Initiative has done to incorporate Black Consciousness, but mostly he believes the collaboration must come as a result of Rhodes Must Fall's action. This lack of agency on his part may be a result of the aggressive tactics of Rhodes Must Fall. For him, he does not see himself as able to have conversation with the group, since they have began to shut down that channel of communication in other situations with administration.

In Participant #7's case, his identity as an environmentalist shapes his opinion of Rhodes Must Fall and causes him to view the group in relation to his own priorities. He evaluated Rhodes Must Fall as either helping his cause, or hindering it, and formed an opinion based on this. His identity as an environmentalist has shaped his ability to be tolerant of Rhodes Must Fall tactics if they are supporting his beliefs at the same time.

iii. Higher Morals against Protest

The UCT professor has been very supportive of the student movements, offering advice and suggestions as well as creating a mentoring relationship with Rhodes Must Fall. However, when it comes to violence, Participant #3 condemned the students' tactics he views as violent on the basis that it does not reflect the higher morals of the students' argument. He says, "The tactics that are used, I'm not always accepting. I've spoken out several times against the violence. Violence undermines the moral high-ground that the students have. It quickly eliminates allies" (Participant #3, personal communication, April 19, 2016). Participant #3 has written articles and spoken on behalf of the student movement, but when it comes to what he calls violent tactics, he draws the line. Certain tactics, such as occupying a building, he considers acceptable and encouraged this. However, burning paintings and Jammie shuttles, he says, is taking it too far.

Instead of solely criticizing the students, Participant #3 proposed an alternative that he would have preferred as a mode of action. He explained the lack of faculty support for the students, saying this has historically been a problem at UCT. Participant #3 said, "The issues students are raising, we teach about these issues. So in the first place there would have been some intellectual discussion between the faculty and the students instead of a polarized discussion between students and administration" (Participant #3, personal communication, April 19, 2016). Participant #3 sees this method -- conversation and respectful negotiation -- as superior and more just than violent protest. His beliefs against what he considers violent protest tactics stems from a value of non-violence.

Participant #3 criticized some of the students tactics, but he also pointed out that in his case, his positionality gave him the right to do so. Participant #3 said, "I also think I have earned the right to criticize the students because I've spoken out against the racism of the university. If you're going to be critical of the students, your positionality is very important" (Participant #3, personal communication, April 19, 2016). He has spoken out in support of the students' ideology, but also has the backing of twenty or more years of experience discussing these issues. He recognizes his role in the university and feels he has a place in the

voices of criticism. Unlike many other critics, he does not only criticize the students. Rather, he supports them, gives them suggestions before they protest, and then evaluates their actions. He is not only criticizing the group after the tactics have been used in protests. He has made concerted efforts to understand and mentor the group throughout its existence, and this gives him more authority to critique it.

Participant #3's positionality also explains his more conservative view on the protest tactics, even though black men tended to be more radical. He has experienced various forms of exclusion, being one of five full-time black faculty members at UCT. However, a major reason he may not agree with the students' tactics is because of his age. He recognizes this about himself, saying: "Sometimes they think I am too conservative. But I'm older. I'm not a student" (Participant #3, personal communication, April 19, 2016). He understands that, as a general rule, older people are more conservative than young students. Participant #3 referenced being a part of similar protests when he was younger, so it is important to discuss this part of his identity. At one point in his life, he may have agreed with the students' tactics. However, as he aged, gained more experience, or grew into a more comfortable lifestyle, his views changed. There are many factors that could have influenced his mindset change. Even as Participant #3 critiques the students, he does not condemn Rhodes Must Fall as a whole. He is able to separate his disagreements over the tactics used with the fact that they are working toward the same goal. Participant #3 has found a balance of supporting the students in their goals, but speaking out against the violent aspects of Rhodes Must Fall.

iv. Impatience with Gradual Change

The black women who participated were much less willing to consider ideas similar to those suggested by Participant #3 involving conversation and negotiation. As an activist and woman who identifies with both Patriarchy Must Fall and Rhodes Must Fall at UCT, Participant #6 described her frustrations with the current state. She said, "In spaces where you only talk, it doesn't lead to any action that is tangible or concrete. What we are doing now is slow and safeguards the people we are trying to fight" (Participant #6, personal communication, April 26, 2016). Even though changes have been made as a result of the Fallist movements, there is a strong sentiment that these are not enough. During a discussion in a residential hall, Participant #4 expressed similar ideas about the lack of true progress. The group was discussing how acceptable it is to excuse people for holding racist ideas, for whatever the reason. One woman said that, yes it's slow, but at least some progress has been made. In response, Participant #4 said: "When we use terms like 'gradual' we are setting

ourselves back and slowing down the process" (Participant #4, personal communication, April 24, 2016). In her mind, being comfortable with gradual change is not ambitious enough. It is a way to keep perpetuating the same systems and allow people to pat themselves on the back for little to no real change.

Participant #6 took her beliefs further, explaining that conversations with administration at UCT have been slow, but also have forced oppressed people to enter into violent spaces. She expressed anger that oppressed people were forced to agree to compromises with their oppressors. From her perspective, the conversations and negotiations were violent and were not worth the potential trauma they produced. Participant #6 said, "It forces people who are oppressed by patriarchy and norms to put themselves into situations that are oppressive and try to face violence for the benefit of their oppressors so they may learn" (Participant #6, personal communication, April 26, 2016). This anger has led her to a place where she feels there is no point in continuing conversations at this point in time. Participant #6 came to the conclusion: "I'm done talking. I'm done trying to explain to you. Maybe this time you'll listen then change your ways" (Participant #6, personal communication, April 26, 2016). By using more aggressive tactics, she hopes the university will be forced to take the conversations seriously, rather than appeasing the group in the short-term.

Participant #6 was explicit about her ideas of tactics for Patriarchy Must Fall, Rhodes Must Fall, and the future of activism at UCT. Based on the lack of change in the current state, Participant #6 feels they need to change their tactics to get people to take them seriously. She acknowledged in this circumstance, she was not speaking on behalf of Patriarchy Must Fall, but only for her own views. Participant #6 said, "We need a sense of militancy where we come in and say, 'stop this.' It's an unapologetic and almost aggressive because we've been soft and coddling and it hasn't worked. What that militancy looks like, I don't know" (Participant #6, personal communication, April 26, 2016). For Participant #6, these tactics are harmful to activists and to those who are oppressed. Peaceful protests can lead to backlash from police or others as a response. Participant #6 says being a woman makes these spaces an even greater risk. Because of this, she does not see these tactics as appropriate. She says with peaceful protests, "You are continually putting yourself in situations that you know are going to be violent. I just want to go in there, wreak havoc, and then see what they do afterward. It's so easy now to turn an apathetic eye now" (Participant #6, personal communication, April 26, 2016). These spaces are risky, and it allows people to ignore what was happening. In cases

when Rhode Must Fall used arguably violent tactics, they have grabbed the attention of the students and administration.

In the cases of the black women participants, it makes sense that they are some of the most open to militaristic tactics. They are oppressed both because of their gender and skin color. They have been fighting injustice on several fronts, and were the most frustrated participants I encountered during my research. Participant #6 talked about how protests have been particularly dangerous for women activists. They have been subjected to violent backlash in more extreme ways than men. The layers in which gender and race have influenced these women's thinking may have pushed them to be more extreme. These issues are impacting their lives daily, so they are less patient with slow progress.

v. Defending Militant Tactics

Participant #5 was instrumental in starting the protest movements, so he believes the tactics of Rhodes Must Fall are justified. He talked about the lack of dialogue before Rhodes Must Fall began, and credits the aggressive tactics to the space that has been created to discuss racial justice. Participant #5 has ambition beyond conversation, though. For him, "The logical conclusion from the beginning has always been about the land. It was never about the statue" (Participant #5, personal communication, April 25, 2016). Land redistribution is the solution for Participant #5 and he understands this is not an easy task. The amount of progress made so far is not enough. He will not settle until his idea of justice has been reached. Participant #5 explained his thinking after Fees Must Fall:

"There's not too much to celebrate because there won't be fee increases this year, but what about next year? So we're back to square one. For people who thought that zero increment was some kind of victory, they pulled out of the movement and only a few were left fighting" (Participant #5, personal communication, April 25, 2016). Some people saw their work to be done after this achievement, and this made it difficult to keep the momentum going. As soon as there was a small victory, a lot of people got quiet and went back to their old ways. Participant #5 felt this was wrong because there is still a lot of work to be done. When the oppressors compromise on one small thing, a lot of people lose their activist drive. The progress made is only the beginning, and some people have forgotten this.

The women in the residential hall discussion shared sentiments, only they talked about how Mandela's compromise on land left black people just as poor as under Apartheid (personal communication, April 24, 2016). They debated whether or not Mandela really brought freedom to Black South Africans. They concluded that claiming the vote was not

enough to undo the damage done under Apartheid. They recognized the symbolic nature of the progress in that situation, but realized that if one looks at the changes, they are smaller than they are made out to be. The women concluded the same things were happening currently at UCT. The rhetoric was all about the massive amounts of change that had taken place in the past year, but they were hesitant to agree with this claim. Some of the women called for aggressive tactics because the changes to be made are so extreme that the measures taken must also be drastic.

Participant #5 discussed militant tactics of other groups in response to Rhodes Must Fall. He described the disruption of the opening of the Rhodes Must Fall exhibit, "Echoing Voices from Within." An exhibition dedicated to the Rhodes Must Fall protest movements at UCT was disrupted by the Trans Collective, where they drew red paint on the displays and laid in passage ways, blocking entrance to the exhibition on the opening day. Participant #5 was instrumental in designing and producing the exhibition. Instead of getting upset with the disruption after the work and time spent putting it together, he said: "We can't go and disrupt people and then turn around and say 'you can't do that to us'," (Participant #5, personal communication, April 25, 2016). This perspective was unexpected to me, because I had assumed he would have been angry with another group stealing the attention from Rhodes Must Fall. His response shows a level of understanding in his activism. He recognizes the criticism Rhodes Must Fall receives and the right others have to work to be included in the movement. Participant #5 sees disruptive tactics as effective for his group, and understands others are going to use the same tactics.

iv. Analysis

The spectrum of opinions on the tactics of Rhodes Must Fall reach are vast and confusing. Each person had a different account of the same events. Whether the protests were an act of terrorism, or a response to police violence, it is clear there is no way to conclude on a single narrative of UCT voices. Participants shaped their opinions based on aspects of their identities. These identities either increased support for the movements or drove them farther away. Each person that condemned the movement had one reason or another to shut down the protesters. These came from age, gender, race, country of origin, language, sexual orientation, associated groups or organizations, and many other identities. Within this study, each of these identities came up as a factor for why a participant viewed the protest tactics the way he or she did. As members of Rhodes Must Fall has seen, these identities come in

conflict with each other and have produced conflict between Fallist groups struggling to be inclusive and allow their voices to be heard.

3. Progress has been Made

i. Sparking Conversations

It took some members of the UCT community a while to feel the storm brewing that was Fallism. The people with the most privilege felt the effects the latest. Participant #2 shared his observations of the impact of Fallism on his life. He said, "I think most of the campus was more or less unaffected until Fees Must Fall. Either they are going to focus on work or leisure time" (Participant #2, personal communication, April 14, 2016). From his perspective, Rhodes Must Fall was insignificant to his life, and to that of most of the campus. This speaks volumes to how people pay attention to things that effect their identity. This white man hardly took notice of the events until they disrupted his life and forced him to listen. This was due to more militaristic tactics that forced people like him to notice and garnered attention from the media.

No matter how long it took for people to notice, eventually Fallism spurred conversations across the campus and South Africa. When Participant #5 began conversations with Chumani Maxwele and others that initiated the action, he expressed that something was simmering. He said that people already held negative feelings about the Rhodes statue and the racial injustice at UCT, but: "People were scared of critiquing it. I'm not saying there weren't attempts before, but this time it was different because it gained momentum in a very short amount of time, as if people were waiting for someone to stand up so they could rally around them" (Participant #5, personal communication, April 25, 2016). The moment human feces hit the Rhodes statue, it sparked controversy, and therefore debate and conversation. This was a key goal of the group of students who conceptualized the feces on the statue protest. Participant #5 explained their logic, saying: "You have to deal with these types of symbols so you can open the a dialogical space. Not for the sake of dialogue, but so you can ask, 'how do we move forward so those previously marginalized can take place in these spaces?'" (Participant #5, personal communication, April 25, 2016). Rhodes Must Fall's main goal was to begin conversations and increase awareness of racism at UCT. At the end of the day, conversations were never enough. They set their sights to move forward, which ultimately led to aggressive tactics to make it happen faster.

ii. Student Groups becoming Intersectional

For some more privileged students, this was the first time becoming aware of the injustices at UCT. As a response, some student organizations worked to become more knowledgeable in Black Consciousness and critical in their own lives. This critical thinking was evident in the Green Campus Initiative, as articulated by Participant #7: "This is the first time we have been thinking about it in light of black consciousness. One of the criticism [of environmentalism] is there really isn't that diverse of a population there. It seems like environmentalism is a problem of the privileged" (Participant #7, personal communication, April 26, 2016). The Green Campus Initiative created the Institutional Development chair position (in which Participant #7 occupies) as a result of the Fallist activism. They are working to critically analyze their own group's workings to understand how it can be intersectional with racial injustice. Participant #7 explains how he has begun to grapple with the intersections between his passion and racism. He explains, "Sustainability enterprises have failed people of color and marginalized people. The language of sustainability is so dominated by the English language. We are learning how to challenge the exclusivity of environment based on the language" (Participant #7, personal communication, April 26, 2016). The militaristic tactics of Fallism has challenged other organizations to reconsider their actions and thinking. It has sparked conversation among student groups, but also provoked them to become more conscious of their privilege and place in activism. Even if the organizations are seemingly disconnected, Rhodes Must Fall has forced organizations to change in accordance with their protest messages.

iii. Changes in the Classroom

UCT student activism has impacted the way classroom dynamics operate in several different ways. Participant #3 offered his perspective on the change in academic life since Rhodes Must Fall. For a professor's standpoint, he said: "There's been a major, major change both in terms of, I think white members of staff aren't as assuming as they were before. In terms of everyday, one can see that this movement did shake the culture of day to day interaction" (Participant #3, personal communication, April 19, 2016). He talked about the difficulty black students faced because white professors made unfair assumptions and treated them without respect. He described how some professors would target black students with no consequences. Besides the attitudes of students, there have been formal steps to revise the curriculum to be less Western-centric. In many ways, both formal and informal measures have been taken to combat the institutional racism residing at UCT.

In addition, Participant #3 talked of the changes in confidence of black students in classrooms. He talks of the ways he has observed changes in black students on campus:

"It has had an enormous impact on the students. It has freed them up to speak in class in ways they never did before. White students are put in a place they never have been in before. Now they know what it means to be disadvantaged. It's interesting because now they have to depend on the black students. We are teaching these new ideas from the black world and white students are lost. They often rely on the black students" (Participant #3, personal communication, April 19, 2016).

The confidence levels of black students has increased for numerous reasons, some of which are as a result of curriculum changes, but also because of the general conversation on campus. Black students, as Participant #5 mentioned, needed something to rally around. They had been feeling racism on campus for longer than the past year, but now it is much more talked about. In this way, students are validated in their feelings and can find people that feel the same way.

Ethical Reflexivity

My goal was to provide a space for alternative voices to be heard. Activists are often criticized and I worked to portray them in a way that proves they are not 'just kids' who do not think of the consequences or being ungrateful. There are many sects of activist groups that have felt silenced by the dominating Rhodes Must Fall, and I have worked to include those voices in my research. I wanted to portray activists as complex, thoughtful, intelligent people who deserve to be commended for their activism.

Privacy and confidentiality were essential parts of my research. I recognized the fact that some activists could be subject to prosecution for their actions. Because of this, I was careful to protect the identities of the students so they do not reveal anything that could give away their identities or get them in trouble. Often, I asked questions in general terms, not about specific involvement. This way, they never had to discuss events that were sensitive or traumatic to them personally. I did not include anything specific that could lead to the danger of the participants. I explained the consent form to each of the participants and made sure they signed it before we began. Because some of the participants referred me to others who I eventually interviewed, I chose to keep all participant names confidential in order to ensure safety. Some of them said I could use their names, but I decided it would be most ethical to keep them all confidential.

My positionality was extremely important to consider before I conducted my interviews. I am first and foremost an outside coming in to interview activists about a topic they are passionate about and one in which they have received a lot of criticism. I am an American woman, which has a lot of power in and of itself. I am an outsider to the country, to the university, and to the tensions that reside in it. Therefore, I came across times when students did not wish to be interviewed because they likely did not trust me to protect their safety and listen without judgment. This happened specifically with the Trans Collective. I worked to fight against this to explain in my initial emails the reasons behind my research. I explained my personal story of hearing criticism of activism and hoped that this made them trust me a little more. It worked in some cases, but a lot of times, unless I was able to be referred to by someone they knew or meet them in person, I received no response.

I am white, which was another major hindrance to my research and made it difficult to get started. I am part of an oppressive force, and no matter what, I will always hold the privilege they are fighting against. They may not have trusted me because of my whiteness. Also, their answers were very well shaped because of this fact. Multiple times while I was

sitting in on group discussions, someone would feel the need to say, "it's not white people I hate. It's whiteness. No offense." I worked to show them I was not offended and appreciated their honesty. However, several students felt the need to clarify this point, which I am sure is because of my whiteness. Had it been a space of only black students, that clarification would not have been necessary.

I am a fellow college student and would consider myself an activist, so I emphasized these identities to help us relate. I hope that my perspective of understanding, learning, and standing up for the activists allowed me to establish the rapport necessary to conduct interviews with quality, honest responses. Right away in any interview with a black activist, I made sure to acknowledge my earnestness to learn, but also that I recognized as a white person, I will never truly understand. For example, at one point, a participant was trying to remember what the TRC stood for, and I reminded her it was 'committee.' She laughed that I knew and she did not, but I responded, saying, "Yeah I study this stuff so I know what it means, but you have lived the effects of this, so it's really not much." I hope by acknowledging the differences in our understanding of these issues helped the participants feel comfortable and less frustrated than they may have.

There are a lot of factors I could not control during my interviews and who I interviewed. I was completely dependent on who replied to my messages (and pleas) in the short amount of time I was conducting research. However, being reflective and conscious of my position, my outsider status, and what I am trying to achieve has made this study ethical. Working to understand this viewpoint is different than a lot of dominant narratives. This research is ethical in trying to expose voices that are not often able to explain themselves. The voices may be heard in certain settings, but not in a way that they are able to articulate the reasoning and strategy behind their actions. One major point of criticism of the Rhodes Must Fall movement is its lack of inclusivity of marginalized groups. I sought to reach out to different groups that formed as a result of Rhodes Must Fall, learning their perspective and how they view the activism on campus.

My study aims to challenge dominant narratives and encourage a hesitant audience to reconsider their beliefs of violent activism. This research is something that is extremely relevant in the United States, and it is possible this study could help open eyes of those with similar dominant narratives about activism in that country as well. The special thing about universities in South Africa is that their activism has a huge breadth and has accomplished many goals in the past year. Activism is spreading through the air, and I am lucky enough to

live here during a time where there is so much change and so much to learn from students' passion and beliefs.

Recommendations:

Fallism does not seem to be slowing down at UCT, so as time progresses, there will likely be more events that shape the opinions of the community. In the future, it would be helpful to gain even more perspectives of students and faculty. It would be helpful to include the perspective of a white faculty member, more activists within Rhodes Must Fall, more voices from the Coloured community, and students who are not involved in any form of political or social activism.

I asked their opinion of Fallism, but it would be interesting to see what each participant's perspective of their own influences would be. Asking them what they see as factors influencing their beliefs about activism and racial justice could provide further insight into these issues.

In addition, it would be useful to collect data from areas surrounding the UCT campus to gain a further understanding of how identity shapes understanding of protests and activism. Students at UCT have a certain level of privilege to attend the university, so it would be necessary to gain the opinions of young people who are not attending university.

There are a lot of routes to go because this topic is so new, but these are the recommendations to further the current study to gain a more holistic perspective of the campus climate with regards to Fallism.

Conclusion

Rhodes Must Fall has stirred up drama, controversy, and massively differing opinions since its beginning. It, and the other Fallist movements that have come as a result of it, continue to keep South Africa on its toes, pushing for conversation, change, and justice for Black South Africans. Fallism has kept itself in the forefront of attention, sometimes brushing over voices or feelings of people who are not on board. The spectrum of conversations provoked by Rhodes Must Fall falls anywhere from noticing institutional racism for the first time, to finally being able to talk about racial injustice that has been experienced for one's entire life. No matter the beginning point of each person affected by Rhodes Must Fall, the group has challenged their held beliefs and pushed them to face the reality they may have previously ignored.

Rhodes Must Fall has employed aggressive tactics -- from its inception, it has intended to be a spectacle that will finally get people to notice. They have pushed administration, students, and Parliament to a point where they must be acknowledged and taken seriously. For groups of students who may have been able to skirt past the prevalent racism at UCT, they were stopped in their tracks when Rhodes Must Fall demanded they take a hard look at themselves. Some people were more responsive to the demand than others, but whatever conclusion they drew, they thought about race and their position at UCT.

It is clear from the participant responses that divisions riddle Fallism. Identities clash, oppressed voices continue to be silenced, and the group has fractured as people prioritize justice in different ways. Each person has a unique perspective on Rhodes Must Fall actions and what it means for them and the university. Depending on their positionality and experiences, it has shaped their view of Rhodes Must Fall and their willingness to see the tactics as productive, not simply destructive. For participants with more privilege, it was harder for them to understand the need to extreme tactics. They felt the instability was more harmful than the experienced oppression of other students. Participants that experienced various levels of oppression based on gender or racial identity found it easier to see the logic behind Rhodes Must Fall's actions. The divisions within Fallists provoked questions that did not have easy answers. The students are working to navigate the intricate intersections of race, class, gender, sexual orientation, among other forms of identity.

The students are working together against a common goal of colonialism, despite the differences and difficulties in being inclusive. Even as a member of Patriarchy Must Fall, a group that was formed as a response to patriarchal injustice within Rhodes Must Fall,

Participant #6 expressed a kind of unity among the groups: "Fallism -- it is almost a political ideology, if you will. We are aiming to bring down all oppressive structures and are radical" (Participant #6, personal communication, April 26, 2016). Though it stemmed from Rhodes Must Fall, many other conversations have begun about various forms of oppression at UCT and across South Africa. Fallism has grown to represent more than throwing feces at a statue. It is an entire movement of students who say the rainbow nation is a myth. They have stood up against the rhetoric that their lives are good enough because they are better than before. The ideology of Fallism has allowed people to identify with it, and feel a part of the organization, even if they are not on the front lines of the latest protest. Participant #6 explains this inclusivity: "It's not so much that one is part of the organization, that you can identify all the members, but rather any political movement is that if you identify with the politics that the movement has and is striving for, then you are part of that movement" (Participant #6, personal communication, April 26, 2016). The greater identity of being a Fallist trumps the differences between the groups. Fallism is a mutual understanding among students that oppression exists at UCT, and they are willing to include anyone who wishes to overcome this. They are open to the first year student in the residential hall discussion who asked, "what is this 'black pain' you keep mentioning?" (personal communication, April 24, 2016) and the environmentalist who is first learning of his privilege, and also to those who experience black pain and are ready to channel that anger. Fallism creates the utmost solidarity, despite its differences.

This solidarity is reflected in the groups' willingness to support each other's struggle. Their shared ideology often leads them to the same spaces. Participant #6 said: "Any action of the words decolonization of the university, of education system, Patriarchy Must Fall will gladly be involved" (Participant #6, personal communication, April 26, 2016). Even though she is critical of the patriarchal standards within Rhodes Must Fall, in the end, they work together toward a common goal. This was most easily shown in Fees Must Fall, where universities full of students who had never met, rose up together to fight injustice. The students across the country made waves and forced the government to pay attention and take action to meet their demands. This may not have been possible without the solidarity of the Fallist ideology.

Participant #3 talked about his perspective as a professor on the happenings on campuses across South Africa. Participant #3 decided the tactics, the spectacles, the ways in which students protest are small compared to the greater message.:

"History always tells when young people raise issues, those issues we raised in our own time. People said we were being trouble makers and being violent, but frankly those actions have created a lot of change. So it's important to look at what's happening to places like UCT as part of a historical movement. In the broader scheme of things, none of the stuff would have happened if it wasn't a real issue. Instead of being submissive and self-righteous, you must listen to the students" (Participant #3, personal communication, April 19, 2016).

Fallism is already making history. There are parallels to student protests under Apartheid ruling, and in that case, students were criticized and silenced by the dominant voices, similar to the experiences of students now. These shared stories should be enough to challenge people to consider the reasoning behind the protest tactics, the arguments in favor of their moves, and a humbling recognition of the long, long way South Africa has to go to achieve these goals. The beauty of the youth movements, is they believe it to be possible to take strides to achieve racial justice. They are fired up, and are not afraid to ruffle feathers in order to create change. When I asked Participant #5 to talk about his role in Rhodes Must Fall, he began by establishing: "First of all, I am a Fallist, a decolonialist" (Participant #5, personal communication, April 25, 2016). This sums up the hope that the Fallist movement brings to South Africa. If a group can maintain an attitude of solidarity and support, they will be able to band together to create change.

Glossary of Terms

Black: A contested racial identity put in place during Apartheid, but reclaimed by some activists crediting Steve Biko to include any oppressed person

Black Pain: A shared feeling of oppression based on the racial identity of being black, colonialist history, and the continual racism faced by a specific group of people

Fallism: An ideology started after the Rhodes Must Fall protests that includes activism against remaining traces of colonialism at universities in South Africa

Fallist: A person who identifies with the Fallist ideology

Patriarchy: A system of oppression that provides males with a privileged place in society

SRC: Student Representative Council, a student governing body at UCT

UCT: University of Cape Town

Violence: A highly contested term that really cannot be defined in one sentence. For the purposes of this paper, this will be defined as any action or inaction that causes harm or destruction to a person or persons or property.

Whiteness: A system of oppression that provides people who are identified as white with a privileged place in society based on hundreds of years of oppression

Appendix

A. Interview Questions

NOTE: Questions varied for each interview. Not all questions were asked in each interview. Some were specific for certain participants.

INTRO:

- How have you been involved in the activism on campus?
- Why did you get involved?
- What is your history of activism?

DEFINITIONS:

- This whole time I've been struggling to describe the actions of the protests. What language or words do you use to describe the actions of the protesters?

CRITICISM:

- What media coverage have you seen about the protests?
- What criticism have you heard about the protests?
- How do you respond to the criticism?
- A lot of criticism I've heard have called student protests "violent," "destructive," "vandalism", "immature" etc. How do you respond to this?
- How would you explain and justify your tactics to these critics?

GOALS/EFFECTIVENESS:

- What are the goals of Rhodes Must Fall?
- What are the goals of the protest aspect of the group?
- What would you consider an effective protest?

TACTICS:

- What tactics have been used during activism at UCT?
- How have these tactics changed overtime? With lack of administrative response?
- Which tactics have led to the greatest success, according to you?
- How have RMF tactics been used to create change?
- What do you think of the tactics used during protests at UCT?

GENERAL:

- What has it been like to be on campus during protests?
- How do you feel the student body as a whole has responded?
- How has the campus changed since the protests began?
- How have you felt in relation to your classmates since the protests began?
- What is your standpoint on the protests?

IDEAS ON WHAT TO DO:

- Have you or members of your group discussed the racial tensions and inequalities at UCT?
- What do you think needs to be done about the racial inequalities?
- How should these things best be achieved?

PROFESSOR

- How do you see your role on campus?
- What provoked you to write the articles about the lack of black professors and the chink in the ANC's armour?
- What kind of a response did you get after the publications?

- What are your goals as a professor in this era?
- At least from your article, it appears you are a mentor or role model to the activists. How do you live out this role?
- What do you see as the biggest priority as far as racial justice at UCT?
- How have the protests changed the dynamics socially, politically, or otherwise at UCT?

LIBERTARIAN:

- You're a Libertarian organization. What does that look like in Cape Town?
- What are the main goals of your organization?.
- What are the demographics of the club? Class, sex, race, etc.
- My main focus is on student activism and the protests happening here. How has the ASFL responded to the protests?

PATRIARCHY MUST FALL:

- How did Patriarchy Must Fall begin?
- How has Patriarchy Must Fall worked with other Fallist groups?
- What are the main goals of Patriarchy Must Fall?
- What relationship does Patriarchy Must Fall have with Rhodes Must Fall?
- What criticism do you have of Rhodes Must Fall?
- What are your hopes for the future of Fallism?

GREEN CAMPUS INITIATIVE:

- What are the goals of Green Campus Initiative?
- What is your role as Institutional Development chair?
- What (if anything) have you done to support Rhodes Must Fall?

ENDING:

- Who else should I talk to?
- Is there anything I haven't asked you that is important to talk about?
- What needs to be said about the protesters and protests at UCT?

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Consent to Use of Independent Study Project (ISP)

Student Name: Laura Isdahl

Title of ISP: Student Protests at UCT: an analysis of UCT community's opinions of tactics used by the Fallist movement

Program and Term: Multiculturalism and Human Rights South Africa, Spring 2016

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