Discursive psychological analysis on the construction and performance of identity through rights talk on social media related to #FeesMustFall

Research report submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts with Cwk/Thesis
in Clinical Psychology.

Rhodes University

By

Tumelo Thabo Mashaba
(G13M0944)
Supervisor: Werner Bohmke

October 2018

Acknowledgement

I would like to extend a significant sense of gratitude to my supervisor Werner Bohmke. Thank you sincerely for the assistance in terms of editing, commentary, patience and direction provided. Your supervision helped to ensure that I had an in-depth process of conducting a research project. I am truly thankful for the time that you volunteered to supervise me. I would also like to extend gratitude towards my mother and brother Daisy and Tumiso Mashaba. Where the pride they feel over my accomplishments and emotional support pushes me to achieve more.

Abstract

#FeesMustFall emerged at the end of 2015 after an announcement that tuitions would increase. The student protests occurred across higher education institutions within the country in which mass shutdowns were initiated, there was the presence of violence and the use of social media. The protests occurred in 2016 but experienced a shift in tone in terms of the violence present in the protests. The research sought to unpack how identity was constructed and performed through rights talk in regards to #FeesMustFall on social media. The methodology worked from a social constructionist perspective where the research consisted of a discursive psychological analytical approach to the texts presented. The discursive repertoires that were identified were: emotions repertoire; struggle repertoire; apartheid repertoire; racial repertoire; and rights repertoire. The subject positions revealed through the repertoires indicated that protesters and supporters constructed and performed their identity in particular ways. They were positioned as black; working class; victims who are enacting a sense of agency; denied their rights; have moral authority and are a parallel to the protesters under apartheid. The repertoire of struggle, racial and apartheid all link with each other. The rights repertoire is the foundation and the emotions repertoire is the tone of the student protests.

Contents

Acknowledgements.....i
Abstract.....ii
CHAPTER 1: Context..... 1
1.1)#FeesMustFall..... 1
1.1.1.)Brief overview of #FeesMustFall..... 1
1.1.2.) the rising popularity of #Fallist Student Movements in 2015..... 2
1.1.3.)#FeesMustFall 2016.....3
1.1.4.)Social media and #FeesMustFall..... 5
1.1.5.) Violence in the protests.....5
1.1.6.)Rights..... .6
1.2.) Post-apartheid South Africa…….....6
1.2.1.)Dawn after 1994 .....……6
1.2.2.) Racism and race relations…….....7
1.2.3.) Poverty, inequality, education and socio-economic status……...……8
1.3.) State of higher education in South Africa.....10
1.3.1.) A shrinking Higher Education sector…….....10
1.3.2.) Funding…….....11
1.3.3.) Transformation at higher education institutions……...12
1.3.4.) Past student protests……..14
1.4.) Conclusion…….....16

CHAPTER 2: Theoretical Orientation/framework.....19
2.)Introduction.....19
2.1.)Social Constructionism.....19
2.2.)Discourse and Discursive Psychology..... 20
2.3.)Positioning theory..... 22
2.4.)Identity.....24
2.4.1.) Traditional views on identity…….....24
2.4.2.) Social constructionist views on identity…….....24
2.4.3.) Identity and Performativity……...25
2.4.4.) Discourse and identity…….....26
2.5.) Social media, identity and politics……27
2.5.1.) Social media and identity…….27

2.5.2.) Social media and politics……..28
2.5.3.) Identity and politics……..30
2.6.) Conclusion.....32

CHAPTER 3: Methodology..... 33
3.1.) Introduction.....33
3.2.) Research design and methodology..... 33
3.2.1.)Broad approach to the research topic.....33
3.2.2.) Theoretical paradigm: social constructionism……..…35
3.2.3.) Methodological Orientation: Discourse Theory and Discursive Psychology …….....36
3.2.4.) Aims of the research…….....37
3.3.)Collection of textual material for analysis.....37
3.4.)Method of Discourse analysis.....39
3.5.)Validation criteria.....41

CHAPTER 4: Results..... 43
4.1. Discursive repertoire of emotions.....43
4.1.1.) Construction……..43
4.1.1.1.) Emotive language…….....44
4.1.1.2.) Marginalization and Violence……45
4.1.1.3.) Primacy of experience……46
4.1.2.) Variation within the discursive repertoire of emotions…….48
4.1.3.) Subject positions within the discursive repertoire of emotions……49
4.1.4.) Function of the discursive repertoire of emotions……51
4.2.)Discursive repertoire of struggle..... 52
4.2.1.) Construction of the struggle repertoire…….52
4.2.1.1.) Injustice……..52
4.2.1.2.) emotions…….....54
4.2.1.3.) Non-violence…….....55
4.2.2) Positioning effects of the struggle repertoire.....56
4.2.3.) Function of the struggle repertoire……58
4.3.) Discursive repertoire of apartheid……59
4.3.1.) Construction of the discursive repertoire of Apartheid…….59
4.3.1.1.) Institutional racism…….....59

4.3.1.2.) State Force……61
4.3.2.) Subject-positionings within the discursive repertoire of Apartheid……61
4.3.3.) Function of the discursive repertoire of apartheid……64
4.4.) Racial discursive repertoire……..65
4.4.1.) Construction of the racial discursive repertoire……65
4.4.1.1.) Whiteness embedded in structures and institutions……...65
4.4.1.2.) Race, class and privilege……....67
4.4.1.3.) Victimization of black students……..68
4.4.2.) Variation within the racial discursive repertoire……...69
4.4.3.) Subject-positionings within the racial discursive repertoire……71
4.4.4.) Function of the racial discursive repertoire……...72
4.5.) Discursive repertoire of rights……..73
4.5.1.) Construction of the discursive repertoire of rights……...73
4.5.1.1.) Explicit rights talk…….....73
4.5.1.2.) Right to an education……74
4.5.1.3.) Right to protest…….....75
4.5.1.4.) Right to dignity…….....76
4.5.1.5.) Right to freedom from discrimination…….....77
4.5.2.) Positionings in the discursive repertoire of rights…….....78
4.5.3.) Function of the discursive repertoire of rights……..80
4.6.) Discussion……82
4.6.1.) The links between the struggle, apartheid and racial repertoires……..82
4.6.2.) The rights repertoire as foundation……...85
4.6.3.) Emotions repertoire as tone of the student protests……..88
4.6.4.) Implications of the repertoires…….....89
4.6.4.1.) Function of the repertoires…….....89
4.6.4.2.) Subject-positionings of the repertoires…….....90
4.6.4.3.) Identity construction of the repertoires……..92

CHAPTER 5: Discussion of results.....96
5.1.) Summary of main findings……....96
5.1.1.) Categories of participant and interactional contexts…….....96

5.1.2.) Discursive repertoire of emotions…….....97
5.1.3.) Discursive repertoire of struggle…….....98
5.1.4.) Discursive repertoire of Apartheid……..100
5.1.5.) Racial discursive repertoire…….....102
5.1.6.) Discursive repertoire of rights…….103
5.2.) Validation criteria……105
5.3.) Strengths and limitations……....107
5.4.) Future recommendations……109
References.....111

Chapter 1: Context

1.1.) #FeesMustFall:

1.1.1) Brief overview of #FeesMustFall:

The #FeesMustFall student protests were a significant event in post-apartheid South Africa (Booysen, 2016). Both in 2015 and 2016, there were large scale student protests across many higher education institutions, predominantly at universities. #FeesMustFall was kick-started in 2015 after an announcement that tuition and other fees for higher education institutions would be increased (Booysen, 2016). Although the annual announcement of fee increases was not a new phenomenon, the proposed fee increases in 2015 were quite substantial in regards to previous years. In response, on the 19th October of 2015, students at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) organized a shutdown of the University (Booysen, 2016). This shutdown appeared to spark shutdowns of other universities nationally. Prior to the #FeesMustFall protests in the later stages of 2015, there had been other student protests around issues of transformation, accommodation and decolonialisation (Booysen & Bandama, 2016). Primarily what #FeesMustFall protests were concerned with, was achieving free decolonized education (Booysen, 2016).

Both in 2015 and 2016 there were instances of violence from protesters but also the state, however in 2016 there was a sense that that the level of violence had increased (Booysen, 2016). The protests in 2016 began due to the announcement that higher education institutions would be able to set an 8% increase on fees for the 2017 academic year, after there had been a 0% increase for the previous academic year in response to the protests that took place at the end of 2015 (Booysen, 2016). This announcement, in which Higher Education Institutions were given room to set their own increases, came in the context of a scheduled report back from the higher education commission on funding in higher education which never materialized until around September 2016 (Booysen & Bandama, 2016). There were accounts of buildings being burnt down at UFH, UJ, NWU and TUT to name a few; students assaulted and violently arrested; and violent altercations between the students and the police (Booysen & Bandama, 2016).

Social media was highly prevalent during the #FeesMustFall protests in 2015 and 2016. Social media as a medium was used by student protesters in their engagement with the student protests (Luescher, 2016). The student protests revealed that social media was actively used by student

protesters to mobilize, communicate and cultivate a sense of identity in relation to the #FeesMustFall protests (Qambela, 2016). Included in this section is an extension on the aspect of social media within #FeesMustFall. Chapter 2 includes a detailed discussion on social media, politics and identity formation.

1.1.2.) The rising popularity of #Fallist Student Movements in 2015

#FeesMustFall, particularly in 2015, was a significant culmination of a large number of student protests in that year across the country (Luescher, 2016a). Perhaps the catalyst was a student protest concerned around the removal of Cecil John Rhodes Statue at the University of Cape Town starting in 9 March 2015 (South African history Online, 2015). The protest was aptly named #RhodesMustFall (South African history Online, 2015). The #RhodesMustFall student protest was centered on the notion of transformation in the institution and the sense that little transformation had occurred and that the institutional space and culture was experienced as a colonial space symbolized by the statue of Cecil John Rhodes, who - as a representative of British Colonial government of South Africa and a leading figure in the development of the colonial minerals industry – has been historically linked to the oppression of black people in this country (Luescher, 2016a). This particular protest is believed to have kick started a number of other student protests across other universities (South African history Online, 2015).

At Rhodes University – named after the aforementioned Cecil Rhodes - there were student-led campaigns, beginning with #RhodesSoWhite and the establishment of the grassroots student group, Black Student Movement (BSM). #RhodesSoWhite was a protest at Rhodes University directed towards the institutional culture of the institution that was perceived to be catering towards white students and white staff (South African history Online, 2015). BSM had initiated a protest at the University around fees and vacation accommodation being made available for disadvantaged students (South African history Online, 2015). At Wits the preceding year there was a memorandum that was circulated titled #TransformWits. At the University of Stellenbosch there was a student protest titled #OpenStellies around the language policy at the University (South African History Online, 2015). The issue of language and medium of instruction were also sites of conflicts at the University of Pretoria, University of Free State and the University of the North West (Newswire, 2015). The issue of transformation in higher education institutions and decolonization was a significant theme of the student protests across the various institutions (South African history Online, 2015). As a result, the various student protests at HEI's in 2015 culminated in the #FeesMustFall protests and the focus of protest fell on fees, arguably because

high tuition costs are an indicator of exclusion and the lack of transformation of these institutions, over and above the curriculum and institutional culture.

#FeesMustFall was kick-started at the University of the Witwatersrand, where students initiated a shutdown of the University (Booysen, 2016; Newswire, 2015). This led to a chain reaction where other universities initiated their own shutdowns (South African history Online, 2015). In each protest at the various institutions there tended to be memorandums that were presented with demands from students that management of the universities were asked to engage with (Langa, 2017). The protests were met with police force in some cases where the result was often times violence, vandalism and arrests of student protesters (Langa, 2017). The effect of #FeesMustFall protests, resulted in the president of the country declaring that there would be a 0 % increment in fees for the 2016 academic year (Newswire, 2015). This was also followed by a government commission set up to look closely into the matter of University tuition and fee higher education (Booysen & Bandama, 2016).

At Rhodes University, #FeesMustFall protests in 2015 took on a noticeably different characteristic. Whilst at other institutions, there was a marked level of violence in response to the protesters as well as from the protesters themselves, at Rhodes the protest in 2015 was relatively non-violent (Meth, 2017). At Rhodes, students had gathered to discuss a plan of action in response to the announcement of increase in fees which resulted in students setting up barricades (Meth, 2017). During the protests, students had disrupted lectures and shut down the University through the use of blockades (Meth, 2017). It was noticeable that lecturers had also joined in the protest to show solidarity with the students (Meth, 2017). The protests at Rhodes in 2015 was also noticeable due to the relative absence of police and private security on campus (Meth, 2017), as well as open and fairly non-acrimonious engagements between student protesters and University management, culminating in a University-wide protest march through the city of Grahamstown.

1.1.3.) #FeesMustFall 2016:

In 2016, there were still protests occurring at universities. The kinds of protests that were present not only included the issue of fees, but also issues around student accommodation, the language policies, the issue of outsourcing, financial exclusion and the significant issue of sexual violence (Booysen, 2016). Throughout the year there appeared to be a significant shift in tone in comparison to the preceding year. Particularly the response of management of universities and

police response to protesters (Duncan, 2016; Langa, 2017). The shift in tone of responses to the protest is due to the impact that the shutdowns had on the institutions where, as a result of limited functioning under the previous protests, interdicts were taken out by the institutions to ensure that shutdowns were not permitted to occur (Duncan, 2016). These responses made room for heavy state force and in some instances the use of private security (Langa, 2017).

In regards to the state responses to renewed fees protests, reports from the media appear to indicate that there was a significant escalation in force from the police, which in turn appeared to facilitate a corresponding response of aggression on the part of the students (Duncan, 2015; Langa, 2017). The response of managements of various universities to dissenting voices and the use of police force to respond to protesters appears to have created a sense of hostility between the students and management (Duncan, 2016; Langa, 2017). This created a negative and polarized relationship among different bodies, making the environment on campuses quite polarized (Langa, 2017). Inevitably 2016 culminated in a second iteration of #FeesMustFall, however this particular version of the student protest had significant changes in comparison to the protests the previous year (Duncan, 2016).

At Rhodes University the tone of the students protests had changed from 2015 and 2016 (Meth, 2017). In particular, the presence of violence was significant at Rhodes in comparison to the year before (Meth, 2017). The initiation of violence on Rhodes campus originates with earlier student protests in same year - the #RUReferenceList protest and a student protest for the release of mid-year examination results. (Meth, 2017). The University shutdown and other protest strategies used during the #RUReferenceList protest in April 2016 prompted the University to seek an urgent legal interdict against certain types of protest action and the police were called onto campus. This inevitably led to the police using tear-gas, stun grenades and rubber bullets against protesting students (Meth, 2017). The confrontational and legalistic response of authorities to the #RUReferenceList protest arguably set the tone for subsequent student protests later in 2016, which were permeated by an atmosphere of student antagonism and mistrust towards University management, probably as a result of their experiences of significant emotional and physical trauma during the April protests (Meth, 2017). As a consequence of the events around the #RUReferenceList protest, the implications of the interdict against certain forms of protest activities and interactions between the police and student protesters carried over into #FeesMustFall 2016 where students once again sought to shut down the University and disrupt lectures (Meth, 2017). Tensions were high owing to the events surrounding the

#RUReferenceList protests of April 2016 (Meth, 2017). This unfortunately led to a number of students being shot at, arrested and buildings being damaged during the #FeesMustFall protests at the end of 2016 (Meth, 2017).

#FeesMustFall appeared to be a national student movement that had many participants and advocates. There have been prior student protests in post-apartheid South Africa, however #FeesMustFall appears to be quite significant (Langa, 2017). Due to the history of South Africa and the history of student revolts in South Africa, it is important that the context surrounding the #FeesMustFall protests is understood in order to see how and why they emerged.

1.1.4.) Social media and #FeesMustFall:

A key characteristic of the #FeesMustFall protests was the heavy use of social media. In particular what appeared to be the most used social media platforms were Facebook and Twitter (Baragwanath, 2016). The obvious benefit of twitter and to a lesser degree Facebook is their ability to be able to reach as many people as possible and keep up to date with developments as they occur (Bosch, 2017). The usefulness illustrated there was beneficial for how student protest groups mobilized, transferred lists of demands, facilitated engagement and kept the students, and to a lesser extent the general public, involved and up to date with the latest news and events (Luescher, Loader & Mugume, 2017). Another interesting facet of the use of social media during the protests was the engagement on social media platforms around the protests and issues that emerged (Qambela, 2016). There were issues that related to identity, disruptions of classes, protest tactics and general disagreements (Baragwanath, 2016; Qambela, 2016). There was literature and think pieces distributed online and on social media that attempted to engage intellectually with the student movement and what it meant for the country going forward (Hodes, 2017; Luescher, 2016b).

1.1.5.) Violence in the protests:

The presence of violence in the protests was a significant feature (Godsell, Lepere, Mafoko & Nase, 2016). The level of violence present in the protests was not confined to one particular side or grouping, but rather was present throughout (Ndelu, 2017). In particular violence from the state in the form of police presence and armed response, to violence from students against public/private property and responses to the presence of police force (Godsell et al., 2016; Lunga, 2017; Meth, 2017). The presence of police and security groups on campus was met with hostility, defiance and aggression that appears to have worsened relations between the student bodies and

senior management of the various universities. What appears to have happened is that continued escalation of attempts to silence dissenting voices caused students to respond more violently as a result of feeling that their voices are were not being heard (Godsell et al., 2016; Meth, 2017). The destruction of buildings, the burning of equipment, libraries and disruption of lessons, were attempts from protesters for their cries to be heard (Ndelu, 2017).

1.1.6.) Rights:

The talk of human rights was quite a prevalent theme throughout the #FeesMustFall protest in 2016 (Kamanzi, 2017). The topic of human rights tended to come up in the media and particularly on social media around issues of the right to protest, the right to assemble, the infringing of other people's rights, human dignity, protection of property, freedom from harm and importantly right to an education (Ebrahim, 2016; Grassow & Le Bruyns, 2017). In some way these kinds of rights were either directly expressed or alluded to in the media. Particularly the conversation on rights tended to focus quite heavily on the rights of students to protest and assemble and how that was being infringed upon by the state through the use of police force and by the senior management of the institutions through the serving of interdicts (Duncan, 2015). The conversation around human rights and rights more generally, tends to coincide with the aspect of divisions among the student body (Meth, 2017). Particularly in regards to the issue of people exercising their right to protest against people not having their rights infringed upon (Meth, 2017).

1.2.) Post-Apartheid South Africa:

This brief section will primarily discuss the setting of post-apartheid South Africa. The reason was to contextualize #FeesMustFall and the student protests within the broader social, political and economic context of the country. Since the end of the apartheid era and the transition to a democratic society several aspects of the post-apartheid landscape will be briefly outlined. These include: post 1994 optimism for transformation; racism and race relations; and poverty and inequality.

1.2.1.) Dawn after 1994:

Ngonyama (2012) cites Boyce (1999) who argued that the transition to democracy promised a sense of optimism for the future shared by many in the country. The year 1994 was seen by many as dawn of new era in South Africa (Ngonyama, 2012). Ngonyama (2012) notes that former president Mbeki argued for a new South Africa that would seek reconciliation, respect

diversity, a non-racist, non-sexist and more equitable society, where equality would be achieved and the sins of the Apartheid regime would become a distant memory. Ngonyama (2012) further states that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was created with the intention of reconciling past injustices under Apartheid. According to Pule (2012) and Reddy (1997), the TRC was conceptualized with the intention to help individuals overcome the trauma created under apartheid through coming together and sharing what happened. Van Zyl (1999) added that due to an amnesty being granted towards perpetrators of violence under apartheid, the TRC was set up to help mediate this fall out. Van der Walt, Franchi and Stevens (2003) argue that the TRC had less than desirable consequences. Van der Walt et al (2003) argued that the TRC failed to address structural issues that still permeate South Africa, failed to contextualize human-rights violations and failed to address the systemic inequality in the country. Stein et al. (2008) argued that the TRC provided mixed results with some individuals responding favourably while other showed stress and disappointment.

The hope that the newly elected ANC government would bring about change, transformation and address the inequalities of the past was a dream that a large portion of the population shared (Ngonyama, 2012). The manifestos of the ruling government illustrate the aims and goals of achieving a better South Africa for a majority of people (African National Congress, 2009; African National Congress, 2016). Goals of addressing poverty, crime, infrastructure, education and many more indicate the promises made by the government (Moller & Roberts, 2014). However the reality in Post-apartheid South Africa presents an uncomfortable image (Moller & Roberts, 2014).

1.2.2.) Racism and Race-relations:

The legacies of Apartheid and colonisation has had a significant impact on South Africa (Bornman, 2011). Whether overt or covert, racism and the years of struggle and oppression have had a serious effect on race relations (Moodley & Adam, 2000). Particularly in a country that is culturally and racially diverse, the concept of race is one that is deeply pervasive and influential (Bornman, 2011). Bornman (2006) argued that the concept of the rainbow nation was created with the hope of bringing different racial groups under a shared identity. When speaking about race, it is pervasive in the sense that it is present throughout society from who is disadvantaged, who is economically strong and who is marginalized (Ngonyama, 2012). This is due to the system of Apartheid and how it divided people across races and treated them differently (Van der Westhuizen, 2007). As a result different race groups received different access to resources which

meant that whites were treated better and blacks were treated the worst (Van der Westhuizen, 2007). This has resulted in significant inequality among the race groups in terms of access to resources, poverty, health, economic conditions and education (Van der Westhuizen, 2007). Ansell (2004) noted that race in South Africa is influential in the sense that race arguably structures who has power and influence in society. This has had the effect of tainting racial relations in post-apartheid South Africa with a high degree of uncertainty (Ngonyama, 2012). This uncertainty is usually polarized between deep levels of mistrust and hostility, and longing to bridge the racial divide (Ngonyama, 2012).

1.2.3.) Poverty, inequality, education and socio-economic status:

South Africa is widely recognized around the world as having one of the highest inequality gaps in the world (Dlamini, 2017). Dinokeng Scenarios (2008) as referenced by Ngonyama (2012) stated that South Africa is experiencing budget deficits, high poverty levels and massive unemployment. This has social implications in that the majority of the population is impoverished while a minority lives in relative stability (Ngonyama, 2012). In addition, wealth discrepancies reveal themselves along racial lines (Ngonyama, 2012). Broadly speaking the majority of people who are disadvantaged and impoverished are black, while the majority of people who are economically well-off / privileged are white (Ngonyama, 2012).

The huge economic inequality coupled with an increasing poverty level and relatively unchanged standard of living (housing, access to infrastructure and lack of service delivery), has left large sections of the population dissatisfied (Dlamini, 2017). The high number of protests around service delivery and the often times accompanying violence illustrate the level of dissatisfaction, despair and anger at promises not fulfilled (Brown, 2017; Robins, 2010). Roypeppen (2013) references Patel (2011) who recorded that s significant amount of protests occur every day.

The structural effects of Apartheid and officials benefiting from corruption, has also made service delivery difficult (Dlamini, 2017). Dlamini (2017) reports that due to a significant number of corruption scandals occurring, the ruling party has had significant obstacles in service delivery. Dlamini (2017) further notes that as a result of the widespread corruption, there have been a significant number of service delivery protests over the years. Due to this failure, protests since approximately 2004 have occurred annually and have gotten violent each time (Managa, 2012). The implementation of policies such as black economic empowerment, while meant to

help, in reality helped to contribute towards corruption and assist only a small minority (Dlamini, 2017)

Exacerbating difficulties is the level of education in South Africa. There is literature that indicates that South African learners perform poorly in comparison to the rest of the world (Christie, 2010). There are a variety of reasons for the failure of the education system in South Africa. The relative lack of development of schools in rural and disadvantaged areas has impacted on the access youths have to schooling opportunities (Christie, 2006). A worrying issue in regards to education is the discrepancy between everyone having a right to education and the reality where not everyone is able to access education equally (Christie, 2010). This is a significant issue as education is often positioned as the key for social mobility for a large portion of the population that is disadvantaged.

However, research around education, socio-economic status and social mobility appear to indicate a mixture of results. Piraino (2015) highlighted that race and class have an effect on mobility, noting that individuals who are from a disadvantaged background are likely to not display any mobility. He further argues that in relation to South Africa, the capacity for mobility is moderated by the historical, social, political and economic structures (Piraino, 2015). Globally results indicate that intergenerational mobility is difficult, even in developed nations such as UK, US and France (Brezis & Hellier, 2018). Mok and Jiang (2017) noted that massification of education does not necessarily lead to social mobility. Marginson (2016) highlighted that social mobility is affected by income inequality, higher education stratification and social backgrounds.

Taking the above into account, the state of education in South Africa paints a worrying picture. Yamauchi (2011) highlighted that there is still largely segregation due to the legacies of Apartheid which has had an effect in terms of access and proximity to schools. The minority of quality schools are primarily located in predominately white, coloured and Indian areas whereas for the majority, lower quality schools are primarily located in black predominate areas (Yamauchi, 2011). Spaull (2013) emphasized this point by arguing that due to historical and structural legacies of Apartheid, white students tend to perform better and attend better schools whereas black students tend to do poorer and be in dysfunctional schools. Spreen and Vally (2006) argue that education in South Africa is related to poverty which is intimately tied with Apartheid and maintained through poor policy implementation and bad service delivery from the ruling government.

1.3.) State of higher education in South Africa:

This section will be centred on discussions around the state of higher education. The aim of this section is to provide a view of the setting of higher education with the aim of contextualizing the emergence of #FeesMustFall. In this section there will discussions around access, management and funding, transformation at higher education institutions and past student protests that have primarily occurred post-apartheid.

1.3.1.) A shrinking Higher Education sector:

The context of higher education is an interesting one, particularly when taking into account the turn of democracy in South Africa in 1994. The emphasis for higher education institutions to be vehicles that can affect social, economic and political change for large segments of a young population, was present (Sayed, Kanjee & Nkomo, 2013). With that in mind, examining what the context and state of higher education institutions is, is important to understand the eruption of the #FeesMustFall protests in 2015. Firstly, the end of Apartheid meant that racial groups that were disadvantaged under apartheid were now allowed access to previously white dominated institutions (Adam, 2006). This has coincided with the changes in capacity and number of higher education institutions made available (Adams, 2006).

The number of universities has decreased over the years (Adam, 2006). The reducing and merging of some universities has resulted in fewer universities (Adams, 2006; Langa, 2017). The consequence of this coupled with the increasing demand from a young student population for access into these University spaces, has in effect created a situation where there appears to be an over-demand for education, but there is not a supply that can sufficiently meet that demand (Mfusi, 2004; Tilak, 2011). In addition to the decreasing budget/financial support towards universities, creates an over-demand for a limited supply. (Mfusi, 2004). Unfortunately promises made by government to improve and deliver on education are arguably still viewed as realizable by the general public, even though those promises have not fully materialized (Mfusi, 2004). This has created pressure on the now existing institutions to meet and cater to the demand (Adams, 2006). The challenge of reduced numbers of universities in the country is compounded by challenges from other higher education institutions. These challenges amount to seeking out what alternative options are available and how they are valued (Langa, 2017).

1.3.2.) Funding:

Since the turn of millennium, funding for higher education institutions has been steadily decreasing from year to year (Wangage-Ouma & Cloete, 2008; Hodes, 2017). When we refer to funding we are talking about government funding provided to public higher education institutions (this includes, universities, technikons and FET colleges). Public institutions used funding for infrastructure, salaries, fees and development (Ntshoe & de Villiers, 2013). However since the yearly decreases of state funding, higher education institutions, particularly universities, have struggled to function with the continuous decreasing of state funding (Wangage-Ouma & Cloete, 2008; Hodes, 2017). What appears to have been the trend is to place the emphasis of funding on sponsorships and more importantly on the students themselves (Ntshoe & de Villiers, 2013). In regards to students, it appears that the emphasis placed on students is through increasing student fees (Ntshoe & de Villiers, 2013).

A Neo-liberal model has affected how fees and funding are structured in Universities (Adams, 2006; de Villiers & Steyn, 2009). Neo-liberalism is an ideology that argues for free-market approaches to economics within a capitalist system (Hofmeyr, 2011). The rising costs of tuition fees have often been a challenge for students to overcome, particular working class and middle class students (Ntshoe & de Villiers, 2013). Cloete (2016) noted that the missing middle refers to students who are typically too well off to be on funding schemes however are not rich enough to afford their fees without some kind of assistance. This is significant taking into account that South Africa has massive inequality and how there is only the minority that qualifies financially to be able to attend higher education institutions (Cloete, 2016).

In fact, the challenge of rising fees has been shown in the literature to be related to student performance, completion of degree and general satisfaction in higher education (Letseka & Maile, 2008). Machika and Johnson (2015) reported that students tended to struggle due to their respective economic conditions at University. Machika and Johnson (2015) also noted that students tended to worry about other siblings, or missing out on University entirely due to financial circumstances. There are also reported psychological difficulties that students have grappled with, such as managing feelings of being conflicted between continuing studying and seeking employment to support the family (Machika & Johnson, 2015).

The effect of increasing student fees has contributed negatively to the already increasing divide between those who are poor and those who are wealthy (Wangenge-Ouma & Cloete, 2008). The National Student financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) has been criticized for inadequately catering for poor students and not being a viable long term solution (Ntshoe & de Villiers, 2013). NSFAS is a scheme that aims to pay for fees for students that meet particular criteria where, after they graduate, they work to repay the amount they were awarded by the scheme. This, coupled with how universities and University degrees in particular are positioned as the only viable avenue to achieve sustainable living post-apartheid, arguably created a context in higher education that is highly unequal, accessible only to those who have resources and is, increasingly seen as a valuable commodity (Ntshoe & de Villiers, 2013). This state of affairs arguably excludes poor, working class and middle class students from accessing these universities (Ntshoe & de Villiers, 2013).

1.3.3.) Transformation at Higher education institutions:

Transformation, particularly in the setting of higher education institutions, has been intimately tied with the idea of access (Cele & Menon, 2006). Cele and Menon (2006) argue that access to higher education institutions has centrally been a problem, and also a focus, in post-apartheid South Africa. They further argue that the role of these institutions has been influenced by the state with the aim of attempting to address past inequalities, namely ensuring that there is equity of access (Ngubane & Naidoo, 2016). This meant that higher education institutions, particularly universities, under the banner of transformation, needed to include social inclusion as a key component of their transformation agenda (Cele & Menon, 2006). Funding and the limited number of institutions, arguably become an issue captured under the issue of fees, which has become a significant obstacle in the struggle for social inclusion and, by extension, transformation (Ngubane & Naidoo, 2016). Primarily because transformation, centrally, is concerned with access, the rising tuition, the decrease in funding from government and the limited number of institutions available, has negatively impacted students ability to access institutions of higher learning (Ngubane & Naidoo, 2016). Badat (2016) illustrates this point by stating that historically white institutions tend to attract middle to upper class students, whereas Historically Black Universities tend to attract predominately black, working class students.

Institutional culture has been a constant presence in conversations of higher education post-apartheid (Van Wyk, 2005). In fact the idea of what these institutions should represent, how they should speak to the context of South Africa and what their focus should be, are regularly

discussed in summits, literature and lectures (Van Wyk, 2005). Connected to this are issues that have arisen in higher education around concerns of transformation and institutional culture (Van Wyk, 2005; Portnoi, 2009). Transformation does tend to be a broad term, however, according to the literature, the idea of transformation in South African higher education institutions tends to include notions of diversity, inclusion of marginalized students, cultural changes that are inclusive of African ways of being, language, the curriculum and the focus of these institutions being for the public good (Portnoi, 2009).

According to the literature, there does appear to be issue with the apparent culture in these institutions that seem to value Euro-centrism over focusing specifically on Africa (Horsthemke, 2006). The literature indicates that the result of such Eurocentric institutions is that the curriculum and the institutional culture places greater value on being more western at the expense of lowering the value of traditional local knowledges (Portnoi, 2009).

This has an effect on what curriculum is set and correspondingly what kinds of knowledges are reproduced. An argument has been made that the heavy focus on academic literature outside of South Africa has had the effect of eroding local knowledges (Portnoi, 2009; Van Wyk, 2005). This may create the effect of local groups in the country becoming separated and isolated their social, cultural and political context (Portnoi, 2009). The political effects of not prioritizing local contexts within higher education arguably means that knowledges that are produced are not produced for the local context and therefore do not provide any solutions towards local issues. Instead the knowledges that are produced serve the interest of entities outside the local context. In effect this also speaks to concerns raised from students in the literature that being in these spaces that do tend to valorise Euro-centrism can be quite the alienating and isolating experience (Cornell & Kessi, 2016). Literature relating to student experiences have noted troubling occurrences of feeling unwanted in this space, feeling of not belonging and experiencing racism both overt and covert (Cornell & Kessi, 2016).

Related to the issue of transformation and institutional culture, is the issue of race. In particular the notion of how race as a concept and social phenomena has been prevalent in higher education institutions (Dumiso, 2004). The effect of colonialism/colonisation and Apartheid on higher education institutions has resulted in structural and institutionalized advantages to certain segments of the population over others (van Wyk, 2005). The presence of a particular institutional culture has been the subject of many articles. The University and higher education

space is often seen as reflecting a particular institutional culture that is Eurocentric (Cornell & Kessi, 2016). This means that institutional cultures within universities tend to promote values that covertly or overtly place Eurocentric culture, norms and values as desirable, good and the standard. The effect of that is that because of its Eurocentrism, students that do not fall within the view of Eurocentrism, experience a feeling of alienation, isolation and a sense of exclusion (Cornell & Kessi, 2016). Students that have tended to feel unwelcome, alien and lonely in this Eurocentric institutions have tended to be black, non-white, disabled and LGBTQI students (Cornell & Kessi, 2016).

The literature concerning racism and race relations in higher education institutions appear to argue that these are areas of concern (Cornell & Kessi, 2016). In particular there is literature that highlights experiences of students regarding interactions between different racial groups as ones of discomfort, discrimination, hostility and exclusion (Walker, 2005; Cornell & Kessi, 2016). Efforts around transformation concerning race have traditionally been around increasing access for previously disadvantaged groups to higher education institutions (Portnoi, 2009). Cele and Menon (2006) report that access to these institutions (while a transformation goal) may have been impeded by contexts outside the University space. They further argue that inclusion of students into the University through transformation may be influenced by how labour, capital and the state interact with each other (Cele & Menon, 2006). Transformation efforts have also been aimed at shifting the demographic composition of institutions to reflect the wider society' demographics (Dumiso, 2004). However it has been noted that transformation has been a slow and gradual process (Badat, 2016). There is a concern over how transformation is viewed either through a more significant presence of previously disadvantaged people or transformation in the sense that the institutional culture is altered to be more representative of the population of the country (Dumiso, 2004). Partly there appears to be a lack of initiative from the state to drive the process (Badat, 2016). In addition the maintenance of an institutional culture that still promotes Eurocentrism represents significant obstacle for the inclusion on Non-Eurocentric cultures to enter into the University space (Badat, 2016). Transformation efforts have failed to translate to efforts affecting the wider society in terms of social and economic inequality (Badat, 2016).

1.3.4.) Past Student Protests:

Student protests and student led movements are not a recent phenomenon. During apartheid there were a number of protests led by students against the state (Healy-Clancy, 2016; Nkinyagi, 1991). Infamously the protest on June 16th 1976 is remembered because there was a massacre of

students who were protesting against policies enforcing Afrikaans as the medium of instruction (Fiske & Ladd, 2006; Healy-Clancy, 2016; Hlongwane, 2007). The general unrest in the country, the massacre of students and continued altercations between the apartheid state and protesters, led to more involvement of students in the struggle against apartheid (Fiske & Ladd, 2006; Nkinyagi, 1991). As a result, the events of that day had led to an emergence of protests with students being centrally involved (Hlongwane, 2007). According to Fiske and Ladd (2006) many of these students had been exposed to Bantu education and were becoming young adults and politically more motivated. Hlongwane (2007) writes that students involved in the protests were coordinating with other student protesters from different schools. Nkinyagi (1991) highlights that in South Africa, and Africa generally, there has been history of students fighting against the unjust government who later became famed political figures.

Student protests and student led movements have been present at higher education institutions, particularly at Historically Black Universities (Koen, Cele & Libhaber, 2006; Langa, 2017). Similar to protests that have and do occur across the country, student protests in the years prior to #FeesMustFall have tended to be around grievances aimed at the institutions (Koen et al., 2006). An example of the grievances that have led to student protests in the past has been the issue of fees and funding, and subsequently access (Koen et al., 2006). Funding and tuition has traditionally been an issue at Historically Black Universities relative to historically white higher education institutions (Langa, 2017). The possible reason why this is the case is because Apartheid engineered structural effects whereby historically white institutions were privileged and Historically Black Universities were marginalized (Badat, 2016). Fiske and Ladd (2006) elaborate further by stating that higher education institutions and education in general for black people, was specifically designed to be inferior and cater to the wishes of the Apartheid state. Adding the historical element and the decrease in funding from the state over the years post-apartheid, has negatively impacted on Historically Black Universities (Langa, 2017). Protesters have voiced their hurt, discomfort and anxiety around rising tuition costs and the threat that poses towards continued access to an education (Koen et al., 2006).

The nature and tone of student protests have often been characterized as violent by observers, state, police, education institutions and other students (Nkinyagi, 1991). In general, South Africa arguably has a culture of protest which often sees protests play out in particular ways (Petrus & Issac-Martin, 2011). According to Petrus and Issac-Martin (2011) these ways include burning of things, destruction of symbols of government, barricading roads and the burning of tyres to name

a few. Protest activity of students that have included destruction of property, disruption of lectures and clashes with security have been common place (Koen et al., 2006). The tone of antagonism has often transmitted into the student political realm, where there has often times been conflict among different interest groups and dissent that has often made campuses quite volatile (Koen et al., 2006).

There have been differences in the past between former black higher education institutions and former white higher education institutions in terms of student protests. Healy-Clancy (2016) argued that institutions under apartheid especially in disadvantaged regions tended to produce students that were politically more active in comparison to their counterparts in predominately white institutions. Arguably there are different kinds of protest activity that are viewed differently through the lens of race, where protests initiated by students from Historically Black Universities were viewed more negatively as opposed to protest activity by students from historically white institutions, which were viewed more favourably (Kiguwa & Ally, 2018). The differences tended to be around reasons for the emergence of student protests, size of participation in student protests and the actual nature of the protests themselves (Koen et al., 2006). In regards to Historically Black Universities, student protests tended to revolve around funding, infrastructure and rising tuition costs (Koen et al., 2006). In comparison protests at historically white higher education institutions have tended to revolve around issues such as gender, sexual assault to name a few (Koen et al., 2006). Botha and Marx (2015) have noted that within their study they identified that protesters and the protest itself at Historically Black Universities were viewed in a negative light. This view was based on stereotyped ideas around race that tended to reproduce essentialist, racist and binary views of the student protesters and the student protests (Botha & Marx, 2015). Kiguwa and Ally (2018) re-emphasize that protesters tended to be viewed along racial lines that created and reproduced racist and stereotypical associations.

1.4.) Conclusion:

#FeesMustFall was a student movement that generated a series of protests in 2015 and 2016 (Booysen, 2016). The focus of the student protests was around free education and the protests were initially prompted by the announcement of increase in fees, which lead to a nationwide shut downs of universities (Langa, 2017). The response from police to protesters and the damage to and destruction of buildings and infrastructure indicated the presence of violence (Duncan, 2016; Ndelu, 2017). Bosch (2017) argued that the use of social media in the protests helped to facilitate

communication and mobilization of student protesters. Duncan (2015) has written that interactions and responses to the student protests brought up questions around the right to protest, right to an education, freedom of assembly, right to human dignity.

The phenomenon of #FeesMustFall has its roots in the wider context of South Africa. One of those roots is the issue of funding where fees have been steadily increasing in the face of decreasing state support (Hodes, 2017). The institutional culture and the perceived lack of transformation is another root that has contributed to the student protests (Cornell & Kessi, 2016). On a macro-scale the high inequality and the presence of large scale poverty has also contributed to the student protests (Dlamini, 2017). Race relations in South Africa has also been a significant factor in the emergence of the student protests (Ngonyama, 2012).

The research was focused on understanding #FeesMustFall in a particular way. The research is interested how individuals who were actively participating in the student protest constructed #FeesMustFall and how they constructed themselves. This means that the research was interested in how individuals constructed their identity within the student protests. This also meant understanding how individuals constructed their identity on social media platforms. The research was interested in examining how individuals, through their articulation and expression of principles of 'rights', constructed and performed their identity on social media platforms. The materials that are of significance in the research are the posts made by individuals involved in the student protests on social media. In particular the posts that individuals made that reference, in some shape and form, the notion of 'rights'.

The interest in pursuing the research in this way is motivated by a couple of considerations. First, the focus on examining identity construction is motivated by the significance of race in South Africa. Namely aiming to unpack how race is constructed and performed by individuals in their articulation of their identity. Second, the focus on social media was based on the significant presence and use of various social media platforms in the student protests. It was also prompted by aiming to examine how individuals used the medium of social media to construct, illustrate and perform their constructed identities. Finally, the focus on talk of 'rights', similar to social media, relates to the presence of such talk within the student protests. In relation to rights, a part of the focus of the research was to examine how individuals constructed their identity through the avenue of rights.

The research is of psychological relevance because it was interested in identity formation and construction. This meant that psychologically the research is interested in examining the process that individuals use to construct and perform their identities. This means also understanding the psychological significance of the influence of South Africa's history on individual identity and how this is constructed and performed. In relation to South Africa's history, the research is also of psychological importance with regards to how #FeesMustFall impacts on an individual's sense of themselves.

The research is of particular interest because the #FeesMustFall appears to be a significant moment in history in post-aparthied South Africa. The significance of race, the history of apartheid and colonialism, has peaked my interest in how these factors shapes identity and by extension how these factors have shaped my own identity. Social media as a phenomenon holds particular interest for me because of the medium and its capacity to be used to model and cultivate a sense of identity. The research in part offers the opportunity to explore identity as it is constructed and performed on social media, and additionally a chance to reflect how I identify given the political climate of #FeesMustFall and my relationship towards social media.

Chapter 2: Theoretical orientation/Framework:

2.) Introduction:

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a conceptual and theoretical framework with which to understand and examine the data from the research. The theoretical concepts discussed below are informed by the focus and interest of the research. This means that theoretical perspectives discussed are informed by relevant literature and theory concerning identity, social movements and social media. Thus, this chapter focus on a number of significant concepts that are important in aiding in understanding the topic of the research. Within this chapter, social constructionism will be discussed. This is followed by an outline and discussion on discourse and discursive psychology. Thereafter, positioning theory is expanded upon. The concept of identity is discussed in depth, in relation to traditional views from psychology, social constructionism and Judith Butler's theory of performativity. Following this, the phenomenon of social media is discussed with a focus on social media and identity, and social media and politics. This is rounded off with a discussion on identity and identity politics.

2.1.) Social constructionism:

Social constructionism is the ontological position that forms the foundation of the research. Ontology refers to a paradigm that makes claims about the nature of reality (Bryman, 2012). Social constructionism is a theoretical paradigm that understands that reality is not an objective state of the world, but rather that reality is created and constructed (Bryman, 2012; Burningham & Cooper, 1999; Potter, 1996). This reality is constructed and created from meaning influenced by social, political and cultural factors that works to create the impression that reality is objective, stable and free from individuals influence (Bryman, 2012; Hacking, 1999). Social contexts and phenomena are understood to be constructed, created, made and imbued with meaning from social actors rather than possessing an objective independent reality (Bryman, 2012; Potter, 1996). The consequence of this view is that reality is not seen as fixed or stable; it can change and, importantly, there are multiple possible realities rather than a single objective reality (Gemignani & Pena, 2007). This perspective has implications for how reality is understood and how there can be different interpretations of what reality is (Gemignani & Pena, 2007; Hacking, 1999).

Social constructionism as an ontological paradigm makes theoretical claims about what constitutes the nature of reality (Bryman, 2012). One of the claims that social constructionism makes is that actions, behaviour and culture are not natural but rather are the result of a process of ideologies, meaning and social and political forces colliding (Hacking, 1999). Burr (2006) argues that social

constructionism challenges the idea of inevitability and invites individuals to rethink conventions about the nature of things, events and actions that are thought to be natural. Social constructionism therefore challenges the assumed ideas behind things like gender, sex, race and so forth (Burr, 2006). By doing this, social constructionism reveals that traditional conventions around ways of representing people, actions and social phenomena, are products of processes that have been socially constructed and which are historically located (Hacking, 1999). The result of these processes of construction is the appearance that conventional ways of representing reality appear to be natural, inevitable and taken-for-granted to be that way (Hacking, 1999). Social constructionism argues that knowledge of the world is generated through a process of social interactions (Gemignani & Pena, 2007). Gemignani and Pena (2007) further state that social constructionism argues that concepts are produced in social interactions within the context of power relations, locality, culture and importantly language.

In a social constructionist paradigm, then, language is not seen as mirror of reality, but rather reality is seen as the end result of interaction, relational and negotiation of meaning (Burr, 2006). Language is understood as the vehicle through which cultural meanings and values are transmitted, shared and negotiated in social interactions (Gemignani & Pena, 2007). As a result, through the social interactions and the language used, values that were products of culture and construction, become internalized and seen as real and natural (Burr, 2006).

2.2.) Discourse and discursive psychology:

Discourse theory and discursive psychology is the epistemological position that underpins the research. Epistemology refers to a paradigm of how to know the nature of reality (Bryman, 2012). The idea of discourse is essentially concerned with language and interactions, namely examining the role of language and how it is used in everyday interactions (Potter, 2012). The role and use of language, especially in connection with discourse, is reflected in our writings and how we talk about things (Potter, 1996). The theory of discourse is influenced by ideas around speech acts (Wetherell & Potter, 1987). Speech acts usually comprise of three features. The first feature notes that stating a sentence carries meaning (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). The second feature refers to the notion that in uttering a particular sentence there is force attached to it (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). The third feature notes that stating a sentence with a particular force, will ultimately carry a consequence (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Bryman (2012) highlights that discourse theory emphasizes that language is constructive; that language carries a particular action and is rhetorically used.

Discourse in the broadest sense is concerned with different kinds of written and spoken interactions (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Discourse is a collection of meanings that is employed in written and spoken interactions in relation to particular things (Willig, 2008). This means that discourse refers to a way of writing or speaking about something in a particular way that in turn structures the interaction (Parker, 2004). To take it further, discourse because it occurs within an interaction, in effect polices what can be said or written within an interaction through a particular discourse being used (Potter, 2012). In a sense discourse refers to language that denotes particular meanings where in interactions, spoken or written, that meaning is infused in the interaction, inhibiting other possible meanings from emerging (Willig, 2008). Potter and Wetherell (1988) argue that an important aspect of discourse is that it serves a purpose, it is used for a particular reason, in social interactions. Therefore, because discourse can be used for different purposes, the effect of the discourse will vary from context to context (Potter & Wetherell, 1988).

Discursive psychology is therefore the study of discourse and language and how it ties up with understanding psychological phenomena (Potter, 2012; Wiggins, 2016). Discursive psychology takes the point of view that much of how we understand ourselves from a psychological perspective is intertwined with our use of language, particularly how we use language (spoken and written) in our interactions (Potter, 2012; Wiggins, 2016). Discursive psychology is concerned with how individuals manifest psychological matters through various discourses that are employed in making sense of experiences of the social world (Potter, 2012). The language used in discussing psychological constructs, such as thoughts and feelings, are centrally important within the field of discursive psychology (Wiggins, 2016).

Discursive psychology as an epistemological orientation/paradigm makes certain theoretical claims about how the nature of reality is known (Willig, 2008). Willig (2015) argues that discursive psychology, because it shares roots in social constructionism, is interested in how certain realities are constructed and reproduced over others in social interactions. The relevance to psychology is not concerned with accessing the truth of psychological concepts, but rather with how are they constructed and come to be seen as real in social interactions through individuals' talk (Willig, 2008). Willig (2008) argues that discursive psychology states that language in use has a function and at the same time constructs. This means that language is seen to serve the purposes of the speaker who uses language in a particular way to achieve a particular thing (Bryman, 2012; Willig, 2008). Put in another way, discursive psychology argues that language is variable and fluid (Willig,

2015), and that language and meaning changes from context to context depending on the individual's construction and purpose (Bryman, 2012; Willig, 2015). As an orientation, discursive psychology challenges dominant ideas of cognitivism in psychology (Wooffitt, 2005). Rather than cognitions traditionally being seen as mirror reflections of internal thoughts, discursive psychology argues that these cognitions are products of discourses that have become internalized (Wooffitt, 2005).

Working from a discursive psychological approach, raises certain questions for the research. Namely, an interest in how individuals involved in the student protests, through their posts on social media, made of use of particular discourses to structure their interactions around the student movement. In addition to unpacking how subjectivities are constructed, how they vary in their construction and meaning and how they are employed in relation to the student protests, the research provides the opportunity to examine how individuals construct their identity on social media. This approach means unpacking what discourse were employed in constructions of identity within social media discussions concerning the student protests.

2.3.) Positioning theory:

The research was focused on examining how individuals construct their identity and, subsequently, how they perform their identity through the various discourses that are employed in identity construction. Therefore, since discourse occurs within social interactions and the research is concerned with identity construction and performance, positioning theory was a relevant concept to explore. Positioning theory argues that individuals, through their acts of speaking, make available a number of positions to take up, in conversations (Tirado & Galvez, 2008). Here, there is a link between positioning theory and discursive psychology as they are both focused on interactions and what is happening with them. To explain further, positioning theory advocates that individuals engage in social actions when they speak, and these actions work to place them and others in certain positions (Davies & Harre, 1990). The language used, the particular context of the interaction, and the individuals themselves all have an impact on how individuals are positioned, as well as what kind of positions are available and who can take them up (Harre & Van Langenhove, 1991). Where particular identities can influence what positions are available and how others are positioned (Harre & Davies, 1990). The notion of positioning can be applied to any discussion, conversation and speech act in which positions are made available and individuals take up those positions depending on what (and how) is being discussed (Harre & Langenhove, 1991).

The key feature of understanding positioning and positioning theory is that it applies in a relational capacity and focuses on interaction (Tirado & Galvez, 2008). Taking this relational capacity into account, the act of positioning involves individuals engaging in interactions that make specific positions available (Davies & Harre, 1990). The specific positions are determined by what the interactions are about and, importantly, are not necessarily fixed (Davies & Harre, 1990). The positions can change depending on the interaction and the individuals involved (Davies & Harre, 1990).

It can be argued that within conversations and interactions, individuals take any number of positions that communicate a particular sense of identity (Harre & Langenhove, 1991). Individuals, within their interactions, actively construct their identity from discourses employed, and through that, police which positions are available for them and others to occupy in the interaction (Harre, 1980). Harre and Langenhove (1991) argued that there are a number of positions that are available to individuals in their interactions, which has relevance for their identity construction. Harre and Langenhove (1999) indicate that these various positions are present within interactions and, depending on what discourses are used within the interaction as well, can affect how individuals position themselves and others. Davies and Harre (1990) argue that the variety of positions made available contribute to the construction of multiple identities through discursive practices employed. Harre and Langenhove (1999) note that the kinds of positions available are: first order positionings; second order positionings; third order positionings; moral positionings; performative and accountive positionings; personal positioning; self and other positioning; and tacit and intentional positionings.

Positioning theory and discursive psychology are complementary because they are both fundamentally concerned with interactions mediated through language: namely what moves are employed in their interactions and to what use (Tirado & Galvez, 2008). As they both focus on interactions, naturally they are both concerned with how language is constructed and used in a particular way (Tirado & Galvez, 2008). With positioning theory the concern is how language is used to construct different positions in interactions (Harre & Langenhove, 1991). With discursive psychology, the concern is how language is used to make psychological phenomena appear transparent (Potter, 2012). In regards to the research, positioning theory provided the lens to examine how individuals, through the construction of their identity from discourses employed, positioned themselves in posts that they constructed on social media.

2.4.) Identity:

2.4.1.) Traditional views on identity:

The notion of identity has been discussed, analysed and conceptualized through a variety of perspectives. These perspectives refer to academic fields such as philosophy, anthropology, sociology, politics and, importantly, psychology (Martin & Bickhard, 2012). The traditional psychological view of identity has been that identity is seen as an inherent essence of the individual (Danziger, 2012; Howard, 2000). This view argues that identity is a natural phenomenon of the individual which is not determined by the environment, but is rather predetermined organically (Danziger, 2012). Social psychology, however, makes distinctions between personal identity and social identity (Weiten, 2010). The difference between the two is that the former relates to how one sees themselves personally and the latter refers to how we identify ourselves through our social connections (Weiten, 2010). These social connections refer to our racial background, nationality, religion, sexual orientations, affiliations and various other connections (Howard, 2000). Social identity theory is a key theory within social psychology for how individuals develop a sense of group identity (Howard, 2000). The theory argues that individuals feels a sense of connection based on differences to others and similarities towards ones we identify with (Howard, 2000).

2.4.2) Social constructionism and identity:

Identity examined through a social constructionist lens is seen as something that is not an objective phenomenon but rather a phenomenon that is socially constructed. The context in which individuals define their identities provides the social, political and cultural meaning consisting of and attached to individuals' identities (Howard, 2000; Weinreich, 2003). The process is reciprocal, where the context (environment) helps to shape and construct one's identity; the individual similarly engages in construction, which impacts on the context (Howard, 2000). The appearance of identity as something that is fixed and stable, from a social constructionist perspective, is rather something that was socially constructed and thus can be varied and open to change (Howard, 2000). The impression of fixedness can be argued to arise as a result of the prescriptiveness of the context in which individuals find themselves in (Weinreich, 2003). The context may have particular socially constructed ideas around social, political and cultural traits where the context itself prescribes these particular traits to individuals who in turn construct their own identities (Weinreich, 2003). To expand further on the notion of identity as a socially constructed phenomenon, the concept of performativity from Judith Butler is critical to understand.

2.4.3.) Performativity and identity:

The concept of performativity is born out of the work of Judith Butler and her work on gender, sexuality and queer identity (Butler, 1990). The concept is critical in that it centrally stresses that one is not simply born a gender (traditionally male or female) but rather does gender (Butler, 1988). To put it another way, gender and gender roles are understood to be performances rather than natural fact (Butler, 1988). The idea communicated is that individuals perform masculinity and femininity (Butler, 1990). The result of the continued performances of a masculine/male identity and/or feminine/female identity is the sense that male and female are natural roles (Butler, 1988). The notion of performativity relies on the traditional ideals and traits that are commonly attached to notions of masculinity/maleness and femininity/femaleness (Butler, 1990). The traditional ideals tend to reflect quite a rigid, binary, heterosexual view of men and women (Butler, 1988). The theory of performativity argues that this rigid social gender binary provides the script in which individuals perform the role of man and/or woman (Butler, 1988). The central point is that individuals are not naturally men or women but become men or women through their performances of traditional views of what constitutes a man or what constitutes a woman (Butler, 1988).

Although the notion of performativity is strongly linked to gender, sexuality and queer studies, there is benefit to extending the idea of performativity to other markers of identity. These markers may and can include ideas around race, nationality, culture and religion (Warren, 2001). Take the concept of race for example, where from a social constructionist perspective, the concept of race is recognized as a socially constructed phenomenon, not a biological fact (Inda, 2000). The context has an influence on how the concept of race is constructed and what cultural meanings are attached to it (Miron & Inda, 2000). Correspondingly, taking the idea of performativity, what is considered an ideal performance is largely determined by what the socially constructed ideals for a particular racial group are (Inda, 2000). In this sense, there are racial scripts attached to particular racial groups. These racial scripts carry ideals attached onto a racial identity where to pass successfully as being part of a racial group is to perform the scripted racial role (Inda, 2000). What is key here is that taking the notion of performativity and applying it to a socially constructed concept of race appears to illustrate that being white, black, asian or mixed-raced does not solely comprise of one's appearance, but also how one performs the ideals and traits attached to particular racial groups (Miron & Inda, 2000).

Butler's theory of performativity and discursive psychology share conceptual links (Scharff, 2011). The first link that they share is on the aspect of performance. In both Butler's theory and discursive

psychology, each approach places an emphasis on performance. As argued earlier, Butler's theory holds that categories such as gender and race are not essential facts of an individual, but rather they are scripts that individuals enact, continuously informed by meaning gained from the social, political and cultural contexts (Butler, 1988). In discursive psychology, the act of speaking simultaneously establishes the positions from which a person speaks (Potter, 2012). Put another way, in discursive psychology, when an individual speaks, they draw on meaning from their environments rather than that individuality emerging spontaneously from within (Willig, 2008). As a result, because the meaning that individuals draw on is pre-established in the socially and contextually located meanings circulating in the social field, through their speech individuals establish their own position in that field (Miron & Inda, 2000). The repeated speech act, drawn from the social and cultural context, becomes internalized by the individual and seen as natural, rather than a product of a performance of pre-constructed meanings (Potter, 2012).

2.4.4.) Discourse and identity:

A discursive approach conceptualizes identity from a different perspective to traditional/cognitivist psychological understandings. Rather than identity seen as an inherent quality, identity needs to be understood as a result of discursive practices (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). These discursive practices involve the language used in interactions, text or written, that aid in constructing a sense of identity (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). The key point to note is that within understanding identity from a discursive perspective, language is important (Barker & Galasinski, 2001). The language that is used to describe and construct one's identity is recognized as the defining feature of how identity is thought about within discourse (Barker & Galasinski, 2001). Language is seen as the constructive tool used to shape and create identity, rather than simply describe it as if it were an internal essence (Barker & Galasinski, 2001). The discursive view sees constructs and concepts traditionally associated with describing identity as reflective of pre-existing social, cultural and political meanings evident from the context and language that is used (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). The view is that identity is not an internal process but is constructed in relation to others through language. Identity is understood and constructed in relation to interactions with others rather than it being self-generated (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). In discourse there are variety of identities that can be found. These various identities include conversational identities, institutional identities, narrative identities and virtual identities to name a few (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006).

2.5.) Social Media, identity and politics:

There is a lot of literature around the topic of social media and politics (Trottier & Fuchs, 2014). The literature available covers a vast area that touches on social media, social movements, identity, politics and the intersections between them (Trottier & Fuchs, 2014). Social media refers to digital platforms that facilitate participation and interaction (Trottier & Fuchs, 2014). This section focuses on providing a description on social media and identity construction. The second part of this section is focused on examining the interplay between social media and politics. The following part in this section is focused on discussing identity and politics.

2.5.1.) Social media and identity:

One way to think of social media and the internet is to think of it as a medium that allows individuals to express their identity (Bassett, 2013). Some of the literature argues that the internet and social media provide platforms for individuals to construct and cultivate versions of themselves (Kendall, 1998). These versions of themselves according to some of the literature can be rooted in reality or fictionalized ideal versions (Bassett, 2013). In regards to the latter, fictionalized identities constructed online may reflect conflict between the actual self and the imagined ideal self (Bassett, 2013).

Extending on this idea, the internet and by extension social media platforms, through virtuality and spatiality, construct an imagined space and a place of representations that provides a sense of reality (Slater, 2002). Slater (2002) further argues that due to the structure of the internet and social media, identity does not have to be constructed solely based on physical characteristics as a result. Rather, the virtual space and the anonymity it provides means that identity construction can take on any shape and form regardless of physical reality (Slater, 2002). However, Morrison (2016) argues that rather than individuals constructing their identities freely on the internet, individuals are drawing from discourses and societal ideas around identity to construct a sense of themselves. This is illustrated in how womens' identity construction, for example, is shaped by society's views on women (Morrison, 2016). Kendall (1998) argues that although identity online is theoretically fluid and multiple, identity construction is, however, influenced by real world elements. These elements include gender and race (Kendall, 1998).

According to the literature, identity materializes online through individuals' performance of that identity (Slater, 2002). That performance may include how they interact online and on social media which includes what they post, what chatrooms they frequent and what they share (Morrison, 2016).

Things like race, sexual orientation, religion, political affiliation and nationality to name a few become markers that individuals may use to construct illustrate and perform online (Kendall, 1998).

Identity is constructed and performance online is mediated by the individual and their racial, class and gender identification (Kendall, 1998). This relates to Butler's theory of performativity in that scripts around gender and race provide the roles that individuals enact (Butler, 1998). The platforms of social media and the identity affect how individuals perform their constructed identities (Kendall, 1998). Subrahmanyam, Greenfield and Tynes (2004) highlight how online, individuals make use of nicknames that illustrate either masculine or feminine connotations. Chatora (2010) argues that individual's performances of their identity are structured from their experiences, suggesting a connection between the online space and the reality of the individuals. These realities relate to the subjectivities of the person which may include their race, gender, religious and national affiliation (Chatora, 2010).

2.5.2.) Social media and politics:

A key avenue with which to make sense of the link between social media and politics is the concept of participatory politics (Jenkins, 2016). Participatory politics refers to political and civic engagement in society through non-traditional mediums (Jenkins, 2016). The presence of social media alters the level and kind of political engagement (Trottier & Fuchs, 2014). The non-traditional medium that social media offers provides the platform for mass participation outside of traditional mechanism (Jenkins, 2016). In a sense the argument is that social media eliminates the traditional gatekeepers of political participation, which then facilitates more inclusive engagement (Jenkins, 2016).

Some of the literature around social movements and social media indicate that there are positive aspects to involvement in political activity on social media (Bennett, 2012). These aspects are seen as positives for continued use of social media platforms to further political causes, social movements and political conversations (Trottier & Fuchs, 2014). What has been noted by some of the literature is that social media allows for collective mobilization (Milan, 2015a). Social media allows for easier communication, which in turn helps to facilitate mobilization of participants in a particular cause (Bennett, 2012). It also achieves an added advantage of connecting participants who, in other circumstances, would not be able to communicate with each other as easily (Milan, 2015a).

The platforms across social media, and how individuals interact with them, allow for the creation of alternative pathways of engagement in politics (Haunss, 2015). In a sense, the activity on social media in relation to politics and social movements circumvents traditional political structures (Jenkins, 2016). The nature of social media platforms allows individuals, political actors and groups to move beyond traditional gate-keepers and engineer political processes (Milan, 2015b). Perhaps the most significant advantage of social media in relation to political activity is the possibility of change (Haunss, 2015). Social media arguably has the ability to create and enforce change (Haunss, 2015), whether that be through conversations around political events, transmitting of information and news and/or sharing of personal experiences. Activities and interactions such as these have contributed to the sense that social media and the internet are effective non-traditional mediums of social and political change (Kavada, 2010).

The literature also indicates that there are disadvantages and criticisms concerning the role of social media in political activity (Jenkins & Shresthova, 2016). One particular concern/criticism has been around the reduction of complex issues into simplified issues (Jenkins & Shresthova, 2016). Critics have argued that the reduction of complex issues has contributed to a lack of deeper nuanced understanding around sensitive topics (Jenkins & Shresthova, 2016). They further argue that the lack of meaningful understanding impacts negatively on the participation of individuals in political movements (Banjo, 2013). A criticism that is brought up here is around the minimal commitment of participants to causes, brought on by the simplification of complex issues (Banjo, 2013).

Another critique is aimed at the level and tone of political conversations across social media platforms (Lee, Shin & Hong, 2018). There is literature indicating that the internet and social media contribute towards polarization on sensitive topics (Jenkins & Shresthova, 2016). Critics have argued that rather facilitating the spread of information and knowledge, the internet and social media has helped to further entrench individuals own biases and reluctance to engage with an alternate viewpoint (Jenkins & Shresthova, 2016). Connected to this, critics have pointed to the tone and nature of disagreements on social media and largely the internet (Nagle, 2017). There is literature that indicates that disagreements online tend to involve personal attacks which can include racism, sexism, misogyny and general bigotry (Nagle, 2017). Critics have also argued that the disintegration of public discourse online contributes to caricatures of political positions and political issues (Jenkins & Shresthova, 2016; Thomson, 2010). It is important to acknowledge the positives of social media in political action as well as acknowledge the negatives.

2.5.3.) Identity and politics:

Collective identity comprises of individuals' sense of connection to a community, category or culture (Polletta & Jasper, 2001). This involves the affiliations that individuals choose to associate themselves with in the larger society (Polletta & Jasper, 2001). Collective identity is arguably intertwined with a social identity and a personal identity where collective identification is a process that an individual undertakes before accepting an identity within a collective (Snow, 2001). Collective identity invokes the sense of unity among a group of people who perceive that a universal shared affinity with each other (Snow, 2001). Identity has an effect on how individuals engage politically in society (Van Bavel & Pereira, 2018). Van Bavel and Pereira (2018) argue that identity and membership in social groups influences individuals' membership of certain political parties and their political views. The issue of collective group membership and personal identity are exaggerated when the online space is involved because the online space does not easily allow discussions of sensitive topics that may impact negatively in terms of the perception of the collective group such as representation and group-think (Bassett, 2013). There is also the issue of assessing the relationship accurately between the individual and the group in terms of identity construction (Bassett, 2013).

Polletta and Jasper (2001) argue that collective identities influence peoples' participation in social movements. Individuals' collective identity influence how they engage in social movements through the choices of strategies they employ, their motivations to act and how movements actually come into being (Polletta & Jasper, 2001). At the same time, political/collective identity has arguably become more personalized (Bennett, 2012). Bennett (2012) argues that there has been a shift in political engagement in which the personal is mobilized. The presence of emotions and how they are activated in the political realm is influenced by political identifications with groups (Bennett, 2012).

In relation to politics, the literature has noted that issues around identity have been a source of conflict in online environments (Kendall, 1998). The notion of identity politics has been a topic of discussion concerning the role of social media in politics (D'Cruz, 2008). Identity politics essentially refers to the notion that one's identity carries implications for their engagement in politics, namely that one's identity may afford one greater power in some conversations and less power in others (D'Cruz, 2008). The different levels of engagement in the political sphere mediated through the notion of identity arguably emerge as a result of the historical, social, political and economic context of a particular space and how that affects certain groups of people (D'Cruz, 2008).

Nagle (2017) argues that the undertone of conversations around identity politics is the policing of participation in conversations concerning marginalization and oppression. Fraser (1998) noted that identity politics had commonly been viewed as either/or dichotomy between recognition of diversity and the redistribution of resources, because they have both been constructed as opposing goals that cannot work together, politically. Fraser (1998) argued that the tension between recognition of differences and re-distribution of resources are not incompatible goals but are both necessary and can work together within a new framework of social justice and equality, that acknowledges both.

Scott (1992) argues that identity and politics have been intimately tied with the personal experiences of individuals. Individuals personal accounts of oppression or struggles becomes extended to the collective (Scott, 1992). Identity and the experiences of one who identifies in a particular way is taken from individuals' performance of identity and is extended to groups they identify with, with the consequence that everyone who belongs to that group is assumed to also have had the same experiences (Nagle, 2017). Nagle (2017) notes that individuals mobilize their identity as a sign of authority, which permits them to speak and additionally allows them to police who may speak on political matters. Scott (1992) argues that this is problematic because is excludes others who do not share a particular identity or experience. It also limits the possibility of discussion and criticisms (Scott, 1992).

The context in which identities form influences individuals' interactions with other groups (Liu & Hilton, 2005). Liu and Hilton (2005) argue that individuals drawn on the history of their collective group in interactions with other groups. Their argument is that reference to history is employed in interactions with other groups for particular reasons (Liu & Hilton, 2005). Liu and Hilton (2005) make use of the history of colonisation and how that has subsequently influenced how various groups will choose to interact with other groups. Mobilization of history through identity has been effective for individuals in being able to participate politically, especially for individuals who belong to minority groups. (Liu & Hilton, 2005).

Identity and politics are tied with each other and, as a result, there is an emphasis for individuals to construct and perform their identities in a particular way. As argued earlier, identity performance is influenced by the cultural, social and political context. This context provides the script which individuals draw from in order to legitimately embody an identity. These scripts additionally carry political consequences which, when they are reproduced by actors, achieve certain political results.

The assertion of a minority identity in a context of a history of colonisation potentially has political consequences.

2.6.) Conclusion:

The theoretical literature review presented in this chapter was an account of the relevant theoretical perspectives that pertain most significantly to the research. The discussion presented was informed by the focus areas of the research namely discourse, identity, social media and the internet. Each theory or theoretical concept discussed provides the framework in which the research topic is to be understood. Social constructionism was discussed as the ontological foundation of the research. Next, discursive psychology was outlined as the epistemological stance of the research, with reference to theoretical overlaps with positioning theory. This was followed by a discussion of theoretical perspectives on identity from within a social constructionist framework. Finally, social media was discussed in such a way as to locate the notions of identity and politics in relation to social interactions facilitated in online environments. . This enabled a discussion on identity and politics.

The discussion on the theory within this chapter had raised particularly aims for the research. One of the first aims in terms of discourse and discursive psychology, was to examine what kinds of discourses are present in interactions around the student protests, particularly at Rhodes University. This meant examining what discourses were used to construct the student protests in a particular way and how people used discourses to construct their own identity. It also means looking at what kinds of positions are made available by people through the discourses they use. In terms of identity, the focus became, understanding how individuals positioned and performed their identity in relation to other people in their interactions concerning the student protests. The theory around social media provided the focus for the research to examine how interactions around the student protests manifested themselves on social media in terms of discourses used in identity construction and performance, and subject-positioning. Given the history of South Africa, the section on identity and politics was relevant as it provided a framework to analyse how individuals constructed their identities in regards to the social, cultural and political contexts; and how they viewed others from different groups in relation to the student movement.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1.) Introduction:

This chapter will focus on providing a description of the methodology used in the research. The chapter covers the methodological foundations underpinning the research. This includes discussing/highlighting the ontological foundations and epistemological foundations of the research. Research questions and aims of the research will be discussed followed by a discussion on the procedure used for collecting textual material for analysis, in addition to providing motivations as to why this particular kind of data collection was selected. The kind of analysis used in the research will be tackled, detailing what discourse analysis is and the steps used in conducting the analysis with the aim of providing a good framework to understand the results of the research. The concluding section of the methodology chapter provides a discussion around the ethical considerations of the research and the criteria for validation of the research results.

3.2.) Research design and Methodology:

3.2.1.) Broad approach to the research topic:

This research adopted a qualitative approach that focused on providing a description of a social phenomenon and not necessarily on generating quantifiable results (Bryman, 2012). The orientation of the research was exploratory and sought to search for the meaning and different accounts that emerged from the social phenomenon being researched. The research proceeded from a social constructionist perspective in which reality is understood as a process of construction based on contextual social, cultural and political meanings manifested through language (Hacking, 1999). The focus on language within a social constructionist view meant that the research would also focus on discourse, where discourse refers to language which has certain meanings used in everyday interactions (Willig, 2008). This research was explicitly focused on uncovering how discussions of #FeesMustFall employed discourses of ‘rights’ in constructing identities/identity positions that may be subsequently taken up or inhabited and performed by individuals.

The subsequent approach and analysis was not primarily concerned with providing definitive answers or making value judgements on the constructed accounts of individuals. Instead, the research was focused on analysing how individuals used their language and aimed to outline what the potential effects of that language use was. The approach was also not focused on establishing the true intentions behind or veracity of individuals’ constructed accounts of the phenomenon of interest, nor on negatively or positively evaluating the character of the individuals involved in the online interactions that formed the textual material for this research study. What the research was

interested in was examining what effects particular constructions in accounts of #FeesMustFall may have created. As a result the research was focused on analysing the discourses present in the social media posts analysed, what variations in the discourse are present, how individuals position themselves discursively within their posts and what the effect of their deployment of language in a certain way may be.

It was recognized that the duty of research of this kind is to produce an analysis that is of good quality, reflective of the phenomenon under study and which does not unduly produce negative portrayals of individuals or institutions involved in, or mentioned during, the social media interactions that were analysed. The focus of the analysis was thus not on the subjective experiences, opinions, or perceptions of the individuals involved in online social media interactions as subjects for analysis, but rather was on the language that they use in reference to the student protests and their experiences, the discursive resources employed by individuals in these interactions and how this use of discourse allows for the emergence of particular constructions of themselves and the student protests in interactions with other people..

From the social constructionist perspective, #FeesMustFall was understood as being framed by a particular social, political and economic history in South Africa that informs how individual actors give and create meaning to their experience (Moloi, Makgoba & Miruka, 2017). As a result there were particular considerations to bear for the research that were born from applying a social constructionist orientation to the research. Given that the focus of the research was on individuals' use of language to construct their accounts of identity within the 2016 student protests, one of those considerations involves an awareness of the language used in how the student protests were constructed. Another consideration was the social, cultural, political and historical context of South Africa, and how that context possibly influenced the construction of the student protests with particular meanings.

The application of a discursive psychological approach was of interest to the research because it afforded an avenue to understand how individuals used discourse to make sense of the student protests. In terms of psychology, the use of certain discourses within the student movement potentially points to psychologically how individuals made sense of the protests and more importantly for the research, how these discourses shaped their identity from a psychological perspective. Discursive psychology allowed the research to examine how individuals positioned themselves and others within the student protests. Extending from this, the research was interested

in analysing what particular discourses were invoked by individuals in reference to how they constructed and performed their identity.

3.2.2.) Theoretical Paradigm: Social Constructionism

The ontological foundation of the research is social constructionism. Social constructionism as a paradigm argues that there is no objective understanding of reality but rather our understanding of reality is shaped by social and cultural contexts (Bryman, 2012). Hacking (1999) argues that social constructionism highlights that ideas, structures, norms and ideologies are a reflection and creation of a time, place, culture and language. Hacking (1999) further argues that because much of our understanding of reality is shaped by social, cultural and political factors aspects of our reality are subject to change.

Potter (1996) argues that social constructionism is an approach that advocates that reality is something that is created from the interactions between individuals' experiences, culture, local knowledges and the context. Reality is understood and conceptualized from a variety of forces that inter mingle with each other to give the impression that there is an intrinsic reality rather than the interaction of particular forces (Potter, 1996). The key process underpinning social constructionism is social interaction where through individuals interacting with each other, within a particular context, meaning arises and is attributed to reality, hence reality is born from a process of individuals interacting with each other (Potter, 1996). Language is a key component of interactions between people and a key aspect within social constructionism (Potter, 1996). Social constructionism highlights language as one of the key blocks that individuals use to construct their reality because language carries social, cultural and political meanings and through it, those meanings are constructed as reality and treated as natural fact rather than as socially constructed phenomena spoken into existence (Potter, 1996).

As a result, it became important to understand the significance of language on the ways in which everyday understandings of social phenomena are constructed in language and how different ways of speaking about phenomena have consequences for how the reality of those actors within the phenomena are understood and experienced (Bryman, 2012). Discourse then emerges as a collection of meaning in written and spoken communications around a particular thing (Willig, 2008). In interactions individuals draw on a variety of discourses to shape their immediate reality through drawing on particular meanings within the discourses in certain contexts (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). These discourses carry particular meanings and when individuals draw on these

discourses, they construct and shape reality in accordance with the meaning in the discourses, and subsequently position themselves in relation to the discourses (Potter, 2012).

3.2.3.) Methodological Orientation: Discourse Theory and Discursive Psychology

Due to language being a critical factor, it becomes important to speak about discourse. The concept of discourse was discussed in the previous theory chapter however for continuity, discourse refers to the use of language in our interactions with others (Potter, 2012). The concept of discourse fits with the social constructionist paradigm because of the view in discourse that language helps to construct our reality. Discourse is the unit of meaning that individuals invoke in interactions with other individuals related to a particular thing (Parker, 2004). Willig (2008) argues that language is a major factor in how we understand and construct our psychological and social realities. In this vein, discourses are the patterns of language that have particular social meanings that individuals employ to constitute social reality (Parker, 2004). Parker (2004) elaborates that discourse analysis comprises of understanding and unpacking how texts are constructed and what function they perform through language and subsequently the meaning that it creates as a result.

Discourse theory and more specifically discursive psychology are interested in examining social phenomena in a particular way. In regards to discourse, the emphasis is on understanding how a phenomenon is spoken about and what meanings are drawn on by individuals in their talk about the phenomenon (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Discursive psychology is an approach to conducting discourse analysis where the focus is on understanding how psychological phenomena are understood, made visible and spoken about through the use of particular language and discourses (Potter, 2012). Phenomena such as police interacting with a suspect, children's accounts of abuse, and identity are examples of psychological phenomena that are examined within a discursive psychological approach (Wiggins & Potter, 2008).

Subject positioning becomes an important concept in understanding how discourse works to position individuals in interactions (Tirado & Galvez, 2008). Subject-positioning emerges out of positioning theory, where the argument is that within interactions, people place themselves in certain positions and roles for particular purposes (Harre, 1980). Within interactions, individuals make a number of subject positions available for themselves and for others, and these positions are influenced by the kinds of discourses that they select (Harre & Langenhove, 1999). The discourses selected influence the kinds of positions available and subsequently what identities individuals can take up (Davies & Harre, 1990).

3.2.4.) Aims of the Research:

The central aim of this research was to examine how identities are constructed and performed in relation to #FeesMustFall on social media platforms through discourses used around rights. Rights are defined as the values and freedoms enshrined in the country's constitution which, as such function as the fundamental principles upon which a society is based and which should underpin both the formal and everyday functioning of that society (Christie, 2010; Penna & Campbell, 1998). The notion of rights talk refers to talk, texts and speech that implicitly and explicitly state rights or infers the presence of a right such as the right to protest, freedom of assembly, right to dignity, right to an education, right to human dignity, and freedom from discrimination to name a few (Glendon, 2008). Therefore, the specific questions that the research sought to investigate include firstly, what discourses are employed during "rights talk" on social media platforms related to the 2016 University student protest movement known as #FeesMustFall; and secondly, how was identity constructed and performed through the use of these discourses in individual posts.

3.3.) Collection of textual material for analysis:

Due to the research being focused on analysing online texts, the sampling strategy that was used was purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is sampling that not based in probability but sampling done in accordance with a particular criteria in mind and the objectives of the study (Bryman, 2012). This means that the samples chosen are done so in accordance to specific characteristics which include the aims of the research (Bryman, 2012).

The reason for the focus on a social media site, specifically Facebook, was that social media generally was a significant presence within the student movement (Baragwanath, 2016). Chapter 1 included a section on the presence of social media within the student protests. The nature and interactional aspects of social media applies quite nicely within a discursive approach, as there are posts available that illustrate individuals' talk occurring within interaction with other people on the platform. The social media site Facebook provided the textual material that was analysed in this research. Baragwanath (2016) and Bosch (2017) both highlight how social media sites like Facebook were important in assisting student protesters with mobilization and communication. Qambela (2016) noted that social media featured a lot of interactions among a variety of people in and around #FeesMustFall.

The motivation for purposive sampling in this research was to filter texts appropriately that make explicit reference to rights and #FeesMustFall as that is the focus of the research topic. The focus on the Facebook source threads is due a number of reasons. The reasons are: an interest in examining and analysing the dynamics of the #FeesMustFall protests at Rhodes University; the high usage of these pages during the protests and by focusing on one institution allows greater depth of analysis to the topic. The time-frame is in place to put a limit on the number of texts selected. The smaller quantity of online texts provided an opportunity to analyse the texts in greater detail.

With these considerations in mind, the particular online texts that were selected were texts that specifically reference #FeesMustFall and explicitly discuss rights on Facebook pages related to the student protests. The online texts were accessed on these pages through the use of the search function. Where the phrases "rights", "#FeesMustFall", and both of the terms together were entered into the search function. The posts that were selected, were posts from individuals made on Facebook pages related to #FeesMustFall connected specifically to Rhodes University, the particular context of this study. The posts selected were posts that were made from the 1st October to the 30th November 2016. The reason for the date range is because this was the time-frame in which there was significant protest activity at Rhodes University (Meth, 2017).

Since this research made use of publicly accessible texts posted on social media, there were relatively few ethical considerations in regards to the research. There were no issues of consent, as the research did not make use of participants. Additionally, the need for consent was mitigated because access to texts was online and on publicly accessible platforms. However, given that the posts are on public forums, the researcher was aware that individuals who constructed the posts on Facebook did not explicitly consent for their posts to be used as part of the research. Given that individuals did not consent for their posts to be used for the research, steps were taken to limit any potential negative consequences for discussion thread participants as a result of what was stated within the posts. The steps involved protecting their private and/or identifying information through redacting the names, profile pictures and other identifying information of individual participants in discussion threads, referring to them simply as 'discussion thread participants' throughout the analysis that follows. As far as possible, individuals were also not referenced in a gender identifying manner. This was done in consideration of further ensuring the anonymity of individuals.

There is the possibility that the original unredacted texts could be accessed through the social media sites and therefore the research took steps to ensure that the possibility was limited as much as possible through not making explicit mention of which pages on the particular social media platform the textual material was drawn from. All of these measures were introduced to ensure as far as possible that the individuals who posted in the discussion threads do not suffer any adverse consequences as a result of the research making use of their posts. However, the risk of negative consequences lies in the publicly accessible nature of the social media site itself and the specific pages from which the textual material for this research was drawn. As such, there was deemed to be no undue risk of adverse consequences as a result of the research itself. The analysed texts were referenced in the discussion to follow through the presentation of extracts with corresponding numbers that do not necessarily represent the entirety of the texts that were analysed, but which were selected for presentation in support of the analysis on the basis of their content providing clear examples of the kind of discursive utterances and interactional contexts that the analysis was concerned with.

3.4.) Method of Discourse Analysis:

Potter and Wetherell (1987) advocate conducting discourse analysis in a particular way. According to Potter and Wetherell (1987) discourse analysis involves doing the following steps: having a research question; consideration of sample size; collecting of records, texts and documents; interviews; transcription; coding; analysis and validation. Discursive psychology as an approach shares quite a few similarities with the approach advocated by Potter and Wetherell, however there are certain differences (Potter, 2012). Willig and Potter (2008) note that the steps within discursive psychology involve: setting a research question; establishing access and consent; collecting the data; transcribing the data; coding; and analysis.

Discursive psychology emphasizes a particular way of analysing the data (Potter, 2012). In discursive psychology how data is analysed is based around three concepts which are construction, function and variation (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Willig (2008) also indicated that a part of analysing from a discursive psychological perspective involves analysing the data in terms of its construction, variation and function. Construction refers to the notion that language has the capacity to construct and be constructive (Potter & Wetherell, 1988). Variation refers to the notion that because language can have different functions therefore unpacking them can lead to different interpretations thus variation (Potter & Wetherell, 1988). Function refers to speech acts that do particular things or carry a motivation/reason (Potter & Wetherell, 1988). The identification of

interpretive repertoires are an important facet of the analysis as the repertoires reference the metaphorical meaning that individuals tap into when constructing their accounts (Potter & Wetherell, 1987).

Construction relates to examining how individuals put their accounts together, what kind of language is used, metaphors and rhetorical strategies employed (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). This involved looking at the language in the textual materials, unpacking the metaphors, framing devices and rhetorical strategies used. Variation involves examining differences to how a particular repertoire is used in one context as compared to another (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). This involved analysing for when there is a difference in how a repertoire is constructed and used within the texts. Function involves examining the consequences of the use of the repertoires through looking at its effects (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). The function of a particular repertoire emerges based on the context in which the repertoire was constructed and how it is read by the individual and the hypothesis generated (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). This meant that the function of a particular repertoire emerged from placing it within a context and reading for what is achieved with the repertoire within that context and generating a rationale as to why the repertoire functions in a particular way. Repertoires have certain functions which materialize within interactions (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). In interactions between individuals either spoken or written, the effect of a repertoire is possibly manifested through how individuals' are positioned within an interaction (Davies & Harre, 1990). The function of the repertoires is evaluated in part through reading the positioning effects of individuals involved within the interaction.

The research analysed the textual material according to how extracts were constructed, their variation, subject positioning effects and their function. Initially the textual materials in the form of individual posts made on Facebook were thematically coded. The rationale behind the thematic coding was to initially organize the extracts according to the 'type' of interaction in which they were articulated. The themes that were initially present were: retaliation against personal attacks; reflections on the student protests; criticisms directed towards the student protests; responses to criticisms of the student protests; experiences of marginalization; affirmation and support for the student movement; pleas for empathy and lastly interactions with the University management. The initial thematic coding also revealed the presence of three categories of participants which were: student protester, supporter and critic. From there, each individual post was analysed according to how it was constructed, if there was variation within the text, how individuals positioned themselves within their constructed accounts and lastly what function was achieved. A second

round of analysis was conducted because through the first round of analysis, the discourses within the texts appeared more visible and therefore a secondary round of analysis was required to draw out the discourses more fully. The texts were grouped according to discourses that were employed by the individuals in their posts, where the analyses was written to reflect how the discourses were constructed, how the discourses varied, how the particular construction of the discourses allowed individuals to position themselves within their texts and lastly what was the function of the particular discourse.

3.5.) Validation Criteria:

In light of the discursive focus of the research, the evaluation criteria outlined by Ian Parker (2004), as well as those advocated by Potter and Wetherell (1987) were used. Parker (2004) outlines grounding, coherence, and accessibility as criteria in assessing the research. Grounding is whether results connect to or relate to previous research (Parker, 2004). Parker (2004) argues that coherence is whether the arguments and points made in the research are logical and consistent. Accessibility is the level of access individuals have to the research in terms of methodology, access and engagement (Parker, 2004).

In addition to Parker (2004), Potter and Wetherell (1987) note that there are several considerations that need to be borne in mind for the purposes of evaluating the quality of analysis. These considerations include coherence, participant's orientation, new problems and fruitfulness (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Coherence refers to whether the analysis relates to the body of discourse (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Participant orientation refers to whether the analysis reveals that the use of language has an impact on the user and reflects their meaning of the impact of their language (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). The notion of 'new problems' refers to whether the analysis poses more questions around the topic (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Fruitfulness refers to whether the analysis is able to generate a possible solution of an alternative way of understanding a phenomenon under investigation (Potter & Wetherell, 1987).

In application to the research, the results should be examined with the above criteria in mind. This means that the results and analysis that were generated was conducted with the previous research around #FeesMustFall in mind. The analysis presented was drawn from the online texts as accurately as possible and set up to provide a clear and detailed analysis of the results. The methodology provided should provide others with a view of how the analysis was generated. The

analysis that was generated should be used to further the research opportunities for others as well as lead to a wider audience being able to access the research.

In application to the considerations highlighted by Potter and Wetherell (1987), the considerations of coherence, participant orientation, new problems and fruitfulness, should also be used to evaluate the results of the research. The criteria of coherence should be used to evaluate whether the results are applicable to discourses surrounding #FeesMustFall generally. The research should be evaluated in terms of participant orientation by examining the impact the analysis has had on an audience understanding the impact of individual's use of language. Thirdly, the results should be evaluated according to what new research topics and questions are generated around #FeesMustFall. Lastly, the results should be evaluated on the basis of whether the results and discussion provided a way of conceptualizing and understand the student movement.

Chapter 4: Results

Extract 1: “I admire the courage of the student body here, and nationwide and do applaud each and every one of you”

Extract 2: “We are actually contesting the idea that our skin colour should be obstacle to gaining access to the many opportunities that White South Africans enjoy”

Extract 3: “FMF is characterized by hypocrisy and betrayal”

As a starting point, the analysis revealed several general categories of discussion thread participants. These categories were: 1) supporters of the student protests; 2) student protesters; and 3) critics of the student movement, as evidenced in the three extracts above. The second category of participants emerged out of the analysis of the texts and within interactions from student protesters and supporters. These categories manifested themselves in contexts of discussions of the #FMF protests where social media users engaged in various sorts of interaction, including: voicing their support for the student protests; making pleas for sympathy towards protesters and their experiences of marginalization; engaging in mobilization of protesters; and reflecting on the student movement. Social media was also a site where criticisms of the student protests were voiced, and responses to such criticisms could be articulated.

The analysis revealed a number of discursive repertoires that were used in the texts from discussion thread participants. The discursive repertoires were: (i) an emotions repertoire; (ii) a struggle repertoire; (iii) an apartheid repertoire; (iv) a racial repertoire; and (v) a rights repertoire. Each discursive repertoire found in the texts related in particular ways to the type of discussion thread participant and in what context of interaction the discursive repertoires emerged. This will be discussed in greater detail in each section under the discursive repertoires.

4.1.) A discursive repertoire of emotions:

4.1.1.) Construction:

On examining the discussion threads, a discursive repertoire of emotions was found to be operating within the texts. The emotions repertoire was constructed primarily through the subjectivity invoked or expressed by student protesters and supporters of the student movement. This repertoire of emotions was primarily constructed around three main kinds of statement / interactional strategy which were: (i) the use emotive language; (ii) descriptions

of experiences of marginalization; and (iii) descriptions emphasizing the primacy of experience. The discursive repertoire of emotions manifested itself in extracts from student protesters and supporters of the student movement in interactions that were concerned with interaction with the University management and the state; mobilization of student protesters; responses against personal criticisms; pleas for empathy; experiences of marginalization; and reflections on the student protests. The notion of subjectivity was also connected to how student protesters and supporters constructed their subjective experiences in relation to being able to respond or take part in the discussion around the student protests, through employing their subjectivity to highlight how they have been emotionally impacted by the student protests.

4.1.1.1.) Emotive language:

Extract 4: “VERY angry, VERY HURT AND TORN”
Extract 5: “I AM AN ANGRY BLACK WOMAN”
Extract 6: “My mind is fluxed, I am shaking and scared!”
Extract 7: “How am I free when I can barely breathe?”

The first sub-theme under the construction of the emotions repertoire was the aspect of emotive language. Emotive language refers to language that suggests emotions or feeling states, which was commonplace throughout the discussion threads. The type of discussion thread participant that made use of emotive language in their construction of the student protests were mainly participants who were student protesters themselves and people who support the student protests. The use of specific language and words, when used by participants in construction of their accounts, works to communicate their emotional state of feeling angry, hurt, fearful and repressed as illustrated in the extracts 4 to 5 above. The student protesters and supporters constructed their being as emotional through the use of language and in order to accomplish that, they needed to perform their emotional states which is done through their use of language. To communicate an emotional experience of sadness and anger, student protesters and supporters needed to illustrate those emotions through their performance of said emotions. Their performance of their emotions within their language, makes reference to experiencing their emotions as a kind of visceral and bodily experience as illustrated in extract 6 and 7. This constructs their emotional experience through the use of language as overwhelming and manifested physically as something that is real and tangible.

The sense of feeling angry and traumatized is constructed as a physically located in the body. Where it is subsequently performed by the participants making references to the physical effects of their emotions through stating that they are shaking because they are scared and unable to breathe. Another way that strong emotions are communicated is through the use of capitalizations, which is shown in extract 4 and 6. The use of capitalizations communicates to an audience that the person is in effect shouting out what they feel and constructs their emotions of anger, hurt and fear as significant and palpable. The use of capitalizations can be read as a signature of the participants performing their expression of their emotions. It can be read that they are in effect shouting their emotional experience of anger and pain, which constructs their experience as palpable and significant.

The emotions that supporters of the student protests and the student protesters construct themselves experiencing are anger, sadness, torment and hurt. These participants would articulate their feelings of anger, hurt and sadness within interactions focused on re-affirming commitment to the student protests as well as in interactions with the University management and the state. Extract 4 relates to an interactional context of communicating commitment to the student protests. The use of emotive language grounds the participants' experiences in reality and constructs their experience of marginalization and violence as real and tangible. The use of emotive language in interactions around commitment to the student protests constructs the protests as emotionally charged and the protests themselves as significant because they are experiencing strong emotions. This is illustrated in extract 4. The preference for using this kind of emotional language constructs the student protests as a highly emotive phenomenon.

4.1.1.2.) Marginalization and violence:

> Extract 8: "same agitation and anger that they feel when they are academically deserving but excluded due to financial reasons"
>
> Extract 9: "I am so angry at how black students are victimized and criminalized when crime and sickening acts of injustices have been performed on my race for centuries"

The discursive emotions repertoire was further constructed through employing the notion of marginalization and violence. In regards to marginalization, student protesters spoke to their experiences of feeling disconnected from society and alienated in the University context. This

was further emphasized through their accounts of feeling excluded from spaces that they perceive are intentionally exclusive spaces as shown in extract 8 and 9. Student protesters made reference to feeling hurt, victimized and targeted due to the violence that they received from the police and the University management in the context of speaking about their experiences of marginalization, pleas for empathy and commitment to the student protests. They construct themselves reacting emotionally because they constructs themselves as suffering psychological and emotional effects from being marginalized and having violence enacted on to them. It constructs a sense that student protesters and supporters are emotional because they are forced to feel this way because of the marginalization and violence they construct themselves as experiencing. It also more importantly, constructs their sense of marginalization, as accurate and true reflections of the situation of the student protests. It is constructed as accurate and true because the discursive repertoire of emotions allows them to provide evidence of their emotional reactions as evidence that there perception of violence and marginalization is the truth of the situation in her education institutions. The constructed emotional responses from protesters and supporters in regards to a perceived sense of marginalization, is emphasized through them performing their sense of indignation, anger and rage towards the appearances of marginalization. They have to illustrate through their language how angry they feel that they are being targeted and communicate a sense of rage continuously, whenever marginalization and violence is spoken about, as shown in extract 8 and 9.

4.1.1.3.) Primacy of experience:

Extract 10: " I am FIRSTLY, above anyone or anything else, FIGHTING FOR ME"

Extract 11: "Don't ask me to get over it, don't belittle and invalidate my pain you know nothing about or how I feel right now!

The discursive repertoire of emotion was constructed through the appeals to a specific subjectivity that was illustrated by student protesters and supporters of the student movement. This particular subjectivity was highlighted through the ways in which student protesters and supporters showed their personal investment and experiences within their posts in interactional contexts around commitment towards the student movement; reflections on the student protests and responses to personal attacks as illustrated in extracts 10 and 11

respectively. This was done through emphasizing and foregrounding when they felt something *personally*. Claims to personal, first-hand, primary experience of a particular emotional state in relation to the University context and the student protests are privileged in this discursive strategy. Specifically, experiences of fear, pain, hurt, distress, sadness and anger, to name a few, tended to be emphasized and accorded a special status by student protesters and supporters in relation to stating a commitment to the student protests, reflecting on the student protests and responding to individual personal attacks.

Student protesters would outline their own experience in the context of stating commitment to the student protests for the purposes of constructing their commitment to the student movement as grounded in a personal experience and significance for the individual, shown in extract 10, which communicates that the protests are significant for the person. This also translates to supporters of the protests who in an interactional context of reflecting on the student protests, include their own experience to communicate how they have experienced the student protests as indicated in extract 11. Which works to communicate that the student protesters are motivated to continue protesting based on their experiences. Student protesters construct their subjectivity and experience to construct their engagement and participation in the student protests as justified, as illustrated in extract 10. This is done by student protesters to legitimize their participation in the student protesters through outlining their subjectivity and autonomy to act.

Student protesters and supporters constructed their sense of the student protests through their claims to personal, subjective experience through fore-grounding their emotional states, reactions and experiences. In this sense, protesters and supporters constructed their accounts of the student movement from the point of experiencing a particular emotion. The particular emotion, (whether that be anger, sadness, hurt or frustration) constructs protesters and supporters' account of their involvement or perception of the student movement, as rooted in a primary, immediate, and *lived* reality. This means that what is constructed is an account from student protesters and supporters that is positioned as legitimate and authentic. This legitimacy and authenticity is emphasized through their performance of subjective emotional experience. This performance is rooted in the assertion by student protesters and supporters of personal experiences infused with significant emotional content, as illustrated in extract 11. The sense that emerges is that personal experience is prefaced with experiencing an emotion where the personal experience ground the emotion in reality. The use of personal experiences

constructs student protesters and supporters as individuals with agency in the student protests, as shown in extract 10. As a result protesters and supporters, through constructing their experience of the student movement with a particular emotional flavour, constructed how the student movement is viewed in contexts of stating commitment; reflecting on the protests and responses to personal criticisms. Through this strategy of grounding of their experience with feeling a certain emotion, protesters and supporters construct responses to the protests by universities and the state in a particular way.

4.1.2.) Variation within the discursive repertoire of emotions:

Extract 12: " I mean why is Rhodes acting as if students have an option of paying or not!?"

Extract 13: "The decision by UCKAR management to proceed with exams as planned and by so doing maintaining normality is monstrous"

Extract 14: "Especially since this brings management such joy"

There was some variation within the mobilization of the repertoire of emotions. Although the emotions repertoire was primarily mobilized in relation to what supporters and student protesters were experiencing, the variation manifested itself in terms of how the University and the state were constructed. The institution and the state were constructed as being heartless and the ones responsible for the emotional pain that student protesters are experiencing. In regards to the latter, the construction of the University and the state as inflictors of emotional pain is illustrated through the claims made by discussion thread participants about institutional responses to the protests, which are illustrated in extract 12 and 13. These claims refereed to the institution as an entity that enjoys imprisoning student protesters, have joy when they witness student protesters struggles, lack humanity and lack empathy towards how the students are struggling financially, which are referenced in the above extracts.

The perception of the institution as lacking empathy constructs the appearance of being uncaring, as implied in extract 13. Aside from the claim of lacking empathy and humanity, the texts analysed revealed a limited amount of emotions attributed to institutions and the state. Student protesters and supporters of the student movement made references to their perception of them and actions that they have done, however the texts do not reveal a substantial inquiry into the emotional states of individuals in the University management or

the state. Extract 14 provides a limited emotion assigned to the University. In interactional contexts around marginalization of students, commitment to the student protests and interactions with the University management/state, student protesters and supports construct the state and the University along the lines of unfeeling, uncaring and disregarding of the emotions of supporters and protesters, as highlighted in extract 13. Extending on this, the University and the state are referenced generally with limited hints of subjectivity within interactional contexts of interactions with University/state, marginalization of students and commitment to the student protests. The impression that is constructed is that these entities are structures removed from emotional experiences such as empathy, hurt, anger and sadness that the students subjectively experience.

4.1.3.) Subject positions created by in the discursive repertoire of emotions:

Extract 15: "This is not a performance, we are not playing. We are not playing victim we are being victimized for our skin colour"

Extract 16: "let it be known that the state are dead serious about silencing, oppressing and criminalizing those who are determined to speak out about their gross violations"

Extract 17: "I WILL be involved…and I WONT stop fighting"

The discursive repertoire of emotions, through its constructions, allows for certain subject positions to be taken up. Through student protesters making' claims of experiencing marginalization, supported by their own accounts of their emotional subjective experience, they are able to take up the position of victim. This is highlighted in extracts 15 and 16. Student protesters are positioned as victims in interactional contexts that relate to experiences of marginalization and in interactions with the state and the University. Through the articulation of their emotional experiences they are able to legitimize their position of victims and through this legitimization enact a sense of agency, as illustrated in extract 17. This kind of position is an instance of first order positioning in which individuals' position themselves and/or others within an interaction with a storyline and achieves an action (Harre & Langenhove, 1991). Student protesters are positioned as victims who are enacting their agency because they are constructed as acting against their perceived marginalization and the responses that they have received from the University and the state that has been constructed as cruel, inhumane and unsympathetic, as shown in extract 16. Through asserting their subjective and emotionally laden experiences, student protesters are also able to engineer a

sense of motivation, justification and agency to address the injustices that they face, as demonstrated in extract 17.

The articulation of the discursive repertoire of emotions also allows for student protesters and supporters of the student movement to take up the position of *legitimate* participants in discussions around the student protests. By affording primacy to one's subjective emotional experience, student protesters and supporters are able to position themselves as individuals whose voices matter and are significant and, most importantly, should be taken seriously, as shown in extract 16, which is also an instance of first order positioning. Through the pairing of being a victim of injustice and claims to participation within the student protests, student protesters are also positioned as moral authorities, as shown in extract 16. The moral authority is implicitly given from their emotional accounts of suffering injustices tied to their assertions of struggling to achieve their goal of free education within interactional contexts of recounting experiences of marginalization; commitment to the protests; interactions with the state/University; and responses to criticisms of the student protests. The interactional contexts provide the story line in which protesters position themselves as individuals' with the moral right to this position (Harre & Langenhove, 1999).

The use of the emotions discourse also creates certain subject positions for people who may not be directly involved in the student protests. Supporters of the student movement are positioned as sympathetic, supportive and not antagonistic towards the student protests, as highlighted in extract 16 which is an example of first order positioning. This is highlighted in interactional contexts around pleas of empathy towards the student protesters, reflections on the student protests and interactions with the state and the University, which are the story lines in which supporters position themselves. Supporters align themselves with the student movement through denouncing and constructing responses from the state and the University as wrong and unsympathetic towards the struggles of student protesters. The alignment with the student protesters, who are positioned as moral authorities and victims, carries the moral authority to supporters of the student movement.

The state and the University are implicitly positioned as 'bad' because they are constructed by student protesters and supporters of the student protests as the causes of the injustices they experience and the subsequent emotional states that are evoked, hinted at in extracts 15 and 16. This is an instance of first order positioning as the student protesters are the ones who

have positioned the University and the state as bad within the storyline of them constructed as responsible for the emotional pain of the protesters and supporters. The sense of marginalization constructed by student protesters and legitimized by supporters, which is associated with actions and functioning of the University and the state - works to position the state and the institution as lacking humanity and empathy. This characterization serves to position universities and state agencies as bodies that do not respond appropriately to the emotions of the student protests and are unaware of the significance of the student movement, which again refers back to first order positioning from student protesters and supporters. This comes across in interactional contexts around commitment to student protests, experiences of marginalization, responses to criticism of the protests and interactions with the University and state.

4.1.4.) Function of the discursive repertoire of emotions:

There are a number of functions that are performed through the use of the repertoire of emotions. The first function is that the usage of the emotions repertoire allows for the policing of who may participate in discussions on the student movement and who may not. To expand further, it allows for certain voices to be seen as legitimate and other voices to be ignored. The voices that are seen to be legitimate are the voices from the student protesters. Articulations of experiencing emotional pain, hurt, sadness and anger all contribute towards constructing the sense that they are the only ones to speak because they have demonstrably suffered significant challenges. Certain types of emotional reaction and experience are privileged and serve the function of authenticating student protesters' perspectives and lending them legitimacy. The imagination comes from locating an emotional response due to perceived marginalization by the University and the state. As a result, through the mobilization of the repertoire of emotions, accounts of emotions experienced are not questioned, but are instead legitimized and seen as justified.

Thus the discursive repertoire of emotions not only achieves the imagination of student protesters' emotions with regard to injustices and/or marginalization, it also affords the student movement more broadly a sense of moral authority. This moral authority is built on the foundation that student protesters have experienced emotions in response to injustices and as a result are justified in how they feel and more significantly, how they react. In this sense, because they are constructed as experiencing authentic and legitimate emotions, their protests and actions are justified. The emphasis on illustrating their justified emotional responses to

perceived injustices functions to communicate to an audience a particular message. This particular message highlights that the student protest movement is justified in their reactions to the perceived injustices that they face. They are therefore also justified in taking any measure they deem necessary in order to achieve their goal, because of the strong emotions of anger, hurt, frustration and sadness they feel.

This potentially circumvents or flatly discredits criticisms of the student protests. This becomes the case because the use of the emotions repertoire works to frame any inquiry or criticism directed towards student protesters as a disregard of student protesters emotional experience. Due to their emotional experience being tied to their reactions against perceived injustices, criticisms of the student protest movement can be implicitly discredited and characterized as lacking moral authority and of invalidating emotional experiences that are constructed as legitimate and authentic.

4.2.) A Repertoire of Struggle:

4.2.1.) Construction of the discursive repertoire of struggle:

The texts that were analysed revealed that in constructing their posts, individuals drew on a discursive repertoire of struggle. The struggle repertoire was constructed and manifested through themes of (i) injustice, (ii) emotions and (iii) non-violence/violence. The type of discussion thread participants that drew on the discursive repertoire of struggle was student protesters and supporters of the student movement. The struggle repertoire manifested itself in posts by student protesters and supporters in interactional contexts such as recounting experiences of marginalization; responding to criticisms of the protests; making pleas of empathy/sympathy; and descriptions of interactions with the University and the state authorities.

4.2.1.1) Injustice:

Extract 12: " I mean why is Rhodes acting as students have an option of paying or not!?"

Extract 18: "Child these institutions of learning were not built with you in mind"

Extract 19: "we have institutional racism which make sure that we stay far away from the corridors of institution of higher education because we lack financial resources"

The theme of injustice was constructed by student protesters through claims of experiencing injustices. These claims were centred on the issue of funding and the institutional culture of the University. The issue of funding was constructed by student protesters as a barrier and obstacle to obtaining an education (as extract 19 illustrates) through making claims that they are denied access to an education because they lack financial resources due to systemic racism. The issue of funding in particular is constructed as an injustice through how individuals make claims that they are impoverished and unable to afford the fees and tuition at the institution as shown in extract 12. As a result, student protesters and supporters construct the issue of funding as point of participation within the student protests and what the student protests are about in interactions around experiences of marginalization; commitment to the student protests; and responding to criticisms of the student protests.

The notion of injustice is also significantly constructed through its relation to the notion of institutional culture. Institutional culture is a concept that refers to the values, norms and practices of an institution (Mekoa, 2011). Institutional culture reflects a dominant social, cultural and political set of values, norms within an institution (Mekoa, 2011). Actions and practices that are structured within the institution and reproduced through the people of the institution (Mekoa, 2011). Student protesters constructed a sense of injustice through making claims of experiencing the institutional culture of the University as oppressive and reflective of a particular culture and worldview as illustrated in extract 18 where the individual implies that they feel like they do not belong. Student protesters constructed the implication that the institutional culture of the University is anti-black, anti-transformation and neglectful of the student population that experiences the University as unwelcoming and alienating to them, which is illustrated in extract 19 where there is a reference to institutional racism contributing to the denial of access to students. Extract 18 emphasizes that the University is seen as catering to certain individuals and alienating black students.

Student protesters construct their sense of alienation and oppression as inflicted by the institution onto them, simply because they do not comply with the cultural standard of the University which manifested itself in interactional contexts of experiences of marginalization. Student protesters by constructing the institutional culture of the University as anti-black, the implication constructed, is that they themselves do not fit into the cultural ideal of the institution which is largely Euro-centric and are therefore excluded from full participation in the life of the institution. As a result, through student protesters making claims of

experiencing a hostile institutional culture, together with the issue of funding, an exclusionary institutional culture is constructed as the motivation and rationale for their support and participation in the student protests, which comes across strongly in interactions affirming commitment to the student protests.

4.2.1.2.) Emotions:

> Extract 20: “an injury to one is an injury to all!!!”
> Extract 21: “you have the audacity to call me “free”’

Another significant sub-theme that was used by the student protesters in their construction of the discursive repertoire of struggle is the theme of emotions. This construction of emotions within the struggle repertoire is aided by the construction of the emotions repertoire, discussed earlier. The function of the emotions repertoire was to present student protesters emotions as legitimate and justified; create the moral authority to speak on their experiences; and to ground them in reality and to provide justification for responses towards perceived injustices. The emotions repertoire works as a filter to make sense of the emotions exhibited by student protesters in the construction of the struggle repertoire. This works with the struggle repertoire in the sense that student protesters construct their emotions as legitimate responses to the injustices of an alienating institutional culture and the increasing costs of tuition that affect students. This is emphasized in student protesters subsequently performing their emotions as responses to these injustices. Extract 20 and 21 highlight individuals performing their pain and hurt as shared by other protesters and also perform a sense of indignation at the claim that they are free respectively. Student protesters thus feel justified to speak out against the institutional culture and about the fees issue because they feel angry and hurt in the face of ongoing marginalization and injustices, which is strengthened through their performance of emotional pain.

A key manifestation of the theme of emotions in constructing the struggle repertoire is through the language used. Much like the analysis of the emotions repertoire, emotive language is present in the construction of the struggle repertoire. Student protesters articulate their feelings of anger, hurt and feelings of victimization in their interactions with experiencing violence and marginalization from the state (extract 20), within interactional contexts around commitment to the student protests. Extract 21 effectively works as an

illustration of performance of righteous anger that is used as motivation to continue protesting and communicates the sense that the constructed feeling of righteous anger is felt by all students. Most significantly, within the construction of the struggle repertoire, the theme of emotions was used to emphasize the significance of the injustices that they were facing and to indicate that they are student protesters who were legitimate in protesting because they are experiencing emotions in relation to the institutional culture and the funding issue. This is implied in extract 21 when the author performs a feeling of indignation at the presumption that they are seen as "free".

4.2.1.3.) Non-violence:

> Extract 22: "The protests have definitely been DISRUPTIVE. But a disruptive protest is NOT the same thing as a violent one"
> Extract 23: "NO FIRES, NO DAMAGED PROPERTY, sure the "Interdict conditions" were broken through disruption of classes by protesting students, but who gave a f*ck really"
> Extract 24: "its a revolution and many revolutions through history have never been recorded to be anything less but violent, radical change subsequently comes with violence"
> Extract 25: "The students have been shot, arrested, man-handled and have had to compromise and even sacrifice the academic project all in solidarity with the call for Free Decolonized Education"

The third aspect that was prevalent in student protesters construction of a discursive repertoire of struggle, was the theme of non-violence/violence. Student protesters made reference to this theme through making claims of being non-violent and denouncing any acts of violence as part of the student movement in interactional contexts of recounting experiences of marginalization; responding to criticisms of the protests; and expressing commitment to the student protests. Student protesters constructed themselves and the student movement as non-violent through either: (a) the disavowal of the label of being violent or using violence; or (b) through the rationalization and discursive repackaging of violent behaviour and actions as justified and legitimate in the face of institutional and structural violence visited upon them.

The former was accomplished by constructing their protest as legitimate and within the bounds of acceptable, legal protest activity as illustrated in extract 22 (in interactions around responding to criticism of the protests). The latter through the construction of student protesters as legitimate in their actions when protesting against injustices, as illustrated in

extract 23 (in interactions around commitment to the student protests). The experience of violence at the hands of the police was constructed as an injustice in the face of their legitimate experiences of, and emotional responses to, their first-hand, lived experiences of exclusion, marginalization and systemic oppression, illustrated in extract 25 in interactions around marginalization. Student protesters constructed the presence of violence as a necessary aspect of a movement and that the presence of violence is seen as legitimate in the face of injustices, as illustrated in extract 24. The use of the word revolution in extract 24 by supporters and protesters constructs the student protests as significant and emancipatory. It also constructs the student protests as more than a protest about service delivery, but rather it is constructed as a movement that is seeking to transform society and start a revolution. The use of the word revolution constructs the student protests as the generations' revolutionary struggle. The construction of the protests as a revolution from protesters and supporters works to justify the protest and justify presence of violence as a necessary for a revolution.

4.2.2.) Positioning effects of the struggle discourse:

Extract 26: "The movement is by far the most selfless student movement that I have encountered"

Extract 25: "The students have been shot, arrested, man-handled and have had to compromise and even sacrifice the academic project all in solidarity with the call for Free Decolonized Education"

The discursive repertoire of struggle has certain positioning effects. One of those positioning effects was how the state and the University management were positioned by student protesters use of the repertoire of struggle, namely that the management of the University and the state were positioned as antagonists towards the student movement. This was an instance of first order positioning in which student protesters and supporters positioned the state and the University in a certain way. They are positioned that way through the construction of the University as enacting an institutional culture that is experienced as oppressive and un-transformed, and that it is not within access of disadvantaged and impoverished students, implied in extract 25 for calls for free decolonized education. The management of the University is positioned as acting with the motivation to exclude students and are not committed to transformation of the institution, implied through extract 25. This kind of positioning occurred in the interactional contexts where student protesters engage in

expressing a sense of marginalization and in showing commitment to the protests, which provide the storylines in which the positioning could occur.

The student protesters and supporters are positioned in a particular way through the use of the discursive repertoire of struggle. They are positioned as implicitly non-violent, morally selfless and legitimate protester, as demonstrated in extract 25 and 26. This particular kind of positioning shows examples of two kinds of positioning: first order positioning and third order positioning. First order positioning relates to student protesters and supporters positioning themselves legitimate protesters, protagonist, sympathetic and selfless. The presence of injustices at the institution positions student protesters as legitimate protesters because they are protesting grievances against the institutional culture (experienced as alienating) and the issue of funding (experienced as hindering access to education) as shown in extract 25. Third order positioning relates to supporters and protesters especially positioning themselves as non-violent. Third order positioning is a form of accountive positioning in which first order positions are challenged in interaction that occur outside of the initial interaction in which the first order positioning occurred (Harre & Langenhove, 1991).

The inclusion of non-violence in the construction of the struggle repertoire and through the repertoire the construction of protesters as non-violent arguably, was an attempt to challenge the stereotyped images of black student protesters. This kind of positioning suggests that student protesters and supporters are aware of the images associated with black student protesters as violent and to be feared (Botha & Marx, 2015). Student protesters and supporters engage in third order positioning arguably to challenge negative images of black protesters constructed from other conversations and interactions. The use of the struggle repertoire works to undercut that stereotyped image of protesters and seeks to assert student protesters as legitimate. Which leads to a characterization of student protesters as predominantly non-violent (but certainly justified if they do use violence) activists who are on the receiving end of violence from the state functions to emphasize the status of student protesters as victims of morally unjust institutions as demonstrated in extract 40 and 39. This construction is reinforced by positioning student protesters as individuals protesting for the right thing but who have been met with disproportionate violence as shown in extract 40. This positioning from student protesters and supporters would occur in interactional contexts around pleas for empathy, commitment to the student protests and responses to criticisms of

the protests. The interactional contexts references the storylines in which protesters and supporters would make use of third order positioning to challenge negative labels of protesters born from other interactions

4.2.3.) Function of the struggle repertoire:

The function of the discursive repertoire of struggle appears to be primarily to construct the personal and collective identity of student protesters in a particular way. Through the mobilization of the struggle discourse the student protests (and protesters) are firstly seen as authentic and legitimate. This sense of authenticity and legitimacy is grounded firstly through the emotional responses (which was discussed at length in the emotions repertoire) that they use to describe their experiences, and secondly through the characterization of these experiences as systemic injustices (exclusion on financial grounds and an alienating institutional culture) that they have encountered. The struggle repertoire functions to construct a tangible source of the marginalization that protesters and supporters construct themselves experiencing. The struggle repertoire places their feelings of marginalization (discussed in the emotions repertoire) in constructed tangible sources of an institutional culture that is labelled as alienating and exclusionary; and the rising costs of tuition presented as an obstacle to access an education. The function of the struggle repertoire in terms of identity therefore frames the identity of protesters, supporters and the student movement largely as, seeking to address perceived injustices.

Another significant function of the repertoire of struggle was how it generally constructed the student protests. The significance of the repertoire of struggle was the drawing of parallels with the struggle movements against the apartheid regime. The student protests are seen to be parallel and equivalent to the protests against apartheid because both are concerned with responding towards injustices and involved protest action. The #FeesMustFall protests are conceptualized as this generation of students' struggle against the injustices of high fees and an alienating and untransformed, Eurocentric institutional culture in universities, in the same way as the anti-apartheid struggle against institutional and overt racism from the state was for previous generations. The links thus invoked through the use of the repertoire of struggle works to illustrate the sense of inter-generational struggle and the connection of current student protesters and individuals who were protesting against the injustice of apartheid, as well as to further establish the moral authority and legitimacy of the #FeesMustFall protests.

The result of the deployment of this repertoire of struggle is the justification it affords for actions from student protesters. The construction of student protesters as predominantly non-violent, but who in fact experience violence, allows protesters the ability to negate criticism of the protests on the grounds of being victims who are justified in their retaliation in the face of injustices. The foregrounding of their emotional experience with regards to the injustices they face also works to limit potential criticisms of the protest activity. Criticisms are thus limited because the repertoire of struggle works to justify the actions of student protesters, constructing any action taken by them in the course of the protests as a legitimate and understandable reaction to their personal experiences of systemic injustices. The recourse to the repertoire of emotions, deployed together with the discursive repertoire of struggle, works to establish the authenticity and legitimacy of their actions and provides for claiming the agency to turn their victimization at the hands of systemic injustices into a motivation for taking action against the injustices they experience. Any criticism of the protests is therefore perceived as an attempt at de-legitimation of their struggles and a denial of their lived reality.

4.3.) Discursive repertoire of Apartheid:

4.3.1.) Construction of the Apartheid repertoire:

The kinds of Participants within the discussion thread that drew on an apartheid repertoire were student protesters. Student protesters constructed the apartheid repertoire in the following interactional contexts: responding to criticisms directed at the student protests; experiences of marginalization; commitment to the student protests; interactions with the University and management; and reflections on the student protests. The apartheid repertoire was constructed in a particular way by student protesters through two ideas or sub-themes: (i) Institutional racism and (ii) state force.

4.3.1.1.) Institutional racism:

> Extract 19: "we have institutionalised racism which make sure that we stay far away from the corridors of institutions of higher education because we lack financial resources"
>
> Extract 27: "This institution is possessed, militarised and reeks white supremacy"

The first idea or sub-theme is institutional racism in which student protesters would make reference explicitly or implicitly to the presence of institutional racism. Institutional racism is understood to be racism that is expressed within institutions through policies, individuals and

practices (Mekoa, 2011). Institutional racism as a concept argues that due to historical and social contexts, institutions that are within contexts of historical racial discrimination, are structured and influenced by that history (Mekoa, 2011). Institutional racism manifests itself where racial hierarchies are reproduced and some are benefited over others due to the structures within an institution that has historically favoured certain people over others (Mekoa, 2011). The struggle repertoire constructs the institutional culture of the University as problematic and oppressive, highlighting the need for a decolonized education. This works to provide a basis in which student protesters constructed the University as institutionally racist.

Student protesters and supporters constructed their accounts of experiencing institutional racism that tended to emphasize how student protesters and supporters experienced a sense of discrimination and oppression at the hands of an institutions that is repressive and discriminatory towards them (within interactions around responding to criticisms and giving an account of their sense of marginalization). However, student protesters do not, from the extracts above, give tangible examples of their experience of institutional racism. Instead, institutional racism and their experience of it, is constructed in a general sense of feeling oppressed, excluded, discriminated against and marginalized. The account of institutional racism in fairly broad and generalizable terms worked to construct a sense of institutional racism that was commonly felt by student protesters as a whole, rather than localizing the experience of institutional racism into specific incidences, as illustrated in extract 19. In particular, this kind of institutional racism was directed towards black students exclusively, where they experienced being discriminated against because they were black, as implied in extract 19. This particular construction, involving the highlighting of institutional racism, worked to provide a justification for the participants to protest and drawing a connecting thread to the liberation struggle which was primarily concerned with abolishing racist practices and institutions under apartheid.

Student protesters construct the institution as maintaining institutional racism by upholding the values of white supremacy, as demonstrated in extract 27. The notion of white supremacy is not explicitly defined by student protesters. White supremacy refers to the values, customs and cultural practices that privileges white people and establishes a hierarchy over other people who are not white (Bergh, 2003). Student protesters construct white supremacy as enshrined within the institution and as a result construct black students as targets of this white

supremacy, who because they are black and poor, are denied an education, an opportunity for upward mobility and are excluded from the institution. This is implied in extract 19.

4.3.1.2.) State Force / Apartheid Tactics:

> Extract 28: “micro apartheid tactics are being used on black students”
> Extract 29: “it can't be correct that such apartheid like methods are used on students”
> Extract 30: “Management spared no time in identifying & compiling a list of leaders and protesters (& then mandating their arrests)”

The second sub-theme or idea, was the notion of state force and how student protesters and supporters constructed the state and University responses to the protests. Student protesters and supporters made reference to the aspect of state force in interactions around: reflections on the movement; commitment to the student protests; responses to criticisms of the student movement; experiences of marginalization; and interactions with the University management and the state. Student protesters made reference to the state as solely as the police, which was constructed by the participants as akin to how the police were functioning under apartheid, as illustrated in extracts 28 and 29. The extracts reference interactions around reflecting on the student protests and re-affirming commitment to the movement, respectively. This pairing was emphasized through highlighting the violence and brutality inflicted onto student protesters at the hands of the police, which included description of arrests, the use of certain words that invoke military style/state security presence and behaviour were contrasted with the behaviour of the state under Apartheid, as demonstrated in extract 30. This extracts relates to interactions that were around interactions with the University and the state. This kind of construction works to re-awaken images of the violence of the apartheid state, committed against people in the current struggle, where the association made by the student protesters and supporters explicitly links the violence they experienced as closely resembling state violence under apartheid. This was once again illustrated in extracts 28 and 29.

4.3.2.) Subject positions within the discursive repertoire of apartheid:

> Extract 28: “This institution is possessed, militarized and reeks white supremacy”
> Extract 31: “This is an attack against the poor, black and soon to be arrested students.”
> Extract 32: “the perpetual infliction of violence on students from the administrations of the schoolde (the VCs & their squads) and the state (police)”

Extract 33: “Cadres we will not stop, they can shoot us, arrest us but we will mobilize and fight for this cause”

The effect of the apartheid repertoire being constructed in a particular way was that certain subject-positions were created for student protesters, supporters, the state and the University. Deployment of the apartheid repertoire meant that student protesters and supporters were positioned as parallel to liberators during the apartheid struggle. The positioning of student protesters and supporters as analogous to protesters during apartheid, is an instance of first order positioning. The storylines of institutional racism and state force provide the framework for protesters and supporters to position themselves as akin to protesters during the liberation struggle because they construct themselves experiencing the current state and higher education institutions as similar to how it was like during apartheid. The claims of students being arrested and violence enacted unto them constructs protesters experience as similar to the experience of individuals who struggled under apartheid, as highlighted in extracts 31 and 32. This not only positions the student protesters as morally undeserving victims of disproportionate state violence, but it also positions them as individuals who are exercising their agency and protesting for their rights against an unjust system, as illustrated in extract 33. This also reinforces the pairing of current students to those who were protesting under apartheid, as both parties are constructed as having enacted a sense of agency against the injustices that they perceived themselves experiencing.

The state is constructed as primarily consisting of the police force, as illustrated in extract 32. Student protesters and supporters make use of first order positioning to position the state as solely the police force. This kind of positioning emerges out of a storyline facilitated by the apartheid repertoire in which state force is the storyline that allows the state to be positioned as akin to the apartheid police force. Student protesters and supporters make absent, the mentioning of other various sectors of the state such as the department of higher education within the discussion threads. Through the use of the apartheid repertoire, the sectors of the government related to higher education and education generally are rendered invisible, and the state is collapsed into the police force. Extract 32 illustrates the state described solely as the police and how it behaves similarly to the apartheid police force, which immediately constructs their position as bad, oppressive, violent and anti-black. The state is positioned as an antagonist of the student movement, which leads to a characterization that also reinforces

the position of the state as enemy of the people who are protesting legitimately and justifiably against the injustices that they face.

The effect of this construction is achieved through the discursive collapsing of the entire structure and machinery of the state, in all its various structures, departments and functions, into simply the immediate 'enemy' of protesters – the police force (shown in extract 32 and implied in extract 31). This kind of positioning would materialize in interactions where student protesters would be re-affirming their commitment to the protests as well as speaking to their marginalization. The effect of this kind of positioning of the state is that it reduces complexity and allows for simple characterization of the state as a caricatured image of an oppressive system. This kind of positioning from student protesters occurred in interactional contexts such as recounting interactions with the University and management; expressing commitment to the student protests; and retelling experiences of marginalization. Which from a positioning perspective, the interactional contexts are arguably the storylines that are framed through the apartheid repertoire.

The absence of the education sectors of the government creates a certain kind of position for the University, where the University is seen as the providers of an education, who then subsequently become positioned as a surrogate for the department of higher education. Student protesters and supporters make use of first order positioning to position the other, which in this case is the University, as responsible for denying them access to an education because they are constructed as institutionally racist. The storyline that underpins this kind of first order positioning relates back to the issue of institutional racism. This position is emphasized through the mobilization of the apartheid repertoire in which the apartheid repertoire provides the construction of the institution as similar to education institutions during apartheid, who were beyond access of the black population. This implication is made in extract 32 where the author implies that the University is in control of the state police and that they are working together to suppress dissent, which is implied as being similar to how it was during apartheid. Student protesters, through constructing the University as institutionally racist towards black students, position the University an institution that is still holding onto to an apartheid legacy emphasized through the label of white supremacy. This is implied in extract 28. This kind of positioning emerged in interactional contexts around experiences of marginalization and affirming commitment to the student movement.

4.3.3.) Function of the discursive repertoire of apartheid:

There are a number of functions the apartheid repertoire achieves. The first important function is that the student protests are legitimized because the student protests are paired with the liberation struggle under apartheid. The liberation struggle is seen to be a morally just struggle because it was aimed at addressing the oppressive apartheid system. Student protesters through constructing their interactions with the state and the University as apartheid-like, they frame the movement as morally just because they are struggling against the state and the institution that has been constructed as being similar to the state of affairs during apartheid.

This association with apartheid also works to engineer support from the public as their struggle is constructed as this generation's equivalent of the liberation struggle against apartheid. The mobilization of the apartheid repertoire functions to cultivate in a sense an identity framework of a protester, through the activation of images, accounts and meaning from the struggle under apartheid. As a result what the function then becomes of the apartheid repertoire, student protesters subsequently make sense of themselves and the student protests through the lens of apartheid, which allows them to make sense of their identity as akin to protesters under the apartheid regime. The function here then communicates a sense that student protesters within the current socio-economic context, seek a struggle that provides a sense of identity and meaning akin to the meaning and identity found by individuals who protested during apartheid.

The comparison to the apartheid struggle achieves the function of communicating a generational struggle which was also highlighted as a function of the struggle repertoire. Both the struggle repertoire and apartheid repertoire function to construct the student movement as a current generation struggle that shares links with the previous generations struggle against apartheid, which in turn increases solidarity across generations. The apartheid repertoire communicates the sense that apartheid is perceived to still be occurring or rather the effects of apartheid are constructed by student protesters and supporters, as still prevalent. That the struggle from the previous generation has been constructed as carrying over to the generation born after apartheid which in turn functions to construct apartheid has having a significant lingering effect. It is through this constructed sense of an intergenerational struggle that injustices addressed in the struggle repertoire and marginalization in the emotions repertoire arguably are placed within a historical frame. The issue of an institutional culture constructed

as alienating, through the apartheid repertoire, constructs the institutional culture as shaped from an institutional culture from apartheid that was perceived as institutionally racist. The feeling of marginalization through a perceived sense of violence from the state is historically constructed and understood by the apartheid repertoire. The apartheid repertoire constructs the presence of violence in the current student movement as a continuation of the violence present during apartheid.

4.4.) Discursive Repertoire of Race:

4.4.1.) Construction of the racial repertoire:

The analysis of the discussion threads, revealed that student protesters and critics of the student protests drew on a discursive repertoire of race. Student protesters drew on the racial repertoire in interactions around: commitment to the student protests; responses to criticisms of the protests; experiences of marginalization; reflections on the student movement; and responses to personal criticisms. Critics of the student protests primarily drew on the racial repertoire in interactions outlining their critics of the student protests. Student protesters constructed the racial repertoire with the following sub-themes: (i) whiteness rooted in structures and institutions; (ii) victimization of black students; and (iii) race, class and privilege.

4.4.1.1.) Whiteness embedded in structures and institutions:

> Extract 34: “government is shook, white supremacy is shook, 'whiteness' is shook”
>
> Extract 35: “our "mentality" falls outside of the parameters that White corporate and White Capital allow”
>
> Extract 36: “you say, in typical White, "I have institutional power" way, even though you are Black like me that you hope we find employment”

The first sub-theme that was identified from student protesters and supporters construction of their accounts, was how whiteness was seen to be rooted within structures and institutions. Whiteness is defined as the set of values, practices and beliefs that are associated with people who are socially constructed as white (West & Schmidt, 2010). The concept of whiteness is not defined or described directly, but is stated with the implied sense that the meaning behind whiteness is understood. This constructs the idea of whiteness as broad, all-encompassing and a matter of fact, as highlighted in extract 34. This occurred in interactional contexts of: responses to criticisms of the protests; re-affirming commitment to the protests and

experiences of marginalization. This particular construction merges as a result of the struggle repertoire and the apartheid repertoire making claims that the University's institutional culture is racist and alienating towards students. Student protesters constructed their sense of being discriminated against and feeling alienated within the institution as a result of the notion student protesters create, that there are corporations and entities that are intentionally stopping them from improving their lives, as illustrated in extract 35. These entities are constructed as white owned, all-powerful and actively police black individuals who do not conform to their perceived way of being.

Student protesters and supporters construct an implication that whiteness is bad, because it is contrasted negatively against black students who are protesting against the institution constructed as inherently white. The history of race relations within the country means that particular racial classifications, carry certain connotations (Bergh, 2003). Student protesters and supporters, through only referencing whiteness, activate a set of negative connotations that invoke a history of racial domination and a racial hierarchy that privileges white individuals over black individuals (Bergh, 2003). The result is student protesters and supporters construct the institution and the state by extension, as antagonists of the student protests, because they are constructed as maintaining and upholding whiteness. This construction is justified by student protesters and supporters through the referencing the historical impacts of being excluded from institutions on the basis of race, as illustrated in extract 36 where the author implies that they do not have capacity to seek employment because they have suffered the effects of institutional racism.

Student protesters and supporters make reference to the notion of white supremacy. White supremacy as a concept refers to the structuring of society where individuals who are deemed white are systematically privileged over those who are not deemed white (Bergh, 2003). The idea of white supremacy as systemic, is constructed by student protester focusing on locating whiteness within large bureaucracies and structures, as shown in extract 34, 35 and 36. The construction of white supremacy from student protesters occurred in interactions around experiences of marginalization; stating commitment to the protests and responding to criticisms aimed at the protests.

4.4.1.2.) Race, class and privilege:

> Extract 2: “We are actually contesting the idea that our skin colour should be an obstacle to gaining access to the many opportunities White South Africans enjoy”
>
> Extract 37: “Dear Jono and Becky, Stop weaponising the support staff. Don't bring up oomama bethu at your convenience when opposing something you don't like. It is disgusting and disgraceful that the only time you think of the plight of the support staff, that the support staff even cross your minds, is when you oppose movements of social justice, which are centered around the working class struggle, like #FeesMustFall.
>
> Extract 38: “Unfortunately, not everyone can have" is the mentality that's driven the oppression, by diverting the excuses to "quality education is expensive" yet its poorly funded, and was always designed with a selective few in mind, definitely not the black body”

The second sub-theme in the construction of the racial repertoire, was the association of class and privilege along racial lines. The construction of race by student protesters did not reflect an understanding of race as a social construct, but rather an understanding of race as something that is fixed and that is a natural fact. Student protesters imply a link between being black and being a part of the working class, through making references to struggling because they are black and poor, as illustrated in extract 38. Student protesters and supporters perform this association of race and class through making claims that they themselves are black and from the working class, implied in extract 38. This performance arguably emerges from the constructed ideas around race influenced by the context of the country where race and class are linked and therefore protesters and supporters because they are black, perform an identity that reflects their racial identity as being targeted against and because they construct themselves as black, they include within their performance of their identity, an identification from the working class. This construction emerges from protesters and supporters performing their sense of marginalization through making claims of being discriminated against because they are black and lack financial resources, shown in extract 2. The constructed feeling of discrimination and exclusion by the institution and the state, who both are constructed as anti-black and anti-poor, is demonstrated in extract 38. This construction materialized in interactions around responding to criticisms of the protests and reflecting on the protests.

Student protesters and supporters associated whiteness with connotations around the idea of privilege. White Privilege is the notion that individuals carry certain advantages because they

are white (Steyn & Foster, 2008). Student protesters highlighted these connotations in reference to "Jono and Becky" within an interaction around responses to criticisms of the protests, as indicated in extract 37. These references refer to names that are usually assigned to white individuals who are constructed as stereotypes of white people; unaware of their privilege; and hold problematic views around race, class and privilege. The result of using a reference like Jono and Becky, is that it invokes certain connotations and ideas that include an association constructed around whiteness and white people generally as being seen as anti-transformation, anti-blackness, and socio-economically privileged and disconnected from the inequality in the world.

Extract 37 illustrates these kinds of connotations through constructing white students as selfishly motivated to stop the student protests. The author of extract 37 goes on to construct white students as manipulative by accusing them of using support staff to criticize the protests; and engage in self-indulgent behaviour such as getting recklessly drunk and not cleaning up after themselves. This particular construction manifested itself within the context of responding to criticisms directed at the protests. This construction of white students as privileged arguably allows a re-emphasis of the identity of protesters and supporters as black and working class. Their performance of being black and from the working class is contrasted with their sense anger constructed towards the perceived insincere actions and criticisms from white students, who are constructed by protesters and supporters, as anti-transformation, wealthy and self-interested. Their constructed angry responses are constructed through the contrast made with them, as being from the working class and not wealthy, and therefore construct their anger as legitimate in the face of perceived insincere displays of concern and constructed sense of display of wealth.

4.4.1.3.) Victimization of black students:

Extract 9: "I am so angry at how black students are victimized and criminalized when crime and sickening acts of injustices have been performed on my race for centuries"

Extract 31: "This is an attack against the poor, black and soon to be arrested students"

Extract 39: "We are not playing victim we are being victimized for our skin colour"

Extract 40: "as the majority who are mostly affected by the fees of institutions and historical debts, and victimized through exclusion, as black students"

Extract 41: "My crime is the colour of my skin"

The third sub-theme that was prevalent in the construction of the racial repertoire, was the theme of victimization of black students. Student protesters constructed themselves as black and on the receiving end of violence from the state because of their blackness, as demonstrated in extracts 39 and 41. This construction occurred in interactions around recounting experiences of marginalization, reflecting on the student protests and responding to criticisms of the student movement. Student protesters construct their blackness as a target that, invites violence from the state and University that is constructed as unjustified and disproportionate, shown in extracts 9 and 31. The constructed claims to violence include claims of exposure to violence, claims of exclusion on financial grounds and an institutional culture that is constructed as alienating and racist, as illustrated in extract 40. This kind of construction occurred in interactions around experiences of marginalization and reflections on the student movement. Student protesters and supporters arguably enact a performance of themselves that reflects a sense of being victimized because of their race. This performance is highlighted through the language used by protesters and supporters that makes claims of being victimized, shown in extract 9, 39 and 41. This performance is read as an exclamation made by protesters and supporters that their victimization due to their race is wrong and because of that they subsequently perform a sense of agency to react against the perceived victimization. Their agency is constructed through the emotional reactions of anger and disgust at the experience of being victimized through violence and exclusion from the University, reinforced by the actions of the police as representative of the state.

4.4.2.) Variation of the racial repertoire:

> Extract 42: "#FEESMUSTFALL seems to be turning into #whitesmustfall. Black people need to stop going straight onto the defensive when a white person makes comments about the protesters. It's not because you're black, but because you destroyed property and intimidated fellow students, future colleagues and your superiors
>
> Extract 43: "FMF is characterized by hypocrisy and betrayal. Let me explain why. Black universities (namely: WSU, Fort Hare, and UKZN) protest on a year basis but Rhodes University 'woke' students never show any form of solidarity towards their struggle.

Predominately the racial repertoire was constructed in a particular way as was discussed above, however there were extracts from the discussion thread that appeared to indicate variation on this particular repertoire. The variation appeared most striking within the context

of criticisms directed towards the student protests and the student protester, from critics. The idea of race formed the foundation of the criticisms and was constructed around two ideas: (i) the perception of racism displayed by the student protesters; and (ii) the conflation of race and class. In relation to the first idea, the variation on the racial repertoire was constructed in a way that criticizes black students for their perceived racism towards white students, through a supposed anti-racism stance, as illustrated in extract 42. The criticism given constructs black student protesters as wrong because they are constructed as having demonstrated racism towards white people. This is a variation as it constructs student protesters in a negative light in terms of race relations, whereas the earlier analyses had revealed that student protesters constructed themselves as victimized because of existing racial dynamics. The construction of the student protesters arguably relates back to Botha and Marx (2015) article in which they noted that black student protesters have the stereotyped image of being violent destructive and to be feared.

Critics highlighted their criticism of the student protests based on the conflation of race and class within the student movement. This included an accusation directed towards student protesters as being from the middle class as opposed to the working class, as implied in extract 43. The author further challenges the characterization of the student movement by the student protesters and supporters as a racial struggle, rather than a class struggle. This relates back to Botha and Marx (2015) in which they noted that student protesters have often been questioned about their choice of areas of focus during student protests in the past. It also challenges the legitimacy of their complaints, as critics assert that protesters and supporters are from a higher class and implicitly are constructed as being incapable of truly fighting for the concerns of students from the working class. The author of extract 43 goes further to assert that student protesters are more aligned to whiteness within the institution as opposed to sincere solidarity with students from traditionally black higher education institution. The author implies that because whiteness is associated with privilege, student protesters rather than claiming to be from the working class, are actually in a privileged position because they are at these institutions. The critic constructed the implication that if the protests were solely occurring at traditionally black institutions, it would not receive as much attention. This appears to be emphasized through the research done by Botha and Marx (2015) in which they noted that student protesters at Historically Black Universities were seen as violent and dangerous.

The effect of this kind of construction is that student protesters and supporters are seen as self-interested and are performing a sense of identity that does not reflect a true solidarity with other students from traditionally black higher education institutions. Through this kind of construction from critics, the student movement's sincerity and level of self-awareness is questioned and the movement as a whole is delegitimised. This particular variation with the racial repertoire constructs student protesters superficially engaged in matters of race and class and lack genuine awareness of dynamics in different higher education institutions. This criticisms constructs the notion that protesters are protesting because they are engaged in a performance and are not authentically engaged with the student movement. This kind of construction works to cultivate the student protests as something not to be taken seriously and to be ignored. It also removes race as a significant aspect away from the student movement, almost to the extent of minimizing the presence or significance of race within the student protests.

4.4.3.) Subject positions within the racial repertoire:

> Extract 5: "I AM AN ANGRY BLACK WOMAN"
> Extract 18: "Child these institutions of learning were not build with you in mind"
> Extract 31: "This is an attack against the poor, black and soon to be arrested students"
> Extract 44: "no one in power or whom benefits more from the system will ever be happy with their comfortable lives being altered and compromised"

In light of how the racial repertoire was constructed, there were a number of subject positions made available. The kind of positioning that protesters and supporters used in the racial repertoire was, first order positioning. First order positioning was present in how protesters and supporters positioned themselves black and working class. The deployment of the racial repertoire allows black student protesters to be positioned as authorities within the student protests because they are constructed as the ones who are solely protesting and the ones who are on the receiving end of injustice because they are black, as illustrated in extracts 31 and 5. This kind of positioning from student protesters and supporters occurs in interactions concerning experiences of marginalization and pleas for empathy.

First order positioning was also present in how critics were also positioned. They were positioned as either being white, ant-black and/or privileged. The state and the University are

perceived as extension of whiteness and therefore they are positioned as un-transformed, anti-black, exclusionary, and obstacles to social justice, as illustrated in extracts 18 and 44. This positioning manifests itself in interactions around re-affirming commitment to the student protests. The variation revealed the presence of critics and with that also revealed the presence of second order positioning. Second order positioning refers to individuals within an interaction who challenge the positions given from others unto them and the positions that others give themselves (Harre & Langenhove, 1991). Critics in this regard as evidenced in the variation of the racial repertoire challenge the construction student protesters and supports construct of themselves. Critics challenge the position of student protesters and supporters as working class and moral authorities through denying that they are a part of the working class and asserting that they are insincere, and therefore should not be treated as legitimate.

4.4.4.) Function of the racial repertoire:

There are a number of significant functions attached to the racial repertoire. Immediately one of the functions of this particular repertoire is that it racially polarizes the student protest. Student protesters are constructed uniformly as black; and the state and the University are constructed as upholding the values of whiteness. The consequence of this kind of racial polarization is the erasure of other racial groups' involvement in the student protests, done through the absence of mentioning or referencing other racial groups within the student movement. This in turn constructs the student movement as a largely black student struggle against institutions that are constructed as white thereby constructing a black and white view of the situation in higher education.

The mobilization of race through the racial repertoire achieves the function of making race a salient feature of the student protests. Through the racial repertoire, student protesters foreground race as a significant issue that is prevalent not only in the University context, but more generally in South Africa. The racial repertoire serves to communicate that race and class are linked because of the racial history of the country where that history is still having structural effects along racial and class lines currently.

The framing of a black struggle for free education contrasted against the state and the institution that is seen as white also achieves a certain function. This function entails how the University and the state are seen as bad, protectors of whiteness and anti-black through the racial repertoire The function of the racial repertoire in this capacity, is that the institution is

seen as the cause of the student protesters' issues because the institution is constructed as white supremacist. This allows student protesters to direct issues of race and protest towards the institution rather than the state, which is largely the party that is associated with liberation struggle, and therefore cannot be easily seen as upholding the values of whiteness. The racial repertoire serves to create an avenue for student protesters to address grievances around issues of race legitimately at institutions and structures (the University).

4.5.) Discursive repertoire of rights:

4.5.1.) Construction:

Within the discussion threads, student protesters and supporters of the student movement drew on a rights repertoire. Protesters and supporters constructed the rights repertoire in interactional contexts such as: reflections on the student movement; responses to criticisms of the protests; re-affirming commitment to the student protests; experiences of marginalization; pleas for empathy; and interactions with the University and the state. The rights repertoire consisted of the following sub-themes in its construction: (i) explicit rights talk; (ii) right to protest; (iii) right to an education; and lastly (iv) the right to human dignity.

4.5.1.1.) Explicit rights talk:

> Extract 45: "WE CANNOT BACK DOWN NOW, OVER 22 YEARS DOWN THE LINE WHEN WE'RE STILL SUBJECT TO POVERTY AND DEPRIVED A BASIC HUMAN RIGHT"
>
> Extract 46: "exercising their demand and right to access to quality decolonized education free for the poor and missing middle"

Student protesters and supporters tended to construct a rights repertoire through making explicit claims to rights within the student protests. Explicit rights talk broadly was constructed through directly stating or emphasizing a particular right in interactional contexts around reflecting on the student movement and interactions with the University and the state, as implied in extracts 45 and 46. This was done through student protesters and supporters either constructing positive and/or negative frames around rights. Positive framing of rights refers to individuals that actively make claims to a particular right, whereas negative framing of rights refers to individual's claims that rights were denied or taken away from them and as a result are making claims for those rights to be realized (Nancy, 2014). Extract 45 relates to a negative framing of rights and extract 46 relates to a positive framing of rights.

4.5.1.2.) The right to an education:

Extract 47: “FREE, AND DECOLONIZED, QUALITY EDUCATION”
Extract 48: “Protesters are fighting for their right to an education, not to protest!”
Extract 49: “Now, does your right outweigh theirs because you have money?”
Extract 50: “My crime is the free de-colonized education I seek”
Extract 51: “exercising their demand and right to access to quality decolonised education free for the poor and missing middle”

The right to an education was a central sub-theme in the construction of the rights repertoire. Supporters and student protesters constructed the right to an education as the central aim of the student movement, under the banner of protesting for free decolonized education, as illustrated in extract 47. Through their constructed accounts it is not discussed or highlighted in great detail what exactly is free decolonized education however it was merely stated self-evidently from student protesters. The language used in the construction of the rights repertoire, particularly in relation to the right to an education, revealed that protesters and supporters constructed the right to an education by means of an assertion of said right. This assertion is shown in extract 48 and 51, where the extracts reveal that protesters and supporters construct themselves as having rights that they are entitled to and are therefore within their own capacity, to assert their rights. Extract 47 arguably emphasizes this point in which the capitalizations in the extract communicates the sense that the author is shouting out their demand for free education be realized.

The right to an education was constructed by student protesters and supporters with the notion of fairness implied in extracts 49. Extract 50 appears to indicate that protesters and supporters construct themselves as being persecuted for protesting for the right to an education. Protesters and supporters subsequently construct the idea that their demands for free education are being ignored and their ability to make claims for their rights are also being ignored, through their sense of criminalization. In extract 49, protesters and supporters construct the idea of a balance of rights which was used to construct the sense that they themselves were being denied their rights because they lacked financial resources. Which was used to implicitly construct the idea that it is not fair that protesters and supporters are not able to get an education because they lack financial resources. Protesters and supporters

construct the idea of a balance of rights as a means to draw on their that they are not able to enjoy the rights that other financially capable students are, and therefore construct the idea that their right to an education should be met and should be made freely available for them. Absent from this idea of a balance of rights, is the idea of protesters and supporters negotiating their rights with the rights of others as a balancing act between different interests. The construction of the right to an education occurred in interactional contexts of: pleas for empathy; and interactions with the University and the state.

4.5.1.3.) The right to protest:

Extract 33: “Cadres we will not stop, they can shoot us, arrest us but we will mobilize and fight for this cause”

Extract 52: “ Besides, if a protest is to have any meaning, it must be disruptive”

Extract 53: “oppressing and criminalizing those who are determined to speak out about their gross violations”

Extract 54: “THIS is a call for an entire system to change, its a revolution”

Extract 55: “"Interdict conditions" were broken through disruption of classes by protesting students,”

Extract 56: “Fees will fall not through violence but through force”

The right to protest was another sub-theme that was used in the construction of the rights repertoire. Student protesters and supporters would either assert that protesters had a right to protest for free education or in other instances highlight that protesters’ right to protest was being infringed upon by the University and the state. This is illustrated in extract 53 and 33 within the interactional context of interactions with the University and the state; and commitment to the student protests. In extract 53, the author constructs the idea that their right to protest is being infringed upon through them being oppressed and criminalized because they were exercising their right to protest. In this extract, protesters and supporters construct the idea that their voices are being silenced and that this silencing is actively being done, to prevent them for asserting their rights. Extract 33 works to construct from the point of view of protesters and supporters, that a drive to assert their right to protest and the language within the extract reveals a sense of their assertion of their rights as non-negotiable and framed as an eventuality. The language within the extract constructs the sense of a rallying call by protesters and supporters to assert their right to protest, in addition it reads as

a statement of intent. This kind of construction emerged in interactional contexts around: commitment to the student protests; and interactions with the University and the state.

The right to protest was also constructed with the notion of justification and rationalization. Student protesters and supporters constructed the idea of justification and rationalization as a rationale for why they are protesting or supporting the student movement; and certain strategies of protest action were taken. In terms of rationalization, extract 54, illustrates the author making a case for the student protests constructed on the idea that they see the protests as a revolution and with that the right to protest is rationalized and constructed by the author as a necessary component of any revolution. It is through this rationalizing that supporters and protesters construct their protest activity as justifiable. Extract 52 illustrates the author constructing an argument that protests must be disruptive and the right to protest is implicitly used justify their protest activity as disruptive. The rationalization done by supporters and protesters also allows them to construct the idea of violence as justifiable through mobilizing the right to protest and rationalizing the student movement as a revolution. In extract 56, the author of the text constructs the use of force within the student protests as necessary to achieve the goal of free education but negates the idea of protest actions as violent. Supports and protesters construct their protests actions as justifiable because they rationalize their actions as engineering a revolution and that they have a right to protest. In extract 55, the author notes that interdict conditions were broken. The author went on to further construct the incidences of interdict conditions being broken as justifiable on the grounds that supporters and protesters have the right to protest against the perceived marginalization they experience and the action of breaking the interdict conditions was constructed as a necessary part of protest actions. The right to protest was implicit within interactions around experiences of marginalization, responses to criticisms, reflections on the student movement, responses to personal attacks, calls for solidarity, criticisms towards the protests and pleas for empathy.

4.5.1.4.) The right to dignity:

> Extract 57: “It is clear now more than ever before that our humanity is unrecognised”
> Extract 58: “The value of my life has been reduced to a hash-tag

The next sub-theme that was present in the construction of the rights repertoire was the theme of the right to human dignity. Student protesters and supporters constructed their right to

dignity within the interactional contexts of: re-affirming commitment to the protests; and experiences of marginalization. Through their talk of constructed injustices, protesters and supporters constructed their humanity as having been disregarded and their just cause pushed aside, as implied in extract 57. The extract illustrates that the author of that text constructs the student protesters and supporters as individuals who have had their humanity disregarded, implying that their experiences and sense of constructed marginalization were not being taken into account by the state and the University. This kind of construction is used by protesters and supporters to construct an implicit sense that their right to dignity is not being manifested. Student protesters construct their experiences of violence from the state, exclusion from University through lack of finances and alienation from an institutional culture that is seen as racist, as causes for their dignity being infringed upon. Protesters and supporters construct these experiences as evidence that within the institution and responses from the state, they are meaningless and worthless, as illustrated in extract 58 in which the author constructs student protesters and supporters lives as confined to a nameless hash-tag on social media. This kind of construction implicitly constructs the idea that supporters and protesters do not feel as if they have the right to human dignity or the capacity to assert their right to human dignity. This kind of construction occurred in the context of student protesters re-asserting their commitment to the student protests.

4.5.1.5.) The right to freedom from discrimination:

> Extract 2: “We are actually contesting the idea that our skin colour should be an obstacle to gaining access to the many opportunities White South Africans enjoy”
>
> Extract 59: “Your homophobic ass shouldn't be welcome within any social movement”
>
> Extract 60: “you are inciting blatant racism towards whites and are potentially putting that persons life in danger so please”

The extracts implicitly referenced freedom from discrimination. The inference was drawn from how student protesters, supporters and critics constructed their sense of discrimination in relation to the student protests. This inference was drawn from the extracts above in which protesters, supporters and critics all assert an instance of freedom from discrimination being infringed upon. Student protesters supporters construct themselves as denied opportunities that they construct white people within the country having, as shown in extract 2. Protesters

and supporters implicitly construct the idea that they are being unfairly discriminated against on the basis of their race, which implicitly references the right to freedom from discrimination. This particular kind of construction of the right to freedom from discrimination emerged out of the interactional context as a response to criticisms of the student movement.

Critics also made reference to the idea of freedom from discrimination through making claims against the student movement and constructing protesters and supporters as racist towards white people, as demonstrated in extract 60. Claims of racism towards white people emerged from critics within interactions highlighting their criticisms of the student protests. In this instance, critics construct the student protesters and supporters as infringing on white peoples' right to freedom from discrimination, through their construction of the actions from protesters and supporters as discriminatory towards white people on the basis of race. Protesters and supporters also emphasize the right to freedom from discrimination through disavowals of perceived homophobia displayed within the student movement, as shown in extract 59. The author constructs the idea of homophobia as incompatible with the student movement, which also constructs the idea that discrimination based on sexual orientation is not compatible with the student movement.

4.5.2.) Positioning in the discursive repertoire of rights:

Extract 45: "WE CANNOT BACK DOWN NOW, OVER 22 YEARS DOWN THE LINE WHEN WE'RE STILL SUBJECT TO POVERTY AND DEPRIVED A BASIC HUMAN RIGHT"

Extract 61: "was so willing to have the state prosecutor to argue in court on their behalf to remove protesters from campus pending investigation, based on allegations of breaking the law"

Extract 62: "As if Biko and Sobukwe didn't die for this so called "freedom"

Extract 63: "As if the very soil we walk on is not soaked in the blood of our ancestors"

The discursive repertoire of rights allowed the student protesters and supporters to position themselves as bearers of human rights. Student protesters and supporters are able to enact this position through the rights repertoire in which they engage in first order positioning in which they position themselves in a storyline around rights. The kinds of story lines relate to the different kinds of interactional contexts where the rights repertoire was used. These different

interactional contexts are the storylines in which protesters and supporters position themselves as citizens who have rights, are asserting their rights and are entitled to these rights. This kind of positioning is illustrated in extract 45, in which a protester asserts that they have been denied their rights which are owed to them. Student protesters and supporters also engaged in moral positioning through the rights repertoire. Moral positioning refers to positioning that is influenced by the social roles of the individuals involved in the interaction (Van langenhove & Harre, 1991). Student protesters and supporters are able to assert or lay claim that they have rights because within society their social role is one of being a citizen in society and as a result citizens commonly have rights enshrined within a constitution and protected by law. This kind of positioning emerged out of the interactional context of stating commitment to the student protests.

Student protesters and supporters subsequently position themselves bearers of rights, but have been denied their rights they are owed and entitled to. Extract 62 and 63 illustrate this, through making claims that their ancestors have suffered to get these rights however they themselves have not been able to benefit from them and are still disadvantage. This allows for student protesters to claim the position of moral authority. This kind of positioning occurred in the interactional context of student protesters constructing their experiences of marginalization. Extract 62 in particular, shows the author constructing the idea that the situation post-apartheid has not manifested into tangible gains for them and are still experience oppression, which is shown through the author questioning the freedom given post-apartheid as insufficient and laughable. Through this, protesters and supporters through positioning themselves as legitimate right bearers who have had their rights denied to, they are able to position themselves as moral and acting morally in asserting their right. The sense of moral authority emerges out of protesters and supporters positioning themselves as individuals, who have had their rights disregarded in the context of those rights being enshrined within a constitution, which came out of a history of people dying for the said rights, as shown in extract 62 and 63. This kind of positioning emerged from the interactional contexts of: experiences of marginalization; and interactions with the state and the University

The position of the state and the University are the result of two kinds of positioning by protesters and supporters: first order positioning and moral positioning. Protesters and supporters make use of first order positioning to position the state and the University as the entities that are denying them their rights. Protesters and supporters position the state and

University as unfairly and oppressively restricting their ability to assert their rights through suppressing their voices, as shown in extract 61. In terms of extract 61, the author implies that the University and the state are working to silence and oppress protesters through the law and making up charges against the student protesters. Protesters and supporters also position the state and the University as entities that are responsible for their rights and the entities that are required to ensure that protesters and supporters are afforded their rights. This is an instance of moral positioning because the demands for their rights to be realized by protesters and supporters, makes sense within a context in which the University and the state have the social roles of ensuring that citizens' rights are protected and made available for everyone to use. Through the rights repertoire, protesters and supporters are positioning the state and the University as failing to meet the expectations of their social roles and therefore are commanded by protesters and supporters to address their concerns and demands

4.5.3.) Function of the discursive repertoire of rights:

In relation to the rights repertoire there are a number of functions. One of the functions of the use of the rights repertoire is that it legitimises the student protests by grounding the movement around a struggle for rights. Rights are enshrined within the constitution, and there is a significant history within South Africa where human rights were not enforced (Robins, 2010). This allows the student protests to be recognized within a rights framework because the rights repertoire works to construct the student protests as a struggle for human rights. Human rights are traditionally seen as inviolable and universal and guaranteed to everyone simply because they are human (Donnelly, 2013). This understanding of rights, through the mobilization of the rights repertoire, means that demands made by the student protesters for their rights are seen as indisputable and effectively owed to them.

The rights repertoire functions to construct rights as universal and absolute which translates to the student movement and demands made from protesters being seen as absolute. The demand for free education is constructed as universal and absolute within the student movement and presented to the state as an absolute the state and the University must ensure. The rights repertoire casts the construction of rights talk from student protesters and supporters in absolute terms, which potentially negates further enquiry or questioning. The rights repertoire negates the possibility of negotiation between rights and/or various interest parties, because rights were constructed in absolute terms which does not provide ground around balancing and discussion of varied interests. Which means that demands from student

protesters and supporters for free decolonized education, within the rights repertoire, is immunized from being discussed alongside balancing other interests in society, but instead presented as guarantee that the state should ensure regardless of other interests or capabilities.

The rights repertoire also functions to centre rights within the student protests. In particular the right to an education, through the repertoire of rights, is placed as the rationale of the student protests. This also works to highlight the significance of education in South Africa given the context of large disparities in terms of educational outcome across different groups within the country (Yamauchi, 2011). In particular, through the heavy focus on the right to education, connections are made to the students who protested in 1976. The associations in society around the students who protested against receiving inferior education during apartheid are activated through current student protesters use of the rights repertoire. This translates to how the state and University are framed, where the state is framed as similar to the apartheid government and the University is framed as similar to higher education institutions under apartheid. The University is framed as functioning the same way institutions of higher learning functioned under apartheid. Where through the deployment of the rights repertoire, this is presented as a relevant issue that needs to be addressed. The rights repertoire through its focus on rights, particularly the right to an education, functions to unite an entire generation that have had expectations of impacting and changing their lives through education (Christie, 2010).

Another function of the rights repertoire is that it provides moral and legalistic justification to the student movement. The moral and legalistic justification comes from the constitution in which outlines the rights afforded to everyone in the country. Through the rights repertoire, protesters and supporters are able to draw on these rights and assert that they are acting on rights that are protected within the constitution that has legal implications. Which translates to student protesters and supporters, through the rights repertoire, justifying their actions as within the bounds of the constitution and subsequently legitimized to protest and assert their right for an education, through the constitution. The rights repertoire allows the protests to be morally framed, because the construction from protesters and supporters of their rights being denied to them through exclusion, violence and oppression from the state and the University, carries the implication that this is wrong. This allows them to assert their agency and claim that a moral wrong has been committed on theme, through their rights being infringed upon.

4.6.) Discussion:

This discussion section is focused on discussing the broader implications of the use of the discursive repertoires identified as operating in the texts that were analysed, in addition to placing them within a contextual and theoretical point of view. The discussion will be underpinned by a focus on the broader functions of the discursive repertoires that were identified, the positioning effects achieved by the deployment of these repertoires and, more significantly, what the identity effects attached to the use of these repertoires are. Firstly, the discussion will focus on the inter-play between the struggle repertoire, apartheid repertoire and the racial repertoire. This will then be followed by a discussion of the rights repertoire and how it forms the foundation in which the other discursive repertoires are able to take shape. Next, a discussion on the emotions repertoire will be undertaken, focusing on how this particular repertoire works to set the tone for the use of the other discursive repertoires. After this, the final aspect of the discussion will focus more broadly on an analysis of the function, positioning and identity effects of the discursive repertoires used.

4.6.1.) The links between the struggle, apartheid and racial repertoires:

The struggle repertoire and the apartheid repertoire work to mutually constitute each other in the sense that one repertoire cannot necessarily exist without the simultaneous (if implicit) deployment of the other, especially given the historical context of South Africa. The use of the apartheid repertoire illustrates the significance of the apartheid struggle in the collective social imagination of South African student protesters. The apartheid liberation struggle is arguably a feature of the collective psyche of this generation of students because the imagery of apartheid, stories and accounts of what apartheid was like has cultivated powerful images and illustrations of what struggle was/is (Moodley & Adam, 2000). It also may relate to the lingering social and structural effects of apartheid that are still felt currently by student protesters (Moodley & Adam, 2000). The result is that, with student protesters having these images, stories and accounts in their psyche, in addition to having experiences with the structural effects of apartheid, construct their sense of social identity through this paradigm, despite being labelled as the generation born after apartheid.

The result is this collective memory around the apartheid struggle has functioned to cultivate a particular prism that the current generation of student protesters use to make sense of the current student protests and social movement in the higher education sector. The collective memory or imagination of the apartheid struggle works to provide a firm grounding and

meaning to the student protests and the identities of the student protesters through making claims that the current struggles are reminiscent of the struggle under apartheid. This is activated through the claims of experiencing the current student protests as if they were both objectively and qualitatively the same as the apartheid struggle, despite student protesters predominately not experiencing apartheid first-hand. The result is the current student protests and the liberation struggle under apartheid become seen as equivalent which establishes a sense of inter-generational struggle. Through the use of the apartheid and struggle repertoires, a link is established between the people who were a part of the liberation struggle against apartheid and the current students who are protesting for free education in higher education institutions.

Arguably, the struggle under apartheid has constructed particular imagery that is associated with the notion of struggle and when activated through the apartheid repertoire become in a sense blue-prints for protests generally. It is also arguable that this imagery is manifested in the current student protests when students engage in protests and mobilize the struggle repertoire. This was seen in the ways in which students mobilized: the tactics that were used and the language that was employed; as well as how individuals and institutions were constructed in particular ways in relation towards the student movement. The apartheid repertoire in this sense functions to provide these blue-prints in which current student protesters use to make sense of the current student protest.

Therefore it could be argued that if apartheid had not occurred, the emergence of the student protests may have occurred very differently to how it did. The substantive reasons for why student protesters involved in #FeesMustFall are protesting, namely the lingering structural consequences of apartheid, would conceivably not be as pressing a set of social concerns, therefore eliminating the need to protest in the first place. The apartheid repertoire and struggle repertoire both emphasize the idea of struggling against injustices which justifies and legitimises protest.

The racial repertoire is intimately tied to both the struggle repertoire and the apartheid repertoire because of the ongoing significance of race in the South African context. The struggle repertoire and apartheid repertoire make references to the issue of race through their focus on the institutional culture of the institution, constructed as alienating, racist, exclusionary and oppressive, particularly towards black students. The apartheid repertoire

explicitly makes reference to the presence of institutional racism within the institution claiming that its structures reproduce racist practices that disadvantage predominately black students. The racial repertoire emphasizes race and the particular meanings it generates in terms of how student protesters, firstly, construct themselves and, secondly, how they construct other students and the University. The presence of the apartheid discourse and struggle discourse means that these constructions will reflect themselves along particular racial lines influenced by the social, political, economic and historical context of South Africa.

The racial repertoire and its use is significant in terms of how identity politics is conceptualized and played out. The racial repertoire can be read as means of signifying who can and cannot speak or participate within the student protests. Identity politics is concerned with authority assigned to individuals in terms of their identity markers which affords them capacity to speak on political matters that relate to the identity markers (Bernstein, 2005). The use of the racial repertoire allows black identity to be privileged above others. The marker of black identity through the racial repertoire allows student protesters and supporters who are black, to enact a kind of authority through their racial identity. This authority is confined to matters of race, where race still holds salience in South Africa (Ansell, 2004).

The racial identity marker of being black, in terms of identity politics, is afforded greater significance in leveraging who may and may not participate in conversations around inequality and redress in comparison to someone who carries the racial identity marker of being white, because of the history of the country (Ansell, 2004). This arguably connects to the arguments made by Liu and Hilton (2005) where they contend that histories attached to particular groups influenced their interactions with other groups. This can be read as an effect of the racial repertoire in that through the use of the repertoire, it polices the boundaries of participation for individuals who are identified as white and situates individuals who identify as black, as the authority on matters of race, oppression and inequality. The emergence of the racial repertoire under post-apartheid South Africa could arguably be indicating that race and racial relations are still significant (Ngonyama, 2012). Black people are disadvantaged as compared to other racial groups as a whole and arguably what the racial repertoire sets out to achieve is highlight that disparity and more importantly assert that these imbalances be addressed to benefit black people. Through the racial repertoire being mobilized, it allows

black student protesters and supporters to define what decolonization and transformation should look like in higher education and society more generally.

The emergence of these particular repertoires are understandable, given the context of South Africa. The discussions around higher education institutions, in regards to institutional culture and transformation, tend to reflect the view that change has been slow to happen, a perspective that the struggle discourse and the apartheid discourse hint at (Portnoi, 2009). The charge of labelling the University as upholders of whiteness in the racial repertoire is arguably a manifestation of how higher education institutions are seen as promoting a Euro-centric western perspective (Horsthemke, 2006). Higher education institutions being seen as Euro-centric has contributed to black students in particular, feeling excluded, isolated and alienated (Cornell & Kessi, 2016). Whiteness is attributed to the institution because of the sense from protesters and supporters that the culture of the institution reflects a worldview that is beneficial to white people (Portnoi, 2009). This coupled with, the socio-economic status of a lot of black people, is comparatively lower in relation to other racial groups (Van der Westhuizen, 2007). The socio-economic status of the country, where a large portion of the population is living in poverty and is unemployed, with limited access to generally poor basic and secondary education, provides impetus for student protesters to demand access to higher education institution in order to combat these hindering factors (Dlamini, 2017). The issue of funding becomes paramount in the mobilization of the struggle repertoire from student protesters because of the socio-economic context. This is also made more significant by the fact that historically there have been student protests around the issue of funding and high fees (Langa, 2017).

4.6.2.) The rights repertoire as foundation:

The rights repertoire is the foundation upon which the struggle repertoire, apartheid repertoire and racial repertoire are built. The mobilization of the rights repertoire occurs in the context of making claims to a right or stating when a right has not been protected or fulfilled as expected, in the face of an injustice or a wrong committed. The struggle repertoire highlights how funding and institutional culture negatively affect students; the apartheid repertoire notes how institutional racism and the violence from the state negatively affected the student protesters and the racial repertoire emphasizes the marginalization of black students in regards to race. The use of the rights repertoire by student protesters and supporters of the student movement functions as an active construction of opposition against the injustices

student protesters have constructed themselves as facing and makes claims for recognition of these injustices and arguments that something be done about them.

Each different form of injustice outlined through the racial repertoire, apartheid repertoire and the struggle repertoire, highlights a particular right which participants who position themselves as protesters construct as simultaneously absolute or inherent, as well as being actively denied or prevented from coming to fruition. The substantive issue of funding speaks to the right to an education where the constitution makes reference to a right to an education, and for education to become increasingly available (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). The right to protest is referenced in regard to the response that student protesters have been met with, where the constitution allows for citizens to demonstrate and protest legally (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). The responses from the state and the University were constructed by student protesters and supporters as violent, inhumane and oppressive. This construction is paired with the assertion that student protesters are protesting for free education and a transformed institution and by being met with violence by the state and the University, brings into question the right to protest and the right to freedom of assembly (Duncan, 2015).

The rights repertoire communicates the sense that the protesters claims to right to an education, freedom from discrimination, right to protests, and right to dignity are all interconnected with each other; and that they are all effectively claims made by protesters and supporters, that these rights are being ignored and disregarded. The rights in combination with each other constructs the student movement as a human rights struggle for recognition and justice. Where the rights repertoire provides the frame in which protesters and supporters assert that their rights be recognized and their concerns addressed by the state and the University. The University and the state are constructed and positioned as the entities that are meant to recognize protesters and supporters rights, and address their perceived sense of marginalization by an alienating institutional culture and high fees. The rights repertoire effectively allowed student protesters and supporters to position themselves as victims of exclusion by the institutional culture and high tuition costs, who when they spoke out against their perceived marginalization, were met with state force. Duncan (2016) highlighted that protesters were exposed to violence from the state in terms of the police force which subsequently led to further escalations. The state was primarily seen as the police force

because there was limited interactions with other officials and departments of government (Langa, 2017).

The employment of this kind of construction resulted in them asserting that their rights have been infringed upon and subsequently able to take the role of victim who is asserting a sense of agency and carry moral legitimacy. Therefore the assertion of rights as absolute is arguably informed on the basis of entitlement shaped by a history of racial oppression that has negatively impacted on black people, and the emergence of democracy as an opportunity to address those impacts. Where the constitution afforded everyone rights in the new democracy and opportunity to address inequalities of the past (Moller & Roberts, 2014). However the reality of the country is that there is still inequality across racial lines, which has meant that democracy has not been able to address the inequalities of the past fully (Dlamini, 2017). It can be argued that the assertion of rights as absolute within the student protests rather than a balance of rights, is a means to highlight the disparities that still exist and that there are segments in society that still require their rights to be fully realized. It can also relate to attempts of preventing their demands from being ignored or pushed to the side in favour of other interests.

The struggle repertoire and the racial repertoire perhaps arguably makes more reference to issue of the right to dignity and freedom from discrimination where the constitution outlines that citizens should not be discriminated against on the basis of their skin colour and should be treated with dignity (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). The apartheid repertoire draws on the aspect of institutional racism in its construction, which goes against the right freedom from discrimination as outlined in the constitution (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). As a result through student protesters experiencing this as an injustice and something necessary to protest against, freedom from discrimination and the right to dignity are brought up. This also applies to the struggle repertoire and how institutional culture is used in its construction.

The context of South Africa makes the inclusion of the rights discourse more significant where the socio-economic status of a large segment of the population constructs a worrying picture of the country (Ngonyama, 2012). A large segment of the population is living in poverty, unemployed and has relatively little to no education (Dlamini, 2017). Since the turn to democracy, education has been constructed as the means in which individuals can

overcome their socio-economic status and achieve upward mobility (Moller & Roberts, 2014). This significance refers to rights as acting as vehicles for demands from student protesters to be made of the state and the institution to make these rights tangible both in name and in practice (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). The historical legacies of protests in South Africa have often brought the issue of rights to the fore-front of the message of particular protests or social movements (Robins, 2010). The presence of the rights repertoire is constructed as evidence by student protesters and supporters that increasing fees and an untransformed institution have presented barriers to them enacting their rights. The issue of fees and a lack of substantial transformation in higher education institutions have been received quite negatively by students (Portnoi, 2009).

4.6.3.) Emotions repertoire as tone of the student protests:

The emotions repertoire relates to the other repertoires in that it is more applicable as a description of tone in which the other repertoires were constructed and how they were communicated. The use of this repertoire illustrates the construction of their experiences in relation to the student protests as an emotional one, which means that the deployment of this repertoire was a common feature of the other repertoires drawn upon. The struggle repertoire, apartheid repertoire and the racial repertoire all highlight a sense of injustice that student protesters have experienced, felt and reacted to. The emotions drawn upon as references in this repertoire include: anger, fear, frustration, sadness, resentment, disillusionment, frustration, persecution, isolation, alienation and victimization. Student protesters and supporters construct their emotions as being caused by the University and the state.

The use of the emotions repertoire emphasizes the emotional and, by inference, psychological, consequences of the injustices that student protesters have faced. These injustices are, as mentioned, a key aspect of both the apartheid and struggle repertoires which make references to student protesters *feeling* excluded, discriminated against and alien in an institutional culture that is not reflective of the larger population and is experienced as oppressive by black students. The injustices that student protesters *felt* had certain emotional consequences, as a result of which, they were able to construct justifications for protesting against those injustices. Student protesters, through engaging in the student protests, attempted to illustrate the significance of the student movement through the display of their emotions which worked to ground the movement in their lived reality. The grounding in lived reality accomplishes a number of things, one of the more significant things is that, it allows protesters and

supporters to advocate their versions of the student protests and present it as true and accurate. Their version of the student protests is afforded more weight through an appeals to emotions and experiencing them personally. The primacy of emotions works as an indicator experience on a first hand basis, where emotions works as a signature of authenticity. Which has the effect of discrediting other accounts of the student protests through the assertion of personal accounts emphasized through the referencing of experiencing emotions during the student protests.

Once again the context of South Africa arguably provides the framework with which to make sense of the prevalence of the emotions repertoire. A majority of the population is living in poverty, is unemployed, limited in education and most likely black (Dlamini, 2017). Access to improvement of standard of living is only available to a few which means that it becomes a very difficult thing to advance upwards because there are forces that are working against them (Dlamini, 2017). The prospect of failure and not being able to improve one's standard of living because of a lack of finances; coupled with facing an institutional culture that is described as alienating and racist; creates strong emotions within the student protesters. The current student movement comes to signify an opportunity to get a better life and as a result emotions are expressed to communicate the significance of the student protests for student protesters.

4.6.4.) Implications of the various repertoires identified in the texts:

This section will be focused on discussing the broader implications of the repertoires that were identified as operating in the texts during the analysis. This will include focusing on what function materializes through the use of the repertoires. This will then be followed by looking at the broader subject positioning that is made available through all the repertoires working together. The last section will focus on discussing the kinds of identities that are constructed and made available through the repertoires.

4.6.4.1.) Function of the repertoires:

Each repertoire separately achieves a particular function and collectively reinforces the other. The use of the struggle repertoire and the apartheid repertoire, underpinned by the rights repertoire, achieves the function of casting the student movement as essentially this generation's defining political and social struggle. Apartheid and the liberation struggle against it, provided meaning for the previous generation's struggle (Booysen, 2016). The

state of higher education and the protests for transformation and free education are understood as the defining struggle for the current student generation born into democracy (Badat, 2016). The inferred connection between the student protests and the liberation struggle constructs the idea of an inter-generational struggle carried from the older generation to the younger generation born after democracy (Chisholm, 2012).

One of the effects of this construction of generational struggle is that the student protests are seen as morally justified and legitimized, because student protesters are constructed as rebelling against institutions and a state that are perpetuating injustices that are characterized as comparable to the injustices of the apartheid state. As a consequence, the student movement is positioned as a morally righteous movement that is positioned against institutional racism, state violence, racial inequality and un-transformed higher education institutions. This achieves particular effects for how student protesters engage in the movement and how others engage with it.

One of those effects relates to the justification that is provided for any actions taken by student protesters due to the moral authority that they hold. This means that actions student protesters undertake as part of their protests, such as disruption of lecture venues, entering of residences, burning of lecture venues and shut-downs of the institutions are all seen as legitimate and justified because they are performed in the name of addressing lingering apartheid injustices. As a result, potential critiques of the protests are warded off and can subsequently be ignored. This conveys the notion that the student movement should be supported completely and that any criticisms levelled against them disregard the continuing injustices that students face and are inherently antagonistic towards the student movement.

4.6.4.2.) Subject-positioning effects of the repertoires:

The kinds of subject-positions that are achieved through the use of the repertoires identified in the analysis amount to polarized positions brought about by the assertion of the moral authority of the student protesters, resulting in a heavily binary view. This means that student protesters, supporters, critics, the University and the state are positioned in significantly different and often antagonistic ways. Student protesters tend to be positioned as victims, but importantly victims who, through experiencing their constructed claims of injustices of racism, exclusion and alienation, are activating their agency to address these injustices. This position is also informed by the historical legacies of apartheid which construct the sense that

they marginalization protesters and supporters construct themselves experiencing is constructed as rooted in the historical and structural effects of apartheid. Their sense of agency is mobilized through the assertion of rights which allows them to take up the position of rights bearer and legitimized through the constitution. This construction of the position of 'victim who has had enough' allows student protesters the ability to police the participation and engagement of people who are not student protesters within the student movement.

The policing of engagement is accomplished in a number ways, the first way is through the significance of emotional experience in providing an authoritative account of the student protests. The use of personal experience acts to police against inquiry into the version of events constructed by protesters and supporters. The second way involves the use of justification and rationalization. Criticisms of the protesters and the protests are delegitimised through the use of student protesters and supporters positioning themselves as victims against an institutional culture that is alienating; excluded from access to higher education institutions because of the high costs of tuition; and being exposed to violence from the state. Through outlining the injustices they construct themselves encountering, they use these constructed experiences as justification to protests and also to ward off criticisms of their actions through affirming they are justified to act because they have experienced a constructed sense of injustice. The third way relates to identity politics in the sense that through protesters and supporters positioning themselves and the movement along racial lines, they afford legitimacy to certain racial groups. Identifying as black is seen as more legitimate because it is positioned as being the racial group that is the most impoverished and victimized and therefore because of the racial history in the country, they are implied as having more legitimacy to police who can participate in the student protests.

The state and the institution are positioned in stark opposition to the student protesters. Student protesters are positioned as morally just victims taking a stand against an unjust system, whereas the state and the University institution are positioned as morally corrupt. They are positioned in this way through the use of discursive repertoires that construct University management and the government (embodied by the police) as the orchestrators of the injustices that the student protesters have faced. This also leads to a kind of positioning where institutional and state agencies are also characterized as upholding the status quo and maintaining the structures that keep certain injustices in place. The consequence of this is that

they are seen as antagonistic towards the student movement which subsequently represents them as anti-transformation, white-owned and exclusionary towards poor black students.

4.6.4.3.) Identity construction and performance:

Through employing the repertoires as discussed in this chapter, certain identity constructions and performances are enabled. Discursive perspectives on identity argue that identity emerges from the social, cultural, and political meanings inherent in language mediated through discourses that individuals select from (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). This means that taking the analysis into account, discourses (or in this case, repertoires), arguably paint a particular construction of an individual, who would use these kinds of repertoires in their conversations around the student movement. The repertoires that were found to be operating in the texts are the struggle repertoire, apartheid repertoire, racial repertoire, emotions repertoire and rights repertoire. The argument put forward by this analysis is that the use of these discursive repertoires in discussions about the #FeesMustFall student protests in 2016 enable the creation of very particular subject positions – a specific 'kind' of person – for discussion thread participants to inhabit or identify as being. Specifically, this 'person' inhabits an identity that is firstly, one who is politically engaged and motivated. This is communicated through the use of the struggle repertoire, apartheid repertoire, racial repertoire and rights repertoire. Their political engagement is centered on a moral imperative to act against injustices suffered by the marginalized. This moral imperative arguably compels them to be actively concerned with the experiences of those that are seen and constructed as marginalized.

The notion of marginalization is also significant for the construction of an identity position that can be occupied by someone who makes use of the identified discursive repertoires. Marginalization emerges as a framework to enact an aspect of identity through the deployment of the repertoires, which allows the individual who uses the repertoires, to manifest their constructed sense of marginalization. This sense of marginalization is constructed through accounts of experiences of feeling tormented, oppressed, victimized and disregarded by the institution and the state. In order to make use of these repertoires in such a way as to render the person using them believable, and therefore also to be able to take part in the student protests as a genuine participant, one must position oneself to be marginalized or have experienced a sense of marginalization through the use of the repertoires identified. This sense of marginalization constructed in the repertoires usually requires that an individual be

able to identify with the identity positions of being black; from the working class or in close proximity to the working class; and alienated and consequently excluded from an institution that is constructed upholding particular Euro-centric values and ideals.

This kind of identity positioning then manifests itself through the repertoires and how the repertoires are constructed and deployed in social media interactions regarding #FeesMustFall. This means that individuals that identify as politically conscious, marginalized, black and working class are able to perform this kind of identity through their talk and the repertoires they use. The identification as black, working class and politically conscious emerges out of student protesters and supporters engaging in first order positioning. Where they position themselves as black, working class and politically conscious within various story-lines such as racial victimization and oppression. This position is made available within a storyline centered on race and located within the context of South Africa that has historically marginalized black people. The use of the racial repertoire and the emotions repertoire are arguably instances of protesters and supporters in a sense performing the identity of being black and working class. Much like how gender was analysed as a result of individuals' ritualistic behaviours of stereotypes presented as natural, race is arguably the result of performance based on expected cultural, political and social traits situated within a particular context (Warren, 2001).

The emotions repertoire illustrates the emotionality within the protesters and supporters which is communicated emotively through the language used as evidence of the emotional and psychological consequences they construct themselves experiencing as victims of marginalization, especially on the basis of race. The identification of being black is arguably illustrated within the racial repertoire in which the repertoire illustrates that the identity of black is predicated on a performance of victimization on the basis of race, identification as a part of the working class, and a display of indignation at the perceived sense of whiteness within higher education institutions. The presence of the emotions repertoire provides the illustration of protesters and supporters constructing themselves and subsequently performing a sense of being emotionally affected by the marginalization they construct themselves experiencing on the basis of their race; and the severity of the indignation they have at an institutional culture constructed as alienating and the perceived sense of whiteness within the institution. The activation of race as an identity marker in terms of identity politics accomplishes a couple of things.

The first thing that is accomplished is that individuals who construct themselves as black and working class and subsequently perform that identity, locate themselves within a larger collective group. Polletta and Jasper (2001) argued that individuals' collective identity and grouping, shaped how they engaged in social movements. Applying it to this context, identification as black and working class, taps into the political and social meaning of being black within the context of South Africa. Where those meanings arguably inform the individual who constructs their identity as black and working class, how to engage in social movements. Those meanings are shaped by the history of apartheid which can be argued, means that apartheid remains a feature in the collective psyche which is activated when individuals identify themselves as black and working class, and subsequently perform those markers of identity. The second thing that is accomplished is that through the context of South Africa, identification as black, white or any other racial group has added significance in terms of participation around matters of inequality. D'Cruz (2008) argues that individuals' identity affects their ability to take part in certain conversations, in which these conversations may be reflective of a context that has historically treated different groups of people differently. Given the historical context of South Africa, where back people have been historically oppressed as compared to other racial groups (Van der Westhuizen, 2007), arguably means that black people potentially are able to police the terms of engagement for other racial groups , particularly white people, on conversations of inequality and oppression.

The identification with political consciousness emerges out of the storylines within the repertoires that were found most frequently in the struggle, apartheid and rights repertoire. In this regards, the identification as politically consciousness emerged out of protesters and supporters positioning themselves as politically disenfranchised by an institutional culture that is constructed as exclusionary and racist; the claims of lacking of financial resources due to structural poverty; constructed accounts of suffering violence from the state; and a constructed perception of rights being infringed upon. This kind of positioning emerges out of first order positioning in which protesters and supporters positioned themselves in that capacity within the storyline of political struggle constructed through the struggle, apartheid and rights repertoire. The performance of a politically conscious identity is illustrated through protesters and supporters constructing themselves as disadvantaged because they are being treated unequally. They construct their sense of being unequal through constructing the University as discriminatory and exclusionary towards them because they lack financial

resources and do not fit into the culture of the institution. They construct the state as initiators of violence unto them and deniers of their human rights. The performance as a result of making claims to being disadvantaged politically, includes as part of the performance of a politically conscious identity, the performance of agency. Protesters and supporters through constructing the injustices that they have faced, allow themselves to be positioned with a sense of agency to address those injustices. The position is constructed implicitly with a sense of responsibility to be politically aware and therefore places a sense of duty within the individual to engage politically on matters of race, oppression and inequality. This is performed by protesters and supporters in the rights repertoire where they assert that their rights have been denied and that through asserting their rights, they are also making claims that their rights should be responded too.

Chapter 5: Discussion of results

5.1.) Summary of Main Findings:

To begin this summary of the main findings of this research, it is important to reiterate that the focus of the research was not on the veracity of the claims made regarding experiences of marginalization, exclusion, oppression, discrimination, institutional culture or violence in online discussions regarding the #FeesMustFall protests of 2016. Instead, this research was interested in the discursive construction, positioning and identity effects enabled by the articulation of these experiences in specific ways in the particular discursive and interactional contexts of social media spaces related to #FeesMustFall. The research therefore did not attempt to establish the truth or non-truth of the phenomenological claims made in the discussion threads, but instead examined the use to which discursive constructions of experiences of various kinds are put in the development of a particular narrative version of the social phenomenon of #FeesMustFall protests. This particular focus was in keeping with the social constructionist and discursive psychological ontological and epistemological orientation of the research, where the emphasis was on unpacking one version of this social reality among (conceivably) many alternative discursively constructed versions (Potter, 1996; Potter & Wetherell, 1987). An example of an alternative narrative could be from the point of view of University management in which there are different discursive constructions of events and experiences that work to establish alternative subject-positions, social identities and implications.

5.1.1.) Categories of participant and interactional contexts:

These various 'kinds' of participants generally tended to fall within two categories which were: student protesters and supporters of the student movement; and critics of the student movement. The participant categories of student protesters and supporters were very similar, with the difference lying in the proximity to actual protest activity. The category of critics to the student protests emerged as a variation on the racial repertoire.

The analysis also revealed that there were certain interactional contexts within the texts analysed. These interactional contexts were found to refer to: response to personal attacks; reflections on the student movement; criticisms directed towards the student protests; responses towards criticisms of the student protests; re-affirmation of commitment to the student protests; experiences of marginalization; pleas for empathy; and lastly interactions with the University and the state.

5.1.2.) Discursive repertoire of emotions:

Student protesters and supporters of the student movement drew on an emotions repertoire in interactions that were focused on: interactions with the University management and the state; mobilization of protests; responses against personal criticisms; pleas for empathy; experience of marginalization; and reflections on the student protests. The analysis revealed that student protesters and supporters of the student movement constructed the emotions repertoire by giving primacy to their claims to lived experience, using emotive language and stating the emotional consequences of experiencing violence and marginalization. This was done in positive terms by both clearly naming the emotional states that were felt by participants identifying with these subject positions, as well as through characterizing these emotional states as justifiable responses to the treatment that protesters had received. The variation within the discursive repertoire of emotions concerned the construction of the University and the state in negative terms by either identifying these antagonistic positions as unfeeling or inhumane (i.e. having no emotional reactions to the protests, as well as no empathy for the experiences of protesters), or by constructing these positions as ones with inappropriate emotional responses to the suffering of protesters (i.e. as cruel, or deriving 'joy' from the continued persecution of activists).

The subject positions thus made available within the emotions repertoire meant that student protesters and supporters engaged in first order positioning, in which they positioned themselves as victims whose emotional experiences legitimized their position as protesters and who were enacting their agency as protesters in response to (and because of) these felt experiences. The experiences that student protesters and supporters construct are seen and recognized as tangible and real, because student protesters construct their positions as inhabited by individual who have experienced real, authentic emotions. By extension, this translates to positioning student protesters who overtly display their emotional reactions as having a legitimate perspective on the protests because they perform an identity position where they display the tangible effects (significant emotions such as anger, sadness and frustration and pain) of the protests on them. By contrast, the state and the University were positioned as lacking empathy and humanity, by student protesters and supporters through first order positioning. They were also positioned as inflictors of the marginalization and violence, protesters and supporters construct themselves as experiencing.

Thus, the function of the emotions repertoire included policing the boundaries of participation in both the protests and discussions about them, and providing one option to engage in the disavowal of criticisms levelled against the protests. The emotions repertoire allows protesters and supporters to disavow criticisms directed at the student protests through constructing their version of events as true through the use of emotionally lived experiences. The construction of their emotional lived experiences assists protesters and supporters in supplying evidence that their claims of marginalization and experiences of violence are true. This in turn negates the possibility of challenging these constructed version of events because, the criticisms through the emotions repertoire, is framed as a de-legitimation of the constructed emotional lived experiences of protesters and supporters. The use of emotions attached to personal experience allow protesters and supporters authorship over version of events because they construct themselves as personally experiencing emotions in regards to the protests. The foregrounding of emotions within the student protests appears to be an attempt to gain empathy and support. Emotions such as anger, sadness, hurt, pain and a sense of isolation all carry negative connotations and when they emerge in relation to students speaking about their experiences, it also carries an implied moral response. The moral response that is implied is that the students' emotions should be seen as valid, legitimate and respected and should not be disregarded but instead engaged with and alleviated.

The use of emotions within the construction of the student protests appears to make sense given the larger context within the country. The socio-economic status of a majority of the population is deeply worrying, where many citizens experience impoverished backgrounds, face the prospect of unemployment and have limited opportunities to improve their standard of living (Dlamini. 2017). This reality arguably evokes a lot of negative emotions (Brown, 2017). The high levels of inequality, particularly along racial lines, is highlighted in terms of socio-economic status, where there appears to be a sense in which the odds are stacked against black people (Ngonyama, 2012). The consequences of the high levels of inequality, tense racial relations and limited access to educational opportunities that have been present since the turn to democracy has left the current generation of students feeling significantly angry, hurt, sad, despair, betrayed and disillusioned at the state of the country (Piraino, 2015).

5.1.3.) Discursive repertoire of struggle:

The struggle repertoire manifested itself in texts by student protesters and supporters in interactional contexts such as: experiences of marginalization; responses to criticisms of the

protests; pleas of empathy/sympathy and interactions with the University and the state. The analysis revealed that student protesters constructed the struggle repertoire in discussions mentioning the institutional culture of the University as alienating and concerning the issue of fees as injustices they are struggling against. The construction of the struggle repertoire also included student protesters highlighting their emotional reactions in response to the injustices they face; and assertions regarding the non-violence of the protests in the face of having had violence committed against them. Student protesters and supporters position themselves within the third order as non-violent people with legitimate grievances and carrying moral authority. Student protesters first order positioned the University institutions as morally bad because they were constructed as the orchestrators of their injustices and therefore are seen as anti-transformation. This made these institutions legitimate targets for protest. The government or state is likewise first order positioned by protesters and supporters as antagonistic towards the student movement and reduced to simply the police, described as violent and repressive. The major function of the struggle repertoire is to ground the identity of the student protesters as authentic and legitimate. A second function was to draw parallels between the current student protests and the liberation struggle under apartheid, constructing the #FeesMustFall student protests as this generation's struggle against systemic injustice. Finally, the struggle repertoire also functioned to limit any criticisms directed at the protests.

The struggle repertoire appears to emerge from a context of a country in which there is a significant history around the idea of struggle/protest (Bond & Mottier, 2013). The significance of the struggle repertoire illustrates the significance of the struggle liberation on the collective psyche of the current student generation (Chisholm, 2012). This significance appears to be strongly present in students who use the repertoire of struggle to construct themselves as sharing an affinity with the older generation who fought against the injustices they experienced under apartheid. This affinity is established through the framing of the current student movement as having similar significance for its participants as the liberation against apartheid had for older generations. The history of protests within the context of South Africa arguably is a part of the psyche of the current generation of students who view themselves as encountering struggles similar to the ones the older generations have faced (Chisholm, 2012).The identity of someone who strongly identifies with the history of struggle is one that prioritizes political consciousness and has a strong moral conviction around injustices; emerges as a result of the use of the struggle repertoire. This identity position is then performed by protesters and supporters in their interactions around claims of

marginalization, commitment to the protests, responses to criticisms, and interactions with the state and the University.

The notion of struggle further implies something that is being struggled against and the struggle repertoire arguably works to establish a narrative frame for the protests. The narrative frame implies there are characters who are protagonists and antagonists, and there is a story or progressive character or temporality to the version of events that is presented by the discursive repertoire (Harre & Langenhove, 1991). The protagonists in this discursive repertoire of struggle are student protesters and supporters. The antagonists are the University management and the agencies of the state, and the story is one of protests against the barriers to access to human rights presented by the injustices of an alienating institutional culture and the obstacle of high tuition fees. The envisaged end goal is one where the ideal of free, decolonized education is achieved. This kind of narrative is arguably influenced by the narrative of apartheid, in which the state enemy was ultimately defeated by the heroic resistance of the people, with the end result being the removal of the apartheid system and the dawn of a human rights-based democracy.

The injustices of an alienating institutional culture and the issue of tuition costs were the main cruxes of the student protesters' rationale for protesting. There is literature that has been written extensively on the issue of the institutional culture of higher education institutions in which there are charges levelled at these institutions that they are still untransformed and reflect a heavy Euro-centric and western perspective (Van Wyk, 2005). It then becomes understandable why the current student protesters feel a sense of alienation and anger towards the institutional culture of universities because they are excluded from full participation in the institutional life as a result of not coming from a western, Euro-centric background (Cornell & Kessi, 2016). The costs of tuition have also risen annually as a result of a lack of substantial government funding, which in-turn has negatively affected students who cannot afford the costs of increasing tuitions every year (Ntshoe & de Villiers, 2013). The issue of fees then becomes prominent for the student protester who identifies as being a part of the working class and who is, or has, struggled to pay the high fees every year.

5.1.4.) Discursive repertoire of Apartheid:

Student protesters constructed the apartheid repertoire in the following interactional contexts: responding to criticisms directed at the student protests; experiences of marginalization;

commitment to the student protests; interactions with the University and management; and reflections on the student protests. The analysis revealed that student protesters constructed the apartheid repertoire through accounts of institutional racism within the University and their responses to state force as disproportionate and reminiscent of apartheid state force. Student protesters first order positioned themselves as morally just victims protesting against an unjust system. This by extension through the apartheid repertoire meant that student protesters also positioned themselves within the first order as similar to protesters under apartheid. This position was performed by protesters and supporters through the language that they used and how they interpreted events of the student protests through the lens of how they imagine how apartheid was like. Protesters and supporters first order position the state singularly into the police force and compare them to the state force under apartheid, which implicitly carried the connotations of being morally wrong. Protesters and supporters first order position the University as a surrogate department of higher education and seen as reminiscent of the education system under apartheid that is constructed as currently denying students access to an education. The function of the apartheid repertoire is that current student protests are seen as legitimate because they are parallel to the apartheid struggle. The apartheid repertoire functioned to provide an identity framework for the student protesters. The apartheid repertoire also functioned to construct a sense of struggle as ongoing after the end of apartheid.

The mobilization of the apartheid repertoire speaks to the conception of the current student protest as analogous to the liberation struggle under apartheid. Student protesters and supporters construct through the apartheid repertoire the current situation in higher education institutions (struggles with an institutional culture that appears to be racist and exclusionary) and the presence of state force in the form of police, as an extension of the apartheid system (Chisholm, 2012). The legacy of apartheid and the significance of apartheid in the collective imagination of South Africans arguably means that the notion of apartheid is used as an interpretive lens to make sense of the state of the country and a means of making sense of protests after apartheid ended (Chisholm, 2012). The idea of apartheid was used as a means to understand the student movement because apartheid is the only historical event that student protesters have access to in which to use and make sense of their student protests (Bond & Mottier, 2013). The current student protests in effect are seen as the result of apartheid, that the current student protests would not have occurred if apartheid had not happened and

arguably the substantial impacts of apartheid would not have occurred thereby negating the need for protests to occur in the first place.

The lingering effects of apartheid are demonstrated in the significance of race and inequality in post-apartheid South Africa (Bornman, 2011). The end of apartheid and the beginning of democracy, represented an opportunity for many disenfranchised people that their livelihoods would be significantly improved (Ngonyama, 2012). Moller and Roberts (2014) noted that addressing systematic poverty, building up infrastructure and increasing access to education has been difficult to achieve for the majority of the population. Dlamini (2017) highlighted that there is still the presence of structural inequality along racial lines where black people are still the most impoverished as a group in comparison to other racial groups. Access to education, poverty and basic services are comparably worse for black people in relation to other racial groups (Dlamini, 2017).

5.1.5.) Racial discursive repertoire:

Student protesters drew on the racial repertoire in interactions around: commitment to the student protests; responses to criticisms of the protests; experiences of marginalization; reflections on the student movement; and responses to personal criticisms. Student protesters constructed the racial repertoire through assigning whiteness as a value inherent in institutions. Secondly, student protesters constructed the racial repertoire through constructing race along lines of class and socio-economic privilege; and followed it up with a construction of black students being victimized. The variation of the racial repertoire emerged in the interactional context of critics voicing their criticisms towards the student movement. Critics would make use of the racial repertoire to allege accounts of racism from student protesters towards white students and assert that protesters and supporters conflated race and class. Student protesters and supporters first order positioned themselves as black and working class. The position of black, working class and victimized is subsequently performed by protesters and supporters, through their performance of victimization by signalling their blackness as targets that invite victimization; or through emphasizing their working class background through making claims of lacking financial resources; or performing a sense of indignation at feeling like they are excluded from the institution that is perceived as white supremacist. Student protesters were also positioned as legitimate authorities within the protests. Where their identification as black allowed protesters and

supporters to perform a sense of authority on matters of race because of the significance of race within the country.

Critics were positioned as either white, anti-black and/or privileged. Critics through the variation on the racial repertoire rejected the first order positions from protesters and supporters, through second order positioning. Where critics challenged the positions of the protesters and supporters as working class, but instead asserted that they are from the middle class and/or higher. The state and the University are both positioned as entities in the service of advantaging white people and therefore are also positioned as anti-black, anti-transformation and exclusionary towards black students. The function of the racial repertoire is to racially polarize the student protests through making race a significant feature of the student protests. Through the racial polarization, race becomes salient within the student protests and by that it frames the student protests as largely a struggle for black students against institutions that are constructed as white supremacist. The function of the racial repertoire also involved the framing of the state and the University as anti-black institutions and create an avenue for student protesters to direct their grievances around race at an entity (the University) legitimately.

The presence of the racial repertoire indicates that race is an important part of the identity of student protesters. Student protesters identify themselves as culturally and politically black, and display an awareness of the significance of race in terms of advantages and disadvantages. Their identification as black is an aspect that additionally allows them to participate in conversations around politics especially in regards to the student protests in which race is mobilized as the signifier for who may or may not participate appropriately I n the protests. D'Cruz (2008) and Nagle (2017) argued that identity politics is based on the notion of an identity giving license to participate, police and engage in conversations around politics. This may be relevant given the significance of race and race relation in post-apartheid South Africa (Bornman, 2011). Where race is the feature that reflects who has power in the country in that black people are perceived as less powerful and white people more powerful (Ansell, 2004).

5.1.6.) Discursive repertoire of rights:

Protesters and supporters constructed the rights repertoire in interactional contexts such as: reflections on the student movement; responses to criticisms of the protests; re-affirming

commitment to the student protests; experiences of marginalization; pleas for empathy; and interactions with the University and the state. Supporters and student protesters constructed the rights repertoire through references to explicit rights talk, the right to an education, the right to protest, the right to freedom from discrimination and the right to dignity. Protesters and supporters first order position themselves as rights bearer. In that position, they further position themselves as legitimate rights bearers, but who have had their rights denied to them or they have been infringed upon. Protesters and supporters performed this position of rights bearers through making claims to rights and justifying their actions as calls for their rights to be realized and enacted. They also perform this position through implicitly making demands that they rights should be fully materialized by the state and the University. Protesters and supporters morally position the state as the entity that is actively working to curtail the rights of student protesters. Protesters and supporters morally position the University as exclusionary towards students who wish to exercise their right to an education. The function of the rights repertoire is that it frames the student protests as a human rights struggle. Through that framing, they also places a legalistic and moral aspect to the student protests through the referencing of human rights. The rights repertoire additionally functions to cast protesters and supporters rights as absolute and that they are entitled to them.

The rights repertoire constructs rights as absolute and owed to them because of the history of apartheid, the structural impacts of apartheid, the socio-economic status of the majority of population and rights being legally bounded within the constitution (Robins, 2010). The emphasis on rights as absolute and universal arguably works to construct the demands from student protesters as non-negotiable and therefore owed to them. Rather than a process of balance with other interests. The possibility of rights being framed as a process of balance rather than as an absolute, arguably creates the impression that rights have to be negotiated with other interests and weighted (Donnelly, 2013). This could arguably be applied to the student movement in that the possibility of framing the conversations of rights as one of balance, possibly means that their demands are not necessarily absolute and have to be weighed against other interests. Which could mean that their demands do not necessarily have to be met if they clash with other interests or rights.

The identity of an individual that uses the rights repertoire arguably is one centred on being denied something. Their denial is rooted in the sense that this should not be happening to them; that they should not feel discriminated and alienated from an institutional culture

constructed as alienating; that they should not be denied access to the institution because they lack finances; that they have the rights to assert their demands for free education, to be treated with dignity and not be discriminated against on the basis of their race. The context of the country in which there is massive inequality across racial lines in terms of economics, education, resources and status, emphasizes the significance of rights (Dlamini, 2017). The issue of funding that has been present for a number of years, has been an obstacle for students in terms of accessing higher education institutions and has prompted them to protest (Koen et al., 2006).

5.2.) Validation criteria:

This section of the conclusion was focused on evaluating the research on the basis of whether it met the evaluation criteria set out in the methodology chapter. The evaluation criteria discussed in the Method Chapter involve: grounding; coherence; accessibility; identification of new problems; participant orientation; and fruitfulness (Parker, 2004; Potter & Wetherell, 1987). The analysis arguably meets the criterion for coherence as articulated by Potter and Wetherell in which coherence refers to the analysis matching the discourse around a particular topic (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). The analysis appears to resonate with other commentaries and analyses of the #FeesMustFall student protest movement. Baragwanath (2016) noted the presence of Twitter and Facebook as mediums of communication within the #FeesMustFall protests. The analysis conducted emphasizes the presence of interactions on online spaces around things like identity, the protests themselves and rights which is present in some of the literature around the protests (Qambela, 2016). The aspect on institutional culture within the analysis as exclusionary and alienating is strengthened by other researches around transformation and institutional culture in higher education institutions (Portnoi, 2009). The level of engagement and the polarization through the racial repertoire in particular, relates to the literature around social media and the tendency for political conversations to become polarized easily (Jenkins & Shresthova, 2016).

The analysis arguably meets the criteria of coherence in the sense that the analysis provided some sense for how identity was performed and constructed on online spaces. Parker (2004) argued that coherence refers to whether the presentation of the analysis is logical and consistent. The inclusion of social constructionism as the ontological perspective within the research provided the grounding for how identity construction and performance was analysed through language. The analysis conducted reflected the social constructionist understanding

around identity and how it is formed from the context and manifested through language. The units of language were in the form of texts from protesters and supporters on social media. Where the texts were analysed for discourse used in their interactions around the student protests. Discourse is prevalent in everyday interactions where it helps to shape social reality and identity (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). This meant that the repertoires that were subsequently identified, provided different kinds of subject positions in which protesters and supporters could occupy and through their occupation, perform that position. Each repertoire provide a subject position in which protesters and supporters could occupy. Through the analysis, the performance of the subject positions through the repertoires was shown to hint at the constructed identity of the individual who employs these repertoires.

The criteria of accessibility relates to the research in terms of the level of depth provided in the methodology chapter and the organization around displaying the analysis from the research. Accessibility refers to the whether a research is understandable to other people in terms of the methodology, engagement and ability to access the research (Parker, 2004). The theory discussed in chapter 2 and to an extent within the methodology chapter,provided a conceptual framework that makes it easier to understand and orientate oneself around the analysis that was conducted. The analysis conducted arguably meets the criterion of participant orientation. Participant orientation refers to the analysis corresponding to the language used by the participants (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). The nature of the research was focused on the texts constructed by participants, which meant that there was no actual involvement of participants themselves necessarily. However because the research and analysis did focus on the words used by individuals within texts that were selected for analysis, the criterion of participant orientation could still apply. The research employed a discursive psychological approach to discourse analysis in which people's language is analysed in terms of its function. Where the analysis of the different repertoires and their function could conceivably correspond to the meaning and understanding that the original authors have in regards to their texts.

The analysis conducted arguably introduces new problems around the topic of #FeesMustFall. Potter and Wetherell (1987) note that new problems refers to whether the research produces new inquires around a particular topic. Through identifying the repertoires student protesters and supporters of the student movement use, one potential new problem that arises is what repertoires do the University and the state draw on in relation to the student protests. In line

with this, a new problem could be around identifying what repertoires or discourses do police use in their interactions with the student protests. The research and analysis produced arguably meet the criterion of fruitfulness as articulated by Potter and Wetherell. Fruitfulness refers to the generation of solutions or new ways of thinking about a particular topic (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). The analysis brought forth the aspect of history and how much may it possibly be present in the collective psyche of students within the protests. It also brought the aspect of, rather than understanding the student protests as a struggle for free education and decolonization of institutions, the research highlighted the significance of identity and how it is formed and performed in relation to the student movement.

5.3.) Strengths and limitations:

There were significant strengths within the research. One of the strengths of the research was the in-depth focus on one context. The in-depth focus provided detailed analysis around the repertoires that were used in interactions around the student protests. The research provided a view into the discursive repertoires employed within the University context by protesters and supporters in regards to #FeesMustFall. One of the strengths of the research in that the analysis conducted revealed what repertoires were used by protesters and supporters in their interactions around #FeesMustFall. The analysis revealed that emotions, the idea of struggle, apartheid, race, and human rights were all the repertoires identified within interactions of rights talk on social media.

A second strength of the research was that the analysis on the repertoires identified, found subject-positions in which these subject positions were enacted and performed by protesters and supporters. Through the identification of the subject positions through the repertoires, the research provided a view into how individuals constructed and performed their identity. The research also demonstrates the significance of the history of the country and the current state, into how individuals have constructed and performed their identity. This construction and performance of an identity was found by the research to be built on the foundations of addressing injustices, the historical significance of apartheid, the significance of race, and the primacy of emotions. Another strength of the research was that the methodology conducted made the analysis easier to conduct. The initial thematic coding and the discovery of the interactional contexts was beneficial in more easily identifying the discursive repertoires present firstly; and secondly, the interactional contexts made it easier to identify the different possibilities of subject positioning and instances in which particular repertoires were

constructed. The consistent focus of social constructionism as the ontological perspective made it easier to carry over through the analysis and ensure that there was consistency with the analysis done. The strength of the research is that it gives an initial idea in terms of what repertoires/discourses students are using across the country in terms of #FeesMustFall.

Another strength of the research was the focus that was paid to interactions related to the student protests and the language that was used. Social constructionism was the ontological perspective that underpinned the research and as a result, language was an important component to examine. In this regard, the research revealed that language was a significant aspect in the analysis, where it was revealed that language construction and usage from discussion thread participants (particularly student protesters) was highly emotive and evocative. It also revealed that language was the medium in which accounts of injustices, racial polarizing, framing, and positioning was communicated in.

A further advantage of the research was that the analysis conducted related to the theory and context covered in the first two chapters of the research. The struggle repertoire emphasized the literature around higher education where the arguments were around institutional culture, transformation and the funding issue. The apartheid repertoire and the rights repertoire perhaps arguably closely reflect the context of the country in which there is massive unemployment, large segments of the population living in poverty and education generally is very poor for a majority of the population. The racial repertoire relates to the significance of race and relations post-apartheid. The analysis relates to literature around social media and politics in that interactions around politics can achieve attention and mobilization with the movement, but also can lead to simplification of issues and polarization. The identity construction and performance found in the analysis related to the literature around identity in chapter 2.

The research did, however, also carry certain limitations. The first was that the research was only focused on one higher education institution. This means that the analysis that was generated is only realistically applicable in one particular context, Rhodes University. This in turn makes it difficult to generalize the analysis to other contexts and other higher education institutions. The focus on only the Rhodes University context also provides a limitation to the research in that a smaller number of textual materials were drawn. The relatively restricted amount of textual material for analysis meant that there was a limited range of discursive

repertoires identified. The method of discourse analysis was discursive psychology, which resulted in another limitation in that, accounts from participants could not be accurately stated if they are truthful or a genuine reflection of a subjective experience. The methodology of the research meant that the lack of participant validation and the nature of the texts analysed inherently does not lend itself easily to being validated against participant orientation

Evaluating the strengths and limitations of the research, the results of the study has impacted on my initial interests highlighted in chapter 1. The analysis of the results has indicated the significance of history within South Africa and how that history shapes identity. The results have pointed to the significance that social media has on people's lives. The added side effect f social media is in the interplay of social media and articulations of identity that was revealed to me in conducting the research. Importantly, the #FeesMustFall protests, through the results, highlights the importance people have placed on the student movement. Personally, it has revealed the difficulty in engaging in sensitive issues that are intimately tied to the history of the country and how it effects everyone, including myself and how I understand my identity.

5.4.) Future recommendations:

There are opportunities for future research around the topic of #FeesMustFall. One possible research opportunity would be around conducting a similar research which would include actual participants within the research conducted through, a focus group, interviews or a mixture of both. A research around the inclusion of actual participants could be beneficial in analysing discourses within the interactions; what kinds of rhetorical strategies are used by the participants in relation to each other; and give participants the ability to give their consent or to take it away if they choose to. Another research opportunity involves expanding the research to include more universities and other higher education institutions. The possibility of expanding the research to other institutions could be potentially beneficial in bringing in new and alternative repertoires that protesters and supporters use or it could challenge the repertoires discovered in this research. The expansion into other universities could also provide an analysis into the identities that are constructed and performed on a national scale. A research opportunity presents itself in the form of using different theoretical lenses in application to studying the student protests such as phenomenology and feminism to name a few. Considering the emergence of emotions within the results and as a discursive repertoire, a future possible research opportunity could be focused on the emergence of emotions within

the student protests and how they correspond to certain actions within certain contexts. An extension to this could potentially research around what emotions generate what kind of discourses available.

Depending of the type of theoretical lens could provide different types of analysis, where a phenomenological approach could bring out more the experiences of student protesters and supporters of participating in the student protests. A feminist approach could possibly explore the gendered dimensions of the student protests and how issues of gender and power reveal themselves in the language used by protesters and supporters. In terms of discourse analysis, future research could possibly approach the research topic through the lens of Foucauldian discourse analysis instead of discursive psychology. Foucauldian discourse analysis and its emphasis on power may prove pertinent to future research opportunities related to the student protests. Where the focus could be on analysing the discourse used and how they relate to power relations within the institution and people who employ them. The research presented should be read as an exploratory study and therefore it is required that more research be conducted and more broadly in relation to the topic of #FeesMustFall. The research could possibly be adapted in the future to research what discourse the University management, lecturers and staff used in their interactions around the student protests.

Reference List

Adams, F. (2006). Managerialism and higher education governance: implications for South African universities? *South African Journal of Higher Education*, *20*(1), 5-16. Retrieved from https://journals.co.za/content/high/20/1/EJC37229

African National Congress. (2009). *AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS 2009 MANIFESTO POLICY FRAMEWORK*. African National Congress

African National Congress. (2016). *2016 Local Government Elections manifesto.* African National Congress

Ansell, A. E. (2004). Two nations of discourse: mapping racial ideologies in post-Apartheid South Africa. *Politikon*, *31*(1), 3-26. https://doi.org/10.1080/0258934040100016907 83

Badat, S. (2016). Redressing apartheid's legacy of social exclusion: social equity, redress and admission to higher education in South Africa. In T, Halvorsen., & P, Vale (Eds.), *One World, Many Knowledges: Regional experiences and cross-regional links in higher education* (pp.71-103). University of the Western Cape: Southern Africa-Nordic Centre. Retrieved from https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/145052881.pdf

Banjo, A. (2013). Perspectives on social media and political engineering. *Innovation: journal of appropriate librarianship and information work in Southern Africa*, *2013*(47), 144-160. Retrieved from https://journals.co.za/content/innovation/2013/47/EJC158319

Baragwanath, R. (2016). Social media and contentious politics in South Africa. *Communication and the Public*, *1*(3), 362-366. https://doi.org/10.1177/2057047316667960

Barker, C., & Galasinski, D. (2001). *Cultural studies and discourse analysis: A dialogue on language and identity*. London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Bassett, N. E. (2013). The Private and the Public: Identity and Politics in Virtual Space. *Media In Transition*, *8*. Retrieved from https://s3.amazonaws.com/academia.edu.documents/31229317/Bassett_MiT8_V2.pdf

Bennett, W. L. (2012). The personalization of politics: Political identity, social media, and changing patterns of participation. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *644*(1), 20-39. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716212451428

Benwell, B., & Stokoe, E. (2006). *Discourse and identity*. Edinburgh University Press.

Bergh, J. S. (2003). White supremacy twenty one years on: opportunities for comparative historical research. *Historia*, *48*(1), 355-372. Retrieved from https://journals.co.za/content/hist/48/1/EJC38096

Bernstein, M. (2005). Identity politics. *Annu. Rev. Sociol.*, *31*, 47-74. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.29.010202.100054

Bond, P., & Mottier, S. (2013). Movements, protests and a massacre in South Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, *31*(2), 283-302. Retrieved from

https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001.2013.789727

Booysen, S. (2016). Two weeks in October: Changing governance in South Africa. In S, Booysen (Ed.), *Fees must fall: Student revolt, decolonization and governance in South Africa* (pp. 22-52). Wits University Press.

Booysen, S., & Bandama, K. (2016). Appendix 1: Annotated timeline of the #FeesMustFall revolt 2015-2016. In S, Booysen (Ed.), *Fees must fall: Student revolt, decolonization and governance in South Africa* (pp. 22-52). Wits University Press.

Bornman, E. (2006). National symbols and nation-building in the post-apartheid South Africa. *International journal of intercultural relations*, *30*(3), 383-399. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2005.09.005

Bornman, E. (2011). Patterns of intergroup attitudes in South Africa after 1994. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *35*(6), 729-748. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2011.06.006

Bosch, T. (2017). Twitter activism and youth in South Africa: The case of #RhodesMustFall. *Information, Communication & Society*, *20*(2), 221-232. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2016.1162829

Botha, R., & Marx, J. (2015). Back to the future: white students accounting for non-participation in student politics. *New Voices in Psychology*, *11*(2), 3-15. Retrieved from https://journals.co.za/content/unipsyc/11/2/EJC193867

Brezis, E. S., & Hellier, J. (2018). Social mobility at the top and the higher education system. *European Journal of Political Economy*, *52*, 36-54. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2017.04.005

Brown, T. M. (2017). *From participation to protest: the link between protest and participation: the case of the# feesmustfall protests at the University Of The Western Cape* (Doctoral dissertation). Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10019.1/100977

Bryman, A. (2012). *Social research methods*. Oxford University Press.

Burningham, K., & Cooper, G. (1999). Being constructive: Social constructionism and the environment. *Sociology*, *33*(2), 296-316. Retrieved from https://www.cambridge.org/core.

Burr, V. (2006). *An introduction to social constructionism*. London: Routledge.

Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. London, New York: Routledge

Butler, J. (1988). Performative acts and gender constitution: An essay in phenomenology and feminist theory. *Theatre journal*, *40*(4), 519-531. DOI: 10.2307/3207893

Cele, N., & Menon, K. (2006). Social exclusion, access and the restructuring of higher education in South Africa. *South African Journal of higher education*, *20*(3), 38-50. Retrieved from https://journals.co.za/content/high/20/3/EJC37255

Chatora, A. (2010). Social relationships and identity online and offline: a study of the interplay between offline social relationships and Facebook usage by Rhodes University students from socially disadvantaged backgrounds (Masters Thesis). Grahamstown, Rhodes University. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10962/d1002874

Chisholm, L. (2012). Apartheid education legacies and new directions in post-apartheid South Africa. *Storiadelledonne*, *8*(1), 81-103. http://dx.doi.org/10.13128/SDD-11892

Christie, P. (2006). Changing regimes: Governmentality and education policy in post-apartheid South Africa. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *26*(4), 373-381. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2005.09.006

Christie, P. (2010). The complexity of human rights in global times: The case of the right to education in South Africa. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *30*(1), 3-11. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2009.06.006

Cloete, N. (2016). "The Ideology of free higher education in South Africa: the poor, the rich and the missing middle." In Council of Higher Education, *Kagisano* (pp. 115-125). Pretoria: Council of Higher Education.

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1993. (1996). Retrieved from http://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/laws/en/za/za107en.pdf

Cornell, J., & Kessi, S. (2016). Black students' experiences of transformation at a previously "white only" South African University: a photovoice study. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1-18. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2016.1206586

Danziger, K. 2012. Historical psychology of persons: categories and practice. In J, Martin., & M. H. Bickhard (Eds.), *The psychology of personhood: Philosophical, historical, social-developmental, and narrative perspectives* (pp. 59-81). Cambridge University Press.

Davies, B., & Harré, R. (1990). Positioning: The discursive production of selves. *Journal for the theory of social behaviour*, *20*(1), 43-63. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5914.1990.tb00174.x

De Villiers, A. P., & Steyn, A. G. W. (2009). Effect of changes in state funding of higher Education on higher education output in South Africa: 1986-2007. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, *23*(1), 43-68. Retrieved from https://journals.co.za/content/high/23/1/EJC37517

D'Cruz, C. (2008). *Identity politics in deconstruction: calculating with the incalculable*. London: Routledge.

Dlamini, N. P. (2017). Service delivery protests and its impact on the relevance of the African National Congress-led government in South Africa. *Ubuntu: Journal of Conflict Transformation*, *6*(2), 89-109. Retrieved from

https://journals.co.za/docserver/fulltext/aa_ubuntu_v6_n2_a5.pd

Donnelly, J. (2013). *Universal human rights in theory and practice*. Cornell University Press.

Dumiso, P. (2004). *Identity politics of race and gender in the post-apartheid South Africa: the case of Stellenbosch University* (Doctoral dissertation). Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10019.1/49984

Duncan, J. (2015, November 9). #Feesmustfall: A question of human rights violations. *Mail & Guardian.* Retrieved from https://mg.co.za/article/2015-11-09-the-question-of-human-rights-violations-against-feesmustfall-protesters

Duncan, J. (2016, September 29). Why student protests in South Africa have turned violent. *The Conversation*. Retrieved from https://theconversation.com/why-student-protests-in-south-africa-have-turned-violent-66288

Ebrahim, S. (2016, October 3). Questions must be asked about tactics of coercion during #FeesMustFall. *The Daily Vox.* Retrieved from http://www.thedailyvox.co.za/tactics-coersion-protests-students-feesmustfall/

Fiske, E., & Ladd, H. (2006). Racial equity in education: How far has South Africa come? *Perspectives in Education*, *24*(2), 95-108. Retrieved from https://journals.co.za/content/persed/24/2/EJC87372

Fraser, N. (1998). Social justice in the age of identity politics: Redistribution, recognition, participation .*WZB discussion paper,* 98-108. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10419/44061

Gemignani, M., & Peña, E. (2007). Postmodern conceptualizations of culture in social constructionism and cultural studies. *Journal of theoretical and philosophical psychology*, *27*(2-1), 276. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/h0091297

Glendon, M. A. (2008). *Rights talk: The impoverishment of political discourse*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Godsell, G., Lepere, R.., Mafoko, S., & Nase, A. (2016). Documenting the revolution. In S, Booysen (Ed.), *Fees must fall: Student revolt, decolonization and governance in South Africa* (pp. 22-52). Wits University Press.

Grassow, L., & Le Bruyns, C. (2017). Embodying human rights in #FeesMustFall? Contributions from an indecent theology. *HTS Theological Studies*, *73*(3), 1-9. http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/hts.v73i3.4799

Hacking, I. (1999). *The social construction of what?* Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University press

Harré, R. (1980). *Social being: A theory for social psychology*. Rowman and Littlefield: Basil Blackwell.

Harré, R., & Van Langenhove, L. (1991). Varieties of positioning. *Journal for the theory of social behaviour*, *21*(4), 393-407. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5914.1991.tb00203.x

Harré, R., & Van Langenhove, L. (1999). *Positioning theory: Moral context of intentional action.* Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell.

Haunss, S. (2015). Promise and Practice in Studies of Social Media and Movements. In L, Dencik., & O, Leistert., *Critical perspectives on social media and protest: Between control and emancipation* (pp.13-35). Rowman & Littlefield International.

Healy-Clancy, M. (2016). The Everyday Politics of Being a Student in South Africa: A history. *History Compass, 15*(3), 1-12. https://doi.org/10.1111/hic3.12375

Hlongwane, K. A. (2007). The mapping of the June 16 1976 Soweto student uprisings routes: past recollections and present reconstruction (s). *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, *19*(1), 7-36. https://doi.org/10.1080/13696810701485892

Hodes, R. (2017). Questioning 'Fees Must Fall'. *African Affairs*, *116*(462), 140-150. https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adw072

Hofmeyr, B. (2011). The culture and subjectivity of neo-liberal governmentality. *Phronimon*, *12*(2), 19-42. Retrieved from https://journals.co.za/content/phron/12/2/EJC87698

Horsthemke, K. (2006). The idea of the African University in the twenty-first century: some reflections on Afrocentrism and Afroscepticism. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, *20*(4), 449-465. Retrieved from https://journals.co.za/content/high/20/4/EJC37268

Howard, J. A. (2000). Social psychology of identities. *Annual review of sociology*, *26*(1), 367-393. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.26.1.367

Inda, J. X. (2000). Performativity, materiality, and the racial body. *Latino Studies Journal*, *11*(3), 74-99. Retrieved from https://s3.amazonaws.com/academia.edu.documents/2625734/performativity.pdf

Jenkins, H. (2016). Youth voice, media and political engagement: The core concepts. In H, Jenkins (Ed.), *By any media necessary: The new youth activism* (pp. 1-61). NYU Press.

Jenkins, H., & Shresthova, S. (2016). "It's called giving a shit": "What counts as politics"? In H, Jenkins (Ed), *By any media necessary: The new youth activism* (pp. 253-290). NYU Press.

Kamanzi, B. (2017, February 14). Icarus and the student movement. *The Daily Vox.* Retrieved from https://www.thedailyvox.co.za/icarus-and-the-student-movement-brian-kamanzi/

Kavada, A. (2010). Activism Transforms Digital: The Social Movement Perspective. In M. C. Joyce (Ed.), *Digital activism decoded: The new mechanics of change* (pp.101-119). IDEA.

Kendall, L. (1998). Meaning and identity in “cyberspace”: The performance of gender, class, and race online. *Symbolic interaction*, *21*(2), 129-153. https://doi.org/10.1525/si.1998.21.2.129

Kiguwa, P., & Ally, Y. (2018). Constructed representations of street protest violence: Speaking violence, speaking race. *Peace and conflict: journal of peace psychology*, *24*(1), 36. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/pac0000278

Koen, C., Cele, M., &Libhaber, A. (2006). Student activism and student exclusions in South Africa. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *26*(4), 404-414. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2005.09.009

Langa, M. (2017). Researching #FeesMustFall. In M, Langa., S, Ndelu., Y, Edwin., & M, Vilakazi (Eds.). *#Hashtag: An Analysis of the #FeesMustFall Movement at South African Universities* (pp.6-13). Centre for the study of violence and reconciliation.

Lee, C., Shin, J., & Hong, A. (2018). Does social media use really make people politically polarized? Direct and indirect effects of social media use on political polarization in South Korea. *Telematics and Informatics*, *35*(1), 245-254. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tele.2017.11.005

Letseka, M., & Maile, S. (2008). *High University drop-out rates: A threat to South Africa's future*. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.

Liu, J. H., & Hilton, D. J. (2005). How the past weighs on the present: Social representations of history and their role in identity politics. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *44*(4), 537-556. https://doi.org/10.1348/014466605X27162

Luescher, T. M. (2016a). Frantz Fanon and the #MustFall Movements in South Africa. *International Higher Education*, (85), 22-24. https://doi.org/10.6017/ihe.2016.85.9244

Luescher, T. M. (2016b). Towards an intellectual engagement with the #studentmovements in South Africa. *Politikon*, *43*(1), 145-148. https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2016.1155138

Luescher, T. M., Loader, L., & Mugume, T. (2017). #FeesMustFall: An Internet-age student movement in South Africa and the case of the University of the Free State. *Politikon*, *44*(2), 231-245. https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2016.1238644

Machika, P., & Johnson, B. (2015). Postgraduate students' experience of poverty and academic success at a University of technology in South Africa. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, *29*(6), 167-181. Retrieved from https://journals.co.za/content/high/29/6/EJC191482

Managa, A. (2012). Unfulfilled promises and their consequences: A reflection on local government performance and the critical issue of poor service delivery in South Africa. *Africa Institute of South Africa,* (76), 1-8. Retrieved from

https://www.africaportal.org/publications/unfulfilled-promises-and-their-consequences-a-reflection-on-local-government-performance-and-the-critical-issue-of-poor-service-delivery-in-south-africa/

Marginson, S. (2017). Higher education, economic inequality and social mobility: Implications for emerging East Asia. *International Journal of Educational Development,* 1-8. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2017.03.002

Martin, J., & Bickhard, M. H. (2012). Introducing persons and the psychology of personhood. In J, Martin., & M. H. Bickhard (Eds.), *The psychology of personhood: Philosophical, historical, social-developmental, and narrative perspectives* (pp. 1-19). Cambridge University Press.

Mekoa, I. (2011). Discourses and politics of racism in Higher Education in South Africa. *Africa Insight*, *40*(4), 104-120. Retrieved from http://0-web.a.ebscohost.com.wam.seals.ac.za/ehost/detail/detail

Meth, O. (2017). #FeesMustFall at Rhodes University: Exploring the dynamics of student protests and manifestations of violence. In M, Langa., S, Ndelu., Y, Edwin., & M, Vilakazi (Eds.), *#Hashtag: An Analysis of the #FeesMustFall Movement at South African Universities* (pp. 97-108). Centre for the study of violence and reconciliation

Mfusi, M. X. (2004). The effects of higher education mergers on the resultant Curricula of the combined institutions: perspectives on higher education. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, *18*(1), 98-110. Retrieved from https://journals.co.za/content/high/18/1/EJC37051

Milan, S. (2015a). Mobilizing in Times of Social Media: From a Politics of Identity to a Politics of Visibility. In L, Dencik., & O, Leistert (Eds.), *Critical perspectives on social media and protest: Between control and emancipation* (pp. 53-73). Rowman & Littlefield International.

Milan, S. (2015b). When algorithms shape collective action: Social media and the dynamics of Cloud protesting. *Social Media + Society, 1*(2), 1-10. https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305115622481

Mirón, L. F., & Inda, J. X. (2000). Race as a kind of speech act. *Cultural Studies: A Research Annual*, *5*(8), 83-105. Retrieved from https://s3.amazonaws.com/academia.edu.documents/7591663/Race

Mok, K. H., & Jiang, J. (2017). Massification of higher education and challenges for graduate employment and social mobility: East Asian experiences and sociological reflections. *International Journal of Educational Development,* 1-8. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2017.02.003

Moller, V., & Roberts, B. J. (2014). South African hopes and fears twenty years into democracy: a replication of Hadley Cantril's pattern of human concerns. *Social Indicators Research,* 130(1), 39-69. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-015-1131-2

Moloi, K., Makgoba, M. W., & Miruka, C. O. (2017). (De)constructing the #FeesMustFall Campaign in South African Higher Education. *Contemporary Education Dialogue*, *14*(2), 211-223. https://doi.org/10.1177/0973184917716999

Moodley, K., & Adam, H. (2000). Race and nation in post-apartheid South Africa. *Current Sociology*, *48*(3), 51-69. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392100048003005

Morrison, C. (2016). CREATING AND REGULATING IDENTITY IN ONLINE SPACES. In C, Mitchell., & C, Rentschler (Eds.), *Girlhood and the Politics of Place* (pp. 244-258. Berghahn Books.

Nagle, A. (2017). *Kill all normies: Online culture wars from 4chan and Tumblr to Trump and the alt-right*. Zero Books.

Nancy, J.L. (2014). On Human rights: two simple remarks. In C, Douzinas., & C, Gearty (Eds.), *The meanings of rights: the philosophy and social theory of human rights* (pp. 15-21). Cambridge University Press.

Ndelu, S. 2017. 'A Rebellion of the Poor': Fallism at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology. In M, Langa., S, Ndelu., Y, Edwin., & M, Vilakazi (Eds.). *#Hashtag: An Analysis of the #FeesMustFall Movement at South African Universities* (pp.13-33). Centre for the study of violence and recponcilation.

Newswire, R.D.M. (2015, October 14). A timeline of student protests. *Sowetan Live.* Retrieved from http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2015/10/14/a-timeline-of-student-protests

Ngonyama, L. S. (2012). *Born Free: An Exploration of National Identity Construction in Post-apartheid South Africa-the Case of the Youth Born from 1990* (Doctoral dissertation). Port Elizabeth: Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University.

Ngubane, Z., & Naidoo, P. (2016). Education: a human right or a privilege? Exploring the gap between rhetoric and reality. *African association for rhetoric, 8,* 234-257. Retrieved from https://ir.dut.ac.za/handle/10321/2966?mode=full

Nkinyangi, J. A. (1991). Student protests in sub-Saharan Africa. *Higher Education*, *22*(2), 157-173. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00137474

Ntshoe, I., & De Villiers, P. (2013). Funding sources for public higher education in South Africa: Institutional responses. *Perspectives in Education*, *31*(4), 71-84. Retrieved from https://journals.co.za/content/persed/31/4/EJC151343

Parker, I. (2004). *Qualitative psychology*. McGraw-Hill Education (UK).

Penna, D. R., & Campbell, P. J. (1998). Human rights and culture: beyond universality and relativism. *Third World Quarterly*, *19*(1), 7-27. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436599814505

Petrus, T., & Isaacs-Martin, W. (2011). Reflections on violence and scapegoating in the strike and protest culture in South Africa. *Africa Insight*, *41*(2), 49-61. Retrieved from

https://journals.co.za/content/afrins/41/2/EJC17699

Piraino, P. (2015). Intergenerational earnings mobility and equality of opportunity in South Africa. *World Development*, *67*, 396-405. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2014.10.027

Polletta, F., & Jasper, J. M. (2001). Collective identity and social movements. *Annual review of Sociology*, *27*(1), 283-305. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.27.1.283

Portnoi, L. (2009). Transformative change? Institutional formalities and institutional realities. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, *23*(2), 373-385. Retrieved from https://journals.co.za/content/high/23/2/EJC37524

Potter, J. (1996). *Representing reality: Discourse, rhetoric and social construction*. London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Potter, J. (2012). Discursive psychology and discourse analysis. In J. P. Gee., & M, Handford (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 130-145). London and New York: Routledge.

Potter, J., & Wetherell, M. (1988). Discourse analysis and the identification of interpretive repertoires. Chapter 12 (168-184). In C.E. Antaki (Ed.), *Analysing everyday explanation: A casebook of methods* (pp. 168-183). London, Newbury Park, Beverly Hills and New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Potter, J., & Wetherell, M. (1987). *Discourse and social psychology: Beyond attitudes and behaviour*. London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Pule, Q. (2012*). The Efficacy of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Hearings in East London: Perceptions of Participants* (Doctoral dissertation). Port Elizabeth: Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, 2012.

Qambela, G. (2016). "There is no such thing as a single-issue struggle": Xenophobia in the time of decolonization, eRhini, 2015. *Agenda*, *30*(2), 35-45. https://doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2016.1216817

Reddy, V. (1997). Truth and Reconciliation Commission. *South African Human Rights Yearbook*, *8*(1), 267-298. Retrieved from https://0-journals.co.za.wam.seals.ac.za/content/journal/huma

Robins, S. L. (2010). *From revolution to rights in South Africa: Social movements, NGOs & popular politics after apartheid*. University of Kwa-Zulu Natal Press.

Royeppen, A. L. (2013). *How Does Security Limit the Right to Protest?: A Study Examining the Securitised Response to Protest in South Africa* (Doctoral dissertation). Grahamstown: Rhodes University.

Sayed, Y., Kanjee, A., & Nkomo, M. (2013). *The search for quality education in post-apartheid South Africa interventions to improve learning and teaching*. Cape Town HSRC press.

Scharff, C. (2011). Towards a pluralist methodological approach: combining performativity theory, discursive psychology and theories of affect. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *8*(2), 210-221. https://0-doi.org.wam.seals.ac.za/10.1080/14780887.2011.572739

Scott, J. W. (1992). Multiculturalism and the Politics of Identity. *October*, *61*, 12-19. DOI: 10.2307/778780

Slater, D. (2002). Social Relationships and Identity On-line and Off-line. In L, Lievrouw., & S, Livingstone (Eds.), *Handbook of new media: Social shaping and consequences of ICTs* (pp. 533–543). London: Sage Publications Inc.

Snow, D. A. (2001). Collective identity and expressive forms. In N. J. Smelser & P. B. Baltes (Eds.), *International encyclopedia of the social and behavioral sciences* (pp. 2212–2219). London: Elsevier. Retrieved from https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2zn1t7bj

South African History Online. (2015, June 8). *Student Protests in democratic South Africa-Timeline.* Retrieved from http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/student-protests-democratic-south-africa timeline

Spaull, N. (2013). Poverty & privilege: Primary school inequality in South Africa. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *33*(5), 436-447.

Spreen, C. A., & Vally, S. (2006). Education rights, education policies and inequality in South Africa. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *26*(4), 352-362. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2012.09.009

Stein, D. J., Seedat, S., Kaminer, D., Moomal, H., Herman, A., Sonnega, J., & Williams, D. R. (2008). The impact of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission on psychological distress and forgiveness in South Africa. *Social psychiatry and psychiatric epidemiology*, *43*(6), 462. DOI 10.1007/s00127-008-0350-0

Steyn, M., & Foster, D. (2008). Repertoires for talking white: Resistant whiteness in post-apartheid South Africa. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *31*(1), 25-51. DOI: 10.1080/01419870701538851

Subrahmanyam, K., Greenfield, P.M., & Tynes, B. (2004). Constructing sexuality and identity in an online teen chat room. *Applied developmental Psychology, 25*(6), 651-666. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2004.09.007

Thomson, I. T. (2010). *Culture wars and enduring American dilemmas*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Tilak, J. B. (2011). Financing higher education in sub-saharan Africa. *Africanus*, *41*(2), 4-31. Retrieved from https://0-journals.co.za.wam.seals.ac.za/content/canus/41/2/EJC22708

Tirado, F., & Gálvez, A. (2008). Positioning Theory and Discourse Analysis: Some Tools for Social Interaction Analysis. *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung, 33*(1), 224-251. Retrieved from

http://0-www.jstor.org.wam.seals.ac.za/stable/20762264

Trottier, D., & Fuchs, C. (2014). Theorising Social media, politics and the state. In D, Trottier., & C, Fuchs (Eds.), *Social media, politics and the state: Protests, revolutions, riots, crime and policing in the age of facebook, twitter and youtube* (pp. 3-39). New York: Routledge.

Van Bavel, J. J., & Pereira, A. (2018). The partisan brain: An Identity-based model of political belief. *Trends in cognitive sciences, 22*(3), 213-224. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tics.2018.01.004

Van der Walt, C., Franchi, V., & Stevens, G. (2003). The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission: 'race', historical compromise and transitional democracy. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *27*(2), 251-267. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0147-1767(02)00089-5

Van der Westhuizen, A. (2007). *Subtle racism amongst undergraduate learners after a decade of democracy* (Masters thesis). Port Elizabeth: Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University.

Van Wyk, B. (2005). Performativity in higher education transformation in South Africa. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, *19*(1), 5-19. Retrieved from https://0-journals.co.za.wam.seals.ac.za/content/high/19/1/EJC37125

Van Zyl, P. (1999). Dilemmas of transitional justice: The case of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. *Journal of international Affairs, 55*(2), 647-667. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/24358058

Walker, M. (2005). Race is nowhere and race is everywhere: narratives from black and white South African university students in post-apartheid South Africa. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *26*(1), 41-54. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/30036043

Wangenge-Ouma, G., & Cloete, N. (2008). Financing higher education in South Africa: Public funding, non-government revenue and tuition fees. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, *22*(4), 906-919. Retrieved from https://0-journals.co.za.wam.seals.ac.za/content/high/22/4/EJC37467

Warren, J. T. (2001). Doing whiteness: On the performative dimensions of race in the classroom. *Communication Education*, *50*(2), 91-108. https://doi.org/10.1080/03634520109379237

Weinreich, P. (2003). Identity structure analysis. In P, Weinreich., & W, Saunderson (Eds.), *Analysing Identity: Cross-Cultural. Societal and Clinical Contexts* (pp. 26-95). New York: Routledge.

Weiten, W. (2010). *Psychology: Themes and variations*. Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

West, M., & Schmidt, M. J. (2010). Whiteness studies in South Africa: a South African perspective: preface. *English in Africa*, *37*(1), 9-13.

https://journals.co.za/content/iseaeng/37/1/EJC47999

Wiggins, S. (2016). *Discursive psychology: Theory, method and applications*. London: Sage Publications.

Wiggins, S., & Potter, J. (2008). Discursive psychology. In C, Willig., & W, Stainton-Rogers (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research in psychology* (pp. 93-110). Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Willig, C. (2015). Discourse analysis. In J.A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods* (pp. 143-168). Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Willig, C. (2008). Foucauldian Discourse Analysis. In C, Willig (Ed.), *Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology: Adventures in theory and method* (pp. 112-131). Maidenhead: Open University Press

Wooffitt, R. (2005). *Conversation analysis and discourse analysis: A comparative and critical introduction*. London: Sage Publications.

Yamauchi, F. (2011). School quality, clustering and government subsidy in post-apartheid South Africa. *Economics of Education Review*, *30*(1), 146-156. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2010.08.002