



University of Venda

**A Criminological Inquiry into Bad Policing
and Student Violent Protest: Insight from
the University of Venda**

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DECLARATION

I, Gundo Chadley Nemurangoni, hereby affirm the following regarding the content of this thesis:

1. This thesis is solely the product of my own efforts and intellectual contributions.
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By signing this declaration, I confirm the integrity and originality of the work presented in this thesis.

Gundo Chadley Nemurangoni



Signature

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Contents

DECLARATION.....	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACROYMS.....	viii
Keywords	ix
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background to the study.....	1
1.2 Problem Statement.....	8
1.3 Aim of the study.....	13
1.4 Study objectives	13
1.5 Research questions.....	14
1.6 Significance of the study	14
1.7 Definition of key concepts	17
i. Policing	17
ii. Bad Policing	17
iii. Proactive policing	18
iv. Reactive policing	18
v. Frustration	18
vi. Violence.....	19
vii. Protest.....	19
1.9 Chapter overview	20
CHAPTER TWO.....	22
LITERATURE REVIEW.....	22
2.1 Introduction	22
2.2 Violent protest and its consequences.....	23
2.3 The Goldstone Commission of Inquiry on public violence	26
2.4 Public Order Policing section 205 (3) of the South African Constitution (Act 108 of 1996 and crowd control Act).....	30
2.5 Public Order Policing (POP) strategies during protest.....	32
	iii

2.6 Constitutional Right to protest in South Africa (The Constitution: Section 17 of Act 108 of 1996).	34
2.7 Some Challenges of Constitutional Right to protest	35
2.8 Police brutality and overreaction to nonviolent protests	37
2.9 When can the police use force?	39
2.10 Disruptive versus violent protest.	39
2.11 Conceptual clarification of peaceful protest.	41
2.12 Four Adopted Guidelines for Effective Protests.	41
2.13 Control and competition among students	43
2.14 The impact of violent protest on students and the police.	44
2.15 Conclusion	46
CHAPTER THREE	47
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	47
3.1 Introduction	47
3.2 Social movement and collective behavior theory.	48
3.3 Frustration - Aggression theory	55
3.4 The Rotten Apple theory and police misconduct	58
3.5 Conclusion	61
CHAPTER FOUR	63
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	63
4.1 Introduction	63
4.2 Research design	63
4.3 Study location and description of the study setting.	65
Figure 4.1 Map showing the Univen location in the Western side of the Thohoyandou town.	65
Figure 4.2 Map of the Thohoyandou SAPS and surrounding police satellites.	67
4.4 Justification for a mixed methods research approach	67
4.5 The logic of statistical hypothesis testing	68
4.6 Negotiating access for the collection of data	68
4.7 Method for primary data collection	70
4.8 Target population and sample size.	73

4.9 Sampling techniques	75
4.10 Data analysis.....	76
4.10.1 Quantitative Data Analysis	76
4.10.2 Qualitative Data Analysis	78
4.10.3 Ensuring the trustworthiness of the study.....	79
4.11 Ethical considerations	86
4.11.1 Ethical issues in social research.....	87
4.11.2 Informed consent.....	88
4.11.3 Privacy	89
4.11.4 Anonymity and confidentiality	90
4.11.5 Data protection	91
4.11.6 Deception	91
4.11.7 Consideration of potential for harm	92
4.11.8 Results communication	93
4.11.9 Research misconduct.....	93
4.11.10 Code of conduct and ethical considerations observed during the course of the study.....	94
4.11.11 Empirical challenges, limitations and strengths of the study	96
4.11.11.1 Reluctance by relevant stakeholders to participate in the study.....	96
4.11.11.2 Financial constraints and stress due to traveling distances.....	97
4.11.11.3 Refusal to audio-record interviews	98
4.11.11.4 Limited previous empirical research on the research topic.....	98
4.11.11.5 Restrictions in terms of the study location	99
4.11.11.6 Challenges in terms of the research methods that were employed.....	99
4.11.11.7 Challenges in terms of defining the generalizability of the study	100
4.12 Conclusion	100
CHAPTER FIVE	102
DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION.....	102
5.1 Introduction	102
5.2 University of Venda students' data records	102
5.3 Section A: Socio-demographic data of the respondents.....	103

5.4 Section B: Assess the level of safety around the university of Venda	107
5.5 Section C: Univen students' involvement in crime prevention	110
5.6 Section D: University by-laws, social crime prevention and crime prevention through environmental design	120
5.7 Section E: Victim support	132
Table 5.1 Socio-demographic data of the SAPS members	133
Table 5.2 Chi-Square Test 1	134
Table 5.3 Chi-Square Test 2	135
Table 5.4 Chi-Square Test 3	135
Table 5.5 Chi-Square Test 4	136
5.8 Conclusion	136
CHAPTER SIX	137
DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS	137
6.1 Introduction	137
a. Socio-demographic data of the SAPS POP Unit Respondents	137
b. Socio-demographic data of the students respondents	138
6.2 The causal factors of student violent protest at the University of Venda	140
6.3 The relationship between police response attitude and student violent protest .	145
6.4 The relationship between bad policing and student violent protest	146
6.5 Students' attitudes towards police intervention during protest at the University of Venda	149
6.6 The impact of student violent protest on the university's operational plans and students' academic progress	152
6.7 The existing measures employed by the police during student violent protest...	154
6.8 Strategies that can be adopted to mitigate violent protest among the University of Venda students	155
6.9 Conclusion	157
CHAPTER 7	158
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	158
7.1 Introduction	158
7.2 Summary and overview of the research problem and findings	158
7.3 Police response and students' attitude during protest	161

7.4 Nature and patterns of violent protests at Univen	163
7.5 Question of whether there is any significant relationship between bad policing and student violent protest	164
7.6 Description of students' protests and the strategies that can be adopted to mitigate violent protest among Univen students	166
7.7 Conclusion	167
7.8 Policy Recommendations.....	168
REFERENCES.....	
ANNEXURE B.....	
APPROVED PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE	
ANNEXURE C	
DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENT	
QUESTIONNAIRE	
ANNEXURE D.....	
INTERVIEW GUIDE	
ANNEXURE E.....	
EDITOR'S LETTER.....	
ANNEXURE F.....	
ANNEXURE G	
PROOF OF REGISTRATION	

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACROYMS

DHET	Department of Higher Education and Training
EFT	Education and Training College
F-A	Frustration Aggression
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
NSFAS	National Students' Financial Aid Scheme
POP	Public Order Policing
RAT	Rotten Apple Theory
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SAPS	South African Police Services
SAPS POP	South African Police Services Public Order Policing
SASCO	South African Students' Congress
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Science
TVET	Technical Vocational Education and Training
UNIVEN	University of Venda

Abstract

Understanding student violent protests poses a significant challenge. Central to this concern is the perplexing question: "Why do students persist in resorting to violence during protests, risking arrest, injury, or even death?" Despite advancements in comprehending the evolutionary and proximate mechanisms underlying protests, there remains a notable scarcity of insight into the factors precipitating violence during such actions. One often-overlooked factor is 'bad policing' during protest events, which can serve as a catalyst for violence. The right to protest is a dynamic avenue for individuals to voice their concerns on pressing issues and ensure that decision-makers heed their grievances. Section 17 of the Constitution of South Africa (1996) enshrines the legal right of all individuals to engage in peaceful and unarmed protests, encompassing non-violent demonstrations that may not be regarded as highly disruptive. The research examined the relationship between poor policing practices and student violent protests at the University of Venda. Utilizing a mixed-method approach, data collection involved administering 200 questionnaires to UNIVEN students through a simple random sampling. Complementarily, SAPS POP officers from the Thohoyandou precinct were purposively selected for participation. Focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted across four police stations, each comprising five members, including Thohoyandou, Mutale, Levubu, and Vuwani police stations, totaling 20 police officers for the qualitative aspect of the study. Quantitative data analysis was performed using Statistical Package for Social Science version 24 (SPSS), while qualitative data underwent thematic content analysis. The study fosters a balanced and just environment between police officers and protesters, thereby promoting a more stable, peaceful, and orderly university community. Key findings indicate significant relationships between police response attitudes and student violent protests, as well as between bad policing practices and such protests. Moreover, student attitudes toward police intervention during protests, the impact of student violent protests on the university's operational plans, and students' academic progress were also explored with more effective recommendations for improvement.

Keywords: Bad policing, Student protest, Student unrest, UNIVEN Violence

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

In relation to the study topic, policing refers to when the police officers rely on illegitimate approaches of operational such as violence, whippings, choking, suffocation, and hitting and kicking to force accused to obey their instructions as a result of the burden to reach expected goals (Hadebe, 2017). Although protesters provoke the police by violating their orders, frequently in a rude and stimulating way, they frequently respond aggressively towards the police, cursed them and repeatedly barrage them with stones, mostly during strikes, scholars argued that the police are the ones who initiate violence by applying unnecessary force to restrain and extract information from suspects (IPID 2015). Although protesters may be violent towards the police, as trained officials, the police are forbidden from exposing the public to any form of violence or harsh, insensitive or humiliating payback. For instance, during the #feesmustfall in 2016, the police used stun grenades, water cannons and teargas to disperse crowds of protesters, and arrested those resisting their control in CPUT campuses to enforcing the terms of the several interdicts that had been ordered against the protests and protesters. The police were severely condemned for using unnecessary and uneven amounts of power to disperse protesters. One interviewee claimed that the police used rubber bullets, sometimes at close range, when these students were not armed with anything, except rocks. Following violent clashes between protesters and the police at Parliament in October 2016, the Legal Resources Centre applied for an interdict against

the excessive use of force by the police (ANA 2015). The interdict forbidden the police officers from exceeding the powers credited to them by law but they continued to effect unlawful arrests, break-in residences and use force without limit or adequate notice (Langa, 2017).

In the global perspective, particularly in the UK and the US, distinguishing bad policing to be mechanical and inherent reveals the inadequacy of disorganized differences. This insufficiency has been contaminated by decades of twists to the system with slight transformation to the dominion of white prejudiced policing. Unfortunately, the structure and philosophy of police sectors in the United States defend the immoral cops (Bloom & Labovich, 2021). For instance, George Floyd died at the hands of a Minneapolis police officer on the 25th May 2020. Worldwide, his death sparked protests in backing of Black Lives Matter (Joseph–Salisbury, Connelly & Wangari-Jones, 2021). In the African continent, there have been waves of student protest since the 1960s in almost all African nations in response to social, economic, cultural, political, and personal injustice (Fomunyam, 2017). Although those protests have engaged different methods, most have been violent. The cases of some of the countries such as South Africa, Cameroon, Nigeria, Kenya, Egypt, and Tunisia are practical examples of student violent protest that led to the demise and imprisonment of some individuals. Unfortunately, the government responses to student protests were cruel, ruthless and extremely painful (Fomunyam, 2017). Addressing bad policing is one of the major concerns of the South African Union of Students. For instance, the concern calling for Justice for the family of Mthokozisi Ntumba, who was killed by police in Braamfontein on the 10th of March 2021 (McMichael, 2022). Students also demanded an end to police cruelty aiming at the

protesting students and also an end to the oppression of students and student leadership. In the wake of failure to satisfy human rights requirements and abandonment of fundamental constitutional standards, the necessity for police amendments and new training becomes more apparent than ever. Even though maximum number of police officers are loyal to the public serve, courageously and without prejudice, the rule breakers habitually dominate the hard work of good police officers (Bloom & Labovich, 2021).

In Limpopo province, before May 2016, the comparatively unfamiliar community of Vuwani in South Africa had barely been disposed to violent protests and destruction of public property. This emerged when the Limpopo High Court dismissed a request by the Masia Tribal Council and eight others to set aside the Municipal Demarcation Board's verdict to join Vuwani and parts of Thulamela Local Municipality into a solitary new municipality. This was followed by prolonged protests which triggered the burning down of twenty-four schools and ultimately teaching and learning in schools were disrupted for more than seventy schooling days (Kanyane, Adonis & Rule, 2021).

The undesirable moments of violent protests include waste of lives and property, destruction of public and private infrastructural facilities, development of toxic and antagonistic relationships and disruption of academic activities in schools including our universities. One key problem related with bad policing is that it negatively affects the relationship between the police and the community.

South Africa's shift to democracy in 1994 brought about many changes. For policing, this meant changing from oppressive apartheid-style policing to a police service eager to serve people. The dynamics in the policing of public protests in South Africa after the

democratic privilege from 1994 have experienced a major shift. Before 1994 the police, reinforced by the military were tasked to overwhelm and use force to regulate unrests curving from political opposition. The early 1990s experience increased political activities that resulted in key control challenges for riot control inside the police force. Political marches and rallies that shaped the early 1990s could not be managed with the same oppressive style as was the case prior to democratic negotiations. Policing procedures contrary to public protest were commonly characterized by random riot control and offensive police actions, which brought controversy into POP (SAPS 2013). Revolution within the SAPS required the rationalization of POP units but has also uncovered a thoughtful crack within the policy milieu. There is a perspective that some level of violence or confrontation in protests can initially help draw attention to issues, but exceeding certain boundaries risks alienating authorities and undermining the goals (Mahali, 2018). Student protests have a long history in Africa, arising in the anti-colonial/anti-apartheid movements and continuing after independence. South Africa has a particularly fraught history with violently suppressed protests during apartheid, including infamous events like the Sharpeville massacre where police fired on peaceful demonstrators (Langley, 2018). Laws like the General Law Amendment Act 37 of 1963 and the Criminal Procedure Amendment Act 96 of 1965 gave apartheid police broad powers to arrest and detain protesters without charge. There is a lingering culture and perception, rooted in this history, that authorities will only respond to forceful confrontation rather than peaceful protest (Lodge, 2011).

This part provides a historical overview of violent and deadly incidents involving protests and policing in South Africa, both during the apartheid era and in the post-apartheid

democratic period. It highlights several key points: Soweto uprising in 1976 and Uitenhage massacre in 1985 were examples of authoritarian and excessive use of force by police against protesters during apartheid, resulting in many deaths. This history of heavy-handed policing led to a lack of public confidence in the legitimacy of the police forces (Mahali, 2018). After the transition to democracy in the 1990s, the new government introduced legislation like the South African Police Service Act of 1995 and the Regulation of Gatherings Act of 1993 to reform crowd control methods. Despite these reforms, student protests in recent years have continued to turn violent across universities, colleges, and training institutions in South Africa. These protests have involved various forms of violence like hate speech, arson, property damage, looting, sexual assault, and physical harm to both faculty and students. Between 2009 and 2013, the South African Police Services reported making over 14,000 arrests related to protests, indicating the scale of the issue (SAPS, 2013). This passage highlights the ongoing challenges South Africa faces in managing protests and maintaining public order while upholding the right to protest, even in the post-apartheid era. This evidence clarifies the police's consistent failure to maintain public peace and social order regarding related violent protest matters.

The incidents during the #feesmustfall protests in South Africa raise serious concerns about potential violations of constitutional rights by law enforcement authorities (TimesLIVE, 2016). There are some key points such the use of tear gas, rubber bullets, and indiscriminate firing into crowds of peaceful protesters contravening the rights to life, dignity, and freedom of assembly enshrined in Sections 11, 12(e), and 17 of the South African Constitution. The shooting and injuring of student journalists also infringe

on press freedoms and the right to receive and impart information, which are crucial in a democratic society. The arrests and disciplinary/criminal actions against student protesters and SRC members could be seen as an infringement on their rights to freedom of expression and peaceful assembly if the actions were lawful protests (Duncan, 2016). However, if protests turned violent or involved property damage, authorities may have grounds to use proportional force and make arrests within the confines of the law. Overall, the response from law enforcement appears heavy-handed in some cases and raises questions about whether the use of force was necessary, proportional, and in line with constitutional protections. An independent inquiry may be warranted to investigate potential rights violations and ensure accountability. Peaceful protest is a fundamental right in a democracy, and authorities have a duty to uphold and protect this right while maintaining public order through lawful and proportional means only when absolutely necessary (Duncan, 2016).

Student protests, such as the #feesmustfall and #Rhodesmustfall movements, have been triggered by various issues, including proposed fee increases, accommodation problems, language policies, and symbols of colonialism (Mavunga, 2019). While some protesters act violently for emotional reasons or to challenge the current system, the research aims to identify the relationship between bad policing and student violent protests. As protests have increased, so has police brutality towards students, with heavily armed police sometimes leading to tragic outcomes. However, contrary to the perception of overzealous police repression, the results show that police do not attend the majority of protest events (Mavunga, 2019). The decision for police to attend protests is based on how threatening the event is perceived to be, with larger protests

and those using confrontational tactics being more likely to have police presence. To accurately predict and minimize violent protests, it would be crucial to understand the underlying factors that contribute to the escalation of violence. Some potential areas to explore could include: examining the specific instances of perceived "bad policing" or excessive force that may have provoked or escalated violent reactions from protesters, analyzing the tactics and communication strategies used by both police and protesters, and identifying potential areas for improvement or de-escalation, investigating the role of leadership, organization, and communication channels within student protest movements, and how these may influence the likelihood of violence, assessing the effectiveness of existing protocols and training for police in managing large-scale protests and crowd control and exploring alternative conflict resolution mechanisms or channels for addressing student grievances before they escalate to violent protests (Olzak, 2021). This research insists that gaining a more nuanced understanding of the complex dynamics at play, it may be possible to develop strategies that address the root causes of violent protests while improving the relationship between police and student protesters.

The key demands and issues raised by protesting students across South Africa include increased financial support from the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS), which provides loans and bursaries to students at public universities and FET colleges (Olzak, 2021). Quality and affordable student accommodation, as well as transportation for students residing off-campus. Preventing academic exclusion of students due to financial constraints or other reasons. Lowering tuition fees and accommodation costs at tertiary institutions (Le Grange, 2020). Transformation processes, language policies,

and academic policies at certain universities, such as the University of Cape Town (UCT), Stellenbosch University, and Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT). The removal of colonial-era statues and symbols, exemplified by the 2015 protest at UCT that led to the removal of the Cecil John Rhodes statue (Ndelu, 2017). The protests have occurred at various institutions, including the University of Limpopo, Mangosuthu University of Technology, Tshwane University of Technology, University of the Witwatersrand, Vaal University of Technology, Walter Sisulu University of Technology, False Bay College, and the College of Cape Town. While these protests aim to address legitimate concerns and demands, they have sometimes resulted in violence, property damage, injuries to both police officers and protesters, and arrests and disciplinary actions against students and Student Representative Council (SRC) members (Ndelu, 2017). While these protests aim to address legitimate concerns and demands, they have sometimes resulted in violence, property damage, injuries to both police officers and protesters, and arrests and disciplinary actions against students and Student Representative Council (SRC) members. By addressing these aspects, this research can contribute to a deeper understanding of the complex relationship between policing practices and student violent protests, and potentially inform policies and strategies aimed at minimizing such incidents and promoting a more peaceful and constructive learning environment.

1.2 Problem Statement

Students' protests continue to challenge the SAPS, university's operational plans and students' academic progress. Maintaining public order while respecting constitutional rights to protest is indeed a significant challenge for law enforcement agencies like the

South African Police Service (SAPS), 1996 (Mofokeng, 2017). Violent protests from Univen proved to be a problem, as reactions are often based on social learning as well as frustration and aggression. Therefore, a more valid source of evidence would be useful in supporting a peaceful, non-violent protest. In balancing public safety and the right to protest the SAPS must strike a delicate balance between ensuring public safety, preventing violence/property damage, and upholding the constitutionally protected right of citizens to protest peacefully. Clear guidelines and protocols are needed such as employing skilled negotiators and communication strategies to engage with protest leaders and diffuse tensions before they escalate. Effective communication and de-escalation can be highly effective in avoiding confrontations. Ultimately, upholding both public safety and constitutional freedoms requires constant evaluation, refinement of tactics/policies, training and oversight to ensure the SAPS response is measured, lawful and in line with a community-oriented philosophy.

Considering that the first objective of this study being to determine the causal factors of student violent protest at Univen, students' violent protests create a problem for the university's operational plans and students' academic progress. Secondly, addressing these challenges requires a multi-pronged approach involving policy reforms, improved training, better accountability measures, community engagement, and a fundamental shift in the culture and mindset of policing in South Africa (Mofokeng, 2017). It is a complex issue deeply rooted in historical factors, and consistent, sustained efforts are needed to rebuild public confidence and create a more effective, community-oriented police service. There is little research to suggest solutions in avoiding violent protests. United Nations (2011) in Mofokeng (2017) argues that in order to ensure proper

accountability and oversight for police sector in a democratic society, striking the right balance between empowering police to enforce laws while ensuring robust accountability is an ongoing challenge. Continuous training, clear policies, transparency, and multi-stakeholder engagement are all key components (Mofokeng, 2017).

Students' protests turn violent at many South African universities, universities of Technology, FET's, and TVET colleges (Herbig, 2016). The major problem is that mass protests often involve attacks on people, arrests, injuries, damage to appreciable property such as vehicles, buildings and in some circumstances deaths. Studies have indicated that a growing number of protestors have argued that peaceful forms of protest do not work because the state simply ignores them (Anastasopoulos & Williams, 2019). Given that the overall problem is that the police and private security guards are too quick to use violence which has often been the case with the #feesmustfall protests; these interactions lead the protesters into violence (Herbig 2016). For instance, the civic organizations like "Abahlali baseMjondolo" have engaged in road blockages because their more conventional protests were ignored (Dugard, Madlingozi & Tissington, 2014). Such protests get the media running and politicians hearing (Dugard et al., 2014). The scenes of violence, destruction of property, and xenophobic attacks during protests are deeply troubling. While the right to protest peacefully is an important democratic principle, there is no justification for criminal acts like assault, or intimidation targeting innocent people. Some potential factors that may be contributing to this situation such as frustration over lack of service delivery, poverty, unemployment and inequality that persists in many communities despite political promises of change, perception that conventional/peaceful protest actions are not achieving desired results, lack of effective

community leadership/organization to keep protests disciplined and non-violent. However, no grievances can excuse such wanton destruction and violation of the rights of others. It undermines the moral stance of the protesters and turns public opinion against their cause. Peaceful protest, negotiation and working through institutions and the political process is the only sustainable path. Community leaders, politicians, police and civil society must firmly condemn violence and criminal acts while also sincerely addressing legitimate concerns driving unrest through policy reforms, accountability and inclusive dialogue. Both restoring order and tackling root injustices are critical priorities (Dugard et al., 2014). Addressing this problem will have practical benefits for Univen and will contribute to the understanding of this widespread phenomenon. The issue of public protests, especially in the educational context, is a complex and multifaceted one. The Regulation of Gatherings Act of 1993 does indeed recognize the right of citizens to engage in peaceful protests as a means of drawing attention to their demands and grievances. This is an important democratic right that allows for the expression of dissent and the pursuit of change through non-violent means. (Dugard et al., 2014). However, the decision to disrupt the normal functioning of an institution, such as an educational system, should not be taken lightly. While protests can be a powerful tool for advocacy and raising awareness, they can also have unintended consequences and potentially infringe on the rights of others. In the case of student protests that disrupt the educational system, there are valid arguments on both sides. On one hand, students may feel that their demands are not being adequately addressed through traditional channels, and that disrupting the status quo is the only way to compel authorities to take action. They may view the unequal and inequitable aspects of the educational system

as so entrenched and systemic that more extreme measures are necessary to catalyze change. On the other hand, disrupting the educational process can have negative impacts on the learning and development of students, potentially exacerbating existing inequalities and disadvantages. It can also create conflicts and divisions within the broader community, potentially undermining the ultimate goals of the protest. The lack of comprehensive research on public opinion regarding peaceful protests in South Africa is indeed a gap that needs to be addressed. Understanding the perspectives and attitudes of different stakeholders, including students, educators, parents, and the broader public, could provide valuable insights into the complex dynamics at play (Dugard et al., 2014). Ultimately, while the right to peaceful protest is an important democratic principle, it should be exercised judiciously and with careful consideration of the potential consequences and impacts on all affected parties. Finding a balance between advocacy, disruption, and the preservation of essential services and rights is a delicate challenge that requires open dialogue, compromise, and a genuine commitment to addressing the root causes of inequality and injustice (Dugard et al., 2014). A knowledge gap exists as to why students often turn violent in their protests when they themselves may be injured, arrested, or killed. Some publications offer hypothetical preventive solutions regarding what might help police avoid violent protest (Bramsen, 2018). The specific problem is that some students' protests become radicalised and engage in increasingly disruptive and defensive form of protest such as erecting barricades and burning tyres to take control of a particular area and to keep the police out. The next paragraph clarifies the specific purpose of this study.

1.3 Aim of the study

The aim of this mixed-method study is to establish the relationship between bad policing and students' violent protest at the university level.

1.4 Study objectives

Considering that the general aim of this study is to establish the relationship between bad policing and student violent protest. The definite objectives are the following:

- i. To determine the causal factors of student violent protest at the university of Venda.
- ii. To examine the relationship between police response attitude and student violent protest.
- iii. To investigate the relationship between bad policing and student violent protest
- iv. To examine students' attitudes towards police intervention during protest at the university of Venda.
- v. To measure the impact of student violent protest on the university's operational plans and students' academic progress
- vi. To examine the existing measures employed by the police during student violent protest.
- vii. To identify strategies that can be adopted to mitigate violent protest among the university of Venda students.

1.5 Research questions

The core of research is grounded on inquiring critical questions. Based on the objectives of the study, the goal of this study project is to find answers to the following research questions:

- i. What are the causal factors of student violent protest at the University of Venda?
- ii. Is there any significant relationship between police response attitude and student violent protest?
- iii. Is there any significant relationship between bad policing and student violent protest?
- iv. Do students show attitude towards police intervention during protest at the University of Venda?
- v. Does student violent protest have impact on the university's operational plans and students' academic progress?
- vi. What are the existing measures used by the police during students' violent protest?
- vii. What strategies can be used to mitigate violent protest among University of Venda students?

1.6 Significance of the study

The findings could help law enforcement agencies like SAPS develop better crowd management strategies that prioritize de-escalation and avoid excessive force, while still maintaining order. This allows them to uphold public safety without infringing on citizens' constitutional rights to peaceful protest. On the other side, the study's insights could empower students and protesters with knowledge on how to organize and

conduct effective yet peaceful demonstrations. This could help minimize confrontations, arrests, injuries, and disruptions to academic activities. By facilitating a constructive dialogue between law enforcement and protesters, the study's recommendations could help universities strike a balance between ensuring campus operations run smoothly and respecting students' rights to free speech and assembly. Peaceful and orderly protests that avoid violence benefit society as a whole by providing a civil platform for diverse viewpoints to be expressed and heard. This can foster greater understanding, dialogue, and potential solutions to contentious issues.

In essence, the research seeks to provide evidence-based solutions to a significant societal challenge, potentially leading to positive systemic changes in how student protests are managed and fostering a culture of non-violent civil expression within South African universities.

The South African government established the Goldstone commission of Inquiry Regarding the Prevention of Public Violence in 1991 with the aim of investigation of the causes of violence and intimidation; to recommend the measures capable of containing and/or preventing cycles of violence; and to initiate research programmes for the empirical data on violence. The Goldstone Commission of Inquiry in South Africa in was established in 1991 by the government under President F.W. de Klerk as part of the transition to dismantle apartheid and move towards multi-racial democracy. It was chaired by Richard Goldstone, a respected judge and human rights lawyer and the mandate was to investigate the nature and causes of violence and intimidation that had escalated during the period of political unrest in the early 1990s. among other things, its reports exposed the dirty tricks, covert activities, and human rights abuses by security

forces and highlighted the cycle of violence and retaliation between groups. While criticized by some for not going far enough, the Goldstone Commission played an important role in shedding light on the violence and pushed the transition process forward. So in summary, it was an attempt by the transitional government to address and investigate the widespread political violence and intimidation happening in the dying days of apartheid rule (Sebopetsa & Odeku, 2020).

Between 1995 and 2002, the POP unit underwent various modifications. Research conducted by Pillay (2016) found that the police encounter many challenges in following crowd management techniques during violent protests. Pillay's (2016) research concluded that the lack of resources and manpower within the police force does not allow them to apply the appropriate crowd management techniques in line with their training. This research highlights the difficulties faced by the POP unit in effectively managing crowd control and maintaining public order during violent protests due to resource constraints and inadequate manpower. The study suggests that despite receiving training in crowd management techniques, the police are often unable to implement these techniques appropriately due to the lack of necessary resources and personnel (Pillay, 2016). The findings emphasize the need for addressing these resource and manpower deficiencies within the POP unit to enhance their ability to manage violent protests effectively while adhering to the appropriate crowd control techniques they have been trained in.

1.7 Definition of key concepts

i. Policing

Policing in this study refers to the police officers preventing crime and controlling and maintaining social order during protest by the students of Univen. The main theme of policing is the philosophy underlying the police's accepted attitudes and activities. An examination of the nature of policing focuses on the exercise of authority, police ethics, policing styles, the behavior of police officers, and the principle of minimum force. It is the system of police department which provides a wide array of services to the citizens. Definitely, policing involves crime prevention and control and order maintenance but it also provides a wide variety of services (Crawford & Evans, 2017). This research is of the view that unhealthy police behaviour towards Univen students usually prompts violent during students' protest.

ii. Bad Policing

In this study, bad policing refers to when the police officers rely on illegal methods of operating such as aggression, beatings, strangulation, suffocation, and slapping and kicking to coerce suspects to obey their instructions due to the pressure to meet projected targets (Hadebe, 2017). The preliminary study of this topic suggests that some protesters at Univen have suffered police brutality such as aggression, beatings, slapping and kicking to coerce them to obey their instructions due to the pressure to meet projected targets.

iii. **Proactive policing**

In this research proactive policing refers to the police getting out in front of violent protest events in the hopes of preventing them and working with the community to reduce crimes (Muhlhausen, 2018). The SAPS members at Univen approach reach out to the students in the hope of preventing unlawful protest events, yet there is no pleasing results towards violent protests.

iv. **Reactive policing**

Reactive policing can be defined as the police responding to specific requests from Univen students or staff members in the university which encompasses immediate response to calls and follow-up investigations. Traditional thinking suggests that the mere presence of a police vehicle will act as a deterrent to crime (Nowacki & Willits, 2019). The focus of the SAPS is on responding to and managing immediate protest issues reported by the university management, against student protests with a commitment to addressing problems as they occur and investigating them thoroughly has been drastically failing to bring the enduring solution. This is specifically an attempt to enlighten the long overlooked area “bad policing” that might be the core of violent protests among Univen students.

v. **Frustration**

Frustration is specified as the thwarting of a goal response, in turn, is taken to mean the reinforcing final operation in an ongoing behavior sequence. However, the term frustration is used to refer not only to the process of blocking a person’s attainment of a reinforcer but also a reaction to such blocking. Consequently, being frustrated means both that students’ access to goal attainment is being thwarted by the police officers (or possibly by particular circumstances) and that their reaction to this thwarting is one of

annoyance (Dennen, 2015). In this study, social frustration and aggression are observed when University of Venda students resort to tactics such as blocking roads, setting fire to property, and necessitating police intervention to be removed from campus.

vi. **Violence**

Violence is the intentional use of threatened or actual force against a person or a group which may cause physical hurt or emotional harm deemed legitimate by the performer and illegitimate by (some) witnesses (Cusack, Cusack, McAndrew, McKeown, & Duxbury, 2018). One of the major concern is that Univen students often resort to physically attacking other people, destructing private and public property which in the end get them in risk of arrest and sometimes lose their chance of future advancement through career pursuit.

vii. **Protest**

In the scientific literature, protest activity has been framed as a collective action problem. Dynamic visible display of discontent, perception of conflict or incompatibility of opinion that could accelerate into aggressive retaliatory gestures related to perceived injustice (Langley, 2018). University of Venda students collectively and visibly displaying discontent, perception of conflict or incompatibility of opinion that accelerate into an aggressive retaliatory gestures related to perceived injustice.

viii. **Student unrest**

Swart and Hertzog (2017) defined student unrest as the discontented attitude on the part of students toward school and its objectives, expressed in a manner that threatens the codes of conduct, written or implied and disrupt the orderly process of education. In this study student unrest refers the discontented attitude on the part of Univen students

toward the university and its objectives, expressed in a manner that threatens the codes of conduct, written or implied, and disrupt the orderly process of the university's operational plans and students' academic progress.

1.8 Scope of the study

As this will be illustrated in the literature review in chapter 2, research has been done on related topics, such as the police use of force during protests and crowd management and control by POP. The relationship between bad policing and student violent protest remains largely unanswered prior to this study. The study includes South African Police Services (SAPS) crime prevention unit members who have specific knowledge in crowd control during protest action. Focus Group Discussions (FGD's) will be used for SAPS crime prevention unit members. The study also includes Univen students for quantitative data collection. This study will use a mixed method approach, using structured questionnaires with Univen students. Questionnaires provide insight into the phenomenon as to why students often turn violent.

1.9 Chapter overview

The thesis comprises of seven chapters:

Chapter 1 is a very crucial introductory chapter as it sets the stage for the entire research study. It provides an overview of the research topic, its background, and the context in which the study is situated. The primary purpose of this chapter is to introduce the subject matter and establish the significance of the research. The aim and scope of the study followed by the research objective and questions, and the problem statement.

Chapter 2 aims to stretch a clear understanding of the background of the field and show which studies are important (Ridley, 2012). The chapter critically reviews the

related literature and other scholarly views, to enabling the work to identify nearby mechanisms that underlie violent protest. Students' violent protests prove that we still have little insight into the routes that lead to the emergence of violence during protest.

Chapter 3 explores the theoretical framework of the study. This section outlines the structure of the theoretical assumptions that support the research. It will connect the research questions outlined in Chapter 1, to existing knowledge guided by relevant theories.

Chapter 4 outlines the research methodology which is qualitative and attempts to focus on the procedures used to identify, select, process, and analyze information about the research topic. This fragment will answer how the data was collected and analyzed.

Chapter 5 revolves around the analysis of findings and is one of the most crucial parts of the paper. It will involve the interpretation of data related to the research questions and applies reasoning to establish patterns, relationships, and trends.

Chapter 6 outlines a discussion of findings. The purpose of this chapter is to describe and interpret the significance of the findings in cognisance of the research problems outlined in Chapter 1. Emphasis will also be placed on how the research findings can lead to new insights.

Chapter 7 will conclude and summarize the key findings of the research study and speaks to the problem statement. This chapter will also clearly provide a framework of the researcher's recommendations about how this paper can be used as a proactive approach to POP, and by what means this study can be useful for other scholars to add empirical value to this area of research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Although SAPS and scholars are convinced of a happy future to avoid of violent protest, several academics also raise some concerns regarding the negative impact of student violent protest on the university's operational plans and students' academic progress (Owens, Weisburd, Amendola, & Alpert, 2018). Based on hypothetical assumptions or on empirical evidence, this piece of work is a criminological inquiry on the relationship between bad policing and student violent protest; an insight from Univen. The concern raised about police employing excessive force too quickly against protesters is a valid one that has been highlighted in many analyses of protest policing tactics and approaches. While the principles of POP emphasize addressing underlying issues proactively and with minimal use of force, the reality is that many police departments have struggled to fully implement these ideals when dealing with protests and civil unrest. (Owens, Weisburd, Amendola & Alpert, 2018). It is significant for law enforcement agencies to make satisfactory implications of the data and to make sure that they are accurately understood to develop fitting strategies. If the strategies are not understood by law enforcement agencies, it might become a challenge to avoid violent protest. Understanding the causal factors that contribute to an increased likelihood of violent protests is crucial for law enforcement agencies to effectively manage and respond to such situations. (Perry, 2013).

Overall, this literature review seems to suggest that while POP strategies aim to avoid violence, the empirical evidence on their effectiveness is mixed, and bad policing practices can potentially worsen violent situations. A more evidence-based and context-sensitive approach to POP may be necessary to achieve the desired outcomes of maintaining public order while respecting the rights of protesters. This study argues that the current policy of POP's crowd control and management is based on substantial opinions and unreliable proof rather than on systematic experiential inquiry. This study supports that violent protest is as the consequences of bad policing measures in South Africa. It covers Constitutional Right to protest in South Africa (Constitution of Republic of South Africa 1996), some challenges of constitutional right to protest, Goldstone Commission of Inquiry, the police use force, peaceful protest, disruptive versus violent protest, control and competition among the students, police response and police brutality and the impact of violent protest on students and on the police.

2.2 Violent protest and its consequences

The use of violence, such as throwing rocks or burning down buildings, can seriously harm innocent people and damage crucial facilities like libraries, hospitals, and law clinics that serve the community. Such actions are illegal and unacceptable, regardless of the cause being protested. At the same time, it's important to recognize that the right to peaceful protest is a fundamental democratic freedom. Students may feel the need to protest against perceived injustices or to advocate for changes they believe are important. However, as you noted, this right does not extend to the use of violence or the destruction of property, which only breeds more conflict and adversely impacts society. Perhaps a more constructive approach would be for students to engage in non-violent civil disobedience, such as peaceful demonstrations, sit-ins, or other forms of protest that do not involve harming others or damaging infrastructure. Additionally, open dialogue and negotiations between students, university administrators, and relevant

authorities could help address grievances through lawful and peaceful means. Ultimately, while the right to protest is essential in a democracy, it must be exercised responsibly and without resorting to violence or actions that endanger public safety or deprive others of their rights and access to essential services. Peaceful protest, coupled with a willingness to engage in good-faith dialogue, is more likely to bring about positive change (Sebopetsa & Odeku, 2020).

Although South Africa is not in a state of outright civil war, the persistent socio-economic challenges, political tensions, and recurring protests and strikes suggest that the country is grappling with significant internal pressures and divisions. Resolving these issues through dialogue, reforms, and inclusive policies is crucial for South Africa's long-term stability and prosperity (Brown, 2015). There has been a lack of major research specifically investigating the relationship between problematic policing and violent protests in South Africa. If that is indeed the case, it represents a concerning gap in understanding the roots of this issue. Given this history, Bohler-Muller, Roberts, Struwig, Gordon, Radebe & Alexander (2017), stated that it is understandable why studies examining the linkages between aggressive policing tactics and subsequent escalation of protests into violence would be highly relevant in the South African context. Exploring those connections could shed light on how to break cycles of violence. While these apartheid-era laws have been repealed, it seems the violent dynamics between police and protesters did not disappear overnight with the end of apartheid. As the quote indicates, 'harsh treatment of protesters is viewed as a continuation from that era rather than a new phenomenon' (Della Porta, 2020).

The apartheid government used extreme and deadly force through the South African Police (SAP), which was later renamed the South African Police Service (SAPS), to violently suppress any protests or opposition to its oppressive, racist laws and policies.

It references several specific incidents of violence against protesters by the police: the apartheid regime enforced laws to suppress protests and allow arrest of protesters, police often lacked proper crowd control training but were still deployed with weapons like shotguns, whips, and batons against protesters which eventually led to brutality and violence against protesters by the police. The most infamous event was the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, where police fired live ammunition into a crowd of 5,000-7,000 protesters, killing 69 and injuring hundreds. The protesters were demonstrating against the racist "pass laws" imposed by the apartheid government that restricted movement for black South Africans (Lodge, 2011).

Some key events and issues related to policing and crowd control in South Africa's history are the 1976 Soweto uprising and the 1985 Uitenhage massacre, where many protesters were killed by police, with evidence that 70% of those shot were fleeing. This history of heavy-handed and violent policing against protesters severely undermined public confidence and legitimacy of the police forces under apartheid rule (Lodge, 2011). With the transition to democracy in the 1990s, the new government aimed to restore trust by reforming crowd control policies and practices through new legislation like the 1995 South African Police Service Act and the 1993 Regulation of Gatherings Act. The goal was to move away from the authoritarian policing tactics of the past towards a more rights-respecting approach to managing protests and crowds.

The South African Police Service has confirmed that student leader at the Tshwane University of Technology (TUT) Benjamin Phehla has passed away after sustaining serious injuries during protests (Khan, Thakur, Obiyemi & Adetiba, 2022). The SAPS denied that Phehla died as a result of police action, saying that he was one of seven

students that were injured when a car smashed into a crowd of protesters between TUT's North and South campuses. Instead, a case of culpable homicide has been opened (Khan et al., 2022). According to a tribute posted on various social media platforms, Phehla was an outgoing member of the SRC of TUT Soshanguve Campus, and was rushed to hospital after being injured during protests. Student protests across the country have become increasingly violent as students continue to clash with police on University campuses. According to Khan et al. (2022), the situation regarding the student protests in South Africa appears to be quite tense and unstable. For instance, the use of excessive force by police against protesters, with the SRC leader Shaeera Kalla being shot several times at close range with rubber bullets, even as she tried to negotiate peacefully and violence from some protesters as well, with a security guard reportedly seriously injured after being struck by a rock dropped from an elevated position and widespread disruptions to the academic year across university campuses due to the ongoing protests over calls for free education. Failure to resolve the deadlock and complete the academic year could have severe repercussions, potentially preventing up to 1 million high school graduates from attending university in 2017 (Khan et al., 2022).

2.3 The Goldstone Commission of Inquiry on public violence

The Goldstone Commission of Inquiry was a truth-seeking body tasked with understanding the roots of the ongoing violence in order to recommend ways to resolve conflicts and prevent future violence through transparency and accountability. The Goldstone Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Prevention of Public Violence established in 1991 was set up by the South African government during the transition

period away from apartheid to investigate the causes and nature of public violence and intimidation in the country. The underlying assumption was that shining a light on acts of violence/intimidation and exposing their roots through investigation and media coverage would help prevent further cycles of violence. Its main functions included: investigating the causes and circumstances surrounding specific incidents of public violence or intimidation, recommending measures that could contain or prevent future outbreaks of violence, initiating research programmes to gather empirical data and understanding on patterns/causes of violence. Led by Richard Goldstone, a respected judge, the commission held public hearings and published reports on various violent incidents involving militancy, protests, political rivalries, etc. during the turbulent transition period. The work helped document many acts of violence and human rights abuses, though its effectiveness in preventing further violence is debated given the volatile political climate at the time. So in essence, it aimed to curb violence through investigation, truth-finding, and proposed preventative measures - operating on the premise that exposing violence's roots could be a deterrent (Sebopetsa & Odeku, 2020). Quinney and Shelden (2018) suggest that riot commissions recognize the need to address the root causes or underlying tensions that lead to riots, rather than relying solely on repressive measures. They claim that commissions adopt an approach that seems reasonable and focuses on developing technical or specialized methods to control riots. This implies that riot commissions try to strike a balance between maintaining order and addressing the underlying grievances or issues that fuel riots. They aim to find ways to manage and control riots through specialized techniques, while also working to mitigate the underlying tensions that contribute to such situations. The statement highlights the

nuanced and multifaceted approach advocated by the literature on riot commissions, which involves a combination of technical control measures and efforts to address the underlying causes of riots. Govender and Pillay (2022) doubted the view of the effectiveness and impartiality of commissions of inquiry, particularly in contexts where they may be influenced by entrenched power structures and have a history of being co-opted to serve the interests of the ruling regime. They seem to suggest that more radical and substantive changes may be necessary to truly address issues of violence and societal injustice. Lambert (2020) highlighted that it is important to note that commissions of inquiry are often established to investigate specific incidents or events, and their mandates, composition, and approaches can vary. However, Lambert's critique highlights the potential limitations and biases that may arise in such inquiries, particularly when it comes to holding state actors accountable and addressing underlying systemic issues that contribute to public disturbances.

Through provisions in the Act, the Goldstone Commission was able to adjust and expand its operating capacity by establishing additional units to gather information and report on ongoing violence incidents. The Act gave the Goldstone Commission the ability to evolve and enhance its functioning over time to better fulfill its role, rather than being overly constrained by its initial directives. Having mechanisms to request changes enabled it to adapt to circumstances as deficiencies or needs arose (Lambert, 2020).

According Gascón and Roussell (2019), riot commissions tend to work under a great deal of pressure. As highlighted by Judge Goldstone's perspective, gaining the confidence and trust of the public in the commission's independence and impartiality is crucial for its effectiveness and credibility. Despite their limitations, commissions can

play a role in keeping issues surrounding public disturbances on the political agenda, even after the events have subsided, through their findings and recommendations. Overall, while commissions of inquiry face challenges in terms of timeliness and direct intervention during crises, they can still contribute to shaping public discourse, informing policy decisions, and maintaining the salience of related issues on the political agenda in the long term (Lambert, 2020). Among others, these have covered the Witwatersrand disturbances (1913), the 1914 rebellion (1916), the disturbances at Moroka, Johannesburg (1948), the Durban riots (1949), Sharpeville (1960), Paarl riots (1963) and the Soweto riots of 1976 (1980) (Saunders & Limb, 2020).

There are certainly some common threads in terms of people mobilizing against injustice and inequality. However, it is also important to recognize the unique contexts and grievances behind each of these events. The #feesmustfall protests were specifically centered around issues of access to higher education and the cost of university fees. The mass democratic movements of the 1970s and 1980s like the United Democratic Front and trade unions were fighting against the entirety of the apartheid system of racist oppression and disenfranchisement. Events like the Soweto Uprising of 1976 became powerful symbols of resistance. The Marikana massacre in 2012 was a tragic culmination of labor tensions and disputes between mineworkers and the mining company over wages and conditions. It exposed many lingering socioeconomic inequalities in South Africa (Naicker, 2016). This also includes the 2016 community protests in Vuwani area in Limpopo province (Chabalala, 2021).

In scenarios like this, organizations often face tough choices and trade-offs due to resource limitations. It becomes challenging to address all demands equitably, leading

to potential criticisms or perceptions of unfairness. Clear prioritization criteria, transparency in decision-making processes, and effective communication with stakeholders can help mitigate some of these challenges, albeit not completely resolving them. Ultimately, addressing the root cause of manpower constraints through additional resources or process improvements may be necessary to enable the commission to fulfill its mandate more comprehensively (Lambert, 2020).

The proposed research topic exploring the relationship between bad policing practices and students' propensity for violent protests at the University of Venda is a relevant and timely issue. Given the ongoing unrest and violent protests in South African universities, it is crucial to understand the underlying factors contributing to these incidents. The research aims to shed light on the potential role of perceived or actual bad policing practices as a catalyst for student-led violent protests.

2.4 Public Order Policing section 205 (3) of the South African Constitution (Act 108 of 1996 and crowd control Act)

While ensuring public safety is a legitimate concern, the policing response during recent major protests has renewed debates around finding the right balance between facilitating free speech/assembly and maintaining order. Increased scrutiny and calls for reform in this area seem likely to continue (Roberts, Bohler-Muller, Struwig, Gordon, Mchunu, Mtyingizane & Runciman, 2017). As a means to minimize increased violent protests within the country, SAPS has established the Public Order Policing (POP), a unit within the SAPS with the aim to maintain public order during violent protests. POP unit experienced various modifications between 1995 and 2002. POP units were positioned at SAPS area offices as part of area crime combating units (Ministry of

Police, 2011). After 1994 the unit went through numerous restructuring which adversely impacted on its ability to effectively perform its mandate and function on crowd management to crime prevention (Civilian Secretariat for Police, 2013). In 2006, the unit was re-established due to an increase in public protest gatherings particularly violent ones and major events. Till to date the unit has been steady and tasked to manage public protests and major events. Bruce (2012) supported that there has been an increase of public protests between 2002 and 2005 approving that there was an escalation of death and injuries during protest from 2010. Evidence proves that there hasn't been a sign of decline following the video of the killing of Andries Tatane on the 13 April 2011 by the police during a service delivery protest in the town of Ficksburg in Free State Province. Ignorantly, the Police fired rubber bullets into Tatane's chest at close range and continued to attack him with batons; he later died from the injuries (Mdawo, 2021). The following year in late August 2012, 34 people were killed and seventy were injured by the police during protest in Marikana, North West Province (Adelman, 2015).

The use of force by law enforcement during protests and demonstrations is a complex and sensitive issue that often raises concerns about police training, tactics, and adherence to established protocols. A research conducted by Pillay (2016) found that police encounter many challenges in following crowd management techniques. However, Pillay (2016) concluded that lack of resources and manpower does not allow them to apply the appropriate techniques in line with their training. Frequently they are overcome, and are under huge pressure to intensify the level of force.

2.5 Public Order Policing (POP) strategies during protest

While the contexts and specific circumstances may have differed, both the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960 and the Marikana Massacre of 2012 represented failures in implementing proper crowd control and public order policing (POP) strategies. The Sharpeville Massacre occurred during the apartheid era when police opened fire on a peaceful protest against the pass laws, killing 69 people and injuring many others. The Marikana Massacre, on the other hand, took place in the post-apartheid era during a strike by mineworkers at the Lonmin platinum mine. Police used live ammunition against the striking workers, resulting in the deaths of 34 people and injuring many more. These incidents serve as reminders of the importance of upholding human rights, addressing underlying societal issues through dialogue and reform, and ensuring that law enforcement agencies are properly trained and equipped to handle public order situations without resorting to excessive or lethal force.

Marenin's (1982) concept of the relative autonomy of the police provides a useful theoretical lens to analyze the events at Marikana in 2012, where 34 striking mineworkers were killed by the South African Police Service (SAPS). According to this theory, the police can exercise a certain degree of independence from political control and societal influences, allowing them to pursue their own organizational interests and priorities (The British Journal of Criminology, 2015). The commentary on public order policing being dominated by the analysis of riots and riot control is a valid observation. This focus has indeed created an image of policing that appears aggressive, violent, and oppressive. However, it is crucial to recognize that effective public order policing encompasses much more than just riot control tactics (Northam, 1988) and for the

future of democracy itself (Manwaring-White, 1983; Jefferson, 1990). These fears have been entertained on the iceberg principle: police battling with rioters and pickets is just the visible part of an iceberg of coercion. The relationship between protesters and law enforcement is a complex and sensitive issue. On one hand, the right to peaceful protest is a fundamental democratic freedom that must be protected. Protesters should be able to voice their grievances and work towards positive social change without fear of excessive force or violation of their civil liberties. The shooting of rubber bullets indiscriminately into a peaceful protest crowd, happening on March 1, 2021, is deeply concerning. Using potentially lethal force against non-violent civilians is a clear violation of police protocols and human rights. The tragic death of the bystander Mthokhozisi Ntumba further underscores how such excessive force can have catastrophic consequences. Protesters must also have a moral obligation to remain peaceful and work within the boundaries of the law, even when voicing outrage over injustice. Both sides need to exercise restraint and good judgment. Building mutual understanding, accountability and protection of rights for all is crucial to defusing these cycles of violence between the public and those sworn to serve and protect them. Substantive reforms from all stakeholders are needed (Bryant, 2019).

Next, we observe that police behavior and approaches to community policing and responding to protests have significantly evolved since the 19th century. There are several different strategies that law enforcement agencies can employ when responding to protests and demonstrations such as escalated force, negotiated management and strategic incapacitation. Most police organizations employ some combination of the approaches depending on the specific circumstances. There are debates around which

is most effective and ethical. Last, we observe that overcoming the current antagonistic attitudes after years of conflict is immensely challenging but necessary to chart a new, less volatile path forward.

2.6 Constitutional Right to protest in South Africa (The Constitution: Section 17 of Act 108 of 1996).

The 1930s were indeed a significant period in South African politics, marked by growing tensions and opposition to the discriminatory policies of the ruling government. The Hertzog Bills, proposed by Prime Minister J.B.M. Hertzog's government, aimed to further entrench the system of racial segregation and discrimination against the Black African population (Soudien, 2019).

South Africa has remained a democracy since its first universal suffrage elections in 1994, which marked the end of apartheid. The Constitution enshrines rights like freedom of assembly, expression, and the right to protest peacefully and unarmed (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996). When protests remain peaceful, meeting them with a harsh security response and mass arrests can potentially escalate tensions and potentially provoke violence. There is no easy universal formula, but erring too far on the side of clamping down on peaceful protest risks escalating tensions and violating core civil liberties (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). Maintaining that balance is an ongoing challenge many societies grapple with. These rights are indeed fundamental human rights that allow people to voice their concerns, draw attention to issues, and work towards positive change. In summary, while reasonable rails are needed, the ability to publicly protest injustices and flaws in

systems is an indispensable right in any free society. It empowers the people and has proven to be a force for progress throughout history.

Section 205(3) of the Constitution of South Africa, which outlines the core functions and responsibilities of the South African Police Service. It sets out the key objectives and areas of focus that guide the operations of the South African Police Service across the country. (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). The right to freedom of peaceful assembly is a vital human right (Sebopetsa & Odeku, 2020). In other words, this right protects peoples' ability to come together and work for the common good. However, this right does have reasonable limits - assemblies must truly be peaceful and cannot endanger public safety or infringe on the rights of others. But overall, the ability to assemble peacefully is indeed one of our most cherished civil liberties that allows citizens to have their voices heard. Protecting and respecting it is vital for any free society (Sebopetsa & Odeku, 2020).

2.7 Some Challenges of Constitutional Right to protest

It's often the case that those in power portray protesters and civil disobedience movements as criminals or threats to order, when in reality these groups are exercising fundamental rights (Lodge & Mottiar, 2016). On Friday 22 November, the Right to Protest organisation held a panel discussion at the Wits Law School titled: '*Violent protests and civil society: where to from here?*'. In that meeting, Zondo stated that in South Africa protest violence fabricated up images of the protesters being violent as opposed to those responding to the protest being violent. In support of this she mentioned the Marikana massacre and the #feesmustfall protests (Maverick Citizen Paper 2019). In the other hand, Advocate Ngcutaitobi took the narrative further back, to

the Sharpeville massacre, the June 16 protests and the Bisho massacre. These peaceful protests were met with violence by the authorities and the South African Police (SAP). According to Maverick Citizen Paper (2019), the protesters were often painted as violent. This commission debated the unstable sands of what is considered violent action, and who is punished and criminalised for protest violence. For example, in the Marikana aftermath, there were calls for those responsible for the excessive use of force to be held accountable. Saba & Van der Merwe (2013) pointed out that it is important to note that the Marikana massacre highlighted issues of police brutality, labor rights, and socio-economic inequalities in South Africa, and its legacy continues to shape discussions around these issues. The right to protest is indeed constitutionally guaranteed in South Africa, largely due to the country's history of struggle against apartheid and the denial of fundamental rights to the majority population (Lodge & Mottiar, 2016). Specifically, the Riotous Assemblies Act of Act No 17 1956, was enacted during apartheid, as a repressive law used to criminalize protesters and enable the oppression and brutalization of South Africans fighting for freedom (taking effect 16 March) prohibited gatherings in open-air public places if the Minister of Justice considered they could endanger the public peace. Addressing violence through lawful means, robust public discourse on rights/reforms, and leveraging the legal system's checks and balances could all be constructive paths forward. Balancing order and rights remains an ongoing challenge for many societies (Maverick Citizen Paper, 2019). In framing the violence during protests, it was intended that law enforcement deploy rubber bullets towards the ground near demonstrators rather than directly targeting individuals, as is frequently observed. However, despite this protocol, no punitive

measures have been taken, allowing the police to persist in their aggressive and unlawful conduct. The media's role in portraying protests often favors the perspective of the police, contributing to a misleading portrayal of unruly crowds and presenting the response from the South African Police Service (SAPS) as defensive rather than offensive. This situation unfolded in the context of the imprisonment of student activist Kanya Cekeshe, a prominent figure in the #feesmustfall movement, who was convicted for acts of violence and malicious damage to property. The apartheid-era strategy of isolating protesters is viewed as a means of dissipating and intimidating dissent, drawing parallels to Cekeshe's case (Maverick Citizen Paper, 2019).

2.8 Police brutality and overreaction to nonviolent protests

When the police overreact with brutality to nonviolent student protests, students are radicalised in a violent direction (Hardiman, 2013). To address police brutality against students, the South African Union of Students has articulated this concern as part of its broader demand for a nationwide university shutdown (Naicker, 2016). This call specifically aims to put an end to police brutality directed at protesting students and seeks to halt the victimization of students and student leadership. Allegations of police brutality during student protests have garnered attention during parliamentary meetings, with students taking their grievances to Parliament. Universities contend that they only involve the police when protests escalate beyond control. During the #feesmustfall protest on September 21, 2016, at Wits University, the police reportedly deployed tear gas and rubber bullets against the protesting students (Naicker, 2016). The South African National Editors' Forum has also denounced the shooting of two female student journalists at Wits University, allegedly by the hands of the police. On March 10, 2021,

the South African Police Service (SAPS) indiscriminately fired rubber bullets into a peaceful crowd of protesters, resulting in injuries to several individuals and the tragic death of bystander Mthokozisi Ntumba. This brutal response to the students is seen as a violation of several articles of the South African Constitution, including the right to life in section 11, the right not to be treated in a cruel, inhuman, or degrading way under section 12(e), and the right to assembly under section 17 (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996). These rights are also protected by the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), ratified by South Africa in 1998, under Articles 6, 7, and 21, respectively. The 2020 United Nations Human Rights Guidance on Less-Lethal Weapons in Law Enforcement is pertinent in evaluating the use of rubber bullets. Paragraph 7.5.2 provides clear guidelines, indicating that the use of rubber bullets may only be potentially lawful when addressing an imminent threat of injury to either a law enforcement official or a member of the public. The guidance additionally emphasizes the risks of firing such projectiles at close range, stating that targeting the torso may cause damage to vital organs (Sossai, 2020). According to Dr. Guy Lamb, an expert in public order policing and a lecturer in crime and policing at Stellenbosch University, universities typically involve the South African Police Service (SAPS) only when deemed necessary, though this often exacerbates the situation. Instances triggering police involvement include protesters obstructing roads or engaging in public disorder. Police responses are contingent on crowd behavior, but the Disaster Management regulations may provide authorization to prevent potential violence. The central point is that students possess the right to protest and advocate for more organized student demonstrations (Maverick Citizen Paper, 2019).

In conclusion, as the risk of injury or death escalates amid the intensifying student protests nationwide, South Africa must carefully consider the image it wishes to project globally. Is it to be perceived as a nation compliant with human rights obligations or one that allows its police officers to aggressively contravene the fundamental principles of both domestic and international law?

2.9 When can the police use force?

It may come as a surprise to discover that there exist stringent regulations governing the police's use of force against protesters (Robertson, 2012). The guidelines are explicit: law enforcement is permitted to use force against demonstrators only when it is necessary to prevent injury or death to a person or destruction of property. Before resorting to force, they must exhaust all negotiation and alternative measures. Prior to employing force, they are required to issue two warnings in at least two languages, providing individuals with a reasonable amount of time to disperse. The use of force is restricted to the minimum necessary under the given circumstances. These regulations must be adhered to regardless of whether the protest is deemed legal or not. Police are only authorized to use force when negotiations have proven unsuccessful, and there are reasonable grounds to believe that the danger to people or property cannot be averted through alternative actions (The right2know Campaign, 2015).

2.10 Disruptive versus violent protest

Regrettably, in the ongoing public discourse, disruptive and violent protests are frequently conflated, overlooking a crucial distinction between the two. Disruptive protests involve challenging established order, even through peaceful means, while violent protests encompass attacks on individuals or substantial damage to property. Unfortunate as it may be, authorities often disregard peaceful and non-disruptive protests (Hlatshwayo 2021). Beyond the university context, civic organizations like 'Abahlali base Mjondolo' resort to road blockades when conventional protests are overlooked. Students have inferred that unless the normal operations of an unequal

educational system are disrupted, meaningful change is unlikely to occur (Madlingozi, 2014). Under prevailing conditions at universities, disruptive protests warrant constitutional protection, a stance reinforced by legislation. For instance, the Regulation of Gatherings Act allows protests to be prohibited only if they cause significant disruption (Omar 2017). Even then, the Act specifies that municipalities and the police must engage in consultation with protesters before dispersing them. In the current context, student sit-ins and efforts to mobilize others should be recognized as protected conduct, as long as they aim to persuade rather than coerce those around them (Omar, 2017). Unfortunately, this nuanced perspective is not consistently applied at South Africa's universities. Roberts, Della Porta and Diani (2016) highlight the deployment of inadequately trained private security guards on many campuses, coupled with universities imposing broad interdicts that restrict all forms of disruption. Interdicts, functioning as blunt instruments, proscribe specific actions on a blanket basis and operate as a form of prior restraint on expressive acts.

During the initial stages of a protest cycle, violence is typically unplanned, limited in scale, and confined in scope. It often arises as a spontaneous response to an escalation of force by the police or a broader restriction of democratic space. In instances such as the #feesmustfall protests, if the police and private security resort to violence prematurely, it can push protesters into violent reactions. Participants in the movement often justify resorting to violence as a form of self-defense (Roberts, Porta & Diani, 2016).

2.11 Conceptual clarification of peaceful protest

A peaceful protest, also referred to as nonviolent resistance or nonviolent action, involves expressing disapproval through statements or actions without resorting to violence (Chenoweth & Cunningham 2013). This form of protest has been employed to advocate for various causes, including human rights issues, anti-war campaigns, and dissent against political or governmental policies. Common methods include boycotting certain products, participating in marches or sit-ins, displaying specific symbols, and distributing flyers (Hardiman, 2013).

One of the most prominent peaceful protesters was Mohandas Gandhi, an Indian activist and spiritual leader. Gandhi organized a demonstration, covering a 240-mile journey along the coast to encourage others to collect salt, symbolizing their disapproval of both a specific law and tax. The movement gained significant traction, leading to numerous arrests, including Gandhi himself. Despite the arrests, this peaceful protest, along with subsequent nonviolent actions, played a crucial role in India ultimately gaining its independence. Hardiman (2013) emphasizes that the moment protesters resort to violence, they risk losing support, both within the student community and among the wider public. The following are four established rules for effectively conducting protests.

2.12 Four Adopted Guidelines for Effective Protests

i. Enhance Message Salience

The duration and volume of a protest play a significant role in prompting decision-makers to take action (Gillion, 2013). Nonviolent resistance or action can indeed drive real change, but it requires becoming unignorable. Factors influencing a protest's salience and its potential for political impact include its persistence beyond a day, involvement of over 100 people, presence of police, affiliation with political

organizations, occurrences of arrests, injuries, or property damage, and instances of death. Gillion (2013) notes that violence, regardless of the source—protesters, counter-protesters, or law enforcement—draws attention. The key insight is that violence, large crowds, and prolonged persistence all contribute to increased attention (Gillion, 2013).

ii. Unify Diverse Concerns under a Single Banner

To prevent dilution of efforts, particularly when authorities issue multiple controversial executive orders, protesters should unite overlapping concerns under a single coalition. Continuous emergence of individual protests in response to each move by authority's risks diminishing the impact of each. Creating a coalition ensures a collective voice advocating for shared values, maximizing the impact on academic achievements (Fisher, 2018).

iii. Transition from Talk to Action

While energy, emotion, and people are potent drivers of social change, effective tactics are crucial. Mere shouts in the streets are insufficient; protesters should channel their efforts into actions targeting sponsors who can challenge or deny authorities' decisions. Generating political or market pressure to compel authorities to reconsider their decisions is another effective strategy. The ultimate goal is to create a moment that decision-makers cannot ignore, requiring creativity in protest execution. Leadership may not be necessary, but direction and clearly articulated grievances are essential (Gillion, 2013).

iv. Proactive Approach

Protests should not merely react to situations; they should proactively aim to prevent unfavorable actions. Proactive protests, seeking to avert actions, are generally more

effective than reactive protests that respond to outrages. Oliver, Hanna and Lim (2019) argue that larger, proactive movements are often necessary to compel decision-makers to revoke their decisions.

2.13 Control and competition among students

According to Duncan (2016), within social movements, internal competition for influence can arise, particularly after major victories. Recent protests indicate that factions within the student movement are vying for recognition of their achievements. Additionally, national political parties are actively seeking to control their student formations, discouraging some representatives from discussing political leadership issues on campus, thereby undermining cross-party collaboration. Such behaviour erodes democratic decision-making processes and non-sectarian approaches to movement-building (Duncan, 2016). The #feesmustfall movement appears to be impacted by this internal strife. Sociologists argue that political violence by protesters seldom arises suddenly or consciously. In the early stages of a protest cycle, violence is typically unplanned, small-scale, and limited in scope, often a spontaneous response to police force or a broader restriction of democratic space (Duncan, 2016). As violence escalates, some protesters become specialized in tactics that do not rely on mass support, causing further divisions within the movement. These tactical decisions shift the struggle onto a terrain overwhelmingly dominated by the state and its repressive apparatus, a trend now evident on multiple South African campuses. The official narrative depicting the student movement as noble in previous years but now having lost its legitimacy due to violence overlooks the role of official overreactions to peaceful protests in 2015 and continued overreactions in escalating and radicalizing the protests

(Duncan, 2016). Universities initially responded to the protests with securitized approaches, and now they are experiencing the consequences of such strategies. Simultaneously, movement actors must prioritize demands, strategies, and tactics that foster mass movements while rejecting regressive elements promoting racism, sexism, homophobia, and violence. While opting for security measures may seem easier for universities in response to growing campus unrest, it is a simplistic and counterproductive approach. There is ample scholarship indicating that such a path leads nowhere, and university actors must actively break away from this self-fulfilling insight (Duncan, 2016).

2.14 The impact of violent protest on students and the police

i Impact of Violent Protest on Students

South Africa has been marred by violent student protests across its universities, with the University of Johannesburg (UJ) alone suffering damages exceeding R100 million due to such actions (Bawa, 2016). The escalation of violence at South African universities has involved damaging statues, confrontations with security personnel and police, and even the burning of buildings, resulting in brutal clashes among student groups (Fomunyam, 2017). Concerns have been raised about the consequences of shutting down universities, primarily to prevent students from prolonging their study durations. Khan et al. (2022) suggest that failing to complete the academic year in 2016 could have prevented up to 1 million matric students from attending university in 2017 and advancing their education. While the #feesmustfall movement successfully raised awareness about the funding crisis in higher education, the violent protests had various repercussions. Langa (2017) notes positive outcomes at several universities, such as

the renaming of university buildings, curriculum transformation, and the insourcing of general workers. However, progress in addressing the broader issue of funding higher education has been slow.

ii **Impact of Violent Protest on Police Officers**

During the 2016 #feesmustfall protests, the police employed stun grenades, water cannons, and teargas to disperse crowds (Langa, 2017). Their presence on campuses, often backed by interdicts against protests, faced criticism for the perceived use of excessive force against protesters. Rubber bullets were used, sometimes at close range, even when students were unarmed except for rocks (Langa, 2017). Despite legal efforts to limit the excessive use of force, police continued with aggressive actions, including unlawful arrests and forceful interventions.

Private security companies, possibly due to ignorance or inadequate training, also resorted to elevated forms of violence against students. They shot at protesters, used stun grenades within enclosed residences, physically assaulted demonstrators, conducted citizens' arrests, raided student residences, and imposed strict access restrictions on campuses (Langa, 2017). These interventions seemed more focused on participating in rather than de-escalating the eruptions of violence on campus. Moreover, the use of force by security personnel often pushed students towards violence, creating a self-perpetuating cycle of unrest. The evidence indicates that both the police and security personnel faced the challenging task of carrying out state instructions while inevitably confronting students, often barely older than their own children.

2.15 Conclusion

The effects of the actions taken by police and security officers are undeniably characterised by brutality and violence. In addressing the challenges associated with the Constitutional right to protest, there is a pressing need to shift the narrative away from portraying protesters as criminals to recognizing them as individuals fighting for their rights. Unfortunately, these protests often face a violent response from the authorities, revealing a historical pattern of the state using force against people's rights, dating back from colonialism to apartheid and persisting to the present day. The persistent criminalisation of protesters, in many cases, aligns with the apartheid-era Riotous Assemblies Act No 17 of 1956. Despite existing literature providing clear guidelines to limit the police's use of force against protesters, the South African Police Service (SAPS) consistently fails to implement these rules, signaling the necessity of exploring alternative solutions to address this issue. Ensuring police accountability is crucial. While police are authorized to use minimum necessary force as a last resort, their consistent failure to earn public trust underscores the necessity for innovative and evidence-based solutions. The ongoing victimization of protesters, particularly students and student leaders, raises concerns about why police officers continue to contravene various articles of the South African Constitution in their handling of student protests. These violations include the right to life in section 11, the right not to be treated in a cruel, inhuman, or degrading way under section 12(e), and the right to assembly under section 17. The upcoming chapter will delve into three relevant theories in relation to the existing literature on this subject, critically analyzing how they contribute to understanding the dynamics of bad policing and violent student protests.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter delves into relevant theories that shed light on mass protests, including Frustration-Aggression, Social Movement and Collective Behavior, as well as the Rotten Apple theory (RAT) and police misconduct. The existing evidence underscores the significant role these theories play in elucidating the factors that lead students to engage in violent protests. The chapter aims to explore how adopting a deviant viewpoint towards crowd actions becomes increasingly important. While this perspective does not justify the unlawful actions of certain segments of protesters, it underscores that frustration, often perceived as an event rather than an emotion, tends to heighten the likelihood of aggressive actions or reactions. Moreover, it emphasizes that student protests are learned behaviors from others and that a single instance of police misconduct can tarnish the overall reputation of law enforcement.

The right to protest, free from harm and without being unfairly labeled as criminals or law-breakers, is a crucial aspect of conveying messages to decision-makers and authorities, serving as a means to bring about social change or social compliance (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996). This chapter predominantly focuses on the Social Movement and Collective Behavior theory, Frustration-Aggression (F-A) theory, and the Rotten Apple theory (RAT) and police misconduct. A more detailed discussion of their relevance will follow below.

3.2 Social movement and collective behavior theory

One of the prominent and influential theories explaining social movements and collective behavior is Neil Smelser's (1963) value-added theory, also known as structural-strain theory. Smelser, as discussed by Clement (2016), argued that for social movements and collective behavior to occur, several specific conditions must be present. While acts of resistance in the form of social movements are not everyday occurrences, they do happen with some frequency (Clement, 2016).

This perspective is evident in the fees-must-fall protests across various South African university campuses, where students mobilized for the common good, advocating for free education and equality for all South African students. Unfortunately, some of these protests turned violent, especially when members of the South African Police Service (SAPS) and private security guards on campuses were too quick to use force to suppress the protesters' actions (Mapheta, 2016). These forceful responses frightened and provoked protesting students towards violence.

Oberschall (2017) defines collective behavior as a spectrum of crowd actions, ranging from peaceful activities like strikers manning a picket line and demonstrators attending a rally at the steps of a state capitol to potentially destructive actions of a rioting mob. Social movements, on the other hand, represent large-scale, collective efforts to bring about or resist changes that impact the lives of many. The #feesmustfall movement, on numerous occasions, demonstrated the effectiveness of collective action, achieving in ten days what university vice-chancellors had been debating for ten years (Habib, 2022). In certain instances, people join forces in collective actions to benefit a broader category of individuals.

Effective social struggle involves more than a simple reflection of the dynamics and the intricate interaction between social and institutional actors. It necessitates a thoughtful examination of the strategies employed by social movements, with a critical consideration given to the use of violence to achieve desired outcomes. While, at the rhetorical level, many leaders of the #feesmustfall movement professed a commitment to peaceful action, activists, and even their supporters, have suggested that the violence observed was often a reaction to the actions of the police and security personnel.

Although the behavior and actions of the police and security personnel may have triggered individual incidents, the overall pattern suggests that they were deployed in response to some protesters initiating violence or when widespread rights abuses became apparent. For example, in 2015, police were deployed on campus only after the bookshop and a vehicle were burnt on the evening of October 27th. Similarly, private security was brought in during January 2016 when protesters continuously refused to allow registration, asserting that without free education, there would be no education at all. The university initiated a comprehensive security response in October 2016 after repeated attempts to negotiate with the protesters failed through the mediation of previous leaders of the SRC and the Black Students Society.

Despite protests being predominantly peaceful, there is a concerning trend of increasing violence, both in the protests themselves and in the state's response. Research indicates that between 2004 and 2014, police killed 43 protesters, highlighting signs of inadequate policing that fueled social movements. State-sanctioned violence has even been directed at children protesting the lack of teachers at schools, as seen in Port

Elizabeth (ENCA, 2015). In this case, live ammunition was reportedly used by the police against both protesters and members of the media covering the event (News 24, 2015). These behaviors are all too familiar and require little additional attention (Aldrete, 2013). Mainstream criminologists often tend to attribute blame to the protesters themselves, while more liberal perspectives acknowledge the role of police officers in shaping attitudes, prompting calls for adjustments to current policies. Sociologists of deviance in the 1960s and 1970s developed a more critical perspective, viewing those striving to change the way mainstream society denied their civil rights not as victims of structures but as active agents for change within movements addressing issues such as racial and gender oppression—an appreciation that emerged (Clement, 2016).

Episodes of collective behavior are infrequent and unusual, attracting curiosity and public comment. Mass protests involve unexpected collective behaviors, including staged marches (often moving from one symbolically significant location to another), chanting slogans (both advocating their cause and denigrating opponents), performing acts of vandalism (such as smashing windows, doors, and street signs), looting stores and houses of valuable items (or, in food riots, basic staples), making threats through symbolic actions, engaging in mutual displays of intimidation, threatening authorities and disliked individuals with violence (and, occasionally, carrying out assassinations), setting fires (a more serious action often provoking a response from authorities), and, finally, engaging in attacks or being attacked by government representatives (such as police, soldiers, or militia).

Starting in October 2015, South African public universities witnessed a wave of student protests initially sparked by proposed fee increases for the 2016 academic year. The

protests originated at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) and quickly spread to all government-funded universities (Mavunga, 2019). Students felt compelled to challenge and change established routines and institutions that others remained attached to, resulting in controversy and conflict (Oberschall, 2017).

In 2015, SAPS identified the #feesmustfall movement as a student-led protest that began in mid-October 2015 in response to fee increases at South African universities. The protests started at WITS and spread to the UCT, UP, and RU before rapidly expanding to other higher learning institutions across the country. Although the initial focus was on fee increases, concerns later encompassed broader socio-economic and racial inequality issues. Student protests were accompanied by violence, including assaults, intimidation, arson, and property damage (Oberschall, 2017). In response to the #feesmustfall campaign waged by students, the SAPS failed to prevent violent protests in mid-October 2016 (Bawa, 2019). Nevertheless, the police have continued to struggle to ensure that no demonstrators pose an immediate threat.

Langa (2017) observed that seven years prior to 1994, Ndebele (1987) predicted that the offspring of the masses would inevitably infiltrate universities. This prophecy manifested with the eruption of the #feesmustfall protests in 2015, ironically occurring under a democratic government. A pivotal aspect of the students' widespread involvement in #fall was their collective empowerment. A considerable number of students rallied at significant national political hubs such as Luthuli House, the ANC headquarters, and the Union Buildings in Pretoria, the seat of government and parliament in Cape Town. Booysen (2016) as cited in Mavunga (2019) emphasized the

students' collective strength through a placard at Parliament, proclaiming, "The people have more power than the people in power."

Protest movements tend to radicalize due to escalating policing and competitive escalations, where protestors vie for space with law enforcement officers. The distinguishing factor of collective from individual action lies not in the sought goals, nor in the participants' personalities, motivations, or thought processes. It is the public, non-routine dimension of collective action, its challenge to established groups, and its potential as an agent of social change. Instances like the #feesmustfall protests exemplify collective action. Success or failure in such instances hinges on the number, determination, sacrifices, and resistance of participants and their opponents (Oberschall, 2017).

Oberschall (2017) highlights questions that scholars, the public, and participants ponder about social movements and collective behavior. Why do some movements fail while others succeed? What explains the stages and phases of movements, from their rise to decline? What lasting consequences emerge that would not have otherwise occurred?

Certain collective behaviors follow a seasonal or institutional rhythm, characterized by rituals and celebrations within the confines of conventions and traditions passed down through generations or observed on social media. Since 2004, there has been a surge in local protests, exemplified by civic organizations like "Abahlali baseMjondolo," resorting to road blockages when conventional protests were ignored (Langford, Derman & Madlingozi, 2013). Students deduced that disrupting the normal functioning of an unequal educational system is essential for change. In incidents of social behavior, law enforcement officials may overlook minor infractions during protests,

leading participants to push boundaries without destructive, threatening, or offensive behavior. Nevertheless, Oberschall (2017) maintains that instances like riots may cause members of a crowd to act differently than they would in isolation or small groups.

Duncan (2016) extensively explores the reasons behind the escalation of protests into violence. According to Della Porta (2016), movements become radicalized due to escalating policing and what she terms as competitive escalation, where protesters vie for space with political adversaries and other protesting groups (Duncan, 2016). An illustrative example is the 2015 protest at UCT, a historic moment wherein students demanded the removal of Cecil John Rhodes' statue. By January 2016, the #feesmustfall protests had expanded to address concerns about student accommodation, language of instruction policies, and the outsourcing of support staff like cleaners and gardeners, particularly at historically white universities (Duncan, 2016).

Some protesters resort to violence either for emotional satisfaction or to express a desire to dismantle the existing political and economic system (Mavunga, 2019). If law enforcement and private security quickly resort to violence, as often observed in the #feesmustfall protests, these interactions can propel protesters towards violence (Duncan 2016). This, in turn, fosters what sociologist William Gamson terms "injustice frames" around the state, portraying it as fundamentally unjust. State repression fosters solidarity among movement participants, justifying violence as a form of self-defense, echoing Della Porta's assertion that "violence emerges from violence" (Duncan, 2016).

To comprehensively understand movement initiation and growth, it is essential to examine four dimensions of collective action:

- i. Changes in fundamental life conditions are most likely to induce dissatisfaction and inefficiency in the conventional methods of addressing grievances and managing challenges. The nation witnessed the #Rhodesmustfall protests, instigated by students' discontent with the continued presence of Cecil John Rhodes' statue and other colonial symbols at the University of Cape Town (UCT) (Mavunga, 2019).
- ii. Shifts in beliefs, values, aspirations, and expectations play a crucial role in filtering, framing, and responding to life circumstances. Students voiced demands for quality accommodation and transportation, non-exclusion of students academically by tertiary institutions, and affordable accommodation and tuition fees (Olzak, 2021). The students believed that meeting these needs would ultimately enhance their educational standards.
- iii. Alterations in the ability to act collectively, including increased group size, enhanced organizational freedom, improved communication, and greater cohesion among members, have profound effects. Starting in October 2015, South African public universities experienced a surge in student protests, initially triggered by proposed fee increases for the 2016 academic year at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) and subsequently spreading to all government-funded universities (Mavunga, 2019).
- iv. Changes in the opportunity for successful action, such as the weakness of opposition, support from influential allies, and the success of other social movements, align with collective action theory and political sociology (Oberschall, 2017). Beyond Wits, protests at institutions like the University of Cape Town

(UCT), Stellenbosch University, and Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) addressed concerns about the slow transformation process, language policy, and academic policies (Le Grange, 2020).

Social learning theory posits that individuals acquire aggressive responses similarly to other complex forms of social behavior, either through direct experience or by observing others (Rosenthal & Zimmerman, 2014). The initiation or revival of social movements aimed at securing new rights or benefits is challenging to explain, as events and human behavior patterns vary (Rosenthal & Zimmerman, 2014).

Many scholars support the influence of Social Movement and Collective Behavior on student actions. The wave of student protests in South African public universities from October 2015, starting at Wits and spreading to all government-funded universities, exemplifies large-scale, collective efforts to bring about or resist changes affecting many lives (Mavunga, 2019). Collective actions distinguish themselves from individual efforts not by the goals pursued or participants' personalities, motivations, and thought processes, but by the public, non-routine nature of their dimension, their challenge to established groups, and their potential as agents of social change.

3.3 Frustration - Aggression theory

This theory was formulated by Dollard et al. in 1939. As research on human aggression has advanced, there is a growing need for a comprehensive framework (Allen, Anderson & Bushman, 2018). The Frustration-Aggression (FA) theory straightforwardly asserts that frustration results in aggressive behavior. Instances of protest actions demand meticulous and immediate attention, given their tendency to exhibit aggressive retaliatory gestures linked to perceived injustices (Langley, 2018).

Prominent domain-limited theories of aggression encompass cognitive neo-association, social learning, social interaction, script, and excitation transfer theories. In Dennen (2005), frustration is defined as the hindrance of a goal response, which is construed as the reinforcing final operation in an ongoing behavioral sequence. Occasionally, the term "frustration" is used not only to describe the process of blocking a person's attainment of a reinforcer but also the reaction to such hindrance. Consequently, being frustrated implies that one's access to reinforcers is being obstructed by another party (or specific circumstances), and one's response to this thwarting is characterized by annoyance (Dennen, 2005). Frustration is defined as the prevention of goal attainment, while aggression entails any behavior directed at another individual with the immediate intention to cause harm. Additionally, the perpetrator must believe that the behavior will harm the target, and the target is motivated to avoid the behavior (Allen & Anderson, 2017).

The failure of university authorities to attend meetings often provokes student anger, leading to riots and damage to university property. Narratives circulated about the perceived detachment of TUT management in their interactions with student leaders. If these expectations are unmet, individuals feel compelled to resort to violent actions.

While many participants in social movements claim to endorse non-violent civil disobedience tactics, frustrated protesters often hold mixed opinions on the morality and value of engaging in violence. Apparently, protesters sometimes deem violence, particularly against the police, as necessary, especially when they perceive procedural injustice or excessive force. Since 2015 and 2016, South Africa has witnessed an

upswing in aggressive episodes by students due to inadequate service provision, intensifying frustration stemming from high levels of inequality.

Given the frustration expressed by students who use protest as a form of communication, questions arise about how the media covers these protests and their framing in relation to policing in democratic South Africa (Wasserman, Chuma & Bosch, 2018). Frustration typically induces aggression because social conflict in South Africa is often rooted in the deprivation of basic human needs. However, caution is warranted in adopting the Frustration-Aggression model due to some of its theoretical weaknesses, with some scholars contending that frustration does not always lead to aggression. The linkage between protests and unmet expectations, in this study, suggests a direct connection to frustration-aggression. The pursuit of social justice must incorporate the envisioned outcomes, and thwarting these desired results can lead to aggressive outcomes, as seen in violent protests triggered by the failure of the police to protect protesters, escalating frustration and aggression into violence.

Numerous reformulations, additions, and modifications have been made to the frustration–aggression hypothesis, but the fundamental assumption remains that frustration, often perceived as an event rather than an emotion, heightens the inclination to act or react aggressively (Breuer & Elson, 2017). Despite the common association of violence with frustration, some scholars in this field contend that frustration does not always result in aggression. From this perspective, frustration, coupled with aggression stemming from relative deprivation, is inherently non-violent. The frustrations experienced by students in our universities, compounded by the excessive use of force

by the police and the indifferent stance of university management, culminate in violent retaliatory actions.

In their exploration of the Cognitive Neoassociation theory, Anderson and Bushman (2018) integrated higher-order cognitive processes, such as appraisals and attributions. They clarified that individuals, if motivated, may contemplate their emotions, make causal attributions for the factors influencing their emotions, and ponder the consequences of acting upon those emotions. The #feesmustfall movement garnered acclaim for effectively highlighting the funding crisis in higher education in South Africa. Despite various reformulations, additions, and changes, the core tenet of the frustration–aggression hypothesis persists, asserting that frustration, typically treated as an event rather than an emotion, amplifies the proclivity to engage in aggressive actions or reactions (Breuer & Elson, 2017).

3.4 The Rotten Apple theory and police misconduct

Globally, police misconduct is a dominant issue in most societies across the world. Academics that submitted the Rotten Apple theory are: Knapp (1972), Newburn (1999), Punch (2000), etc. The Rotten Apple Theory (RAT), as initially proposed by Knapp in 1972 in the United States of America, was expounded upon by Awopeju in 2018. The concept, encapsulated by the phrase "one bad apple spoils the whole bunch," draws an analogy to the spread of decay from one infected apple to the rest. Knapp posits that rotten apples in the context of law enforcement are either individuals who slipped through the screening process, succumbed to the inherent temptations of police work, or deviants who persist in their deviant behavior within an environment conducive to such actions (Awopeju, 2018).

In the realm of police violence research, much of the focus has traditionally been on behavior rates rather than theoretical foundations. The widely adopted explanation for both violent and non-violent police misconduct is the rotten-apple theory, a psychological perspective attributing incidents of misconduct to a few misguided individuals. In scrutinizing the South African Police Service's (SAPS) misconduct, this analysis explores the notion that the Rotten Apple is a key factor leading to deviant behavior among the police force. The hypothesis suggests that it is comforting, though oversimplified, to attribute prevalent crime within an organization to the actions of one "bad apple" (Gottschalk, 2016).

The question arises: Is the public's reaction toward the police during public protests, police raids, and stop-and-search operations justified? While the public may indeed provoke the police by defying orders in an insolent and provocative manner, often resorting to violence, the IPID investigating officers argue that the police, as trained officials, bear responsibility for initiating acts of violence through the excessive use of force (Clarke, 2018).

Globally, police violence has become ingrained in policing styles, and South Africa is no exception. Suspects and witnesses frequently endure extreme violence and cruelty, raising concerns that the police's use of force, sanctioned by the Constitution in the Criminal Procedure Act No. 51 of 1977, Section 49(2), contributes to instances of police brutality. Research indicates that some police officers resort to improper force when faced with civilian resistance to police authority (Clarke, 2018). The high levels of police abuse in South Africa are seen as part of a broader social conflict related to the limited nature of the country's transition from apartheid and the role of neoliberalism in shaping

this transition. Instances like the brutal police actions of June 1976 recurring during the #feesmustfall movement, as seen in the Marikana massacre, reflect a slow and problematic transition in South Africa's approach to handling violent protests. These actions undermine the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and violate the human rights of the people that the police are entrusted to serve and protect (Clarke, 2018).

Presently, South Africa grapples with a surge in instances of police brutality, with over 5,500 reported cases of police criminal offenses annually. According to the Independent Police Investigative Directorate (IPID) Annual Report Statistics, more than 3,500 cases of torture and assault (police brutality) were documented. This represents over 60% of reported police brutality cases, maintaining an average of 65% over the financial years from 2014/15 to 2017/18. Despite South Africa's nearly 30-year history as a democracy, the country struggles to fully implement new policing models based on the Ubuntu principles, with even contemporary models like community and sector policing facing significant challenges. Many police officials have been implicated in acts of brutality and corruption, undermining the envisioned ideals.

In recent years, incidents of police brutality and associated misconduct in South Africa have garnered significant local and international media attention, leading to heavy criticisms of the South African Police Service (SAPS). Notable cases include the 'Marikana massacre,' involving the killing of protesting mine workers, as well as the deaths of Andries Tatane and Emidio Macia (Burger, 2013). Over the financial years 2014/15 to 2017/18, only 1.9% of police officers were convicted, with a conviction rate lower than 2.5% per year. Notably, there was a zero conviction rate for torture, while assault emerged as the predominant crime resulting in convictions. The National

Prosecuting Authority (NPA) declined to prosecute in 36.58% of the cases during this four-year period.

These statistics underscore that South Africa not only inherited a culture of police brutality as a legacy of the past but has also embraced the acceptance of such criminal behavior by failing to hold the police accountable for their actions. This situation aligns with the Rotten Apple Theory (RAT) proposed by Clarke (2018). South Africa is far from achieving its ideal of a crime-free and non-violent society if the policing style continues to resemble that of the apartheid system.

One critical consequence of police brutality and misconduct, connected with the RAT, is its negative impact on the relationship between the police and the public. Clarke (2018) emphasizes that the police's attitude toward suspects often leads to a replication of one of history's worst blunders, highlighting the urgent need for reform and accountability within the South African policing system.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, the exploration of social movement and collective behavior, frustration-aggression, and the rotten apple theory in the context of police misconduct has been undertaken to enhance the overall depth of the study. The objective is to extract the fundamental characteristics of violent protests and apply them to relevant criminological theories, laying the groundwork for future research that can be expanded upon and refined. The recognition that frustration is a catalyst for aggression, coupled with the acknowledgment that collective actions often emerge as a response to perceived injustices, forms a crucial foundation. This understanding provides insights into the dynamics of violent protests and their alignment with criminological theories.

Furthermore, the examination of the rotten apple theory underscores the structural issues within law enforcement in South Africa, where inadequate mechanisms protect errant officers, enabling them to flourish. This acknowledgment highlights the systemic challenges that contribute to police misconduct, paving the way for a comprehensive exploration of potential reforms and improvements in future research endeavors.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter clarifies and presents the research methodology for this study. Relatively, quantitative and qualitative data analysis were used as an analytical instrument with regard to the relationship between bad policing and student violent protest; an insight from the University of Venda. The term "research methodology" refers to the collection of methods or rules employed in conducting a specific research study. On a broader scale, it encompasses the entire system of principles, theories, and values that form the foundation for a particular research approach (Pandey & Pandey, 2021). Essentially, the integrated approach adopted in this study facilitated a comprehensive understanding of the research topic. This chapter delves into the discussion of the applicability of integrated data analysis, covering key components such as the research approach, procedures, analysis methods, sample, and ethical considerations.

4.2 Research design

Research design plays a crucial role in addressing a research problem (Bless, Smith & Mouton, 2013). Conducting a project over an extended period necessitates a well-defined plan, essentially a blueprint. As articulated by Kumar (2018), a research design serves as the comprehensive scheme or program guiding the investigation, encompassing its plan, structure, and strategy. It is an essential tool conceived to yield solutions to research questions or problems. The research design not only facilitates the proper execution of research aims but also directly addresses the research problem at

hand. In this study, we aimed to align a pertinent design with the research questions outlined in Chapter 1. The research project, in line with its objectives, sought to uncover answers to the following research questions:

What are the causal factors of student violent protest at the University of Venda?

Is there any significant relationship between police response attitude and student violent protest?

Is there any significant relationship between bad policing and student violent protest?

Do students show attitude towards police intervention during protest at the University of Venda?

Does student violent protest have impact on the university's operational plans and students' academic progress?

What are the existing measures used by the police during students' violent protest?

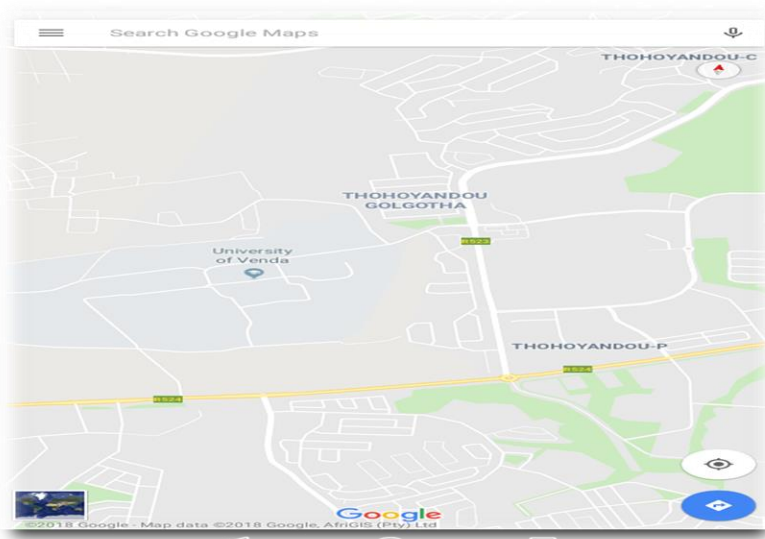
What strategies can be used to mitigate violent protest among University of Venda students?

A good instrument for analysis should at least involve an integrated analysis in order to discover the fundamental implications and patterns of relationships. Given the type of data analysed and the tools needed to carry out an objective interpretation of original, primary information, questionnaires and FGD's were preferred as the most appropriate research design. Printed questionnaires and tape recordings are the essence of this research project because working with the police officials and the students required a design that would best suit the processing and analysis of information in the form of FGD's by recording a discussion and printing questionnaires for primary data. Thematic content analysis procedure and SPSS were used due to the fact that they are designs

for mixed methods research; therefore, this study involves the research design of analysis guided by the methodological progression of integrated or mixed methods research.

4.3 Study location and description of the study setting

The location of this study is Thohoyandou precinct in Limpopo province. This location was selected because a study of this magnitude has not been scientifically done by any researcher. Secondly, the number of student protests, undoubtedly learned from other universities and social setting are increasing drastically where protesters often turn violent due to the culture students' attitudes and bad policing collectively.



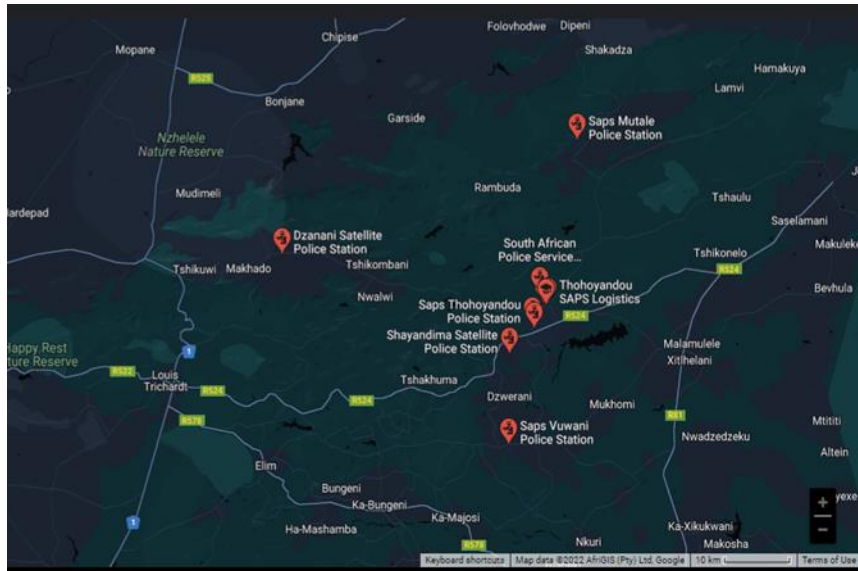
(Source: Google map)

Figure 4.1 Map showing the Univen location in the Western side of the Thohoyandou town.

Instances of student protests in Africa and around the world are not a recent occurrence, with South Africa experiencing such events almost monthly. Although

strategies for managing public order policing (POP) revolve around the increasing number of student protests, it is essential for the systems supporting these strategies to be well-established and integrated within the current constitutional framework. Protesters draw on a deep-rooted protest culture in the country, originating from historic struggles against exploitation and oppression during the apartheid regime. An escalating number of protestors argue that peaceful forms of protest are ineffective, as they often go unnoticed by the state. Consequently, certain protest organizations have radicalized, resorting to disruptive and defensive forms of protest, such as erecting barricades and burning tires, aiming to gain control of specific areas and keep the police at bay.

Mohajan (2018) emphasizes the importance of summarizing, processing, and analyzing raw data in research. In the analysis phase, researchers aim to describe data, explore relationships, and assess consistency with hypotheses and theories. Qualitative data from Univen students and Sibasa POP unit SAPS members were analyzed using thematic content analysis, focusing on identifying, examining, and recording patterns or themes. Quantitative data were processed using the statistical analysis program SPSS, version 24, and will be presented in the next chapter through charts. The inclusion of these two data analysis approaches at the Thohoyandou precinct serves as a valuable addition to crowd management and control, considering the unique variables involved.



Source: Google map

Figure 4.2 Map of the Thohoyandou SAPS and surrounding police satellites

4.4 Justification for a mixed methods research approach

The researcher employed a mixed methods approach in this study, involving a total of 200 participants comprised of Univen students and 20 SAPS POP unit officials. The selection of students to complete 200 questionnaires was done randomly, while criterion purposive sampling was applied to form a sample for the focus group discussions (FGDs). Due to unforeseen study limitations and the participants' tight schedules, the FGD sample ultimately included 14 SAPS POP unit members in the Limpopo province. Of these participants, 9 were male and 5 were female, with service durations ranging from one year to 37 years. The selected participants were aged between 25 and 56 years, possessing mainly 15 years of working experience in the SAPS, though not exclusively in public order policing.

The findings suggest that the majority of those joining the POP unit have received proper training, although the unit lacks frequent skills training sessions. After recording the FGDs, qualitative data underwent thematic analysis, while quantitative data underwent analysis using SPSS version 24 to assess the validity of the results.

4.5 The logic of statistical hypothesis testing

The following hypotheses are tested in the study:

H₁: There is a significant relationship between police response attitude and student violent protest.

H₂: There is a significant relationship between bad policing and student violent protest.

H₃: Students show attitude towards police intervention during protest at the University of Venda.

H₄: Student violent protest impacts the university's operational plans and students' academic progress

4.6 Negotiating access for the collection of data

This study involves numerous active participants, leading to the handling and analysis of highly confidential information. Therefore, ensuring the ethical integrity of this undertaking was paramount, and the researcher adhered to established standards outlined by the Research Ethics Committee.

To initiate the ethical process, formal permission from the unit head was obtained in accordance with the committee's guidelines. The researcher followed the research ethics protocol application, a prerequisite for any project involving human subjects. This application, submitted for approval to the Research Ethics Committee, included various

documents such as proof of registration, project registration (R1), an approved project proposal (including tools like the questionnaire), FHDC recommendation letter, letter of information and consent (Appendix B), conflict of interest form (Appendix C), other information provided to participants, additional documentation for informed decision-making by the RECs, Univen informed consent form, recommendations with relevant signatures, and R.1 application for the registration of a research project.

An online meeting with a team of experts organized by the Univen School of Law Research Board was attended by the researcher to defend the thesis aspects. This presentation covered the research dissertation's full outline, required data, the researcher's role as an analyst ensuring objectivity, the research study timeline, and ethical considerations. Following the board's review, adjustments were made to the research questions to address the qualitative nature of the study.

Subsequently, the researcher completed an ethical clearance application form, which was submitted to the University of Venda's Research and Ethical Clearance Department. Upon receiving a successful ethical clearance letter, signifying no ethical concerns, the research dissertation underwent thorough clearance and approval procedures.

The Research Ethics Social Sciences Committee (RESSC) granted approval for the project with ethical clearance number FMCL/23/CRM/07/1706 issued on 19/06/2023, valid from June 2023 to June 2024.

Concerning the South African Police Service (SAPS), the researcher sought permission to conduct research within the organization due to the study's relevance. The SAPS application included an approved research proposal, research instruments, a

confirmation letter from the researcher's study supervisor, and a letter or certificate from the academic institution indicating ethical clearance. An undertaking was also signed, ensuring compliance with all requirements. Upon meeting these criteria, permission to conduct research for a Master's Degree in Thohoyandou, Mutale, Levubu, and Vuwani was granted. Crucial conditions were outlined, including the researcher bearing the cost, non-disruption of officials' duties, treating SAPS-provided information as strictly confidential, voluntary participation in interviews, and the expectation for the researcher to donate an annotated copy of the research for service improvement.

4.7 Method for primary data collection

The researcher employed diverse methods to gather data from the sample of respondents (Moser & Korstjens, 2018). Given the mixed-method approach of the study, data collection took place through two distinct avenues. Qualitative data were acquired via Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) involving 14 SAPS POP members. On the other hand, quantitative data were gathered through a cross-sectional survey, utilizing questionnaires distributed on the University of Venda campus.

The questionnaires, comprising close-ended questions, were prepared in English, printed, and randomly distributed among the students. This approach aimed to enhance comprehension for all participants, ensuring that they could easily understand and respond to the questions. The students' responses subsequently affirmed their proper understanding of the questionnaires. The researcher used audio data records at the police stations/ satellite in this study. The focus group discussions (FGD's) held as permitted by station/ satellite commanders were positive and data was successfully secured through audio tape recording. These reliable sources complimented the mixed

method findings and added to the research answers. Data records collected as a primary source through FGDs and questionnaires analysis addressed the research questions concerning the relationship between bad policing and students' violent protest. Questionnaires as a primary source of data, complimented the research questions i, ii, iii, iv and v of this study as discussed in chapter 1. Research questionnaires and FGD's interview guide were printed by the supervisor on behalf of the student at Univen. They were 200 questionnaires, each comprised of 5 pages and 20 FGD's interview guides each consisting of 3 pages. During the first two weeks of data collection, one on one method of questionnaires distribution was used, a very time consuming and rigid method of distribution especially with 5 pages each. It took almost twenty minutes for each student to fill each questionnaire, which made the process of data collection slower. Amongst the students there were also some students who were not willing to participate for either academic or personal motive. Because the researcher did not have an assistant, it took nearly 3 weeks excluding Saturdays and Sundays to have all the questionnaires completed for quantitative data. Only 67 questionnaires were completed using one on one distribution method. Although it wasn't easy to convince students to complete the questionnaires, arrangements were made with the lectures from various faculties requesting the permission to conduct the study with their students. After the permission was granted by the lecturers, considering their convenience, availability of double lectures and the researcher's ethical clearance certificate, the permission to use between 15-20 minutes of their time was granted, some during the first period of their lectures and others during the second period of their lectures. The firstly the target participated was the total number of 50 students in one

day, followed by 25 and then 49 participants, making the total of 124 in three different days. Out of 200 questionnaires, 8 were missing, not returned by the participants and 1 was returned uncompleted. While in the process of collection, all questionnaires were kept safe in a lockable cabinet ensuring data security. Names and anything that could hint the identities of the participants were not included in the completion of questionnaires. Regarding qualitative data collection, after the permission was granted by the SAPS provincial commissioner to conduct the research at zone 1 Vhembe east region, the first appointment was made to interview Thohoyandou SAPS crime prevention members through the station commander. The letter of permission was then forwarded by the station commander to other three police stations (Levubu, Mutale and Vuwani) which were ultimately lined out from the study. One of the major developments discovered at this stage of this study was that, the crime prevention unit does not deal directly with protest issues. The researcher was then referred to the nearest POP station situated at Sibasa to conduct FGD's with POP members who deal with crowd management and crowd control. During that time of the year the POP members were attending their training skills sessions at another location around Sibasa, almost 1kilometer from Sibasa police POP station where the researcher was referred to the lecturers. Although the permission to conduct interviews with the unit members was warmly granted and the interest rate to participate was very high, the researcher waked to the training session for about 40 minutes, consulted with the lectures for permission and waited from 09:30 am until 15:30pm but was privileged to observe the session at Sibasa POP station. After the training session was completed the time was given to conduct interview with 14 members of POP unit by the lecturers. The researcher's cell

phone was used to record and collect data since it would not be possible to put everything in writing during the discussion. All the necessary steps regarding ethical considerations were followed to ensure the validity of data. The discussion took about an hour and 10 minutes. The level of participation was smooth since the participants were attending their training skills session.

4.8 Target population and sample size

This study dealt with active participants. The data analyzed was current data, collected from SAPS satellite. Guided by qualitative approach, purposive sampling was used to recruit SAPS POP police officers who have experience or knowledge needed to provide information on my topic. This population was a well-defined collection of individuals or known to have similar characteristics and in this case the experience or knowledge on violent protests. All individuals within this population had a common, binding characteristic or trait. A total of 20 SAPS member were selected for the qualitative study while 200 University of Venda students were selected for the quantitative section of the data collection.

By concentrating the research on a specific location (Univen) and utilizing a quantified dataset, the researcher aimed to achieve more precise outcomes that could be generalized and compared, leading to noteworthy conclusions and broader considerations. The selection of students from UNIVEN was based on their availability during data collection, ensuring equal opportunities for participation in the study. Analyzing their questionnaires was expected to provide more accurate results, given that they are current students familiar with the university's current affairs.

In this phase, an analysis was conducted to explore the relationship between inadequate policing and students' violent protests. The researcher initially selected sample data directly from SAPS POP members through Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), with permission granted by immediate station commanders. These files were input into software developed and tested for analysing large datasets. The interview questions adhered to Univen's Research Ethics Committee guidelines. The software used to quantify data from the University of Venda students is referred to as SSSP version 24, enabling the identification of patterns in students' movements and drawing relevant conclusions.

As outlined in the literature review, the article "Why student protests in South Africa have turned violent" by social movement theorists, Porta and Diani (2016) explores the factors leading to the radicalization of movements. They argue that movements become radicalized due to escalating policing and competitive escalation, where protesters compete for space with political adversaries and other protesting groups. According to them, swift use of violence by police and private security guards can socialize protesters into violence, creating "injustice frames" around the state. This perception leads to the state being seen as fundamentally unjust. The theorists suggest that state repression fosters solidarity among movement participants, justifying violence as a form of self-defense. This reflective analysis formed the core of the study, and thematic analysis was employed to analyze qualitative data.

The research population, defined as a well-defined collection of individuals or objects sharing similar characteristics, included all SAPS POP unit members. A total of 20 SAPS POP members were selected for the qualitative study, while 200 University of

Venda students were chosen for the quantitative section of data collection. The diagram below illustrates the total population of the study.

Table 1: Population Sample for the Study

Stakeholder 1	Quantitative sample	Stakeholder 2	Qualitative Sample
University of Venda Students	200	SAPS Thohoyandou	5
		SAPS Mutale	5
		SAPS Levubu	5
		SAPS Vuwani	5
Total	200		20

Source: (Researcher's illustration)

4.9 Sampling techniques

The researcher opted for a mixed-method technique to broaden the study's scope and enhance its analytical power. Both probability and non-probability sampling methods were employed in participant selection. Non-probability sampling, specifically purposive sampling, was utilized to choose SAPS POP unit members from Sibasa POP station due to their direct relevance to the study. The aim was to investigate the relationship between poor policing and students' violent protests at the University of Venda. In this approach, the researcher identified what information was needed and sought out SAPS POP members who could and were willing to provide information based on their knowledge or experience. The sampling strategy aimed to involve POP members who could contribute effectively to the relevant inquiry.

Conversely, students were selected using probability sampling, specifically simple random sampling. In this method, the researcher drew a sample of Univen students in such a way that all possible samples of a fixed size had an equal probability of being selected. Given the approximately 16,300 Univen students, each student had an equal chance of being selected across the various faculties of the institution. The researcher utilized a Sample Size Calculator to determine the total sample size, and 200 students were selected to meet the study criteria.

4.10 Data analysis

4.10.1 Quantitative Data Analysis

The raw data from Univen students was collected directly through the distribution of questionnaires, and it remained unchanged and unaltered. This approach ensures the credibility of the data and maintains the trustworthiness of any deductions drawn from it. In social science research, research samples are identified after shaping the research questions. This should be fundamentally focused and based on documents rather than being open to personal perception that may lead to bias (Olofinbiyi, 2023). This data was coded into units of meaning and categories to determine the frequency and percentages for each question, for instance, in this study, the data needed to be strategically categorized ranging from assessing the level of safety around the university of Venda, Univen students' involvement in crime prevention, university by-laws, social crime prevention and crime prevention through environmental design and observe the impact of victim support on the victims of violent protests. Data arrangement and coding was done using Microsoft excel. After that licensed analytical software (SPSS version 24) was therefore used in order to secure the precision of data analysis so that it can be

functional to various milieus. This method also guarantees that transferability of the interpretation of the data can be applied to the analysis process because all procedures were followed during the process of data recording with call questionnaires. Completed questionnaires may be used in a diversity of study settings and the results can be easily cross-referenced and checked against the raw data. This ensured that the conclusions drawn are replicable by other researchers and can be applied to different focus areas as needed (Olofinbiyi, 2023). Initially, all the data collected had to be carefully examined to ensure consistency of format and structure to fit in the analytical software to process the data correctly. All questionnaires although completed by students of various faculties and levels had material similarities. Data arrangement was arranged according to sections. Once the data was divided according to sections, the analysis could be more focused on which parts of the data could be further narrowed down to exclude information that may lead to skewed results. Once the records were all organized, all coded into frequencies and percentages, it was ready to be imported onto the SPSS version 24 to test the validity. Once the SPSS successfully enabled the frequencies and percentages to be imported due to the uniformity of the data, the data could be transformed into charts and interpreted. Making the charts for each question made the analysis process much easier to be able to determine relationships between variables. The analysis process attempted to determine the relationship between bad policing and students' violent protest from the charts. To interpret the results recorded from the SPSS, the charts were then each closely examined to determine any link between variables. Although it was a mixed methods approach, the research methodology in this dissertation was straightforward as there were given rules for objectively analysing the

relationship between bad policing and students' violent protest. The advantage is that this allowed a dataset to remain untampered or unmanipulated to suit a given outcome. In this quantitative section, the content was constantly guided by the questionnaires data as through its analysis, documentation and examination, the outcomes of the research were guided by fixed and focused research questions. This study sought to analyze data from a criminological perspective.

4.10.2 Qualitative Data Analysis

Thematic content analysis involves the examination of documents and communication, which can take the form of various text formats. The researcher employed a combination of conventional, directed, and summative content analysis methods to analyze qualitative data, aiming to identify patterns in communication in a replicable and systematic manner. The process begins with the researcher defining the research scope, followed by documenting and organizing the frequency and occurrences within the document. The information was then structured and arranged to highlight its relevance to the central questions of the research. Content analysis serves as a research tool designed to identify specific themes within qualitative data sources, such as audio records (Olofinbiyi, 2023). This analysis was used to directly examine communication through textual records and thereby offer a richly valuable section to the analysis of data because it provides closeness to the raw data. More details will be discussed in chapter 6. This method was correctly executed with a procedure that brings out deeper conclusions drawn from recorded material. This analysis method can be very precise because it is modest and is led by the data, and codes the facts observed. According to Olofinbiyi (2023), most of the researchers adopt this method

because it can study the presence, meaning and patterns to deduce a greater understanding of the research objectives in a given study. The researcher was able to determine which parts of the recording needed to be taken out based on each theme to categorize the data, thereby minimizing the size of the dataset to only what was relevant. For instance, from the recordings, the researcher removed the date of data collection names and time. In the qualitative section, the outcomes of the research were guided by fixed and focused research questions. The research results were guided by stable and focused research questions. Moreover, in qualitative analysis, the researcher endeavored to depict the data, explore relationships inherent in the data, and thoroughly assess the data's alignment with the research hypotheses and theories (Mohajan, 2018). This study analyzes data from a criminological perspective.

4.10.3 Ensuring the trustworthiness of the study

This will be two-fold:

a. Trustworthiness of the quantitative research comprising:

1. Validity

Whiston (2012) characterized validity as the acquisition of data suitable for the intended use of measuring instruments. Emphasizing the testing of a measuring instrument's validity over assessing its reliability, the researcher underscored the importance of ensuring that the instrument measures what it purports to measure. For the research to yield valuable results, the measuring instrument must align with its claimed objectives. The employment of a validated measuring instrument guarantees that the findings resulting from the analyses are indeed valid.

In the qualitative segment, the research drew upon completed questionnaires, participants' willingness to engage, and a comparative analysis of findings with previous research inquiries in related studies. These measures were undertaken to bolster the credibility of the research. To further enhance the credibility of the results, the study incorporated detailed and nuanced descriptions of contexts, perspectives, and findings derived from participants' experiences of violent protests at Univen.

2. Internal validity

Scientific research fundamentally aims to identify potential relationships between variables. Experimental designs offer an effective mechanism to determine causal relationships between independent and dependent variables by implementing an intervention with one group of research participants (i.e., the experimental group) while withholding it from another group (i.e., the control group). The subsequent comparison of the performance of both groups on an outcome variable helps discern the potential effect of the intervention (Cahit, 2015).

Internal validity refers to the extent to which researchers can conclude that changes in the dependent variable (i.e., outcome) are a result of manipulations in the independent variable, excluding other confounding variables. To establish strong internal validity, researchers must minimize confounding variables, undesirable factors that can influence the relationship between independent and dependent variables (Olofinbiyi, 2023). This study employed a prevalent strategy to control confounding variables, utilizing research designs that provide robust internal validity and align with research conditions.

While establishing internal validity is relatively straightforward in hard sciences, the complexity of human behaviors poses a greater challenge in social and educational sciences. Social scientists cannot easily assert that treatment is the sole cause of changes in behavior (Olofinbiyi, 2023). To ensure strong internal validity and provide more accurate results, this research needed to counteract other potential explanations for changes in behavior, such as developmental variations in participants and changes in environmental conditions (Cahit, 2015). In this study, the credibility of the results was further reinforced by presenting detailed and comprehensive descriptions of contexts, perspectives, and findings derived from participants' experiences of violent protests at Univen.

3. External validity

External validity gauges the extent to which inferences drawn from a study's sample can be applied to a broader population or other target populations. This distinction encompasses two forms: generalizability, referring to inferences drawn from a sample representing a defined population, and transportability, which pertains to inferences drawn from a sample but aimed at a different population (Pearl & Bareinboim, 2014). The credibility of both generalizability and transportability inferences relies on their ability to account for multiple dimensions, including mechanisms, settings, treatments, outcomes, units, and time. While social scientists often idealize external validity, rigorous and credible inferences in this regard are infrequently attempted (Findley, Kikuta & Denly, 2021). To enhance the transferability of the study's findings, a review of relevant literature and media reports served as an additional data source.

4. Reliability

Although closely related, the concepts of validity and reliability express different properties of a measuring instrument. While a measuring instrument may be reliable without being valid, if it is valid, it is likely to be reliable. However, reliability alone does not ensure validity, as even a reliable test may not accurately reflect the desired behavior or quality. Consequently, researchers must test both the validity and reliability of the measuring instrument they intend to use. The instrument must satisfy both conditions to ensure the soundness of researchers' interpretations of the research findings (Olofinbiyi, 2023). In this study, students were tasked with completing questionnaires related to the study's aspects, particularly the data collection and analysis processes. They were also asked to assess the results to determine if the conclusions aligned with those presented by the researcher.

5. Objectivity

Researchers can adhere to the norm of objectivity, rightly understood, while still being engaged observers, making value judgments in relation to their research, and conducting qualitative studies (Olofinbiyi, 2023). Consequently, these norms also establish correlative guidelines for gathering and analyzing research information. In summary, these guidelines include the following: researchers are called upon to honestly represent their research, use measures and terms of references allowing for comparisons and verifications by their audiences, and exercise responsible judgments (Sürücü & Maslakci, 2020).

Many social scientists have criticized the norm of objectivity as an impractical and undesirable standard for social scientific scholarship. The application of this standard

has been associated with insensitive and impersonal detachment, a narrow focus on quantitative measures and/or experimental methods that can be mechanically replicated, an attempt to accurately depict the social world without any perspective, and a pursuit of universal and invariant truths (Sürücü & Maslakci, 2020). In this study, the researcher did not pretend to be disinterested or uninvolved in the lives of the informants and did not set aside personal feelings. As representative data are selected, observers must necessarily actively exercise judgment in various ways. Responsible personal judgment has been applied, as argued by Sürücü & Maslakci (2020), who emphasized that assuming data can be gathered without making such judgments is self-deceptive. Data do not select and organize themselves, and the failure to recognize the role of personal judgment can result in unwitting and unacknowledged misrepresentations (Olofinbiyi, 2023). Personal judgment was employed to determine how to consider the available data and the appropriate ways to conceptualize observations. The necessary observations were made from a specific standpoint and timeframe in this study.

b. Trustworthiness of the qualitative research:

1. Credibility

Qualitative researchers employ various strategies to enhance the credibility of their study findings. While quantitative researchers rely on statistical methods to establish validity and reliability, qualitative researchers focus on designing and integrating methodological approaches to ensure the 'trustworthiness' of their findings (Noble & Smith, 2015). In this research the researcher accounted for personal biases which could have had influenced findings.

Data triangulation involves the utilization of multiple data sources, investigators, and methods to neutralize biases inherent in any single source, investigator, or method. By integrating different methods and perspectives, researchers can generate a more comprehensive set of findings. Furthermore, the researcher exhibited clarity in their thought processes during data analysis and interpretation, enhancing credibility. Additionally, engaging with other researchers helped mitigate potential research biases, further demonstrating credibility.

2. Dependability

Dependability, a key criterion in ensuring rigor and trustworthiness in qualitative research, is akin to the concept of reliability in quantitative research. Janis (2022) underscored two strategies employed to establish consistency. Firstly, concurrent triangulation of methods, sources, and data was conducted to reconcile differences in data collection methods across two qualitative intrinsic case studies. Secondly, code and meaning saturation techniques were applied in Microsoft Excel to identify congruent meanings and interpretations despite variations in data collection methods. The results demonstrated that consistency can indeed be achieved, and congruent meanings and interpretations can be discerned despite differing data collection approaches.

To ensure dependability, a supervision memorandum of understanding form was completed, and regular meetings were scheduled from the proposal stage through the pilot study phase. During the pilot study, research procedures were thoroughly discussed, and as the study progressed into data collection and analysis, the frequency of meetings gradually decreased to scheduled consultations aimed at reviewing the overall progress of the study. This iterative process not only served to establish the

trustworthiness and dependability of the study but also facilitated ongoing refinement of research protocols.

3. Confirmability

Confirmability concerns the extent to which others confirm the researcher's interpretations and conclusions (Olofinbiyi, 2023). This standard is considered a parallel to objectivity in quantitative research (Nassaji, 2020). While quantitative research seeks objectivity by dissociating the researcher from the research process, qualitative research emphasises the researcher's active role and engagement in the research. In this research, confirmability was established by describing the data and the findings in such a way that their accuracy can be confirmed by others (Nassaji, 2020). The researcher achieved this by recording and rationalizing all the steps taken and the decisions made regarding the data coding and analysis. These records become then available for any further evaluation and confirmation. The confirmability of this study was kept intact by explicitly expressing only the views and opinions of the participants as recorded and transcribed verbatim from the audio tapes. It is also noteworthy that the research study was not at any level influenced by the researcher's own perceptions of bad policing and violent behaviour of the students in our universities.

4. Transferability

Transferability refers to the extent to which the interpretations or conclusions drawn by researchers can be applied to similar contexts (Nassaji, 2020). Achieving transferability requires a thorough and detailed description of the research activities and underlying assumptions. While transferability shares similarities with generalizability in quantitative research (Olofinbiyi, 2023), it is important to note that qualitative research, being

interpretive and often involving a small, non-representative sample, does not aim for generalizability in the same sense (Olofinbiyi, 2023). Instead, in qualitative research, transferability aims to provide sufficient details that enable readers to assess the applicability of findings to other contexts, should they choose to do so (Nassaji, 2020).

In this study, transferability is facilitated not by making broad generalizable claims, but by furnishing comprehensive details that allow for potential transferability if readers desire. As an approach to enhance transferability, the research employed a review of relevant literature and media reports as an additional data source. This enriched the depth and breadth of the findings, thereby facilitating their potential transfer to other contexts.

4.11 Ethical considerations

The discourse surrounding privacy, data protection, and ethical considerations has long been a focal point in social research, extending into related fields such as psychology and epidemiology, with established solutions implemented to tackle these issues (Weinhardt, 2020). This section offers a concise overview of the principles and extant regulations pertaining to research ethics, encompassing ethical considerations in social research, informed consent, privacy, anonymity, confidentiality, data protection, deception, potential harm assessment, results dissemination, research misconduct, adherence to a code of conduct, and ethical considerations observed throughout the study. Empirical challenges, limitations, and strengths of the study were also addressed, including reluctance among pertinent stakeholders to participate, financial constraints, travel-related stress, refusal to consent to audio-recorded interviews, limited extant

empirical research on the topic, restrictions on study location, methodological challenges, and difficulties in establishing generalizability. It is imperative for scientists, investigators, and researchers to adhere steadfastly to a prescribed code of conduct when collecting data or conducting experiments (Olofinbiyi, 2023). Given the active participation of individuals in this study, the design and implementation of questionnaires and interview questions were in accordance with the guidelines set forth by Univen's Research Ethics Committee. Participation was voluntary, and strict confidentiality measures were maintained, with participants not required to reveal personal details that could compromise their anonymity. Moreover, participant identities were omitted from the dissertation, ensuring privacy protection. General demographic information was aggregated and anonymized, safeguarding participants' privacy rights and personal data. Furthermore, ethical review procedures were meticulously followed, with the researcher obtaining an ethics approval certificate from the Research Ethics Social Sciences Committee (RESSC) of the University of Venda, underscoring the commitment to ethical integrity throughout the research endeavor.

The subsequent sections elucidate the mechanisms through which this study upholds these ethical principles.

4.11.1 Ethical issues in social research

University research operates within a fiercely competitive landscape marked by escalating demands, including stringent timeframes and productivity quotas, coupled with limited access to research funding. Moreover, the prevailing market economy prioritizes productivity and efficiency, often at the expense of quality or rigor. Ethical

considerations in research encompass a set of principles or guidelines that steer research designs and practices (Drolet, Rose-Derouin, Leblanc, Ruest & Williams-Jones, 2023). Hence, scientists, investigators, and researchers are obliged to adhere to a specific code of conduct when collecting data or conducting experiments. Instances of ethical lapses and integrity breaches, such as conflicts of interest, data falsification, disregard for participants' rights, and plagiarism, among others, have the potential to undermine research credibility and result in adverse repercussions for various stakeholders, including researchers, research personnel, participants, academic institutions, and society at large (Drolet et al., 2023). Consequently, the academic community must be equipped to recognize these ethical issues, assess the associated risks (and their impact on different stakeholders), and implement measures for their prevention or management, including educational initiatives, reinforced policies and procedures, and risk mitigation strategies.

Olofinbiyi (2023) emphasized that ethical considerations in research are paramount to achieving the following fundamental objectives:

- i. Safeguarding the rights and dignity of research participants
- ii. Enhancing research validity and reliability
- iii. Upholding scientific integrity

Ensuring the security and safety of all parties involved in the research process, including researchers and participants.

4.11.2 Informed consent

Informed consent stands as a foundational element in research ethics, ensuring that participants engage in research voluntarily and possess a clear understanding of the

nature of their participation (Xu, Baysari, Stocker, Leow, Day & Carland, 2020). While valid informed consent is universally acknowledged as essential for ethical research, achieving consensus on what constitutes adequate informed consent remains elusive. Challenges arise from the fact that principles applied in one scientific domain cannot always be directly extrapolated to others. Moreover, evolving research landscapes and emerging areas of inquiry give rise to novel consent modalities, such as open, broad, dynamic, and meta-consent. Another complication stems from an overly narrow interpretation of independence, prioritizing individual autonomy while overlooking collective values like reciprocity, responsibility, and solidarity (Sutrop & Lõuk, 2020).

Participants in research should also possess the competence to comprehend the provided information and be fully cognizant of the implications of their consent. While informed consent is commonly associated with clinical research, its significance extends to all research domains, including the social sciences, especially when involving human participants. Consequently, every participant in this study received comprehensive briefing on all aspects pertinent to their involvement in the research project, ensuring their informed consent. Research data collection involved collaboration with police officers from the SAPS organization. Structured interviews were conducted with 14 members of the POP unit, whereas questionnaires were distributed to students at the University of Venda to gather quantitative data.

4.11.3 Privacy

Our research community has recognized the significance of individual differences in privacy, acknowledging that the concept can vary significantly across different contexts.

In the realm of research, privacy concerns arise whenever data pertaining to individuals are gathered and stored, whether digitally or otherwise (Olofinbiyi, 2023). Balancing the utilization and sharing of data with the imperative of safeguarding identifiable information is a central challenge in research, with the overarching goal of preserving personal privacy.

One effective method of ensuring confidentiality is by collecting anonymous data or utilizing existing anonymous datasets. Anonymous data refer to information that is not linked to any identifying details about the individual participants (Finck & Pallas, 2020). In the context of our study, the collected data were securely stored in a location accessible only to the researcher and authorized personnel. Additionally, both data tapes and transcripts will be securely retained for a period of five years, after which they will be securely destroyed.

4.11.4 Anonymity and confidentiality

Anonymity and confidentiality practices are essential for safeguarding the privacy of human subjects participating in research studies, encompassing the collection, analysis, and reporting of data associated with participants (Hoft, 2021). Maintaining accuracy and integrity throughout the data collection process is paramount. Some research indicates that participants may distinguish between anonymity and confidentiality, and their willingness to participate might be influenced by whether their information is to be treated as anonymous or confidential. However, the risk of compromising participants' anonymity can be mitigated by removing identifiers associated with them (Hoft, 2021). Researchers bear a significant ethical responsibility to ensure that anonymity and

confidentiality are upheld in any study involving participants, necessitating prior approval to proceed.

In this study, every effort has been made to uphold participants' confidentiality and anonymity. Upon the study's conclusion, interview data will be securely stored in a locked cabinet exclusively accessible to the researcher. Participant data will be treated with the utmost confidentiality. When referencing specific comments or quoting participants verbatim, individuals will be identified either by their designation or the organization they represent (Olofinbiyi, 2023). This practice will be maintained when disseminating findings through academic journals or other channels for review and consideration.

4.11.5 Data protection

This section delves into the intricacies of collecting and processing personal data, ensuring its safety, ensuring compliance, delineating liabilities, and elucidating the rights of citizens (Olofinbiyi, 2023). Data protection serves to uphold every individual's right to privacy and encompasses the technical framework and security measures implemented to safeguard personal data from unforeseen, unintended, or malicious use. It encompasses measures concerning data access as well as data preservation (Regulation, G.D.P., 2018).

4.11.6 Deception

Deception refers to the deliberate misleading of subjects or participants or the withholding of complete information regarding the nature of the research (Olofinbiyi, 2023). This occurs when investigators intentionally provide false information to subjects,

mislead them about crucial aspects of the research, or omit information regarding the purpose of the study, the researcher's role, or the significance of certain procedures to the research outcome.

4.11.7 Consideration of potential for harm

In order to effectively anticipate and mitigate risks associated with technology, it is imperative to adopt a multidisciplinary approach, considering various perspectives and lenses. Social science is playing an increasingly pivotal role in conservation efforts, with a growing number of studies employing methodologies that gather data from and about people (Weidinger, Mellor, Rauh, Griffin, Uesato, Huang, Cheng, Glaese, Balle, Kasirzadeh, & Kenton, 2021). As investigators, it is essential to comprehensively assess all potential sources of harm to participants. Potential harms may manifest in various forms, including privacy violations, safety risks, and compromises to privacy resulting from the leakage or accurate inference of private information (Weidinger et al., 2021). These potential harms can encompass psychological, social, physical, and legal dimensions. Psychological harm may arise from sensitive questioning or tasks that trigger negative emotions such as shame, stigma, anxiety, or depression. Social harm may involve avoiding participation or activities due to social risks or public embarrassment. Physical harm may result from study procedures that pose a risk of injury or pain. Legal harm may arise from the inadvertent disclosure of sensitive data, potentially leading to legal risks or breaches of privacy. At the outset of the research process, the researcher has outlined measures to mitigate potential harm to each participant. This proactive approach demonstrates a commitment to safeguarding the well-being and rights of all participants involved in the study.

4.11.8 Results communication

Regardless of the format you choose, it's important to use effective techniques to communicate the research findings clearly, concisely, and convincingly (Olofinbiyi, 2023). In this research, the use of simple and direct language, avoiding jargon or complex sentences was taken into consideration. Visual aids such as charts and graphs were utilised to illustrate data. The manner in which research findings are communicated to the broader society can present ethical considerations. It is essential to recognize that the communication of research results may entail ethical implications. In this regard, researchers must ensure that the dissemination of scientific findings is conducted with honesty, validity, reliability, dependability, and credibility, while also maintaining transparency and minimizing any potential biases (Olofinbiyi, 2023).

4.11.9 Research misconduct

In 2000, the U.S. federal government adopted a standardized definition of research misconduct, encompassing fabrication, falsification, or plagiarism (FFP), which was implemented in 2001 (Resnik, Neal, Raymond & Kissling, 2015). Upholding good research practices is paramount within the scientific community, necessitating an understanding of what constitutes poor practice. Research misconduct occurs when investigators compromise the integrity of research groups and institutions, diminish public trust in the scientific community, and impede the dissemination of accurate information (Olofinbiyi, 2023). While scientific misconduct was initially believed to be isolated to a few dishonest individuals (Resnik et al., 2015), guidelines have been developed to foster and preserve intellectual integrity, advocating for good practices throughout the research process. Furthermore, recommendations have been provided

to journal editors on how to address various ethical concerns. Researchers must remain vigilant regarding research misconduct and investigate its prevalence within social research, as well as explore strategies for addressing this significant issue. Manuscript reviewers should be attentive to potential indicators of data falsification, including vague methodological descriptions, discrepancies in participant numbers from recruitment to results, absence of outliers in the results section, unusually high recruitment rates, overly uniform data distributions, lack of digit preference, absence of missing data, and similarity among multivariate observations (Resnik et al., 2015).

4.11.10 Code of conduct and ethical considerations observed during the course of the study

Ethical considerations are inherent in all social research endeavors as they involve collecting data from and about people (Weinhardt, 2021). These ethical dimensions encompass the protection of subjects and adherence to ethical standards throughout the research process. Thus, it is imperative to conduct a comprehensive ethical assessment in research endeavors, a process sometimes misconstrued by researchers as impeding scientific progress (Olofinbiyi, 2023). While research ethics delineate boundaries and guidelines, they do not aim to stifle research or infringe upon academic freedom.

Ethical considerations were meticulously addressed during the data collection phase of this project. Prior to commencing the study, formal ethics approval was obtained from the relevant committee, outlining the project's objectives, timeframe, recruitment methods, participant information, and consent procedures. Written permission was obtained from both the SAPS organization and the University of Venda Research Ethics

Committee to conduct interviews with their respective members and students. The researcher was cognizant of ethical principles outlined by Olofinbiyi (2023), including:

- a. Ensuring responsibility for all project procedures and ethical issues throughout the research process.
- b. Considering the potential effects of the research on individuals, groups, and society as a whole, and mitigating any potential harm.
- c. Conducting the research competently, objectively, and without bias, while adhering to local customs, standards, laws, and regulations.
- d. Avoiding undue intrusion into the lives of participants, obtaining informed consent in an understandable manner, and respecting participants' right to withdraw at any time.
- e. Ensuring participants were not unduly pressured, protecting them against potential harm, and informing them of any consequences of participation.
- f. Maintaining confidentiality and anonymity of participants, informing them of any limitations to confidentiality, and implementing procedures to protect their privacy.
- g. Promising participants access to research results and recommendations in an understandable manner, while acknowledging the contributions of other scholars.
- h. Ensuring data confidentiality and storage in accordance with ethical guidelines, with data disposed of securely after a specified period. The data were stored on a disk, flash drive, or memory stick in two copies each. These will be disposed of by shredding and burning, which are methods that guarantee an appropriate security level for destroying papers, CD/DVD, or any memory sticks used in the research.

In conclusion, the researcher adhered to strict ethical standards to safeguard participants' rights and ensure the integrity and confidentiality of the research process and its outcomes.

4.11.11 Empirical challenges, limitations and strengths of the study

The limitations of a study refer to the characteristics of its design or methodology that influence the interpretation of research findings (Pandey & Pandey, 2021). They encompass constraints on the generalizability, applicability to practice, and utility of findings, arising from the initial study design, methodological choices made to establish internal and external validity, or unanticipated challenges encountered during the research process (Pandey & Pandey, 2021). While traditional research methods such as surveys, source document reviews, and structured interviews are effective, they may encounter barriers that impede the results (Azizan & Sorooshian, 2018). The strength of this research lies in its focus on one of the most pressing contemporary global issues emanating from universities. However, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of the study, which are outlined below.

4.11.11.1 Reluctance by relevant stakeholders to participate in the study

Due to the sensitive nature of the topic and participants' reluctance to discuss matters related to bad policing and violent protests freely, the researcher encountered difficulties in gathering information for the study. This challenge was particularly notable with SAPS crime prevention members, and additionally, students were preoccupied with final year examinations during the data collection period. Despite making several appointments with the SAPS crime prevention unit, cancellations were frequent due to their duties,

and eventually, the researcher was referred to the POP station, as they were not directly involved in public order policing. Some participants were hesitant to provide information on the topic under investigation initially, feeling insecure and uncomfortable participating in research associated with bad policing. However, over time, participants gradually opened up, sharing insights based on their real-life experiences and case studies of student violent protests. The exploratory methods employed in this study, including in-depth, semi-structured, and key informant interviews, facilitated the collection of authentic findings. The information presented in this report is entirely based on participants' first-hand experiences and comprehensive knowledge (Olofinbiyi, 2023). Importantly, the findings were not manipulated or altered in any manner. Therefore, there is a high level of quality assurance regarding the usability of the information for broader future research in this field, particularly if a larger and more diverse sample of the population is surveyed.

4.11.11.2 Financial constraints and stress due to traveling distances

A notable limitation of this research was the absence of external funding, as the study was self-sponsored by the researcher without access to grants. This constraint posed a challenge to the success of the research, particularly due to the limited time frame allocated for the study. Despite this financial limitation, the research was not negatively impacted, and there was no compromise in the standard of the study. The selection of study participants from four areas of Vhembe East policing necessitated extensive travel on the part of the researcher. However, appointments were occasionally cancelled or postponed, leading to additional costs for the researcher, who bore the expenses personally. For instance, in instances where only a few participants

completed questionnaires after the researcher had travelled long distances, such as from Elim to Thohoyandou town, it became necessary to revisit the same area on subsequent days or weeks, depending on the availability of selected participants.

4.11.11.3 Refusal to audio-record interviews

One challenge encountered during the interviews was that a notable portion of respondents declined consent for the interviews to be recorded. Due to the lack of funding, the researcher could not afford a recording device, leading to the utilization of a cell phone to record group discussions as an alternative measure. This posed a potential limitation to the research inquiry, as there was no method for verifying the interview content with a backup audio recording. However, after persistent explanation by the researcher and assurance of confidentiality, respondents eventually provided the necessary information for the qualitative study.

4.11.11.4 Limited previous empirical research on the research topic

A literature review highlighted the scarcity of empirical studies on the research topic. Previous research on the relationship between bad policing and students' violent behaviour mainly relied on secondary data sources such as newspaper reports, social media, documentary analysis, and online resources. Consequently, there was insufficient empirical information for comparative analysis of research findings, particularly concerning primary data interpretation and discussion. While some local and international literature was available to validate the research findings, the study still faced limitations in terms of primary references for comparison and connection of findings.

4.11.11.5 Restrictions in terms of the study location

Another significant limitation of the study was its restriction to the Vhembe East policing area within the Thohoyandou precinct in Limpopo province, leaving other areas uncovered. This limitation stemmed from the location of the University of Venda situated in Thohoyandou town. However, data necessary to address the research questions were accessible from university students and participating police officers who had been deployed to various areas of the country on special duty to defend and protect citizens from violent protests.

4.11.11.6 Challenges in terms of the research methods that were employed

While the research methods chosen for the study were appropriate, it is important to acknowledge their limitations. One significant limitation is the complexity associated with employing multiple methods concurrently. This complexity can increase the challenges in collecting, analysing, and interpreting data compared to using a single method (Pandey & Pandey, 2021). Additionally, combining different methods often demands extra resources, such as time and funding. However, despite these challenges, employing a combination of methods can yield integrated knowledge that enriches both theory and practice. It enables researchers to address a broader range of research questions and provide more comprehensive answers than would be possible with a single method. Therefore, while the complexity and resource requirements may present challenges, the benefits of employing multiple methods outweigh these limitations in terms of the depth and breadth of insights gained.

4.11.11.7 Challenges in terms of defining the generalizability of the study

Generalizing findings from this study is challenging due to various factors such as the unique settings, times of day, locations, and characteristics of the researchers, which limit the applicability of the findings to broader populations or situations (Pandey & Pandey, 2021). The study's relatively narrow scope, including limited participants, locations, and data collection techniques, further complicates efforts to define generalizability. In research, generalization is essential as researchers aim to apply their findings to the relevant population (Olofinbiyi, 2023). However, invoking generalizability in this study is problematic, as it may be based on the assessment of a mainstream population, potentially excluding groups outside of the mainstream. Additionally, bias was recognized in the study, as participants held opposing views, potentially influencing the interpretation of causal factors related to students' violent protests. Comparing the perspectives of students and police officers with those of unbiased participants could have provided a more balanced analysis. Despite these limitations, this research serves as a valuable reference for future inquiries into issues related to students' violent protests. While generalization may be challenging, the insights gained from this study can inform and guide future research endeavors in this area.

4.12 Conclusion

This chapter's aims were to investigate the relationship between bad policing and students' violent protests using a mixed-method approach, addressing a significant gap in existing literature. Specifically, it sought to understand why students continue to engage in violent protests despite the risks of arrest, injury, or even death. The findings of this study are expected to benefit various stakeholders, including academic

professionals, managers, employers, local communities, the South African Police Service (SAPS), and students themselves. Additionally, this chapter explored the sample data, strengths, and limitations of the study to further elucidate the research objectives. Chapter 2 provided a comprehensive review of the literature pertaining to the relationship between bad policing and students' violent protests. It highlighted the existing gap in the literature and clarified how this study aims could address this gap. In Chapter 3, the theoretical relevance and specific details of the study's methodology were discussed. Later chapter focused on the actual research conducted, with Chapter 4 detailing the data collection process and Chapter 5 presenting the research results. Chapter 6 offers an interpretation of the findings and chapter 7 serves as a summary of the recommendations and conclusions derived from the study, encapsulating the key insights and implications drawn from the research findings.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

5.1 Introduction

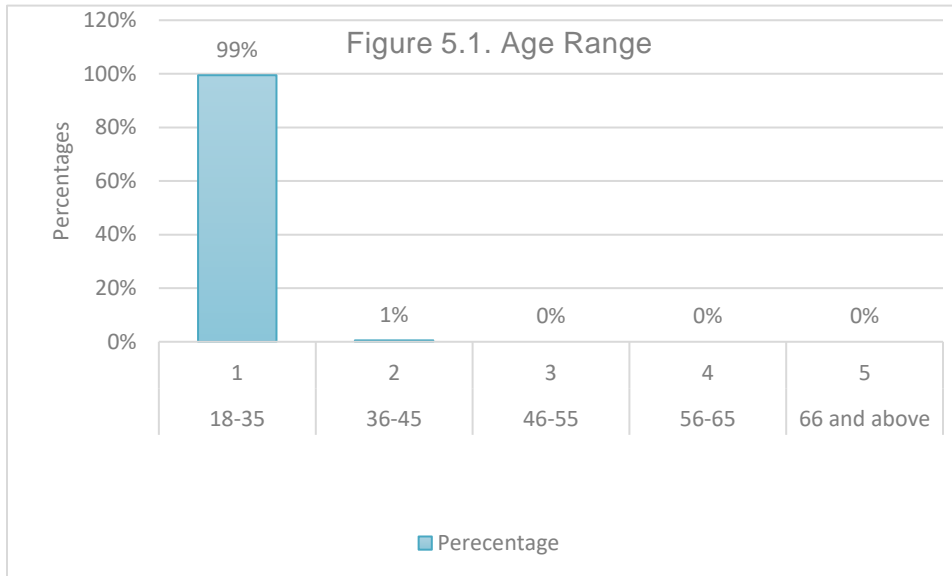
The objective of this chapter is to present the data utilized in the analysis phase of the research. This chapter is structured into five sections, forming a systematic process guided by the research methodology and design of the dissertation. It involves the objective and planned interpretation of data into comprehensible sets that can be further analyzed and expanded upon.

As discussed in Chapter 4, statistical analysis was employed to interpret and code the data to elucidate the research topic. The following charts will depict the records as transcribed and analyzed.

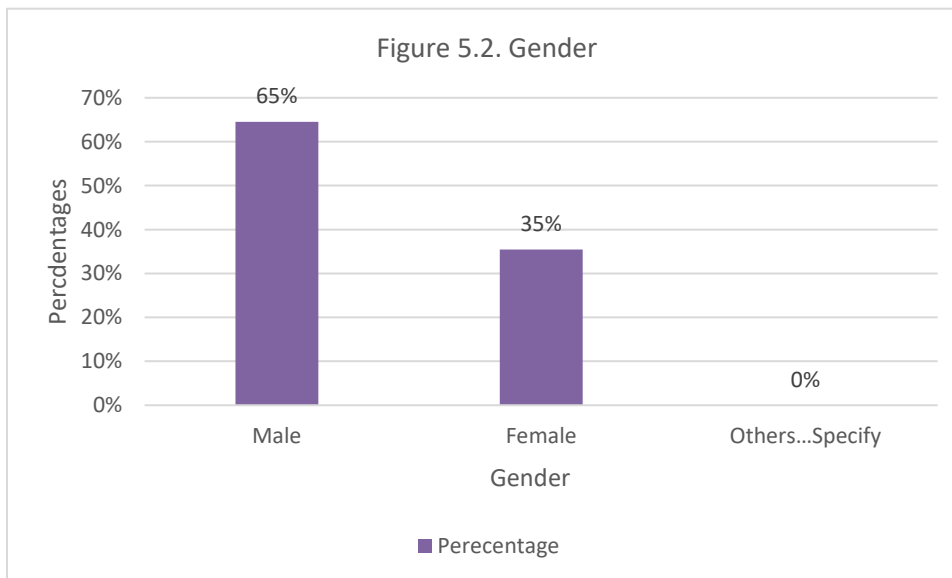
5.2 University of Venda students' data records

To explore the relationship between bad policing practices and the occurrence of student violent protests at the University of Venda, it was necessary to merge all relevant data into a single file. To address this research inquiry through content analysis, the initial step involved consolidating all relevant data into a single file. This consolidation enabled systematic data cleansing and organization, ensuring the precision of subsequent analyses. Frequencies for each aspect were converted into percentages to control comparisons across different variables.

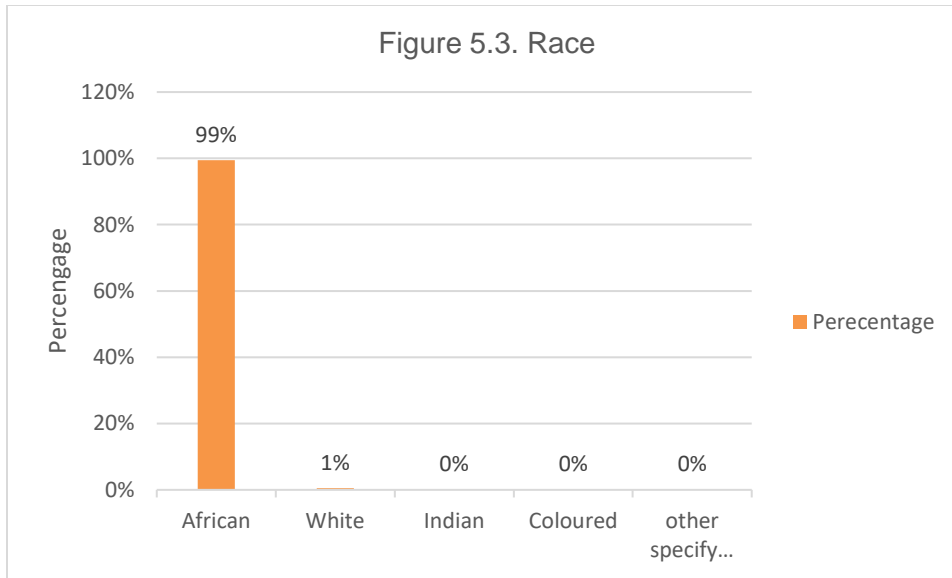
5.3 Section A: Socio-demographic data of the respondents



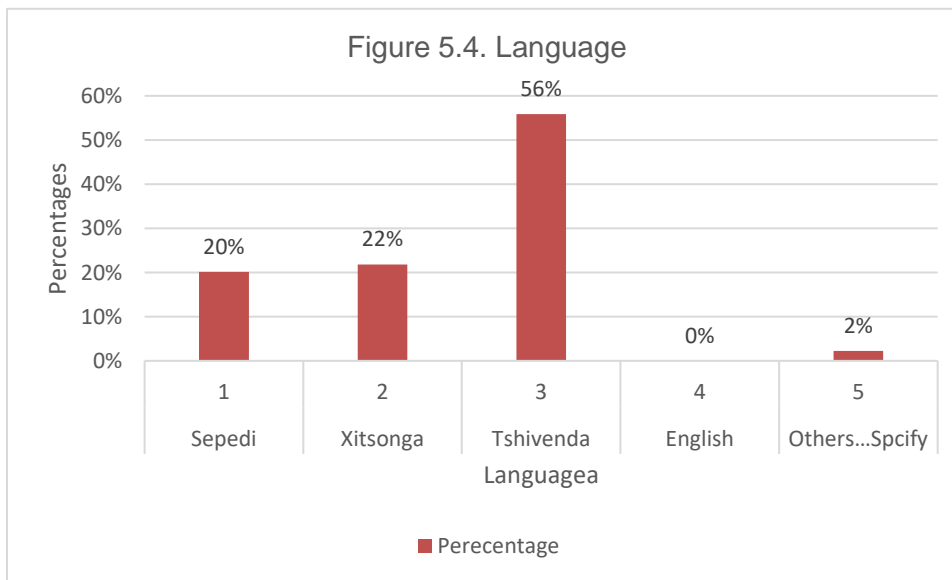
- 99% of the participants is ranging between age 18-35
- 1% is between 36-45 years



- Males = 65%
- Females = 35%

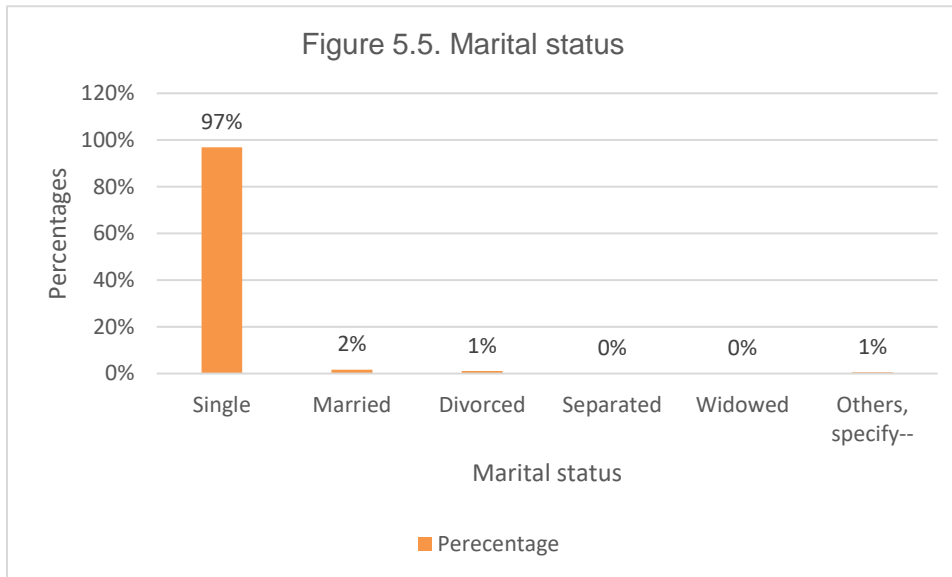


- 99% = African participants
- 1% = White participant
- Indian = 0% participants
- Coloured = 0% participants

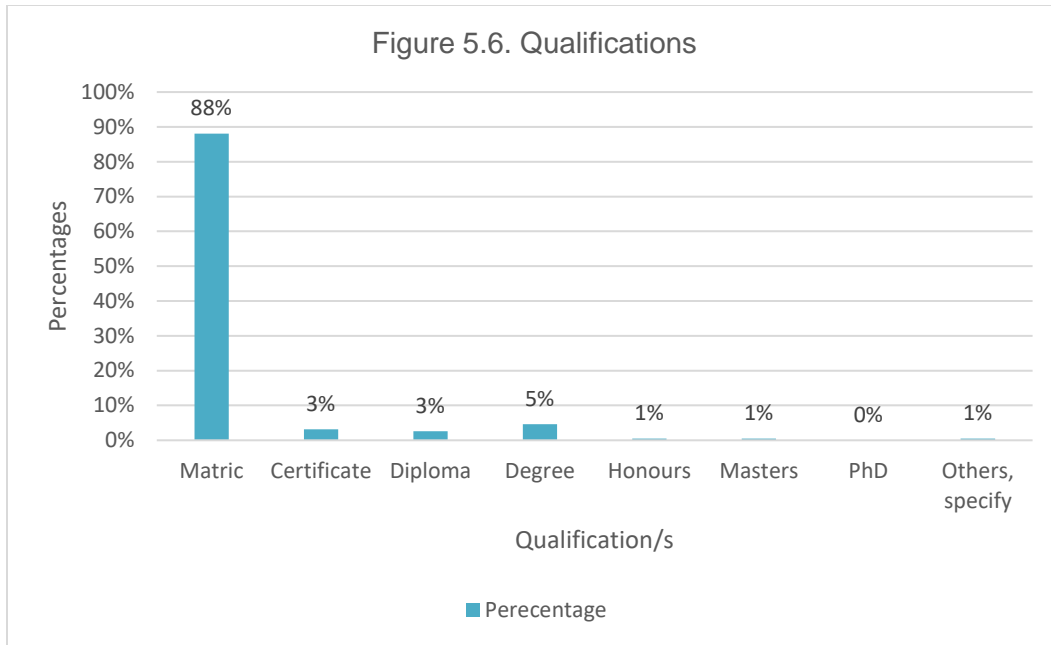


- Sepedi = 20%
- Xitsonga = 22%

- Tshivenda = 56%
- English = 0%
- Others = 2% which includes IsiXhosa, IsiZulu, SiSwati, Guraj

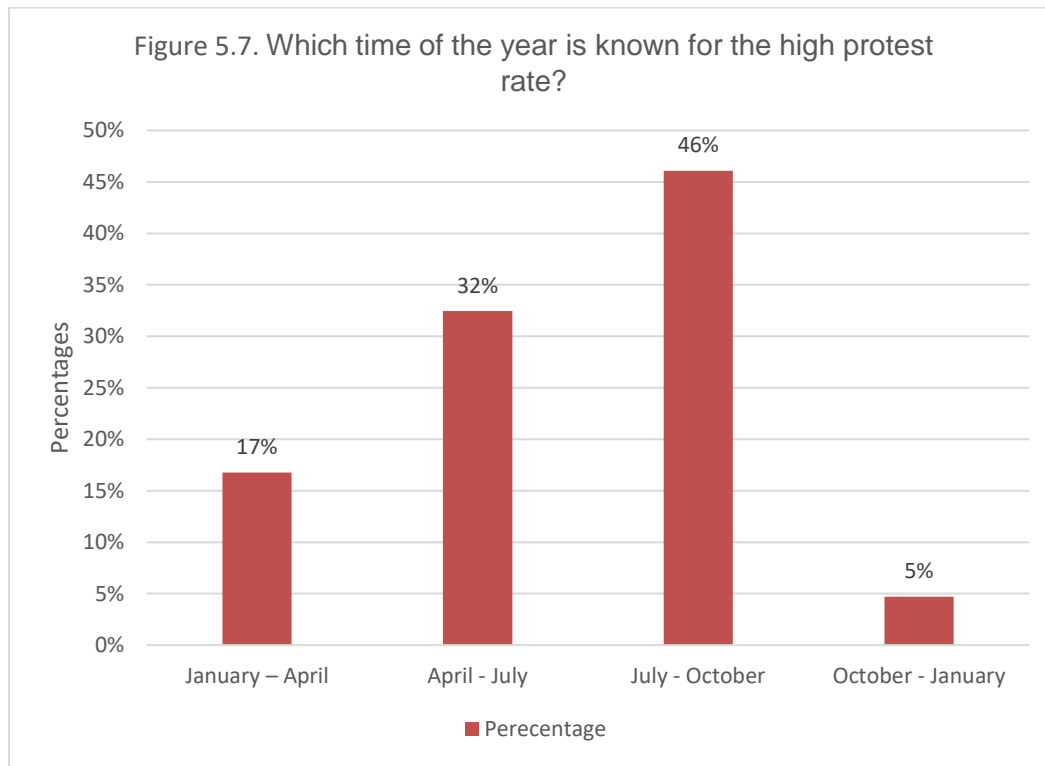


- 97% = single
- 2% = married
- 1% = divorced
- 0% = separated and widowed
- 1% = others which includes engaged and, in a relationship



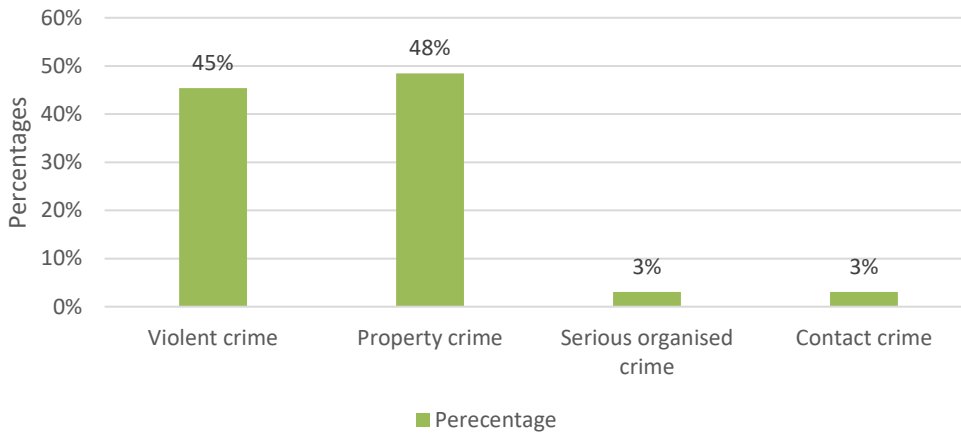
- 88% = Matric
- 3% = Certificate
- 3% = Diploma
- 5% = Degree
- 1% = Honours and Masters
- PhD = 0% and others = 1%

5.4 Section B: Assess the level of safety around the university of Venda



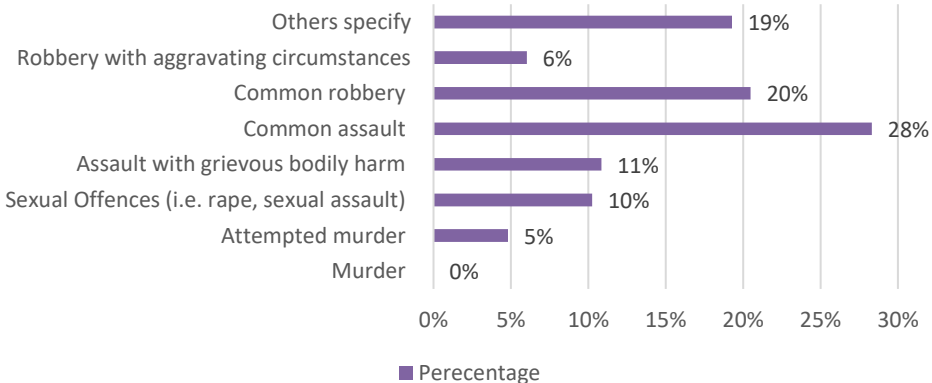
- January – April = 17%
- April – July = 32%
- July – October = 46%
- October – January = 5%

Figure 5.8. Which category of crimes are often committed during protest?



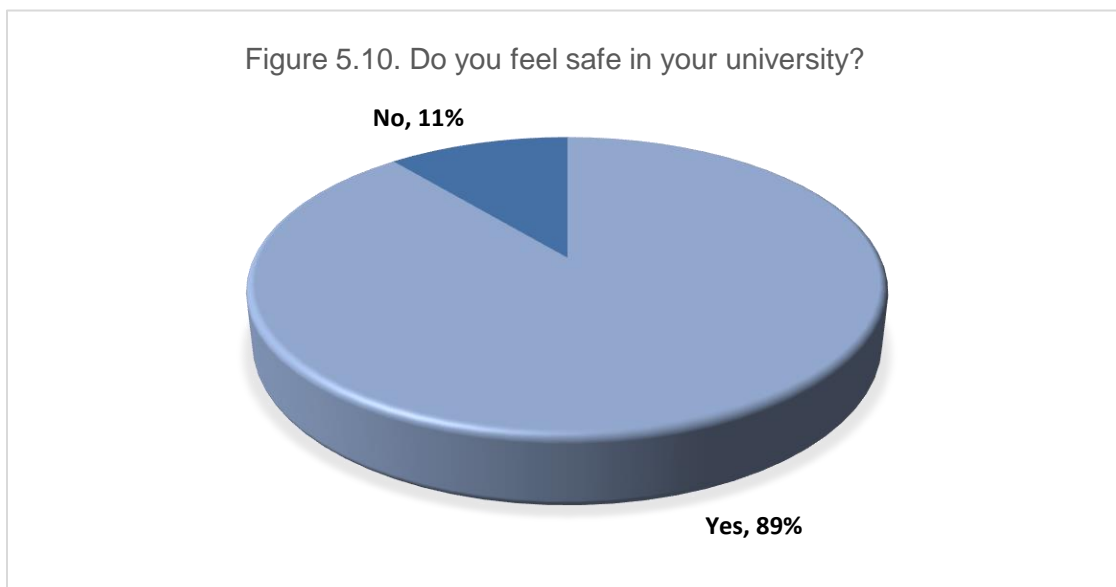
- Violent crime = 45%
- Property crime = 48%
- Serious organized crime = 3%
- Contact crime = 3%

Figure 5.9. Which crimes are primarily committed in your University?

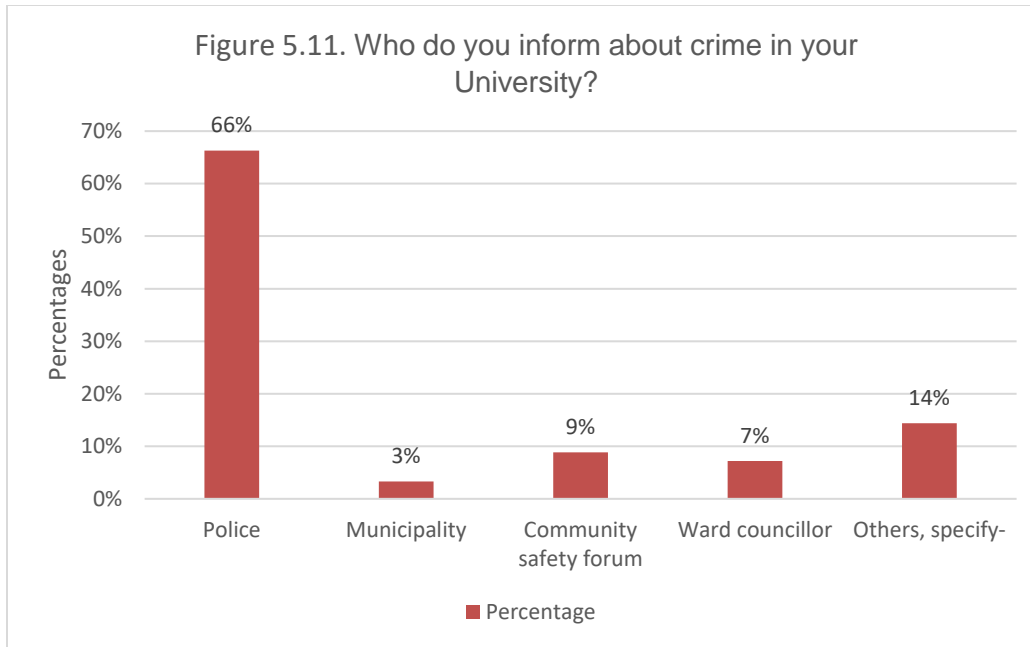


- Murder = 0%
- Attempted murder = 5%

- Sexual Offences (i.e. rape, sexual assault) = 10%
- Assault with grievous bodily harm = 11%
- Common assault = 28%
- Common robbery = 20%
- Robbery with aggravating circumstances = 6%
- Others, specify--- = 19% which includes arson and damage to property

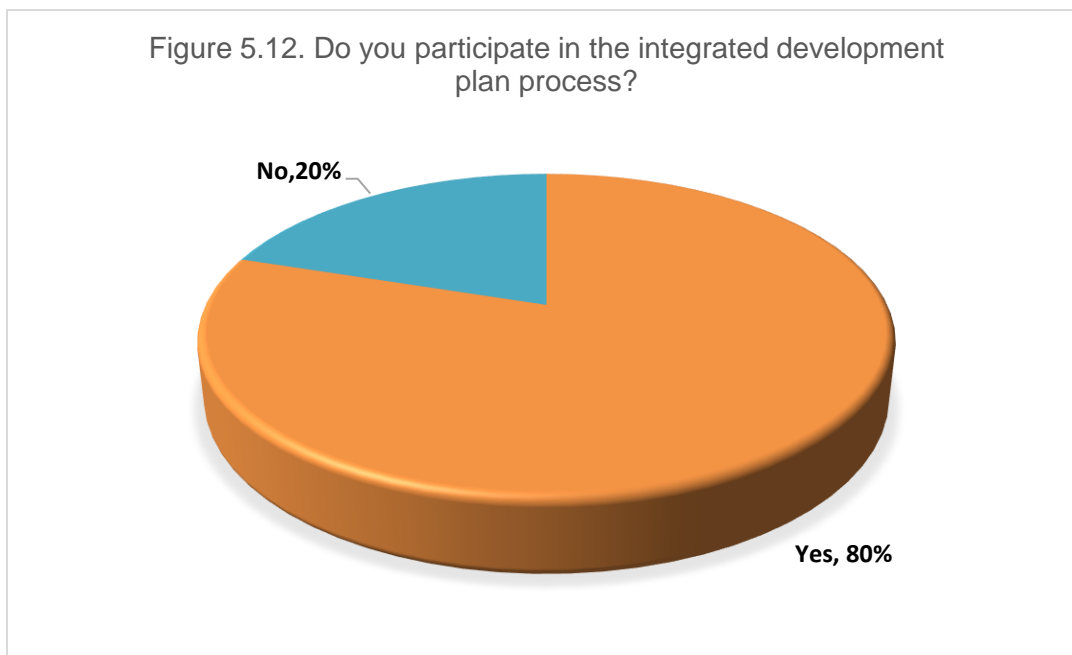


- 89% of the students feel safe at the university
- 11% feel unsafe at the university



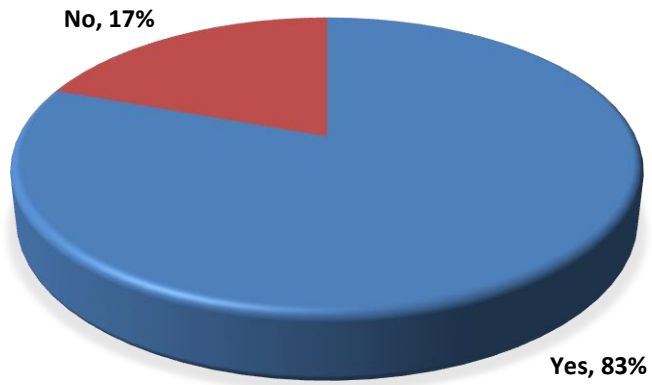
- 66% of the students report the crime to the police officers

5.5 Section C: Univen students' involvement in crime prevention



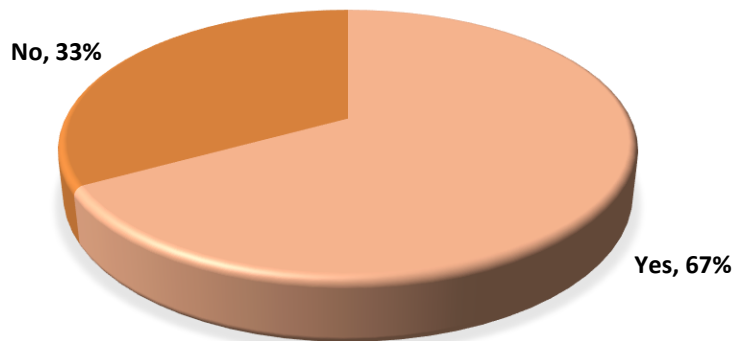
- 80% of the participants participate in the integrated development plan
- 20% never participated

Figure 5.13. Do you know the IDP safety section?



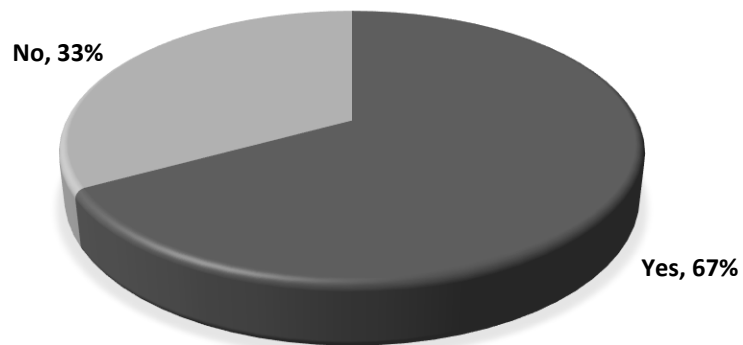
- 83% know about IDP
- 17% don't know about IDP

Figure 5.14. Do you have students' safety forums in this university?



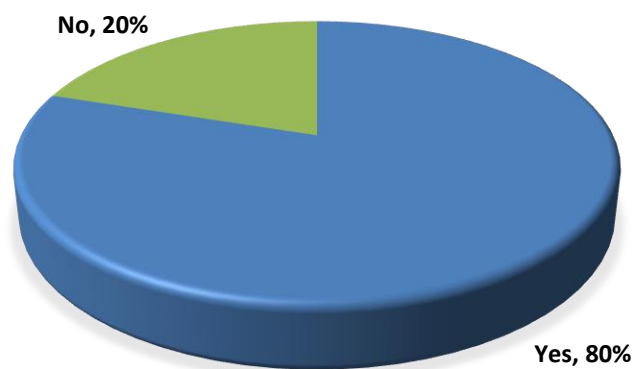
- Student's safety forum = 67% yes & a
- 33% = No

Figure 5.15. Do you think they are effective in ensuring safety in this university?



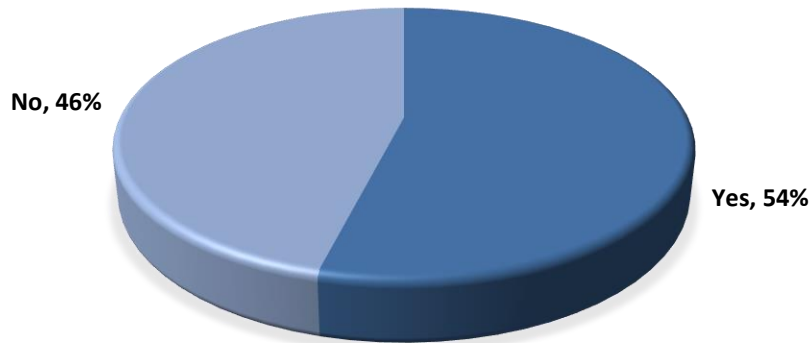
- 67% think that safety forum is effective in ensuring safety
- 33% think it is not effective in ensuring safety

Figure 5.16. Are you involved in the development of Univen safety plans?



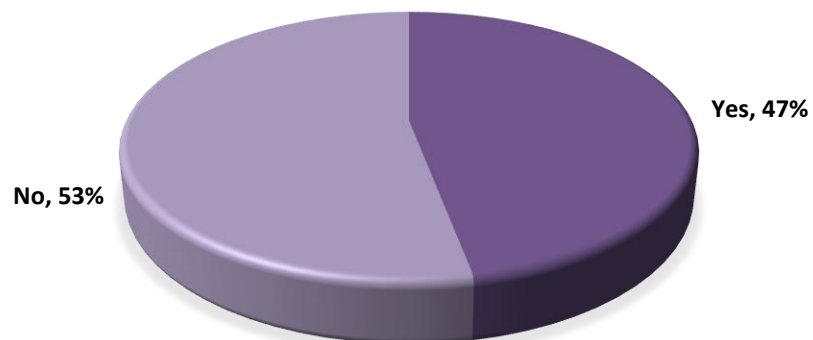
- 80% got involved in the development of Univen safety plans
- 20 % represents participants who never got involved in the Univen safety plans

Figure 5.17. Does the university involve or consult you with safety plans?



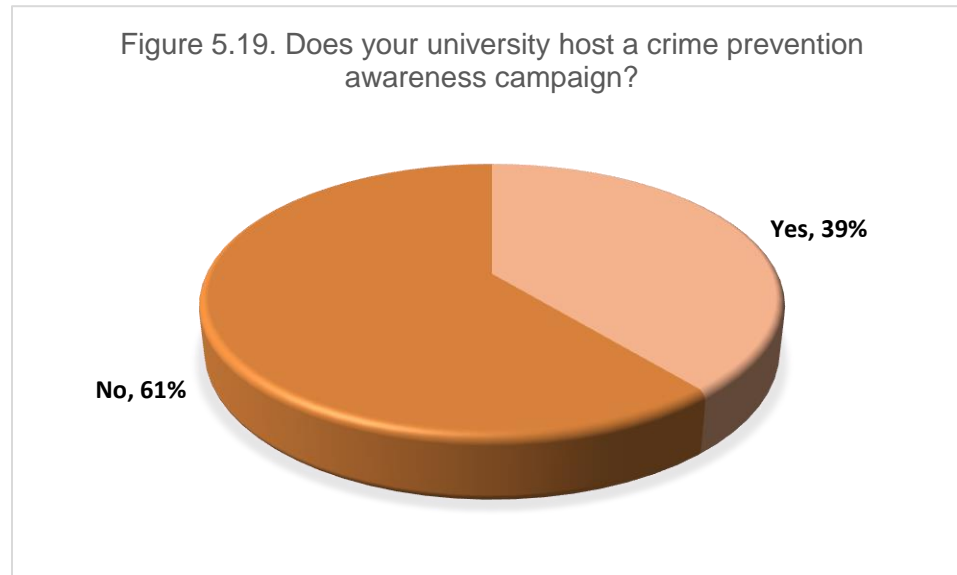
The current progress is lacking significantly, with only a marginal 6% difference noted. It is imperative to engage all students in consultations regarding their involvement in formulating university safety plans.

Figure 5.18. Does your university involve you with service delivery?

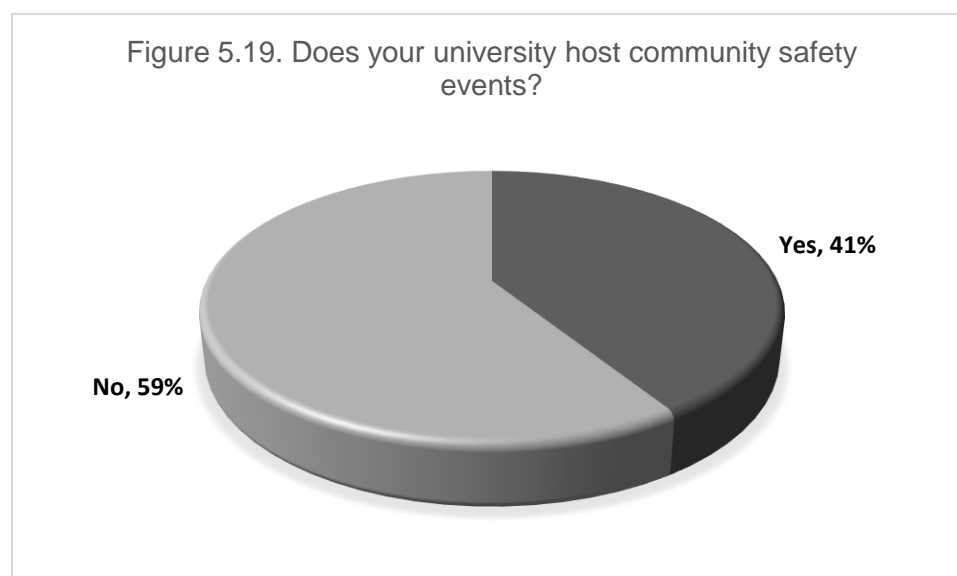


The chart provided indicates that the majority of student protests, accounting for 53%, are related to service delivery issues. While it's important not to draw definitive

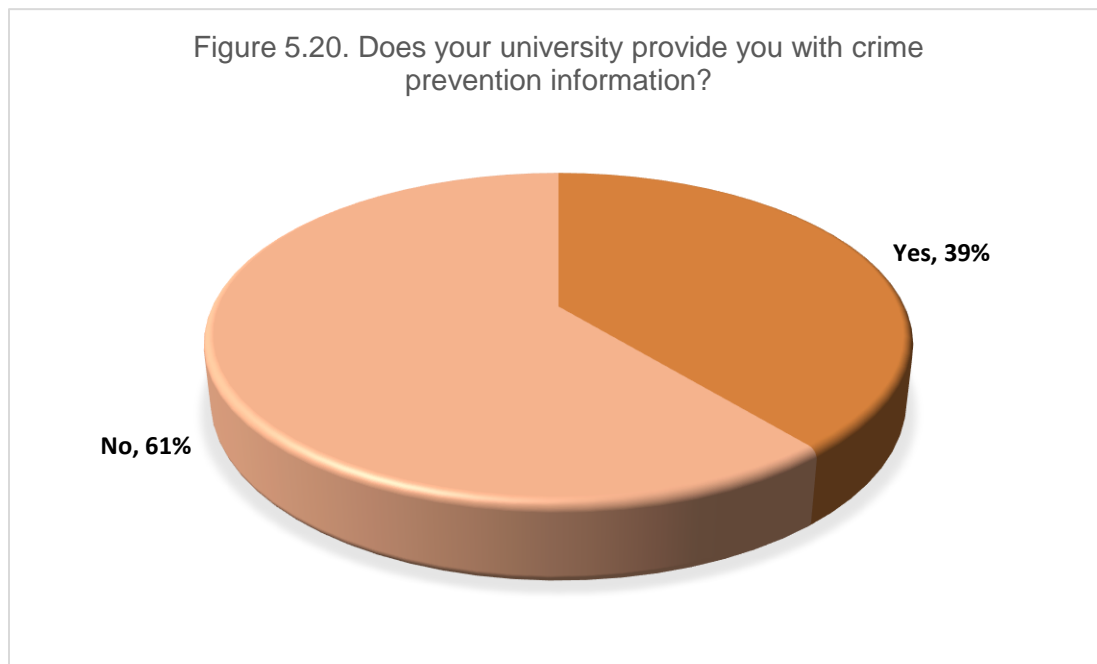
conclusions based solely on this variable, the notable gap strongly suggests that service delivery indeed contributes to instigating student protests.



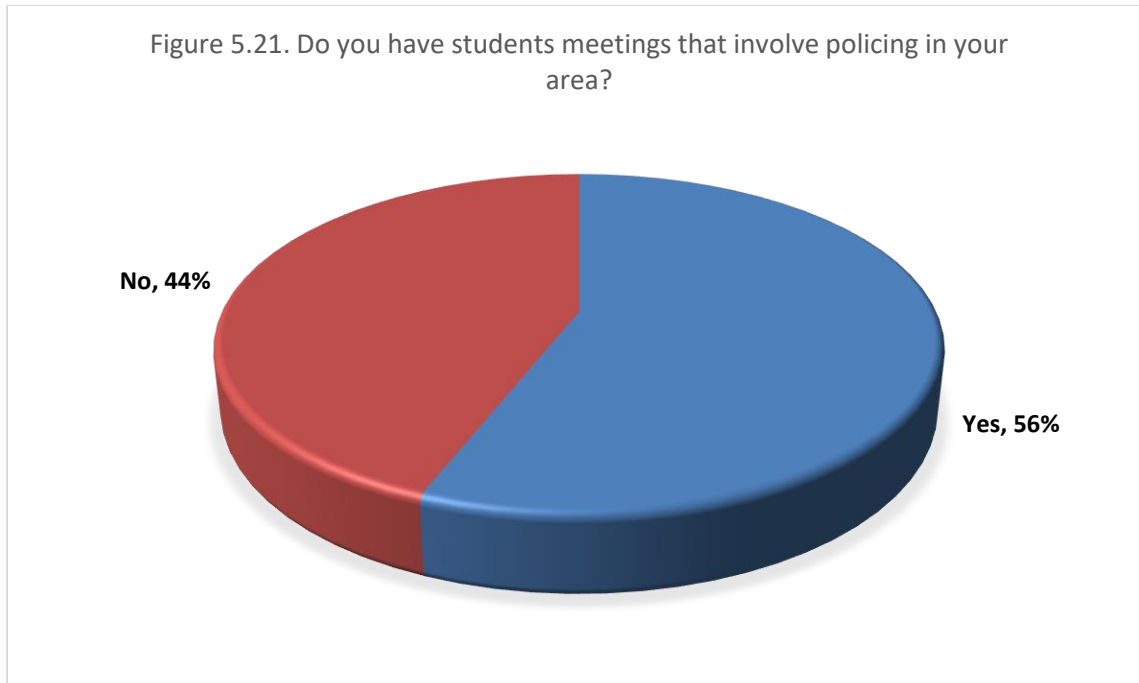
Most Univen students, constituting 61%, are unaware of the crime prevention awareness campaign. This lack of awareness might fuel reasons for violent protests. Implementing these campaigns could deter students from unlawful actions and inform them about their rights to peaceful protest, even if disruptive, but without resorting to violence.



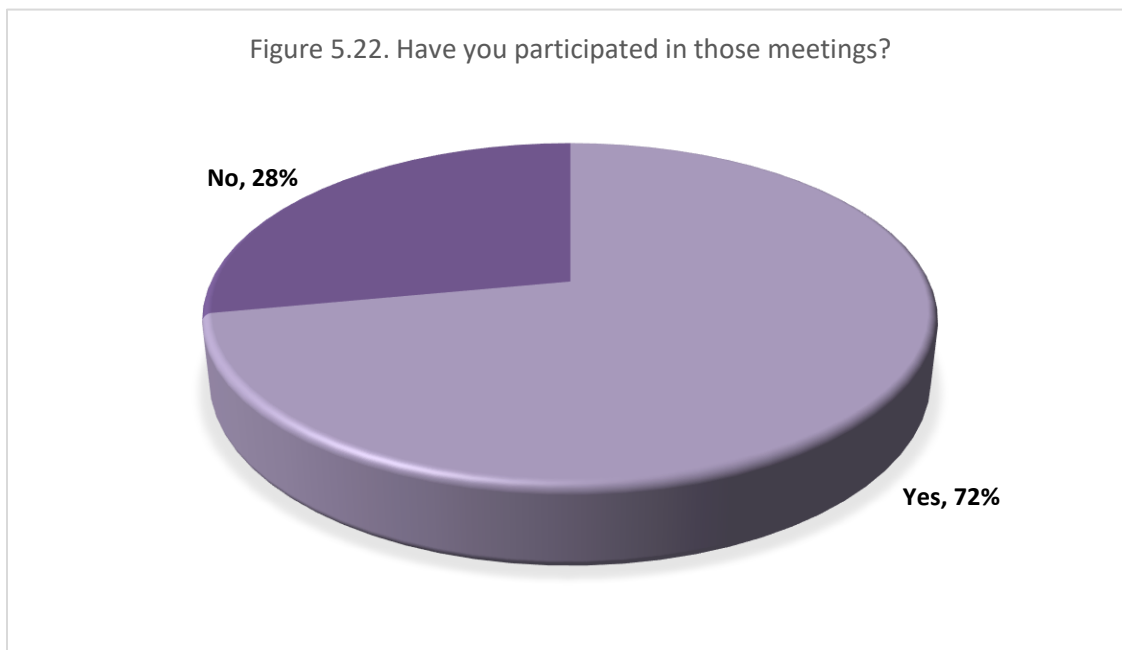
Data shows that a lot of work needs to be done between SAPS and the university of Venda to host community safety events within the campus. 59% of the students at the University of Venda confirmed the scarcity of community safety events. Only 41% agreed that the university hosts community safety events. Considering the growing range of violent protest within our South African universities and globally, the gap rate of 59% is a clear sign that we need a more frequent community safety events in order to educate our communities on the aspect of policing.



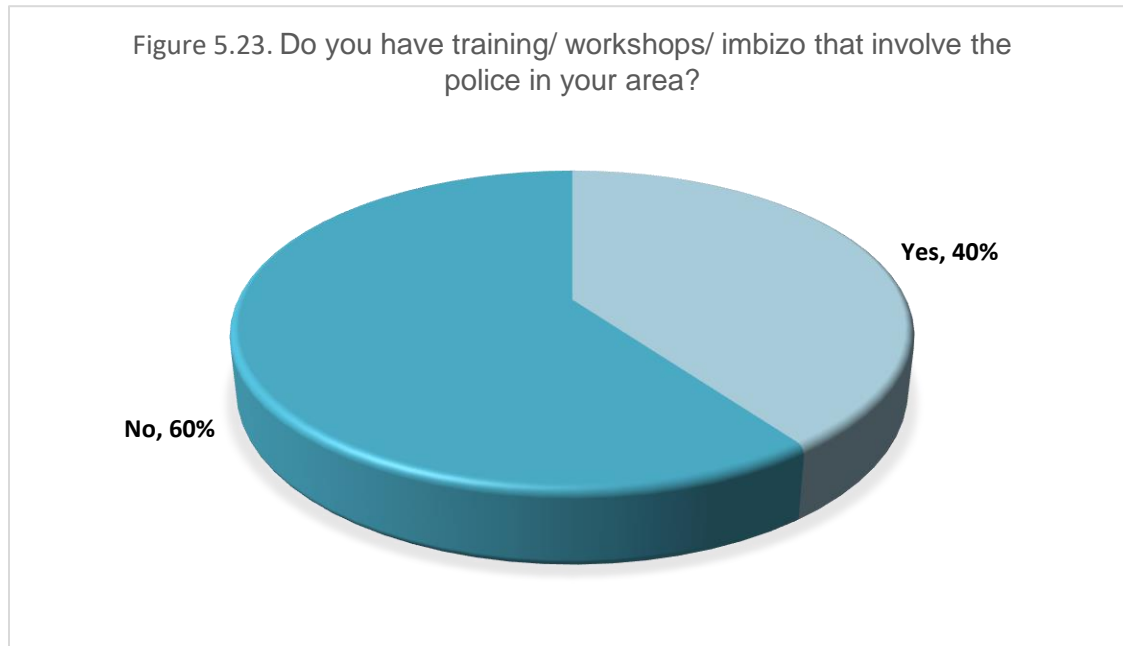
The chart above depicts that 61% of respondents reported not receiving crime prevention information, whereas 39% claimed otherwise. This disparity underscores the research's central aim and supports its hypothesis. Consequently, it indicates a notable correlation between bad policing practices and student involvement in violent protests.



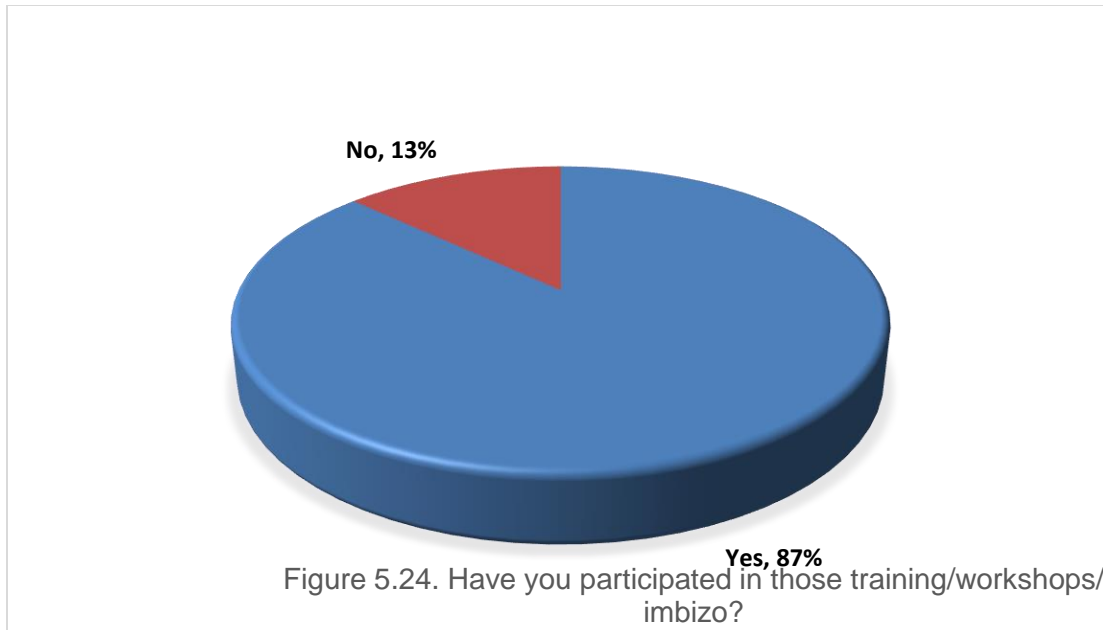
Students at the University of Venda hold meetings regarding policing on their campus. Scientific data indicates that 56% of respondents from Univen confirm the occurrence of such meetings that involve policing.



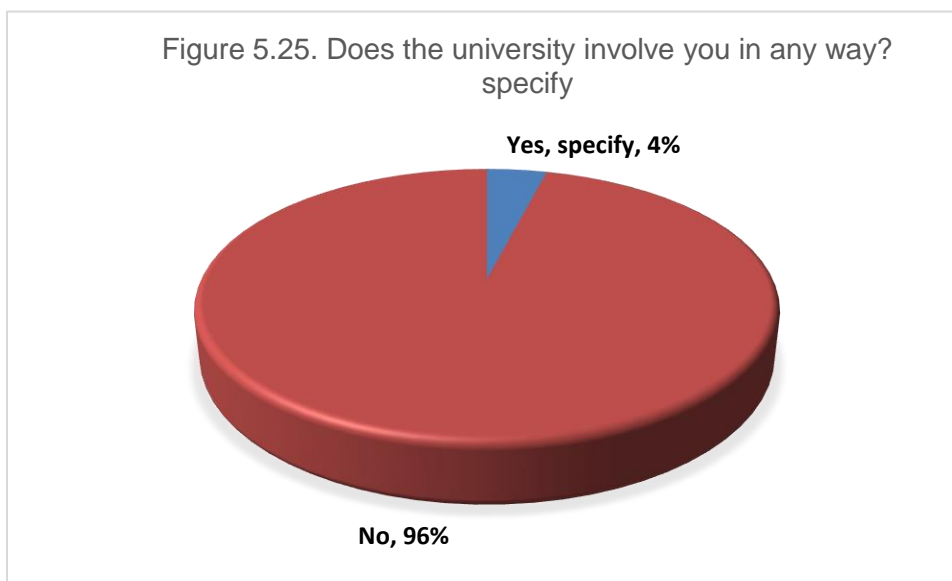
Out of the students who attend meetings related to policing, 72% actively participate in these gatherings, while the remaining 28% do not participate.



The 60% figure represents the absence of training, workshops, or imbizo involving the police at the university. On the other hand, the remaining 40%, constituting a smaller group with a gap of 20%, indicates participants who reported the presence of training sessions at the university involving the police in their area.

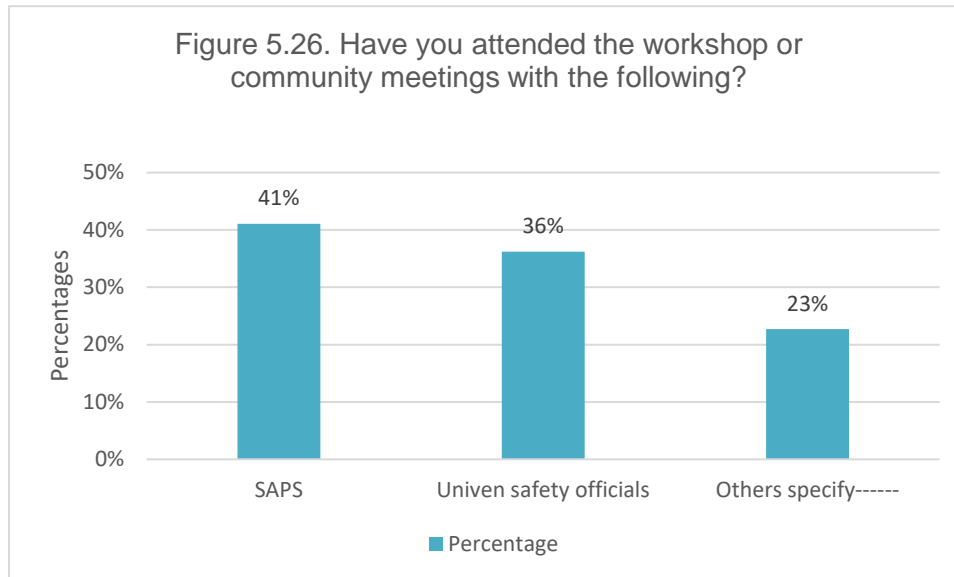


Although many students in the previous question deny the existence of training/workshops/imbizo that involve police in the university, 87% of data shows that they participated.

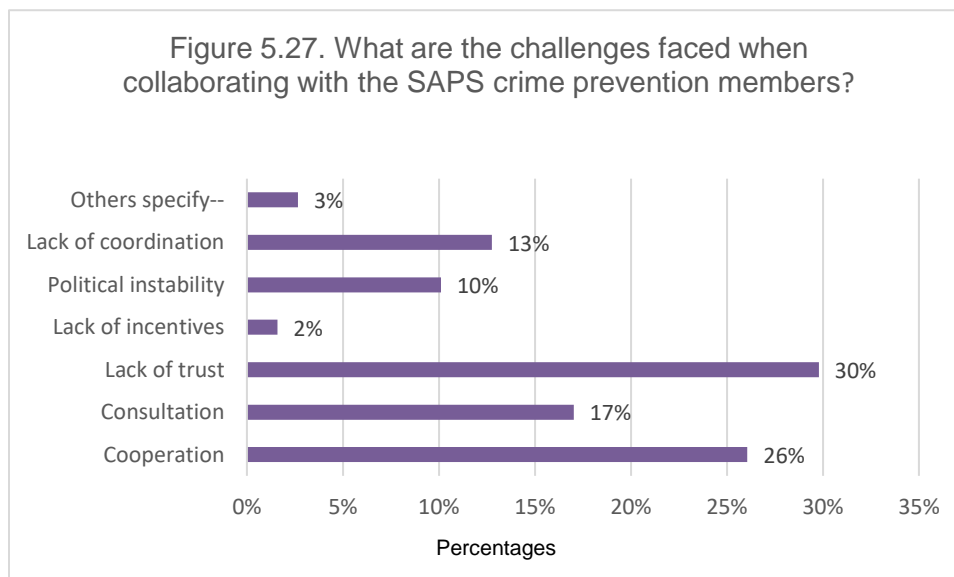


The majority of students, accounting for 96%, are not actively involved by the university in decision-making processes. Instead, decisions are made unilaterally by university

management, without consulting or considering the input of the student body. A small percentage, 4%, did not provide a response to this question.



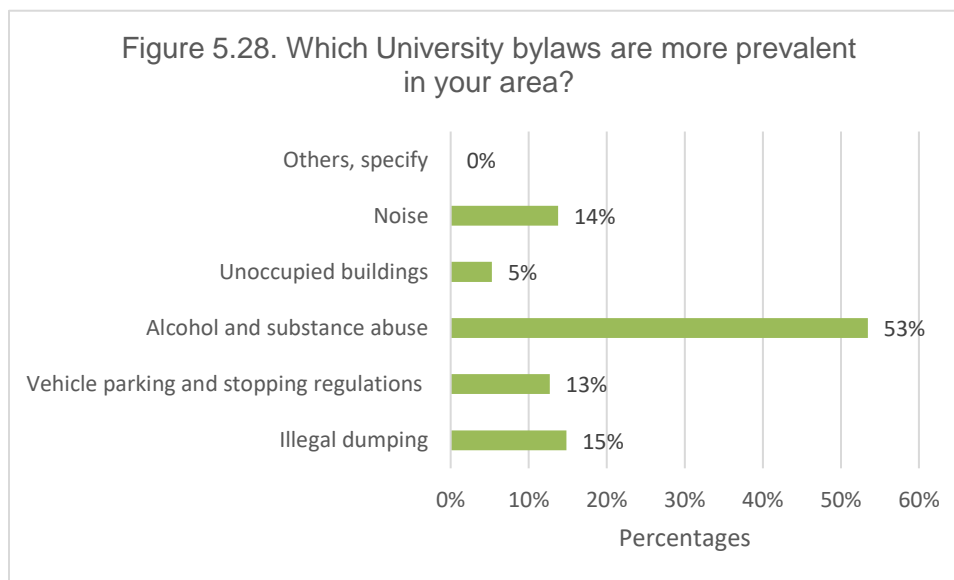
- 41% have attended meetings with the SAPS
- 36% have attended the workshop with the Univen safety officials &
- 23% have never attended with either of the above



Students encounter various challenges when collaborating with SAPS crime prevention members, as outlined below:

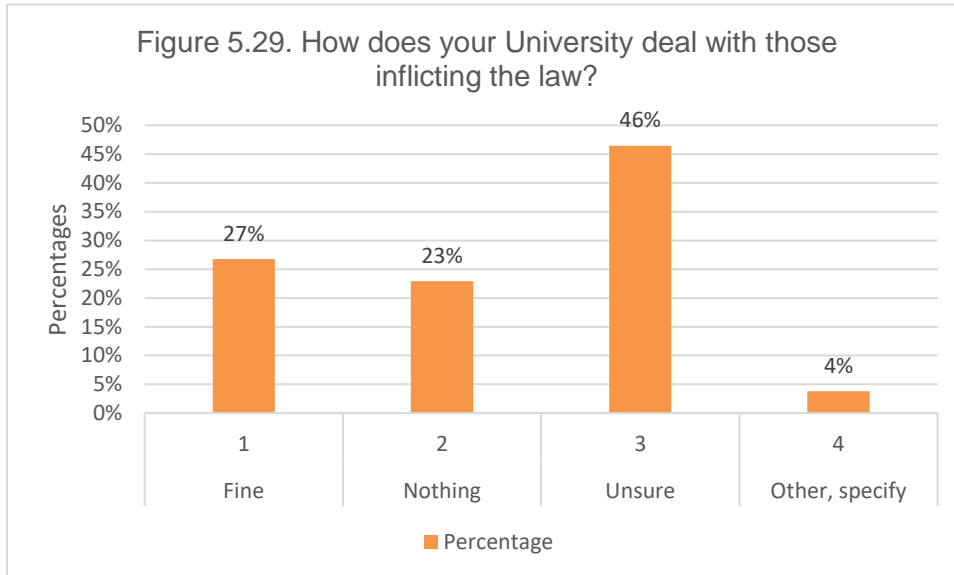
- Lack of cooperation: 26%
- Insufficient consultation: 17%
- Lack of trust: 30%
- Absence of incentives: 2%
- Political instability: 10%
- Other unspecified challenges: 3%

5.6 Section D: University by-laws, social crime prevention and crime prevention through environmental design

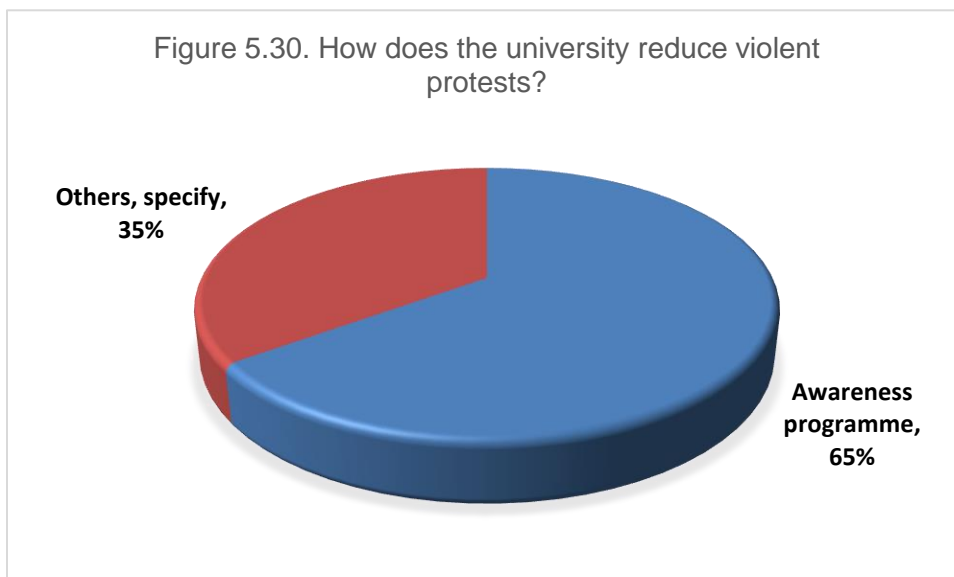


- Illegal dumping = 15%
- Vehicle parking and stopping regulations = 13%
- Alcohol and substance abuse = 53%
- Unoccupied buildings = 5%

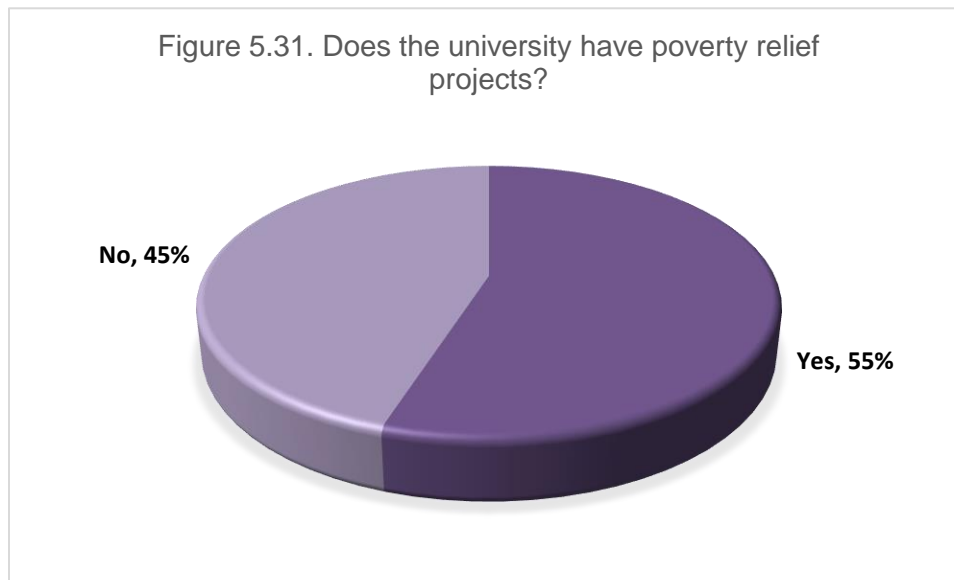
- Noise = 14%
- Others, specify = 0%



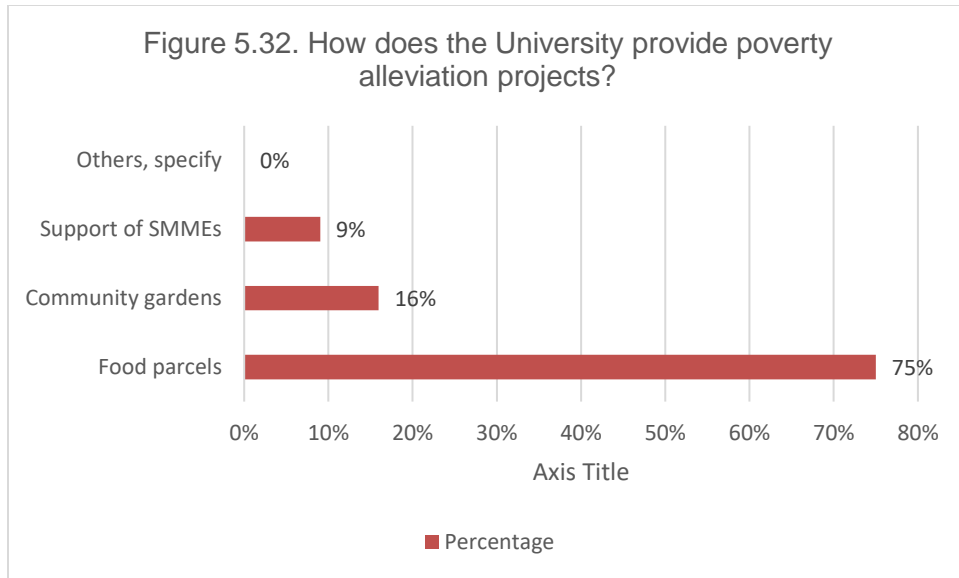
- Fine = 27%
- Nothing = 23%
- Unsure = 46%
- Other, such as expelling and disciplinary committee = 4%



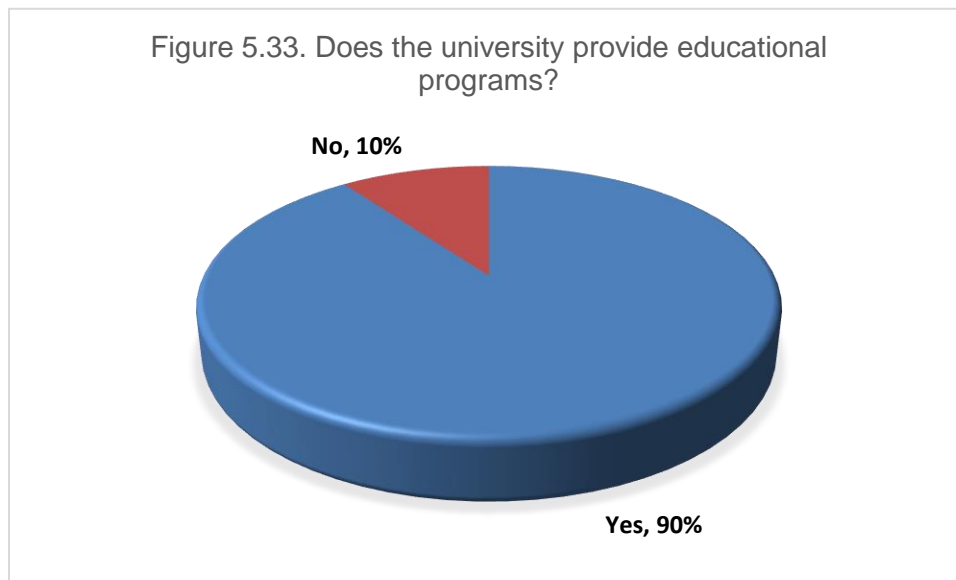
- Awareness programme = 65%
- Others specify = 35% which include, punishment, police brutality, suspension, calling the police, none, violence, unsure, bribe SRC, UIGC Univen security personnel, suspension, promise, cooperation, prosecution, agreement, deploy peace officers



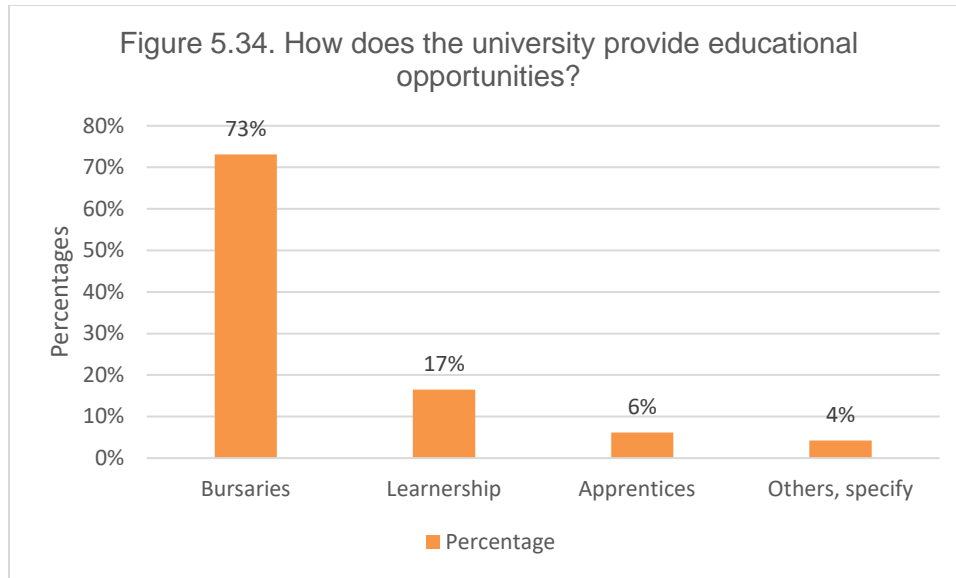
55% of student participants are informed about the poverty relief projects at Univen, whereas 45% are unaware of them.



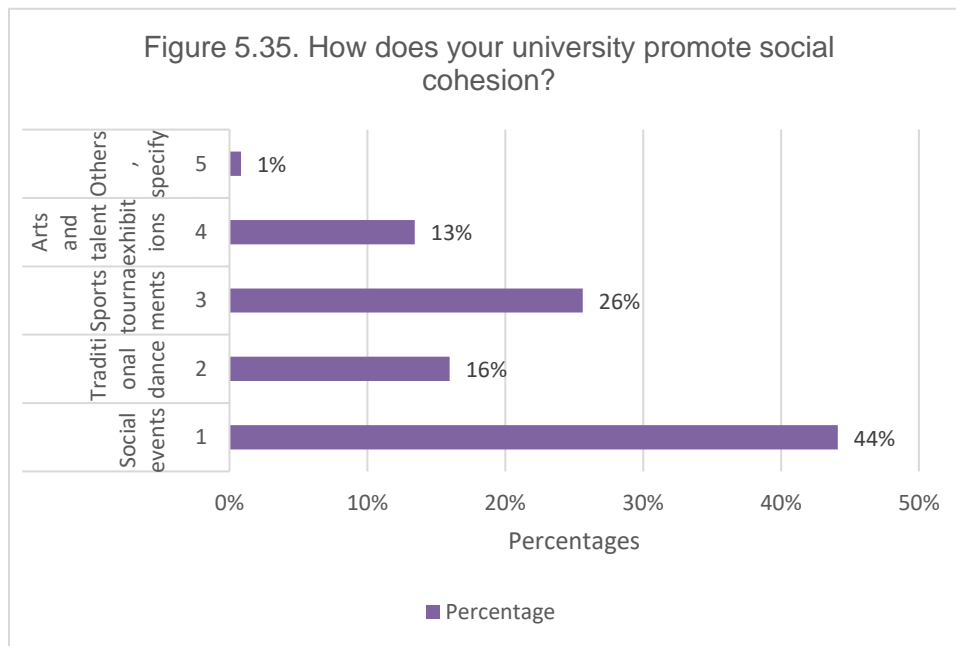
- Food parcels = 75%
- Community gardens = 16%
- Support of SMMEs = 9%
- Others specify--- = 0%



- The university educational programmes = 90%
- The 10% indicated the absence or unsureness of educational programs

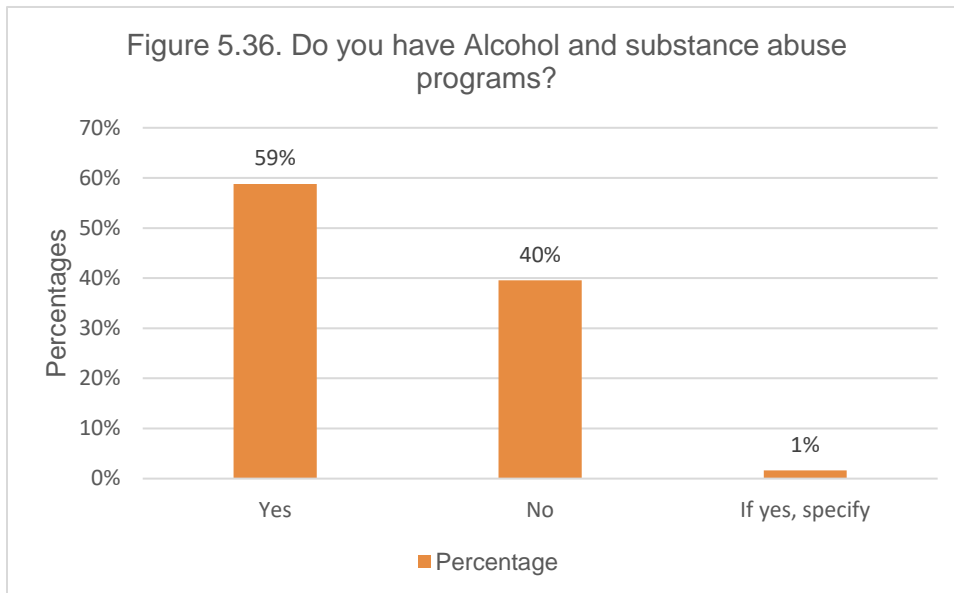


- Bursaries = 75%
- Learnership = 17%
- Apprentices = 6% &
- Others specify--- = 4% specified as SRC bursary



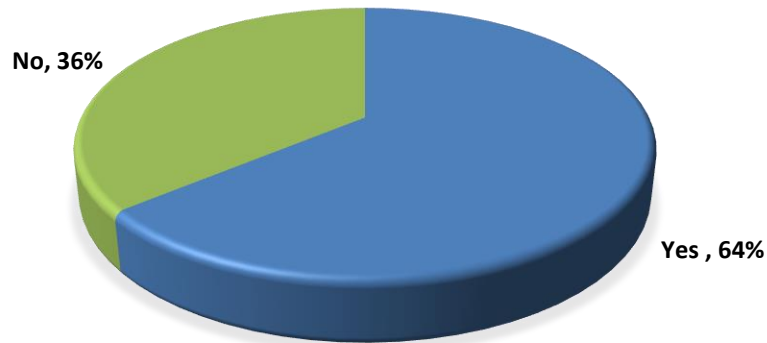
- Social events = 44%

- Traditional dance = 16%
- Sports tournaments = 26%
- Arts and talent exhibitions = 13%
- Others specify--- debate session and awareness programme = 1%



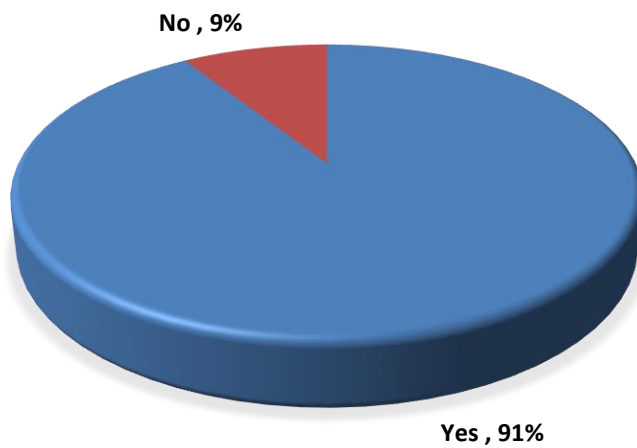
- Yes = 59%
- No = 40%
- If yes, specify--- = 1%

Figure 5.37. Is the university involved in monitoring places where alcohol is sold?

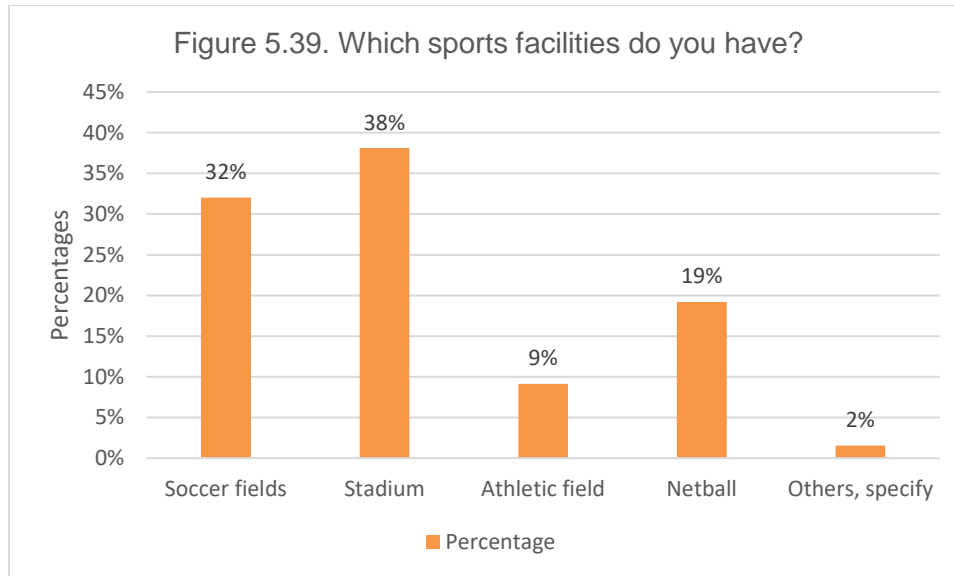


- Yes is at the percentage rate of 64%
- No is at the percentage rate of 36%

FIGURE 5.38. Do you have sports facilities?

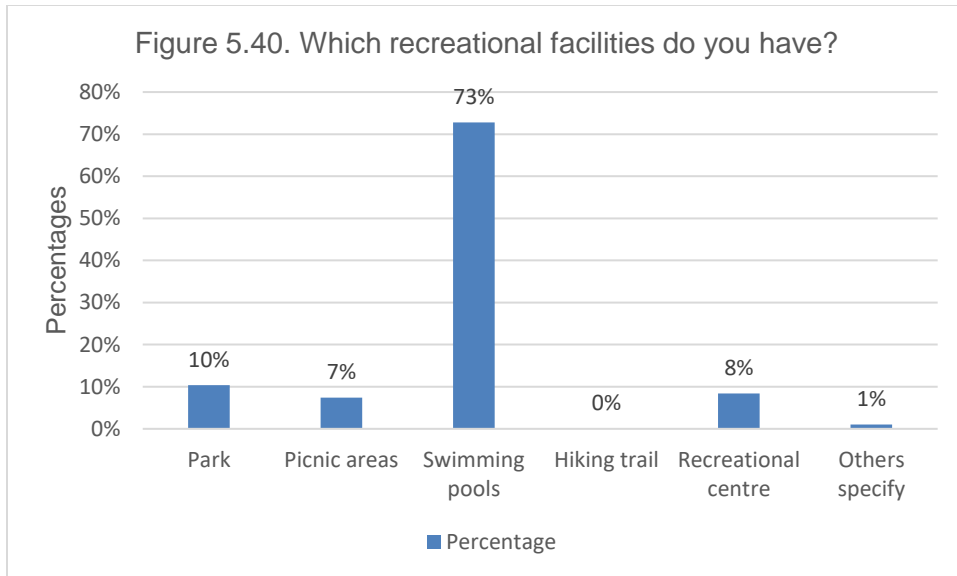


- Yes is at the percentage rate of 91%
- No is at the percentage rate of 9%

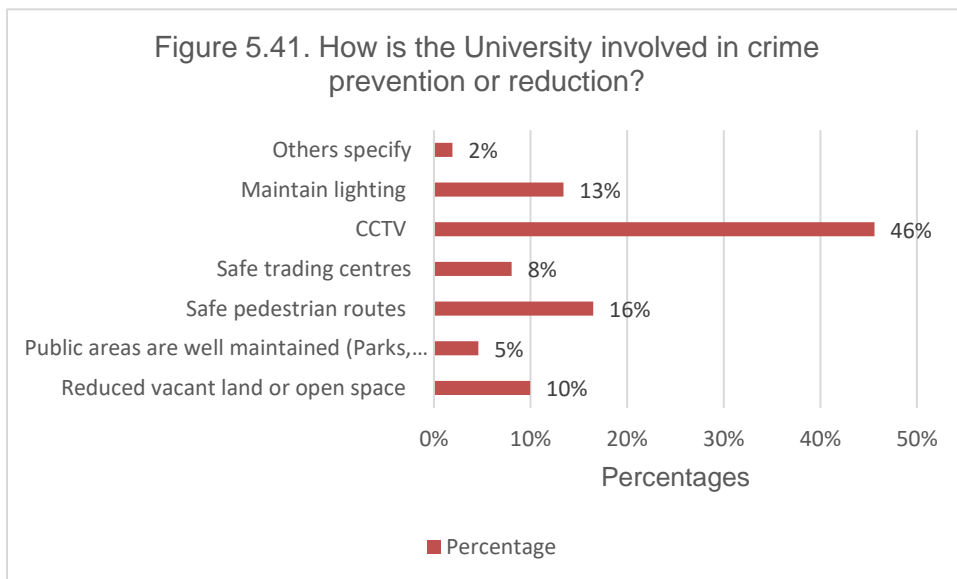


This chart illustrates the percentage rate of the participants who have knowledge of sports facilities at Univen.

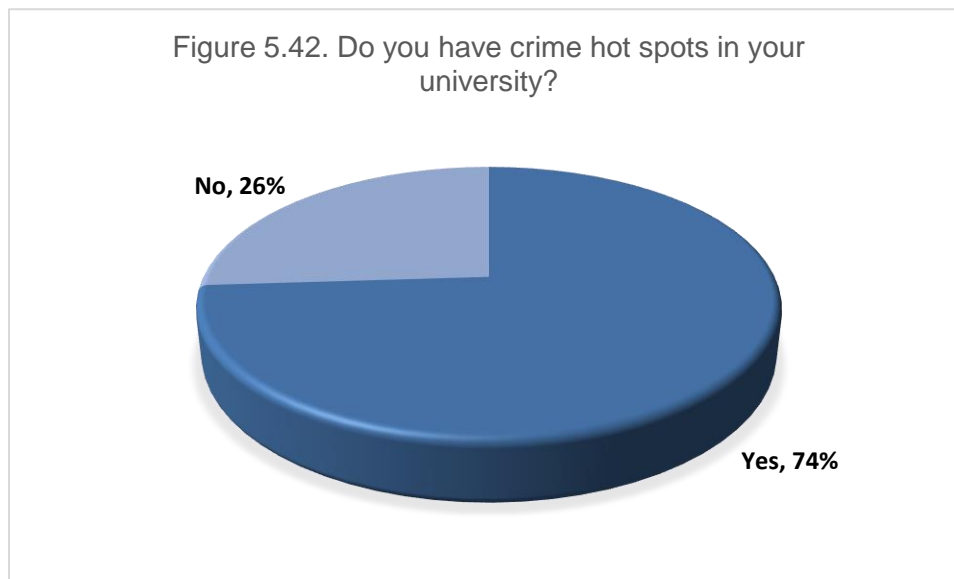
- Soccer fields is 32%
- Stadium is 38%
- Athletic field is 9%
- Netball is 19%
- Others specify--- is 2% which includes gym, basketball, swimming pool and chess board



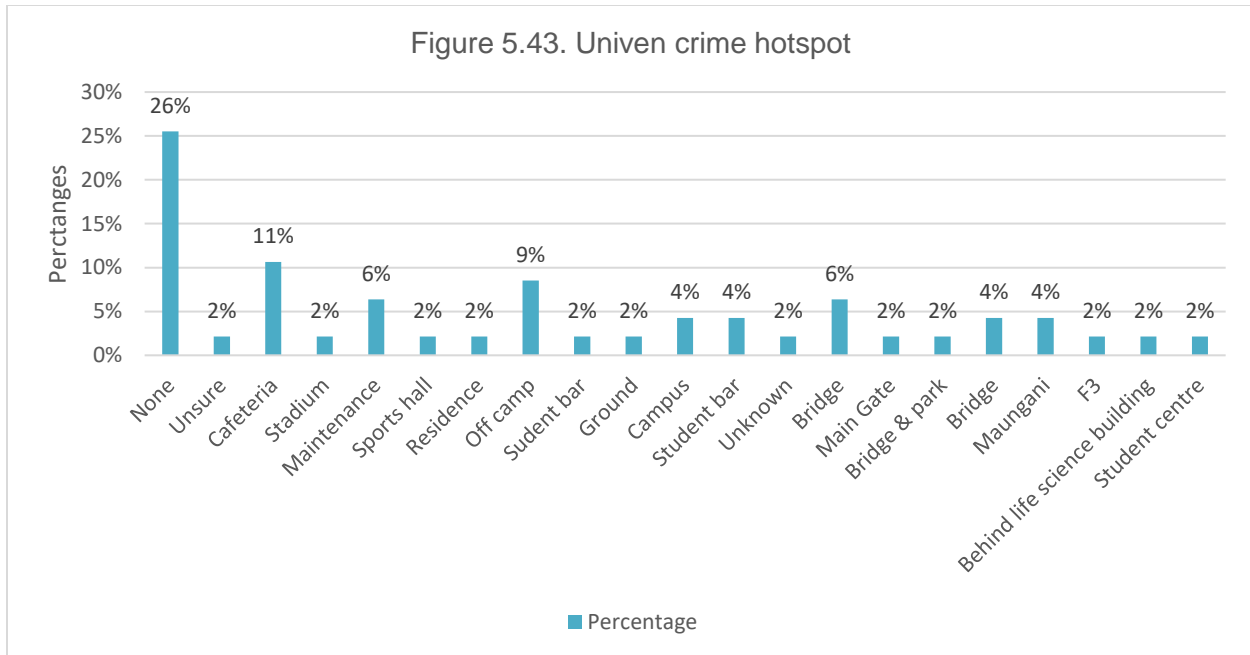
- Park represented by 10%
- Picnic areas represented by 7%
- Swimming pools represented by 73%
- Hiking trail represented by 0%
- Recreational centre represented by 8%
- Others specify--- is 1%



- Reduced vacant land or open space = 10%
- Public areas are well maintained (Parks, sports fields) = 5%
- Safe pedestrian routes = 16%
- Safe trading centres at 8%
- CCTV = 46%
- Maintain lighting = 13%
- Others specify--- = 2%

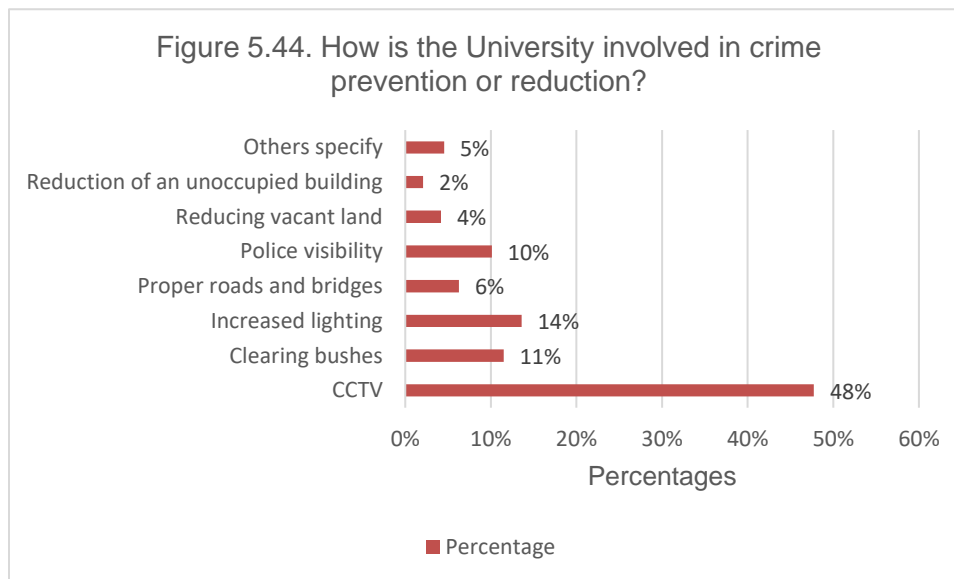


- Yes = 74% for crime hotspot at Univen
- No = 26%



- None = 26%
- Unsure = 2%
- Cafeteria = 11%
- Stadium = 2%
- Maintenance = 6%
- Sports hall = 2%
- Residence = 2%
- Off camp = 9%
- Student bar = 2%
- Ground1 = 2%
- Campus = 4%
- Student bar = 4%
- Unknown = 2%
- Bridge = 6%

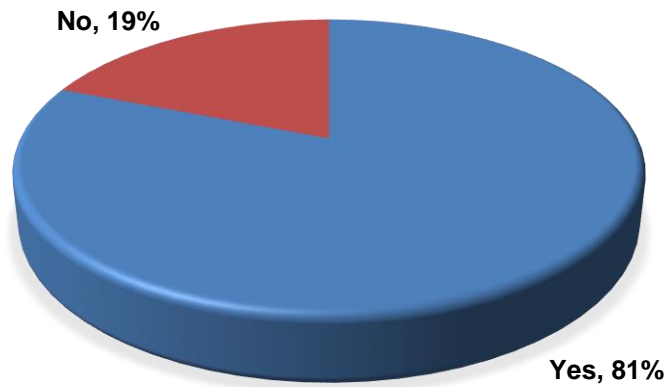
- Main Gate = 2%
- Bridge & park = 2%
- Bridge = 4%
- Maungani = 4%
- F3 = 2%
- Behind life science building = 2%
- Student centre = 2%



- Others specify--- = 5%
- Reduction of an unoccupied building = 2%
- Reducing vacant land = 4%
- Police visibility = 10%
- Proper roads and bridges = 6%
- Increased lighting = 14%
- Clearing bushes = 11% and CCTV = 48%

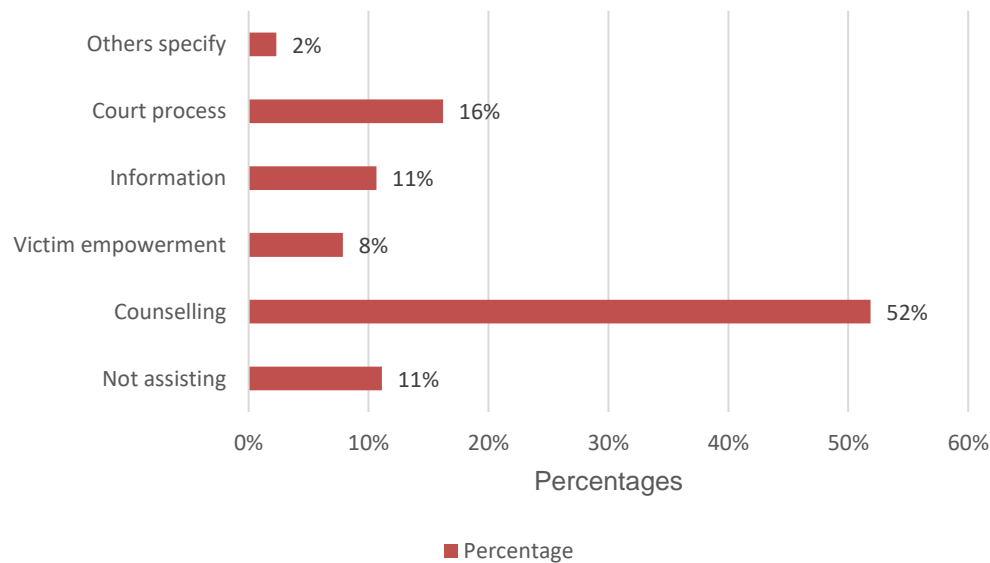
5.7 Section E: Victim support

Figure 5.45. Does the university assist victims of crime?



- Yes = 81 % &
- No = 19%

Figure 5.46. How does the University help victims of crime?



- Not assisting = 11%

- Counselling = 52%
- Victim empowerment 8%
- Information = 11%
- Court process = 16%
- Others specify--- = 2%

Table 5.1 Socio-demographic data of the SAPS members

RANK	RACE	GENDER	NO. OF SERVICE
Warrant Officer	South African	Male	37 years
Sergeant	South African	Male	18 years
Sergeant	South African	Male	17 years
Sergeant	South African	Male	17 years
Constable	South African	Female	1 year
Constable	South African	Female	1 year
Warrant Officer	South African	Male	35 years
Sergeant	South African	Female	15 years
Sergeant	South African	Male	15 years
Constable	South African	Male	1 year
Constable	South African	Male	1 year
Sergeant	South African	Male	20 years
Sergeant	South African	Male	17 years
Sergeant	South African	Male	15 years

The figure above depicts 14 respondents from SAPS POP members, comprising 11 males and 3 females, encompassing various genders, ranks, and years of service within the organization. The ranks include 2 warrant officers with 37 and 35 years of service, 2 female constables with 1 year of service each, 1 female sergeant with 15 years of service, 7 male sergeants with 18, 17, 17, 15, 20, 17, and 15 years of service, and 2 male constables, each with 1 year of service. This section aims to test hypotheses regarding the relationship between variables. This will be achieved through Chi-Square analysis, involving cross-tabulation of variables to determine correlation.

The following hypotheses are tested in the study:

H₁: There is a significant relationship between police response attitude and student violent protest.

Table 5.2 Chi-Square Test 1

Chi-Square Tests					
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	37.604 ^a	1	.000		
Continuity Correction ^b	35.505	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	37.010	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	37.384	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	171				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 18.34.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

H₂: There is a significant relationship between bad policing and student violent protest.

Table 5.3 Chi-Square Test 2

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	501.507 ^a	187	.000
Likelihood Ratio	160.249	187	.922
N of Valid Cases	191		

a. 204 cells (94.4%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .01.

H₃: Students show attitude towards police intervention during protest at the University of Venda.

Table 5.4 Chi-Square Test 3

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	77.385 ^a	1	.000		
Continuity Correction ^b	74.691	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	82.121	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	76.965	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	184				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 28.53.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

H₄: Student violent protest impacts the university's operational plans and students' academic progress

Table 5.5 Chi-Square Test 4

Chi-Square Tests					
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (1- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	32.448 ^a	1	.000		
Continuity Correction ^b	30.739	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	34.464	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	32.271	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	184				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 31.74.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

5.8 Conclusion

This dataset was obtained through rigorous and consistent analytical procedures maintained throughout the research process. Utilizing smaller samples allowed for the replication of methods employed in this study. When integrated with police strategies and insights from other scholars regarding the causal factors of violent protests, this approach holds significant promise as a criminological tool. Despite the proliferation of literature on protests in South Africa, there remains a gap in understanding public opinion on peaceful protest and the challenges faced by POP units when handling protesters. The findings of this study lay the foundation for devising a more strategic national approach to managing protests. Violent protests pose a significant challenge to the country, impacting not only students but also affecting broader areas such as national economic stability. The aim of this research project, along with its findings and implications, is to contribute to the enhancement of policing practices within our country. Further elaboration on these aspects will be provided in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter connects with Chapters 5 and 7, serving as a thorough exploration of the research findings derived from the analytical phase of this study. While it may appear solid to explain connections or trails leading to violent activities, it should be noted that these patterns can be projected but are difficult to confirm in advance through a brief examination of a dataset. The chapter emerges from thorough data analysis aimed at extracting and comparing relationships, trends, and interrelations between bad policing and instances of violent protests among students. Its primary focus lies in addressing the research objectives and offering detailed insights into the responses to the research questions outlined in the introductory chapter of this dissertation. In other words, it is dedicated to fulfilling the research objectives and offering detailed insights into the responses to the research questions of this study.

a. Socio-demographic data of the SAPS POP Unit Respondents

The qualitative method employed in this study involved gathering socio-demographic data from respondents, particularly focusing on members of the South African Police Service (SAPS) Public Order Policing (POP) unit. The sample consisted of 14 POP unit members, comprising 11 males and 3 females, reflecting a gender-diverse representation within the unit. Furthermore, the sample encompassed a range of ranks and years of service, providing a comprehensive perspective on the experiences and insights of officers involved in protest management.

Among the respondents, the ranks varied, highlighting a diverse mix of experience levels and expertise within the SAPS POP unit. Notably, there were 2 warrant officers, both with extensive service durations of 37 and 35 years, respectively. Additionally, the sample included 2 female constables, each with 1 year of service, underscoring the inclusion of junior officers in the study. Furthermore, there was a female sergeant with 15 years of service, demonstrating mid-level experience within the unit. The majority of male respondents were sergeants, totaling 7 individuals, with service durations ranging from 15 to 20 years, showcasing a breadth of experience among this cohort.

In addition to the sergeants, the sample included 2 male constables, both with 1 year of service, offering perspectives from newer recruits within the SAPS POP unit. This diverse composition of respondents ensures a multifaceted exploration of protest management strategies, with insights gleaned from officers spanning various ranks and experience levels.

By including individuals with varying backgrounds and levels of experience, the study aims to capture a comprehensive understanding of the challenges and complexities inherent in policing protests. The diverse perspectives provided by the respondents contribute to a nuanced analysis of the strategies and practices employed by the SAPS POP unit in managing protests, thereby enriching the findings of the study.

b. Socio-demographic data of the students respondents

In the context of this research, demographics refer to specific characteristics within the population being studied, including factors such as age, gender, ethnicity, language, marital status, and educational qualifications. These attributes are crucial for

understanding the composition and diversity of the sample population and may provide insights into various aspects of protest behavior and dynamics.

The majority of participants in this study, accounting for 99%, fall within the age range of 18 to 35 years, indicating a predominantly youthful demographic among the respondents. Only 1% of participants are aged between 36 and 45 years, suggesting a limited representation of older individuals in the sample. Furthermore, there is no representation from age groups 46-55, 56-65, and 66 and above, indicating a focus on younger demographics within the study population.

Regarding gender distribution, males comprise 65% of the participants, while females represent 35%, suggesting a slight gender imbalance in the sample. This gender distribution may have implications for understanding protest participation patterns, as it may indicate a higher propensity for males to engage in demonstrations compared to females.

Ethnically, 99% of the participants identify as African, with 1% identifying as White and no representation from Indian or Coloured ethnic groups. This demographic makeup suggests that the majority of students at the University of Venda are of African descent, which may have implications for understanding protest dynamics within this context.

Language diversity among students at the University of Venda is evident, with the most frequent languages being Tshivenda (56%) and Xitsonga (22%), followed by Sepedi (20%). English is not prominently represented, indicating that indigenous languages are more commonly spoken among students. This linguistic diversity may influence communication and participation in protest activities.

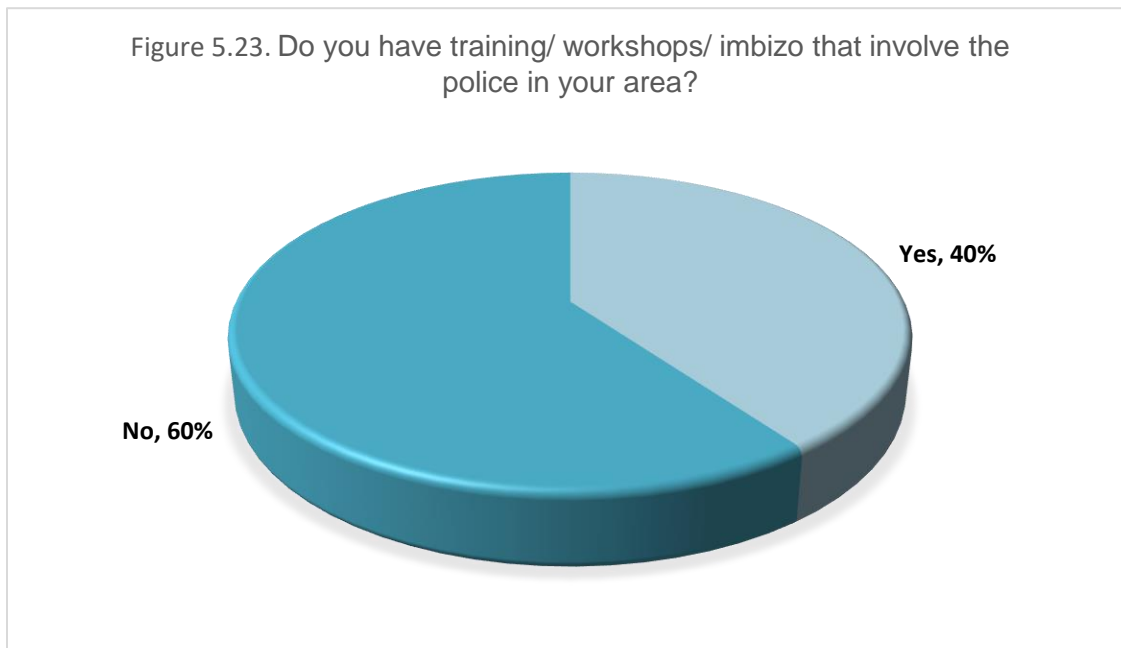
In terms of marital status, the vast majority of students, totaling 97%, are single, with only 2% being married, and 1% each representing divorced, separated, widowed, or other marital statuses. This suggests that protest dynamics may predominantly involve individuals who are not married or in committed relationships. Educationally, most students hold a matric certificate (88%), followed by 5% with a degree, 3% with other certificates, and 3% with a diploma. A smaller percentage holds honors or master's degrees (1%), while 1% has other qualifications, and no participants hold a Ph.D. This distribution reflects the educational background of the student population, which may influence their perspectives and motivations for engaging in protest activities. Given that the primary goal of this study is to determine the relationship between bad policing and student involvement in violent protests, the following specific objectives will be thoroughly addressed:

6.2 The causal factors of student violent protest at the University of Venda

The study has identified a lack of awareness regarding crime prevention as a significant contributing factor to student involvement in violent protests. A substantial portion, 61% of the participants, indicated unawareness of any crime prevention awareness campaigns within the university campus. This lack of awareness underscores a potential gap in communication and education regarding crime prevention strategies among students, thereby exacerbating the risk of protest-related incidents.

Furthermore, the research found that 60% of participants reported a deficiency of training on policing-related issues within the university community. This absence of formal training sessions or workshops involving law enforcement agencies implies a missed opportunity for fostering understanding and collaboration between students and the police. The lack of structured engagement may contribute to misconceptions and

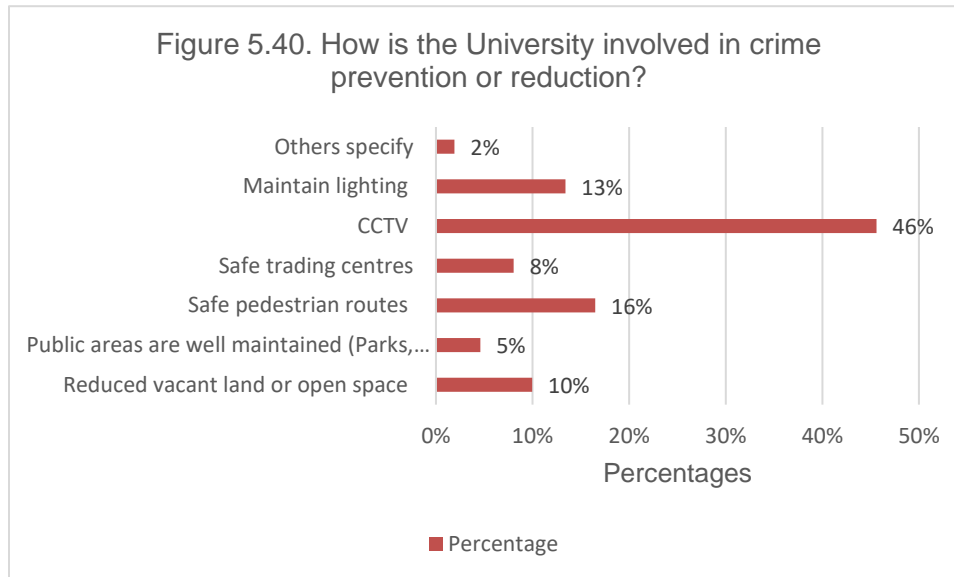
misunderstandings between the two groups, potentially escalating tensions during protest situations.



Beyond these issues, students expressed additional concerns related to campus safety and infrastructure maintenance. For instance, only 10% of respondents felt that efforts to reduce vacant land or open spaces were progressing at an acceptable pace, indicating a perceived lack of progress in addressing environmental factors that may influence campus security. Similarly, dissatisfaction was noted regarding the maintenance of public areas such as sports fields (5%), pedestrian routes (16%), and trading centers (8%), reflecting broader concerns about the overall upkeep of campus facilities.

Additionally, respondents highlighted deficiencies in essential security infrastructure, with 46% expressing dissatisfaction with CCTV maintenance and 13% with the maintenance of lighting systems. These findings suggest that inadequacies in

surveillance and lighting infrastructure may contribute to a sense of insecurity among students, potentially exacerbating tensions and fueling protests.



In addition to these systemic issues, participants revealed interpersonal dynamics that further complicate the relationship between students and law enforcement. The majority of students affiliated with various political organizations expressed reluctance to establish positive relationships with the police, complicating efforts at dialogue and conflict resolution. Moreover, police officers frequently encountered intoxicated or impaired students during protest events, with substances such as alcohol and cannabis (dagga) cited as contributing factors to disruptive behavior. These behavioural challenges make it difficult for law enforcement to effectively manage protests and may lead to divergent perspectives on crowd dynamics and appropriate responses.

This study has identified several crime hotspots at the University of Venda. This is crucial for implementing targeted security measures and ensuring the safety of students, faculty, and staff. Here's an expanded overview of the locations identified as crime hotspots:

Cafeteria (11%): While the cafeteria is a central gathering place on campus, it may also be susceptible to incidents such as theft, harassment, or disputes among students. The presence of valuable belongings like laptops and wallets, combined with crowded conditions during peak hours, can create opportunities for criminal activity.

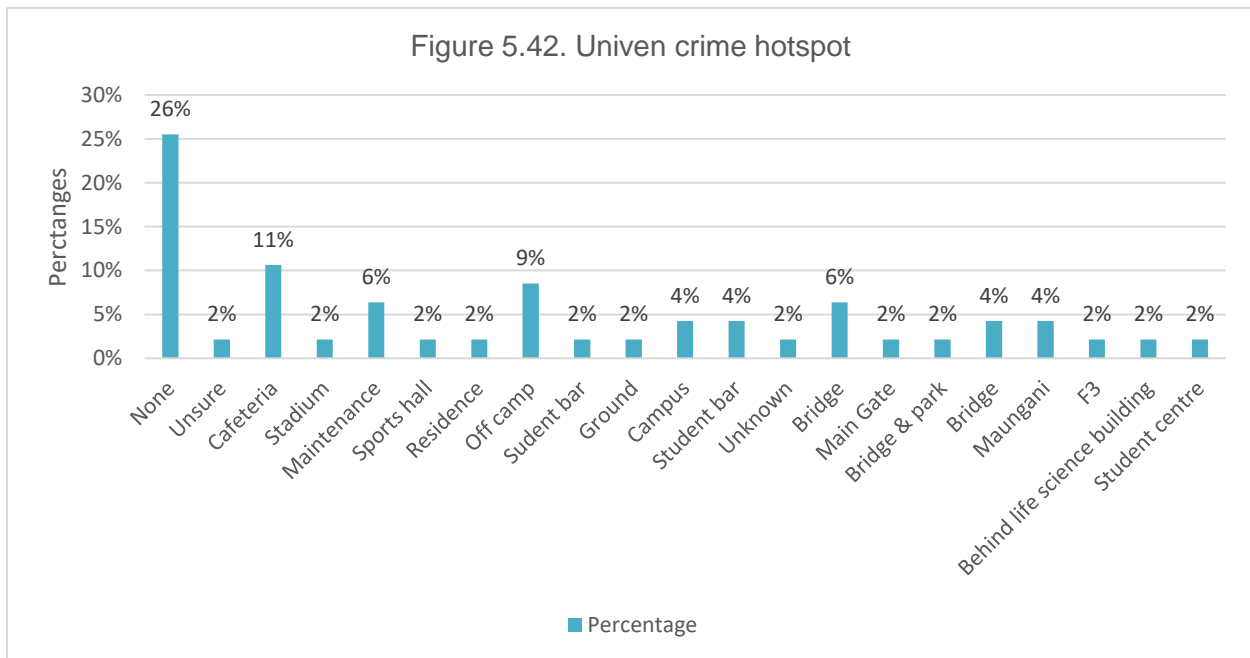
Maintenance (6%): Maintenance areas, including workshops, storage facilities, and equipment yards, may be vulnerable to theft of tools, materials, or machinery. Additionally, these areas may pose safety hazards if left unsecured, leading to accidents or injuries among maintenance staff or unauthorized individuals.

Off-campus (9%): Areas adjacent to the university, such as nearby streets, parking lots, and commercial establishments, may experience crime related to theft, vandalism, or assault. Students traveling to and from off-campus locations, especially during late hours or in secluded areas, may be at higher risk of encountering criminal activity.

Student Bar (2% & 4%): Student bars or lounges, while popular social venues, may also experience incidents such as underage drinking, substance abuse, or altercations among patrons. Poorly managed establishments or inadequate security measures can exacerbate these issues and create an environment conducive to criminal behavior.

Bridge (12%): Bridges connecting different parts of the campus or spanning natural features may serve as potential locations for crimes such as theft, harassment, or assault, particularly if poorly lit or isolated. Students using these bridges as thoroughfares, especially during nighttime or off-peak hours, may be vulnerable to opportunistic criminals. Campus (4%): While the campus itself is a dynamic and busy environment, certain areas may be more prone to criminal activity due to factors such as poor lighting, limited surveillance, or inadequate security patrols. These areas may

include secluded pathways, poorly maintained buildings, or deserted sections of the campus. Other locations (2%): Additional areas such as specific buildings (e.g., Maungani gate, F3, Student Centre, Life Science Building) or unnamed spots within the campus environment may also experience crime, ranging from theft and vandalism to more serious offenses like assault or robbery.



It is important for university authorities to collaborate with the SAPS organization, implement effective crime prevention strategies, and promote awareness among the campus community to address crime hotspots and enhance overall campus safety. Measures such as increasing lighting, installing security cameras, improving access control, and conducting regular patrols can help deter criminal activity and create a more secure environment for everyone at the University of Venda.

6.3 The relationship between police response attitude and student violent protest

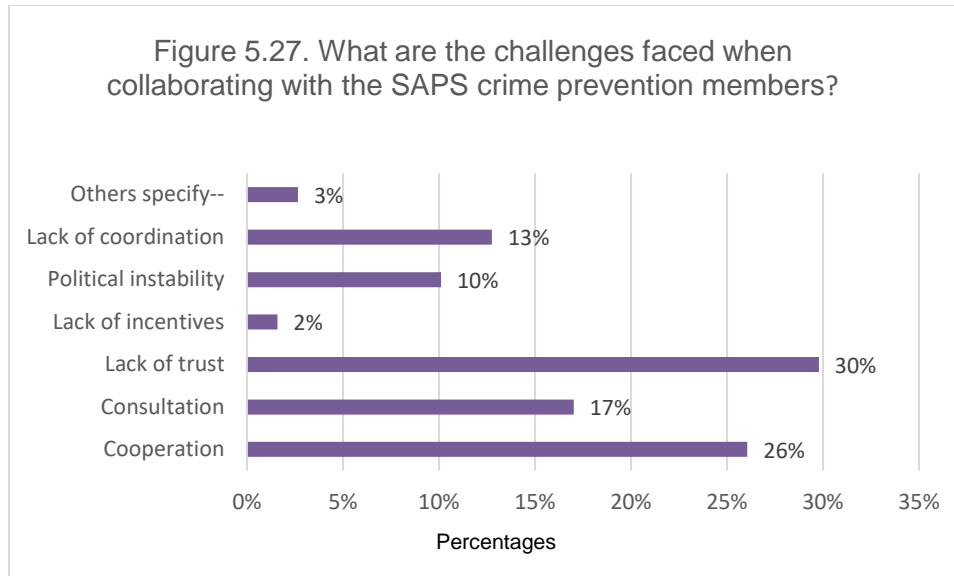
The primary challenge faced by the South African Police Service (SAPS) lies in aligning their response to student protests with the principles of community-oriented policing and the protections enshrined in the Bill of Rights. Traditional police methods, such as punitive measures, instances of police brutality, wrongful arrests, unfulfilled promises, lack of police cooperation, unfair trial procedures, and difficulty in reaching agreements, fall short of meeting the constitutional standards and often exacerbate students' hostility towards law enforcement.

In light of this challenge, various strategies for protest management have been adopted, including escalated force, negotiated management, and strategic incapacitation, each with its own degree of implementation in response to protests. An interview conducted with SAPS Public Order Policing (POP) members revealed a preference for negotiated management as the primary approach, followed by escalated force. However, the chaotic nature of protesting crowds often compels officers to resort to forceful dispersal or crowd control tactics to restore order. This dynamic arises from the inherent difficulty in pacifying students without some degree of force, especially in unpredictable situations where emotions run high. The use of force by police in response to student protests can inadvertently escalate tensions, prompting retaliatory actions from students and necessitating an escalation in police force levels and the implementation of backup plans. This cycle of escalating force and resistance further strains relations between law enforcement and students, perpetuating a cycle of conflict and undermining efforts at peaceful resolution. Navigating these complexities requires a delicate balance between maintaining public order and upholding the rights of protesters. Effective protest

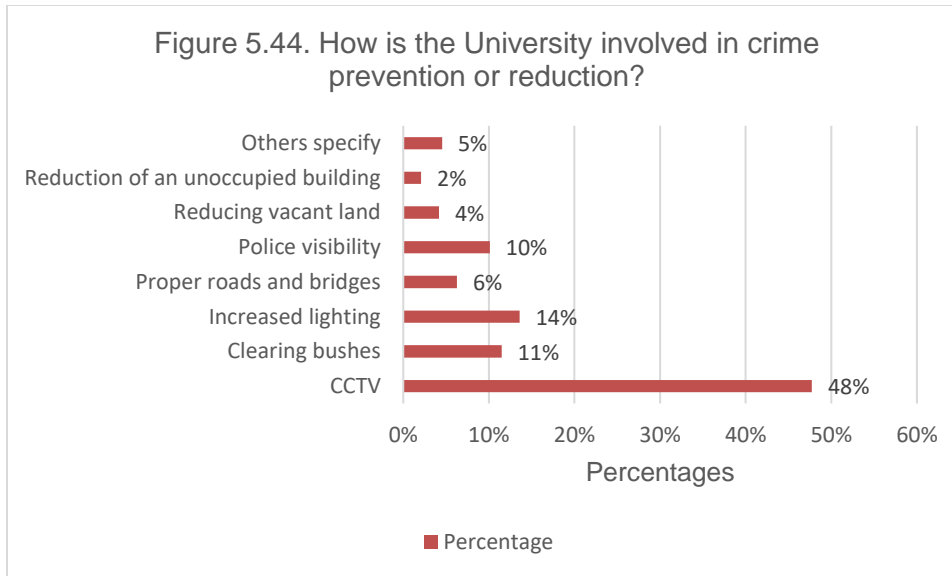
management strategies must prioritize de-escalation techniques, dialogue, and negotiation while ensuring respect for constitutional rights and fostering trust and cooperation between police and students. Failure to do so risks perpetuating a cycle of violence and antagonism, undermining the objectives of community-oriented policing and compromising the principles of democracy and human rights.

6.4 The relationship between bad policing and student violent protest

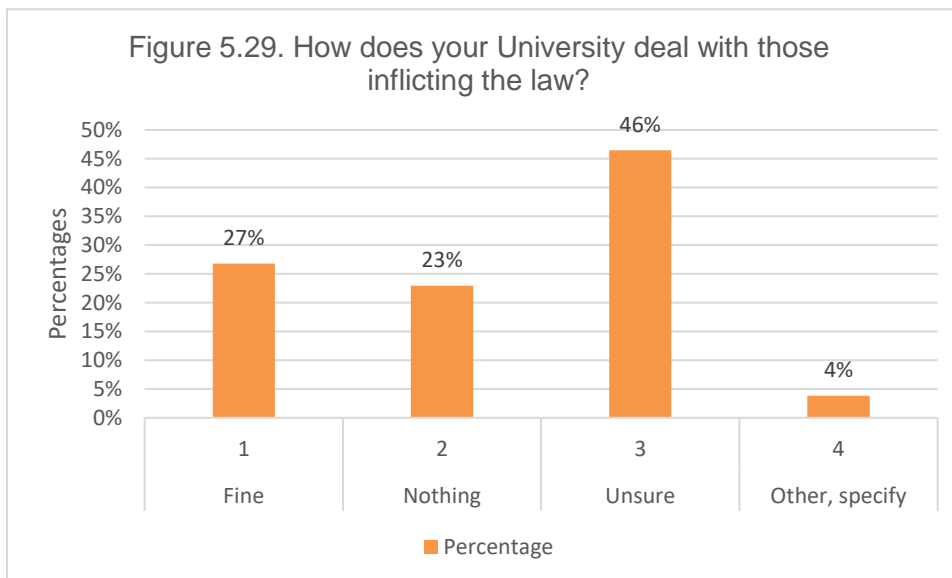
The policing measures employed in response to public protests have historically been characterized by arbitrary "riot control" tactics and instances of abusive police conduct, leading to controversy surrounding the South African Police Service's (SAPS) Public Order Policing (POP) units (SAPS, 2013). As part of the broader transformation efforts within the SAPS, there has been a restructuring of public order policing units aimed at rationalizing their operations. However, this transformation process has also revealed significant gaps within the policy environment governing policing practices. In the specific context of this research, a troubling indication of ineffective policing is the low visibility of police presence around the University of Venda campus, which was reported to be only 10%. This lack of visible policing serves as a tangible manifestation of inadequate law enforcement resources and strategies, contributing to a perception of insecurity among students and faculty.



However, it is crucial to recognize that ensuring campus safety is not solely the responsibility of the police. Universities also bear a duty to provide a secure environment conducive to learning and academic pursuits. This entails engaging in proactive measures such as regular monitoring of campus grounds and addressing factors that may compromise safety, such as reducing vacant land where criminal activities may thrive. Despite this shared responsibility, the research findings reveal shortcomings in the university's crime reduction strategies. Only a mere 4% of respondents identified reducing vacant land as a priority for the university, suggesting a lack of emphasis on addressing environmental factors that may contribute to crime. Similarly, other vital infrastructure concerns, such as the maintenance of roads and bridges (6%) and the reduction of unoccupied buildings (2%), received minimal attention as potential avenues for enhancing campus safety.



Furthermore, a concerning 23% of student participants indicated a perceived lack of action by the university in addressing student misconduct and enforcing disciplinary measures. This perception of impunity for law-breaking behaviour among students can foster a culture of non-compliance and undermine efforts to maintain order on campus.



In instances where disciplinary action is taken, such as expulsion or referral to disciplinary committees, there is a risk of exacerbating student frustration and

discontent, as noted by 4% of respondents. This underscores the importance of implementing fair and transparent disciplinary processes that uphold the rights of students while also promoting accountability and discipline within the university community. Addressing these systemic challenges requires a collaborative approach involving both law enforcement agencies and university administrations. By prioritizing proactive crime prevention strategies, enhancing police visibility, and fostering a culture of accountability and discipline within the academic community, universities can create safer and more secure environments conducive to learning and personal development.

6.5 Students' attitudes towards police intervention during protest at the University of Venda

Students may develop a sense of superiority over law enforcement officials due to their advanced levels of education. This mindset often arises from the belief that their academic achievements grant them a deeper understanding of societal issues and governance compared to police officers. Moreover, involvement in student political organizations can reinforce this attitude by promoting ideologies that challenge traditional authority structures and advocate for student rights.

However, this prideful mentality can intensify tensions between students and the police officers, particularly in situations where protests arise. For example, delays in National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) payments can significantly impact students' ability to pursue their studies, leading to frustration and discontent within the university campus. In response, students may organize protests or demonstrations to voice their concerns and demand action from authorities.

Unfortunately, some students may resort to illegal activities during these protests, such as vandalism, obstruction of traffic, or confrontations with law enforcement officers. While these actions may stem from a genuine desire to effect change, they often result in further strain on relations between students and the police. The escalation of tensions can lead to arrests, injuries, and damage to property, ultimately undermining the effectiveness of the students' message and prolonging the resolution of their grievances.

While students may have legitimate concerns and complaints, maintaining a prideful mentality and engaging in illegal activities during protests only serves to worsen tensions with law enforcement. Effective communication, peaceful demonstrations, and constructive engagement with authorities are essential for addressing issues facing students and fostering positive relations with law enforcement agencies.

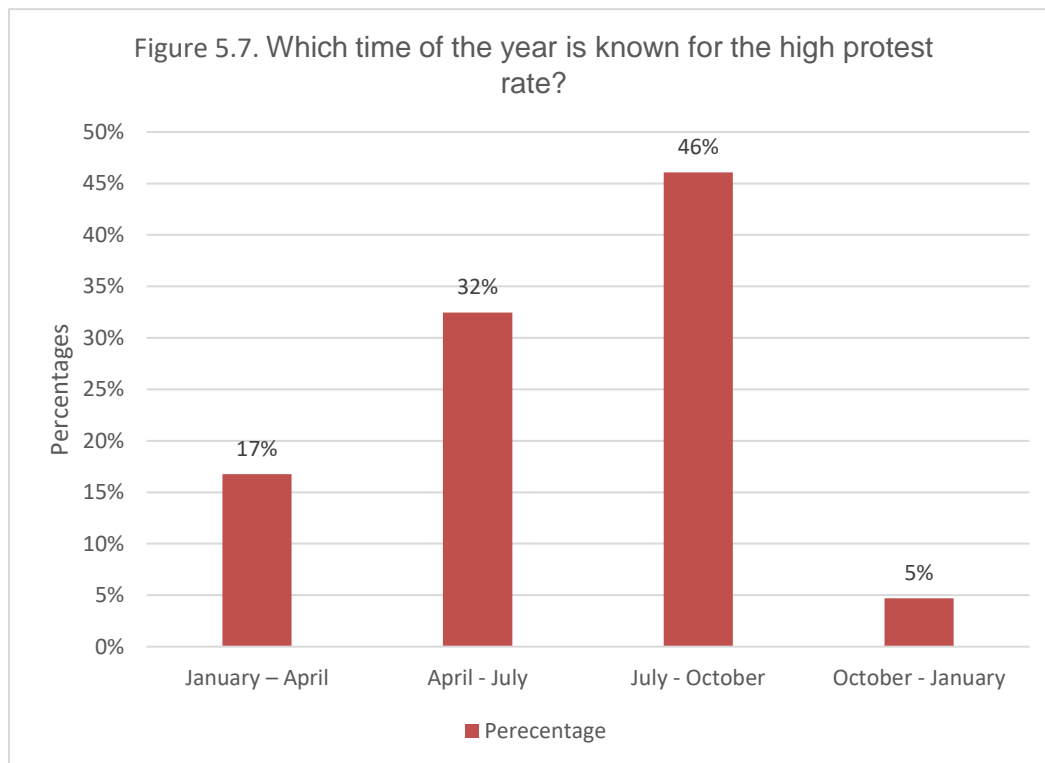
In addition to the previously mentioned policing methods, there are several other approaches employed by law enforcement agencies in response to public protests. These include disciplinary measures, such as fines or arrests, as well as instances of police brutality, where excessive force is used against demonstrators. Moreover, calling upon the police to arrest protesters is a common tactic employed to control unrest, although it may further escalate tensions between law enforcement and demonstrators. Furthermore, the phenomenon of empty promises made by authorities can contribute to disillusionment and frustration among protesters, undermining trust in the legitimacy of law enforcement institutions. Additionally, a lack of police cooperation with protest organizers or failure to engage in meaningful dialogue can exacerbate conflict and hinder efforts at peaceful resolution. Prosecution of protesters through legal channels is

another strategy used by law enforcement agencies to address dissent, although it may not always effectively address the underlying grievances driving protest activity. Furthermore, the difficulty in reaching agreements between protest organizers and authorities can prolong standoffs and increase the likelihood of confrontations. Deploying peace officers, or officers trained in conflict resolution and de-escalation techniques, is another approach aimed at managing protests while minimizing the use of force. However, challenges arise when protesters engage in violent behavior before police intervention, creating an unstable and unsafe situation. The scientific literature frames protest activity as a collective action problem, wherein individuals weigh the costs and benefits of participating in demonstrations. Despite this understanding, there remains a significant challenge for law enforcement when protests escalate rapidly, with demonstrators becoming hostile and confrontational even before police intervention. For instance, at the University of Venda, one of the greatest challenges faced by law enforcement is the swift escalation of protests, with demonstrators becoming violent and chanting aggressively in the streets before authorities can arrive. In some instances, protesters may even seize control of the university entrance, effectively holding management hostage and preventing entry or exit. Resolving such situations often requires police intervention to reopen the gates, which may further antagonize both parties and escalate the conflict into physical confrontations.

In summary, effectively managing protests requires a nuanced understanding of the complex dynamics at play, as well as strategies that prioritize de-escalation, dialogue, and respect for human rights. However, rapid escalation and pre-existing hostilities can pose significant challenges for law enforcement agencies, necessitating careful planning and coordination to maintain public order while minimizing the risk of violence.

6.6 The impact of student violent protest on the university's operational plans and students' academic progress

Student protests present ongoing challenges not only to the South African Police Service (SAPS) but also to university operational plans and the academic progress of students. These protests disrupt university operations and academic activities consistently throughout the year, with varying intensities observed across different seasons. For example, between July and October, protests are most prevalent, accounting for 46% of incidents, followed by April to July at 32%, January to April at 17%-32%, and October to January at 5%. This recurring nature of protests underlines their disruptive impact on the university calendar and students' educational journeys.



Violent protests, in particular, have severe consequences for both university operations and students' academic advancement. In some instances, university management is compelled to shut down the institution for extended periods, disrupting scheduled

activities and impeding students' learning experiences. Moreover, the frequency of violence during protests creates a hostile environment conducive to criminal behavior among students themselves. Instances of theft, assault, and even sexual violence have been reported during and after protests, leading to significant losses and trauma among the student body.

Students often report the theft of valuable belongings such as laptops, cell phones, and clothing following protests, worsening the already challenging situation. Law enforcement agencies are obligated to address criminal behavior, and arrests may be made when necessary to maintain public order and safety. However, the consequences of such arrests can be severe, as individuals with criminal records may face barriers to future academic and career opportunities.

Indeed, the long-term impact of criminal convictions resulting from protest-related incidents can be devastating for affected students, leading many to failure and in other instances abandon their studies and careers. The prospect of a stained reputation and limited projections for future employment can discourage students from continuing their education, perpetuating cycles of disadvantage and thwarting their aspirations for personal and professional growth.

In summary, the disruptive nature of student protests not only undermines university operations and academic progress but also fosters an environment conducive to criminal behavior and legal repercussions. Effective strategies for addressing student protests must prioritize negotiation, conflict resolution, and respect for the rights of all parties involved, while also addressing underlying protests in a constructive and

proactive manner. Failure to do so risks prolonging a cycle of unrest, disruption, and negative consequences for all members of the academic community.

6.7 The existing measures employed by the police during student violent protest

The management of protests entails the implementation of various strategies, with three predominant approaches being escalated force, negotiated management, and strategic incapacitation. According to findings from student respondents, the South African Police Service (SAPS) Public Order Policing (POP) members commonly employ escalated force and negotiated management techniques. However, police officers have expressed concerns regarding the efficacy of negotiation, noting that students often disregard attempts at dialogue as part of seeking solutions to protests. SAPS POP participants have disclosed specific measures and strategies employed during protests. Upon arriving at the scene, police officers do not immediately resort to confrontational tactics but instead initiate negotiations with protesters to understand their complaints and perspectives, as well as those of the university management. However, a significant challenge arises when protesters become restless and violent before police intervention, making it difficult to engage in meaningful negotiation. In such instances, the primary objective shifts to de-escalating the situation and calming the unruly crowd. Despite efforts at negotiation, there are instances where crowd dispersal becomes necessary to restore order and ensure public safety. This often involves the use of less-lethal measures such as firing rubber bullets towards the protesters. However, the decision to use force is typically a last resort, employed only when other methods of conflict resolution have been exhausted or deemed ineffective.

The dynamic nature of protests presents inherent challenges for law enforcement agencies, requiring flexibility and adaptability in response strategies. While negotiation remains an essential tool for conflict resolution, its effectiveness may be limited in unstable situations where protesters are already engaged in violent behavior. In such cases, the judicious use of force may be necessary to protect lives and property, although with due consideration for the principles of proportionality and restraint.

Overall, effective protest management necessitates a balanced approach that prioritizes communication, negotiation, and de-escalation, while also ensuring the ability to respond decisively to situations that pose immediate threats to public safety. Collaboration between law enforcement, protesters, and relevant stakeholders is essential to fostering constructive negotiation and preventing the escalation of tensions into violence.

6.8 Strategies that can be adopted to mitigate violent protest among the University of Venda students

In many instances, students involved in protests vehemently reject participation in negotiation processes, despite the insistence of the police that negotiation should be prioritized over other policing measures. This reluctance often stems from a deep-seated perception among students that the police are adversaries who hinder their objectives, contributing to strained relations between law enforcement and the student body. When students encounter police presence, symbolized by the red belt or police vehicles, they typically perceive them as obstacles to their cause, further deteriorating the already fragile police-student relationship. However, it is crucial to recognize that law enforcement officers, including those tasked with maintaining public order and

social peace, should ideally be viewed by the general public, including students, as service providers. Unfortunately, this perspective is often overshadowed by the adversarial dynamic that characterizes interactions between students and the police during protests.

In light of these challenges, efforts to foster dialogue and consultation between university management, law enforcement, and students are paramount. At the University of Venda (Univen), for example, 54% of respondents indicated that they were consulted to participate in the university's safety program. This demonstrates a desire among students to be heard and involved in decision-making processes, particularly when such decisions impact their academic pursuits. Students' insistence on being listened to and regularly consulted reflects their understanding that decisions made by university management directly affect their studies and overall academic experience. By actively involving students in safety programs and decision-making processes, universities can foster a sense of ownership and accountability among students, thereby mitigating tensions and fostering a more collaborative relationship between students and law enforcement.

Ultimately, promoting mutual understanding, respect, and collaboration between students and law enforcement is essential for effectively managing protests and maintaining public order on university campuses. This requires proactive efforts to bridge the gap between these two groups, address grievances constructively, and prioritize dialogue and consultation in decision-making processes.

6.9 Conclusion

This study highlights the significance of generalizing and implementing its research findings, which illuminate the relationship between bad policing and student violent protests. It presents a complex scenario for members of the South African Police Service (SAPS) who frequently find themselves confronting crowds of protesters hailing from diverse backgrounds, facing myriad circumstances, and operating under distinct constraints and challenges when managing instances of violent protests on a routine basis. Urgent action is imperative to address these issues and cultivate a deeper comprehension of crime and crime prevention within the wider public sphere.

In addressing matters of crime prevention, a collaborative approach between the public and law enforcement agencies is paramount. SAPS members must not only react when issues escalate but also proactively engage in crime prevention initiatives. Furthermore, the emphasis should extend beyond the repercussions of unlawful behavior during protests and also stress the benefits of peaceful demonstrations.

The final chapter of this research endeavor will capture a comprehensive summary, concluding insights, and recommendations aimed at tackling the identified challenges and advocating for effective strategies to manage student protests while concurrently enhancing police-community relations.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This final chapter of the study serves as a culmination, providing a summary, conclusions, and recommendations based on the research problem, questions, and objectives explored in preceding chapters. It synthesizes the insights gained from investigating the relationship between bad policing and students' violent protests, constituting a criminological inquiry. The summary encapsulates the significant findings of the study, aiming to inform the development of enhanced and progressive police strategies for addressing protest-related issues in South Africa and beyond.

7.2 Summary and overview of the research problem and findings

This study successfully integrated the findings from both quantitative and qualitative phases to comprehensively discuss the outcomes. Initially, both quantitative and qualitative research questions were formulated to gain a deeper understanding of the relationship between bad policing and students' violent protests. The discussion was enriched by referencing relevant literature, incorporating insights from existing quantitative and qualitative studies on the subject.

The quantitative analysis revealed significant challenges faced by students, not only within the campus environment but also academically due to the repercussions of violent protests. A notable portion of participants expressed unawareness of any crime prevention awareness campaigns on campus, and many reported a lack of police involvement in university workshops or initiatives.

Qualitative analysis highlighted that students affiliated with various political organizations tend to harbor negative attitudes toward the police, complicating law enforcement's response to protests. Interviews with SAPS POP members revealed that substance abuse, particularly alcohol and dagga, often plays a role in fueling violent protests among students. This finding aligns with previous research, such as Mavunga (2019), which also identified political influences on student protests.

Moreover, the study identified several problematic policing approaches, including punishment, police brutality, wrongful arrest, unfulfilled promises, lack of cooperation, and inadequate deployment of peace officers. Such heavy-handed tactics can exacerbate tensions and lead to increased aggression from students. As noted by Hardiman (2013), excessive police brutality toward nonviolent protests can radicalize students and escalate conflicts.

Overall, policing measures aimed at controlling public protests have been criticized for their arbitrary nature and abusive actions, resulting in controversy within the Police Orderly Policing (POP) framework (SAPS, 2013). These findings underscore the need for more nuanced and community-oriented approaches to address student protests effectively while respecting civil liberties and maintaining public order.

The transformation within the SAPS necessitated the rationalization of public order policing units, yet it has also brought to light a significant gap within the policy framework. This study uncovered a major challenge: by the time the police arrive at the university's main gate, protesters are already engaged in street conflicts. This observation resonates with existing literature. For instance, Naicker (2016) found that universities typically only call in the police when protests escalate beyond control.

However, relying solely on reactive measures, such as punishment, police brutality, or arrests, when situations spiral out of control, may exacerbate rather than resolve issues. An underlying issue impacting the university's operational plans and students' academic progress is the learned expectation among students that authorities will only respond to violence and confrontation (Mahali, 2018). The quantitative findings indicate that student protests, driven by various motives and intensities, can occur at any time of the year, disrupting both the university's operations and students' academic pursuits.

During interviews with members of the Police Orderly Policing (POP), it was found that officers engage protesters in negotiation upon arrival, aiming to understand both the protesters' grievances and the management's perspective. However, as highlighted by Pillay (2016), police face numerous challenges in implementing crowd management techniques effectively. Limited resources and manpower often prevent them from applying appropriate tactics aligned with their training. Consequently, they may find themselves overwhelmed and under immense pressure to escalate the use of force.

The aim of this dissertation was to investigate the relationship between bad policing and student violent protest. Through a thorough examination of the data, this research has provided insights into the research questions and identified potential strategies to minimize protests.

One approach to mitigate protests is by enhancing security systems within the campus to safeguard property and reduce violence during protests. Despite many students reporting crimes to police and participating in police-related programs, a significant portion does so without comprehensive attention to crime prevention. A notable finding is that most students at the University of Venda are unaware of crime prevention

awareness campaigns on campus, potentially contributing to the tendency for violent protests.

Given the escalating number of violent protests in South African universities and globally, this study highlights a gap in frequent community safety events. While the majority of University of Venda participants claim involvement in meetings involving policing, the persistence of violent protests suggests insufficient or ineffective policing measures to mitigate such actions. To address this, universities should engage students in decision-making processes concerning their future, rather than making decisions in isolation.

Furthermore, it became apparent through the research that the crime prevention unit is not solely responsible for crowd control and management. Student aggression may be influenced by various factors including punishment, police brutality, selective police intervention, bribery, and lack of cooperation. This dissertation aims to fill gaps in research and pave the way for further exploration in the field of policing and protest management.

7.3 Police response and students' attitude during protest

To initiate conflict resolution during protests, authorities prioritize negotiation over confrontation. Rather than immediately resorting to force, they engage protesters in dialogue to understand both their grievances and the management's perspective. However, a significant challenge arises when protesters initiate violence before police intervention, perceiving law enforcement as adversaries upon their arrival. It is only later, often after the situation escalates, that students consider negotiation, a step that could have been taken earlier to mitigate tensions.

Police involvement in student protests frequently strains relations due to a lack of understanding among students regarding police procedures, posing a significant obstacle in public engagement. While protesters seek attention by blocking roads and damaging property, such actions constitute offenses despite their intent to attract decision-makers' attention. When necessary, police must enforce the law, including making arrests, without turning a blind eye to offenses.

Additionally, officers often find that some students are not in a rational state during protests, leading to the perception that their violence may be influenced by substances like dagga. Although the Public Order Policing (POP) unit lacks a dedicated community education section, it collaborates with local stations to provide such services when required. In community meetings involving POP, they are allocated time to educate attendees on the proper procedures for peaceful marches or gatherings, emphasizing negotiation as a starting point.

Furthermore, the South African Police Service (SAPS) conducts annual skill training sessions, including physical training on Wednesdays, despite facing manpower limitations. With the population continuously growing, there's a pressing need for increased manpower within the police department, a challenge exacerbated by inadequate staffing.

There is a pressing need to enhance training protocols, advocating for more frequent training sessions rather than relying on quarterly or annual sessions. Delays in police response to incidents sometimes occur due to limitations with the type of vehicles available at the time and location. To ensure the safety of members consistently engaging with the community, it is imperative to increase the SAPS danger allowance.

In the realm of politics, some South African politicians exploit the SAPS to further their agendas, disregarding legal protocols. Such actions not only undermine the rule of law but also exploit innocent individuals for political gain. Regrettably, politicians who flout the law often evade accountability, sending a detrimental message to the community. It is essential for politicians to lead by example, fostering respect from their followers.

Before the year 2000, there was a prevailing culture of respect for the law ("Restoration of respect for the law"), with individuals viewing the police as enforcers even in their absence. However, contemporary attitudes reflect a readiness to confront law enforcement, underscoring the importance of fostering mutual respect among South Africans to uphold legal standards.

7.4 Nature and patterns of violent protests at Univen

The research findings highlighted that all protesters involved in the study fell within the age range of 18-35 years. Using statistical parameters, 99% of participants were aged between 18-35, with the remaining 1% falling within the 36-45 age bracket. Demographically, all students were South African, with a gender distribution of 65% male and 35% female. Among these, 99% were of Black ethnicity, representing various linguistic backgrounds including 20% Sepedi, 22% Xitsonga, 56% Tshivenda, and 2% other languages such as IsiXhosa, IsiZulu, SiSwati, and Guraj. Additionally, 97% of participants were single, and 88% possessed only a matric certificate.

In terms of behavioral tendencies, the literature suggests that males are more commonly involved in public violence compared to females, a trend supported by the findings of this study. The sample exhibited a similar demographic composition, with a

notable proportion of male participants voluntarily engaging in the research. Interestingly, many students within the sample displayed specific attitudes towards police involvement during protest actions. Moving forward, an important avenue for further investigation would be to explore the relationship between students' attitudes towards police response and their engagement in violent protests. Conducting interviews with suspended and injured students could shed light on the motivations behind their attitudes and behaviors, offering valuable insights for future research endeavors.

7.5 Question of whether there is any significant relationship between bad policing and student violent protest

Indeed, student protests persistently pose challenges for the South African Police Service (SAPS), university operational plans, and students' academic pursuits. The primary obstacle in addressing student protests is that students are primarily focused on their studies to secure their futures. However, many of the actions they undertake during protests, such as vandalism, road blockages, and property damage, contravene the law. A key challenge for the SAPS is to navigate these manifestations while adhering to the principles of community-oriented policing and the Bill of Rights.

According to interviews conducted with SAPS Public Order Policing (POP) members, there has been a noticeable shift in societal attitudes toward law enforcement since before the year 2000. Previously, people generally respected the law and regarded the police as enforcers, even in their absence. However, contemporary attitudes reflect a more defiant stance, with individuals adopting a fearless attitude towards law enforcement. This shift poses significant challenges for managing protests effectively.

Despite efforts to increase awareness of non-violent protest methods, the persistent occurrence of student violent protests suggests that mere awareness of crime reduction strategies may not suffice. What is crucial is the actual implementation and positive outcomes of such awareness efforts. This necessitates a thorough evaluation of the efficacy of public order policing, especially concerning its application and response within the framework of constitutional rights.

The prevalence of violent protests at Univen underscores the need for proactive measures to support peaceful demonstrations. This dissertation aims to identify the root causes of student violent protests at the university. Additionally, enhancing public confidence in the SAPS requires proactive measures. Addressing these challenges entails striking a delicate balance between respecting citizens' rights to protest and the police's responsibility to maintain peace and order. Unfortunately, there is limited research available on mitigating violent protests, especially in cases where South African politicians exploit the SAPS for their political agendas, further eroding community trust. Resolving violent protests requires addressing underlying issues, including student dissatisfaction with existing approaches such as punishment, police brutality, and inadequate management cooperation. In this research, the following hypotheses have been tested:

H₁: There is a significant relationship between police response attitude and student violent protest.

H₂: There is a significant relationship between bad policing and student violent protest.

H₃: Students show attitude towards police intervention during protest at the University of Venda.

H4: Student violent protest impacts the university's operational plans and students' academic progress.

7.6 Description of students' protests and the strategies that can be adopted to mitigate violent protest among Univen students

Police intervention during student protests often leads to strained relationships with students due to a lack of understanding of police procedures, representing a significant challenge in public interaction. While both literature and real-world observations confirm the inadequacy of existing police measures in mitigating violent protests, this study aims to identify weaknesses in the current relationship between policing practices and student unrest. Enhancing police capacity through increased manpower, improved resources such as advanced vehicles, and more frequent training sessions is considered a powerful strategy. Combined with regular community education emphasizing the value of peaceful protest, these measures could proactively support law enforcement efforts before and after protests, provided citizens' legal rights to protest are respected.

The utilization of forensic tools can aid deployment strategies and planned operations to combat crime effectively. Establishing a positive relationship between students and police was a key finding discussed in Chapter 6 of this dissertation. Predicting protest routes, hotspots, and common times is crucial for formulating future national strategies based on reliable data, enabling informed and effective responses.

Allowing police to predict the movement patterns of violent protests enables them to intervene promptly to prevent violence. Analysing protest patterns may help identify behavioral trends and formulate hypotheses about the planning behind such actions.

Further exploration of the link between policing methods and student protests can clarify the impact of "bad policing" on inciting violence, aiding in the formulation of strategies to promote peace and trust among stakeholders. This collaborative endeavor has the potential to foster peaceful protests at both local and global levels.

7.7 Conclusion

This chapter presents the conclusions drawn from this thesis. It begins with an overview of the research problem, followed by the findings pertaining to the research objectives, and concludes with recommendations for future studies and strategies. Throughout this dissertation, a central theme underscores the relationship between poor policing and violent student protests. The fusion of peaceful protest principles with insightful analysis could potentially pave the way for success, offering a comprehensive framework for guidance and recommendations. This dissertation represents a pivotal step in identifying and addressing the systemic issues within the South African Police Service (SAPS), blending intelligence analysis processes and criminological research methods to highlight the significance of analyzing peaceful protests. The inspiration behind this study stems from the recognition that the right to protest is a fundamental means for individuals to voice their concerns and hold those in power accountable, as enshrined in Section 17 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996). Despite the constitutional protection of peaceful protests, students in South Africa often resort to violence during demonstrations, risking arrest, injury, or even death. Establishing a clear connection between poor policing practices and violent student protests is not only crucial for facilitating peaceful demonstrations but also for safeguarding lives and careers. This study underscores the importance of peaceful protest as a legitimate tool

for expressing grievances, aligning with the principles outlined in Section 17 of the Constitution. While previous studies have predominantly focused on violent protests, this dissertation bridges the gap by exploring the relationship between poor policing and violent protests—a research topic that has been largely overlooked in criminological literature. Drawing from empirical evidence and criminological theories, it is evident that students, like other citizens engaged in protests, learn behavioral patterns from their surroundings, including other universities and corrupt police officers. Analysis of protest movement patterns reveals distinct trends, with peaks occurring between July and October, coinciding with critical academic periods. Future research endeavors should delve deeper into the study of poor policing and its impact on violent protests, exploring related misconducts and considerations such as protests under the influence of substances. By developing new criminological theories and standardizing crime prevention approaches, scholars can contribute to the advancement of knowledge in this field, ultimately fostering safer and more just societies.

7.8 Policy Recommendations

The following recommendations are formulated based on an analysis of the relationship between bad policing and student violent protests. Poor policing is herein defined as the utilization of illegal methods by police officers, such as aggression, physical violence (including beatings, strangulation, suffocation, and slapping), and coercion, often stemming from pressure to meet performance targets. Upon comprehensive analysis, the following strategies are proposed to mitigate violent protests in future research:

- Implement comprehensive training programs for police officers focused on de-escalation techniques, conflict resolution, and human rights awareness to minimize the use of excessive force during protests.
- Foster stronger ties between law enforcement agencies and communities through proactive engagement and education initiatives. Promote negotiation and mutual understanding to prevent misunderstandings that may escalate into violence.
- Establish robust mechanisms for accountability within law enforcement agencies to address instances of police misconduct swiftly and transparently. Encourage officers to adhere to professional standards and ethical conduct.
- Equip law enforcement agencies with advanced technologies, such as body cameras and non-lethal crowd control tools, to improve transparency, accountability, and effectiveness in managing protests.
- Foster partnerships between law enforcement agencies, academic institutions, civil society organizations, and community leaders to develop innovative approaches for preventing and managing protests peacefully.
- Advocate for legislative and policy reforms that prioritize the protection of civil liberties and the right to peaceful assembly. Ensure that laws and policies governing protests are fair, clear, and consistently applied.
- Establish specialized crisis intervention teams within law enforcement agencies trained to respond to protests with sensitivity and empathy, focusing on de-escalation and minimizing harm.

- Utilize data analytics and predictive modeling to anticipate protest dynamics, identify potential flashpoints, and deploy resources effectively to prevent violence.
- Provide cultural sensitivity training to police officers to better understand and respect the diverse backgrounds and perspectives of protest participants, thereby reducing tensions and potential conflicts.
- Implement regular evaluations of protest management strategies, seeking feedback from all stakeholders involved, and continuously adapt and improve approaches based on lessons learned.

By implementing these recommendations, stakeholders can work collaboratively to address the underlying factors contributing to violent protests and promote peaceful paths for expressing disputes, ultimately fostering a safer and more just society for all.

One of the pivotal findings of this study is the contrary interests among students, police officers, and university administrations during protests. In the absence of a neutral mediator, tensions often escalate, with police resorting to force and students turning to violence. Despite increased government investment in universities, the relationships between management, law enforcement, and students remain strained.

A proactive approach involves deploying a knowledgeable, empathetic, and adaptable mediator to facilitate negotiation between police, students, and university administrations in resolving contentious protest matters. This mediator should foster understanding, address grievances, and promote peaceful resolution to prevent escalations of violence and ensure the protection of constitutional rights.

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ANNEXURE A

ETHICAL CLEARANCE

ETHICAL APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

RESEARCH AND INNOVATION
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

NAME OF RESEARCHER/INVESTIGATOR:
Mr GC Nemurangoni

STUDENT NO:
11552816

PROJECT TITLE: Criminological Inquiry into Poor Policing and Student Violent Protest: Insight from the University of Venda

ETHICAL CLEARANCE NO: **FMCL/23/CRM/07/1906**

SUPERVISORS/ CO-RESEARCHERS/ CO-INVESTIGATORS

NAME	INSTITUTION & DEPARTMENT	ROLE
Dr SA Olofinbiji	UNIVEN, Criminal Justice	Supervisor
Mr GC Nemurangoni	UNIVEN, Public Law	Investigator - Student

Type: **master's research**
Risk: **Straightforward research without ethical problems (category 1)**
Approval Period: **June 2023 – June 2024**

The Research Ethics Social Sciences Committee (RESSC) hereby approves your project as indicated above.

General Conditions

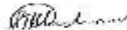
While this ethics approval is subject to all declarations, undertakings, and agreements incorporated and signed in the application form, please note the following:

- The project leader (principal investigator) must report in the prescribed format to the REC:
 - Annually (or as otherwise requested) on the progress of the project, and upon completion of the project.
 - Within 48 hrs in case of any adverse event (or any matter that interrupts sound ethical principles) during the course of the project.
 - Annually a number of projects may be randomly selected for an external audit.
- The approval applies strictly to the protocol as stipulated in the application form. Should any changes to the protocol be deemed necessary during the course of the project, the project leader must apply for approval of these changes at the REC. Should there be deviations from the project protocol without the necessary approval of such changes, the ethics approval is immediately and automatically forfeited.
- The date of approval indicates the first date that the project may be started. Would the project have to continue after the expiry date, a new application must be made to the REC and new approval received before or on the expiry date.
- In the interest of ethical responsibility, the REC retains the right to:
 - Request access to any information or data at any time during the course or after completion of the project.
 - To ask further questions; Seek additional information; Require further justification or monitor the conduct of your research or the informed consent process.
 - Withdraw or postpone approval if:
 - Any unethical principles or practices of the project are revealed or suspected.
 - It becomes apparent that any relevant information was withheld from the REC or that information has been false or misrepresented.
 - The required annual report and resulting of adverse events was not done timely and accurately.
 - New institutional rules, national legislation or international conventions A (if necessary)

ISSUED BY:
UNIVERSITY OF VENDA, RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
Date Considered: June 2023

Name of the RESSC Chairperson of the Committee:

Signature




ANNEXURE B

APPROVED PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE



Privaatsak Private Bag X94	Pretoria 0001	Faks No. Fax No.	(012) 432 7866
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Your reference/U verwysing:

My reference/My verwysing: 3/34/2

THE HEAD: RESEARCH
SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE
PRETORIA
0001

Enquiries/Navrae: Col (Dr) Smit
AC Ndou
Tel: (012) 432 7866
Email: Thenga3@saps.gov.za

APPROVED

GC Nemurangoni
UNIVERSITY OF VENDA

**RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE:
UNIVERSITY OF VENDA: MASTERS DEGREE: A CRIMINOLOGICAL INQUIRY INTO BAD
POLICING AND STUDENT VIOLENT PROTEST: INSIGHT FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF
VENDA: RESEARCHER: GC NEMURANGONI**

The above subject matter refers.

1. You are hereby granted approval for your research study on the above-mentioned topic in terms of National Instruction 4 of 2022.
2. Further arrangements regarding the research study may be made with the following office:

The Provincial Commissioner: Limpopo:

- **Contact Person:** Brig Mphahlele-Ngoveni
- **Contact Details:** (015) 290 6250/6097
- **Contact Person:** Col B Tau
- **Contact Details:** 015 290 6090/071 602 0396
- **Email Address:** TauBetty@saps.gov.za

3. Kindly adhere to paragraph 8 of our attached letter signed on **2023-11-16** with the same abovementioned reference number.


MAJOR GENERAL
THE HEAD: RESEARCH
DR PR VUMA

Date: 2023-12-06

ANNEXURE C
DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENT
QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire Id.:	Date of Interview:
Name of Interviewer: Gundo Nemurangoni	Signature:
Name of Supervisor: Professor S.A Olofinbiyi	Signature:
Start Time:	End Time:

SECTION A: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC DATA OF THE RESPONDENTS

NO	QUESTIONS	CODING CATEGORIES	CODE (TICK)
1	What is your age range?	18-35 36-45 46-55 56-65 66 and above	1 2 3 4 5
2	What is gender?	Male female Others, specify-----	1 2 3
3	What is your race?	African white Indian Coloured Others, specify-----	1 2 3 4 5
4	What is your home language?	Sepedi Xitsonga Tshivenda English Others, specify-----	1 2 3 4 5
5	What is your current marital status?	Single Married Divorced Separated Widowed Others, specify-----	1 2 3 4 5 6
6	What is your highest qualification?	Matric Certificate Diploma Degree Honours Masters PhD Others, specify-----	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
SECTION B: ASSESS THE LEVEL OF SAFETY AROUND THE UNIVERSITY OF VENDA			
7	Which time of the year is known for the high protest rate?	January – April April - July July - October October – January	1 2 3 4

8	Which category of crimes are often committed during protest?	Violent crime Property crime Serious organised crime Contact crime	1 2 3 4
9	Which crimes are primarily committed in your University?	Murder Attempted murder Sexual Offences (i.e. rape, sexual assault) Assault with grievous bodily harm Common assault Common robbery Robbery with aggravating circumstances Others specify-----	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
10	Do you feel safe in your University?	Yes No	1 2
11	Who do you inform about crime in your University?	Police Municipality Community safety forum Ward councilor Others, specify-----	1 2 3 4 5
SECTION C: UNIVEN STUDENTS' INVOLVEMENT IN CRIME PREVENTION			
12	Do you participate in the Integrated Development Plan process?	Yes No	1 2
13	Do you know the IDP safety section?	Yes No	1 2
14	Do you have students' safety forums in this University?	Yes No	1 2
15	Do you think they are effective in ensuring safety in this University?	Yes No	1 2
16	Are you involved in the development of Univen safety plans?	Yes No	1 2
17	Does the University involve or consult you with safety plans?	Yes No	1 2
18	Does your University involve you with Service delivery?	Yes No	1 2
19	Does your University host a crime prevention awareness campaign?	Yes No	1 2
20	Does your University host Community safety events?	Yes No	1 2
21	Does your University provide you with crime prevention information?	Yes No	1 2
22	Do you have students' meetings that involve policing in your area?	Yes No	1 2

23	Have you participated in those meetings?	Yes No	1 2
24	Do you have training/workshops/ imbizo that involve the police in your area?	Yes No	1 2
25	Have you participated in those training/workshops/ imbizo?	Yes No	1 2
26	Does the University involve you in any way? Specify	Yes, Specify..... No	1 2
27	Have you attended the workshop or community meetings with the following?	SAPS Univen safety officials Others specify---	1 2 3
28	What are the challenges faced when collaborating with the SAPS crime prevention members?	Cooperation Consultation Lack of trust Lack of incentives Political instability Lack of coordination Others specify-----	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
SECTION D: UNIVERSITY BY-LAWS, SOCIAL CRIME PREVENTION AND CRIME PREVENTION THROUGH ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN			
29	Which University bylaws are more prevalent in your area?	Illegal dumping Vehicle parking and stopping regulations Alcohol and substance abuse Unoccupied buildings Noise Others specify-----	1 2 3 4 5 6
30	How does your University deal with those inflicting the law?	Fine Nothing Unsure Other, specify-----	1 2 3 4
31	How does the University reduce violent protests?	Awareness programme Others specify-----	1 2
32	Does the University have poverty relief projects?	Yes No	1 2

33	How does the University provide poverty alleviation projects?	Food parcels Community gardens Support of SMMEs Others specify-----	1 2 3 4
34	Does the University provide educational programs?	Yes No	1 2
35	How does the University provide educational opportunities?	Bursaries Learnership Apprentices Others specify-----	1 2 3 4
36	How does your University promote social cohesion?	Social events Traditional dance Sports tournaments Arts and talent exhibitions Others specify-----	1 2 3 4 5
37	Do you have Alcohol and substance abuse programs?	Yes No If yes, specify-----	1 2 3
38	Is the University involved in monitoring places where alcohol is sold?	Yes No	1 2
39	Do you have sports facilities?	Yes No	1 2
40	Which sports facilities do you have?	Soccer fields Stadium Athletic field Netball Others specify-----	1 2 3 4 5
41	Do you have Recreational facilities in your University?	Yes No	1 2
42	Which recreational facilities do you have?	Park Panic areas Swimming pools Hiking trail Recreational centre Others specify-----	1 2 3 4 5 6
43	How is the University involved in crime prevention or reduction?	Reduced vacant land or open space Public areas are well maintained (Parks, sports fields) Safe pedestrian routes Safe trading centres CCTV Maintain lighting Others specify-----	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
44	Do you have crime hot spots in your University?	Yes No	1 2
45	Which place is a crime hotspot in your University?	Specify-----	1

46	What measures are taken by safety officers of the University to reduce crime hotspots?	CCTV	1
		Clearing bushes	2
		Increased lighting	3
		Proper roads and bridges	4
		Police visibility	5
		Reducing vacant land	6
		Reduction of an unoccupied building	7
		Others specify-----	8
SECTION E: VICTIM SUPPORT			
45	Does the University assist victims of crime?	Yes	1
		No	2
46	How does the University help victims of crime?	Not assisting	1
		Counselling	2
		Victim empowerment	3
		Information	4
		Court process	5
		Others specify-----	6

Thank you for your cooperation and time!

ANNEXURE D

INTERVIEW GUIDE

DEPARTMENT OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

SCHOOL OF LAW, UNIVERSITY OF VENDA

TOPIC:

A Criminological Inquiry into Bad Policing and Student Violent Protest: Insight from the University of Venda

DEPARTMENT OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

SCHOOL OF LAW, UNIVERSITY OF VENDA

TOPIC: A Criminological Inquiry into Bad Policing and Student Violent Protest: Insight
from the University of Venda

SECTION A

Date of Interview-----

Start Time-----

End Time-----

Name of Interviewer-----

Language of Interview -----

SECTION B: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC DATA OF THE RESPONDENTS

This section is for statistical purposes and directed to all participants from SAPS.

1. What is your age	
2. What is your gender	
3. What is your race	
4. Highest educational qualification	
5. What is your position/rank	
6. How many years of service	

SECTION C (FOR SAPS CRIME PREVENTION OFFICERS)

This section assesses the extent to which SAPS ensures safety, the effectiveness of the crime prevention strategies and their compliance with crime prevention standards.

7. What challenges do you experience when dealing with students protest?

8. How does your unit get involved in student protest issues to ensure safety within the campus? (What exactly is the SAPS doing to manage protests, and which crime prevention strategies are used)?

9. What are crime reporting channels to be followed by public as per the safety plan?

10. What measures do you take after protest has been reported? How do you ensure that you are in any way doing the right thing?

11. Do you have 5 years plan with regard to community safety?

- If your answer to question 11 is yes, please briefly outline what this plan involves.

12. How is your relationship with the following, and how do you involve them in crime prevention activities?

- Students
- Community

13. How do you educate the public on protest and safety issues?

14. Do you partner with other stakeholders besides students and community members? If any, who are they, and how do they assist in carrying out the protest mandate?

15. Which programs or activities have you initiated and actively participated for crime awareness amongst the students?

16. How do you sustain or fund these activities? Are there any sponsors within and outside the government to fund your programs?

17. Does SAPS offer any help or assistance to victims of violent protest?

- Judicial process, Emotional needs (counseling, etc.), Physical needs
- Any other assistance

17.1. How do you empower victims of violent protest?

17.2. Any organization or centres that support victims of violent protest in this area?

18. What are the challenges encountered when executing protest duties?

- Do you have enough resources (time, budget, capacity or staff) to carry out crime prevention initiatives?
- Do you feel adequately skilled to engage with protest issues?
- Do you have a coordinator for violent protest prevention initiatives?
- Which policies do you refer to that guide you with violent protest prevention?
- Do you attend crime prevention training? How often?
- Do you think you are well equipped to prevent violent protest in your jurisdiction? If not, what should be done?

This section assesses the White Paper on Safety and Security 1998 on three areas of intervention for crime prevention unit

A. Crime Prevention through Social Development

19. How do you tackle violent protests through social crime prevention?

20. What area would you like to be amended/ improved about your unit?

B. Crime Prevention through Environmental Design

21. Which areas are hotspots for violent protest in your area? What measures do you take to reduce violent protest in those areas?

22. How do you ensure that public spaces are well maintained and do not become hotspot areas?

23. Do you apply crime prevention principles when designing new settlements and residential areas?

C. Law Enforcement

24. Does your unit assist in preventing violent protest? Highlight some of these statutes.

25. What are the actions taken against those who infringe the law?

26. How does your unit enforce the law during protest?

SECTION D (SAPS CRIME PREVENTION UNIT AND THE UNIVEN STUDENTS)

27. What is your relationship with the University of Venda?

28. How do you support the University in protest issues?
29. How do you involve the University when you are dealing with student protests? Do you collaborate with students, or do you focus on your activities?
30. Which crimes are reported the most during protest actions?
31. Which areas of the University are crime hotspots, and what measures do you take to reduce crimes in those hotspots?
32. Do you have workshops that you attend with the Univen safety officials?

SECTION E (THOHOYANDOU PRECINCT CIVILIAN OVERSIGHT FOR POLICE)

Section E assesses the relationship between police involvement during protest.

33. What is your relationship with the students during protest?
34. Does your unit submit safety plans to students? If No, what are the reasons?
35. What are the challenges reported by the students concerning their safety?
36. How do you support the University in terms of assisting victims of crime?
37. Any organized skills training for POP officials/ how often do you have skills training?
38. What other related issues not mentioned would you like to address?

THANK YOU!

ANNEXURE E

EDITOR'S LETTER



ZEE EDITING AND PROOFREADING SERVICES
PO BOX 663 THOLONGWE 0734
LANGUAGE MATTERS

19 March 2024

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to certify that the thesis titled "**A Criminological Inquiry into Bad Policing and Student Violent Protest: Insight from the University of Venda**" by Gundo Chadley Nemurangoni has been edited and proofread for grammar, spelling, punctuation, overall style and logical flow. The edits were carried out using the "Track changes" feature in MS Word, giving the author final control over whether to accept or reject effected changes prior to submission, provided the changes I recommended are effected to the text, the language is of an acceptable standard.

Please don't hesitate to contact me for any enquiry.

Kind regards



Dr. Hlavis Motlhaka (BEDSPF-UL, BA Hons-UL, MA-IUP: USA, PhD-WITS, PGDIP-SUN)

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