UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

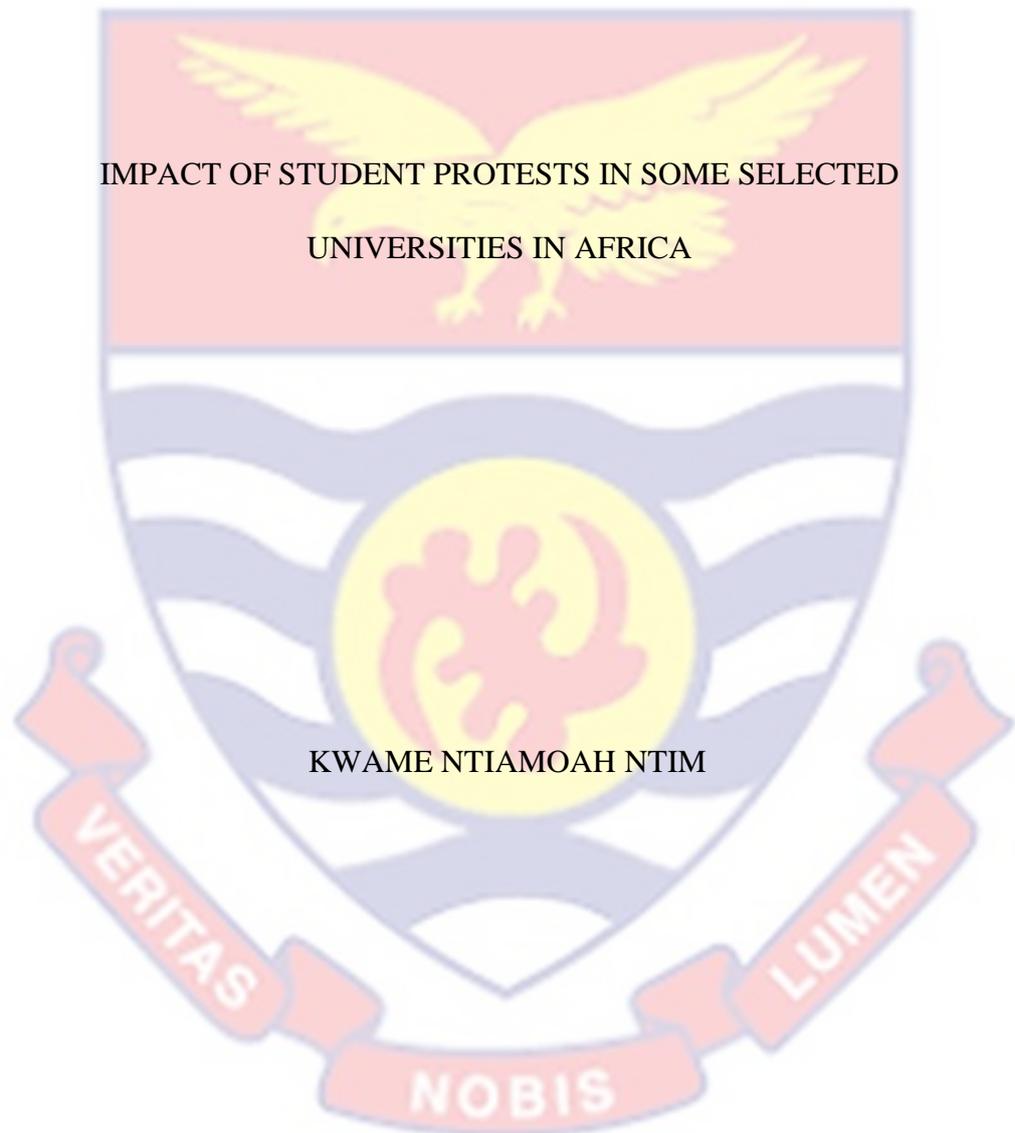IMPACT OF STUDENT PROTESTS IN SOME SELECTED

UNIVERSITIES IN AFRICA

KWAME NTIAMOAH NTIM

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UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

IMPACT OF STUDENT PROTESTS IN SOME SELECTED

UNIVERSITIES IN AFRICA

BY

KWAME NTIAMOAH NTIM

Thesis submitted to the Centre for African and International Studies of the

Faculty of Arts, College of Humanities and Legal Studies, University of Cape

Coast, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master of

Philosophy degree in International Studies

JULY 2021

DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

 I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original research and

that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or

elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature …………………….……… Date …………………..

Name: …………………………………………………………………..

Supervisor's Declaration

 I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were

supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid

down by the University of Cape Coast.

Supervisor's Signature …………………….….   Date …………………….

Name: …… Dr ANTONY TALBUR………………………………………

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ABSTRACT

Previous studies have revealed that there has been a worldwide increase in the number of student protest activities such as petitions, demonstrations, riots, and boycotts. However, it appears studies on student protests in Africa have not paid specific attention to the effect that student protests have on the academic and administrative policies of universities. As such, this study sought to investigate the impact of student protests on both the academic and administrative policies in some selected universities in Africa. To achieve this, the study adopted the qualitative approach and specifically the multiple case study approach to select some universities in Africa. The primary data included interviews with former student leaders and Dean of Students as well as newspaper reports of student reports. The analysis of the data revealed that a primary cause of student protests is the undermining of student involvement in the decision-making process by university management. Others include the excessive increase in tuition fees and student maltreatment by the security personnel. Student protests were found to have a substantial effect on administrative policies resulting in changes in policies in universities like KNUST and U.E.W., where there were reforms in the security apparatus. In South Africa, the effect was even more significant as the campaign attained a national character and resulted in changes in country-wide educational policies like zero increase in tuition fees. On academic policies, it was revealed that student protests mostly distort the academic calendar, which presents enormous challenges to academic delivery. The study recommends that student protests can be minimised if university management effectively involves students in the decision-making process and dialogue with students when tensions brew in the student body.

KEYWORDS

Academic

Administrative

Policies

Student Protest

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the Almighty God, to my lovely wife, Mrs. Mavis

Ntiamoah Ntim, to my adorable daughter, Gabrielle Addai Ntiamoah Ntim and

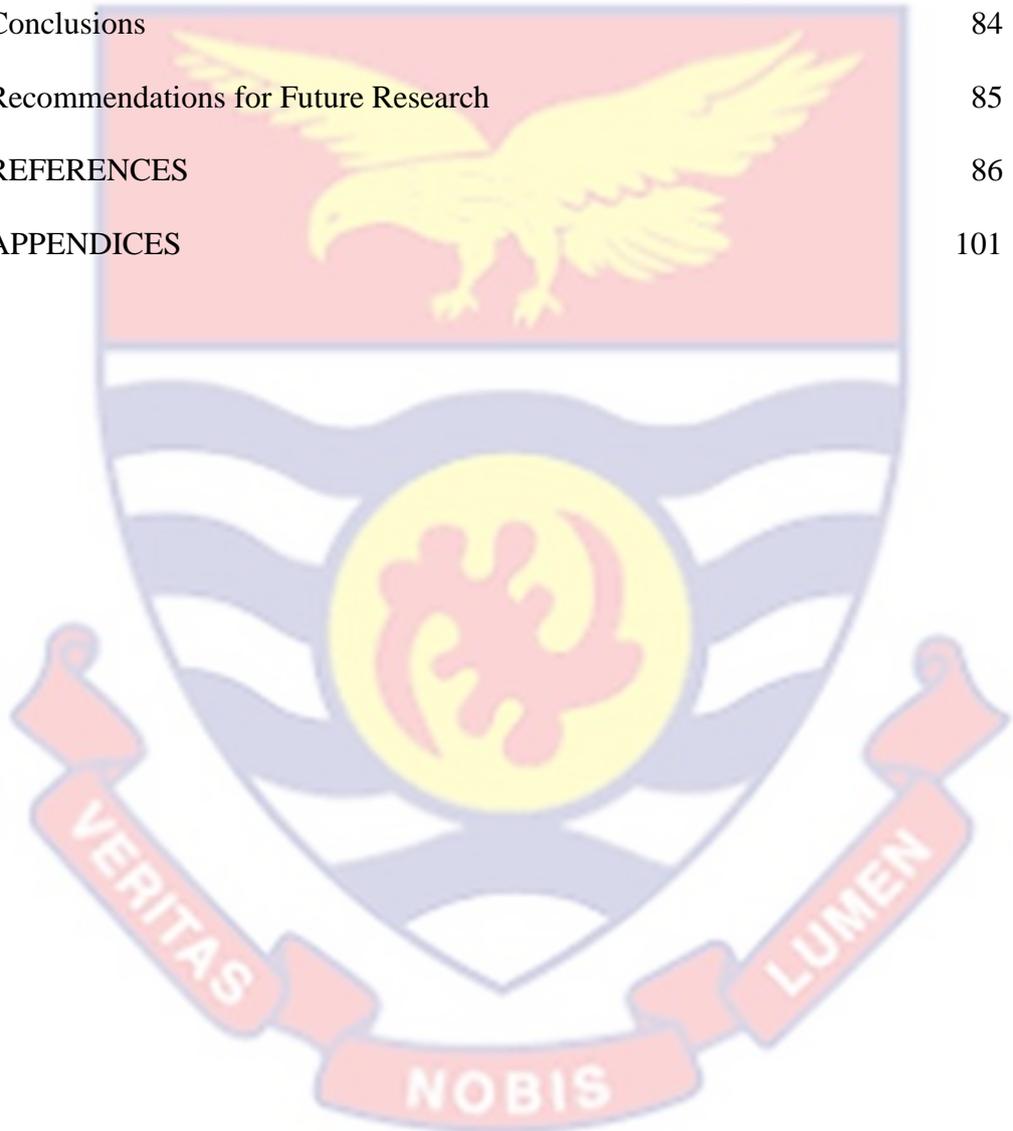to my parents, Dr. Edward Kofi Ntim and Mrs. Adwoa Addai Ntim.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

KNUST   –   Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology

UCC   –   University of Cape Coast

UEW   –   University of Education, Winneba

UNILAG   –   University of Lagos

UNISA   –   University of South Africa

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Student protests have become a prominent feature of universities in African countries like Ghana, Uganda, Kenya, South Africa and others. Whiles several studies have been dedicated to analysing the effects of student protests, a few have specifically focused on the implications of student protests on the academic and administrative policies of the universities. As such, this work seeks to investigate the causes and impacts of student protests on both the academic and administrative policies in some selected universities in Africa.

Background to the Study

Student protests are frequent and common in many higher education institutions in all political systems. Indeed, both democratic and autocratic political systems have witnessed students' agitations on public university campuses. Consequently, student protests are an integral part of the nation-building process in all political systems. This study investigates the impact of student protests in four higher education institutions, namely the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST), University of Education Winneba (UEW), University of Lagos (UNILAG) and University of South Africa (UNISA). Taylor and Van-Dyke (2004, p.268) as "sites of contestation in which bodies, symbols, identities, practices, and discourses are used to pursue or prevent changes in institutionalised power relations". Student protests can therefore be described as a form of political expression by students that seek to bring about social or political change by influencing the knowledge, attitudes, and behaviours of the public or policies of an organisation or institution. These imply that protest events are not empty

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activities in which students engage. Rather, they are tools used to pursue certain academic and social goals.

Many African states experienced student protests which have contributed to social, economic, and political reforms or transformations in these states. Altbach (1989) advances that earlier student protests were largely concerned with nationalism and students were actively involved in nationalist movements. Altbach (1989) reports that student protests peaked in the 1960s and much of the academic research and analysis on the subject dates from that period which he refers to as a "turbulent decade".

In the late colonial period, student protests were in opposition to colonialism and its policies. In post-colonial period, the institutionalization of the one-party state and quasi-military administrations curtailed civil liberties. The narrowing of public spaces in several African states resulted in students staging militant protests in universities. In Nigeria, Togo, Cote d'Iviore and Ghana, among others, students potested military administrations in the 1970s and 1980s. According to Bratton and van de Walle (1997), in January 1989, students marched out of classes at the national university in Cotonou. This action by the students would set in motion a series events that would eventually lead to the collapse of the General Mathieu Kerekou's regime and the re-introduction of multiparty politics in Benin. Students were at the forefront of the movements that demanded for the re-introduction of multiparty politics in the early 1990s. In Francophone Africa, the National Conferences that paved the way for the introduction of liberal political systems were dominated by students.

Taylor and Van-Dyke (2004) report that there has been a worldwide increase in the number of protest activities such as petitions, demonstrations, riots, and consumer boycotts as students' awareness on issues affecting them have increased.

Thus, studies on student protests show that although protests are the typical organisers of these events, sometimes, protests are championed by random leaderless social movements which have little or no connection to traditional political parties and which are dispersed once their needs are met (Carothers & Youngs, 2015). Brendas and Engles (2011) indicate that social, political, and economic grievances cause these groups to mobilise people and engage in such protest activities. This means that students usually employ protest as strategic tools in order to effect social, political, and economic changes which they consider beneficial to them.

In the words of Aluede and Aluede (1999), students' protest is caused by many factors such as welfare problems which arise in the form of lack of electricity and pipe-borne water, inadequate facilities for learning lack of proper motivation on the part of lecturers, and facilitators. These protests occur in the form of riot demonstrations, protests, boycotts, harassments, strikes, etc. The agitation of students protesting today has been identified as one of the most noticeable and persistent problems of concern in universities in countries such as Egypt, Kenya, South Africa, Nigeria, Malawi, and Ghana. As a result, there is incessant closure of schools, which adversely affects the coverage of the curriculum in a given academic session.

The factors that influence student protests in universities and their implications on academic and administrative policies should attract the attention of well-meaning Africans and managers of education. Davies (1999) asserts that between the years 1999 and 2000, not less than one hundred students' protests were recorded in the various universities in countries in Africa. By this time, the situation of students' protest in the universities had become more intolerable.

In the first instance, some students see protests as opportunities to go on a holiday in order to ease academic tension. Others also view protests as ample opportunities to escape from the tight economic situation on the campuses. Again, others see it as an avenue to settle scores and to vent their anger on those lecturers whose courses they are "carrying over". In most cases, the resultant implications of students' protests are usually drastic. In the process, innocent lives are lost, properties worth millions of cedis are destroyed and a well-planned academic calendar usually is sadly and untimely interrupted.

With the rampant occurrences of student protests in Africa and across the world as highlighted earlier, it is important to engage in academic discourse on the subject. Earlier studies have analysed the causes and effects of student protests in some specific countries and this study intends to engage in an examination of the implications of student protest in some universities in Africa.

Statement of the Problem

Student protest protests and violence, as well as incessant closure of schools for months in the wake of unrest or protest, have become a regular

feature of Africa universities especially in countries like South Africa, Nigeria, Kenya, Tanzania and Ghana among others (Badat, 2006; Oxlund, 2016; Onivehu; 2021). Earlier studies identified cases of student protest in Ghana as far back as the 1970s during Acheampong's era. Okugito (1991) argued that between the 1980s and 1990s, students agitated in pamphlets and public lectures on political reform in Ghana. Incidences of student protests from 1970 until the present were essentially due to students' dissatisfaction with school leaders' insensitivity to issues, and their inability to address them appropriately. Since these events, students have used several opportunities to express their grievances."

Badat (2006) focused on explaining the student protests in Africa focusing particularly on the triggers of the protest. Badat cautioned scholars studying the 2015-2016 student protests against making spectacular claims about their meaning, as well as fanciful predictions about their future trajectory and significance. Oxlund (2016) on the other hand, examined how social media was used by the students in South Africa to protest against tuition fees and demand for decolonisation of the educational system. In a similar study, Luescher, Loader and Mugume, (2017) examined how internet enabled the student protest specifically in the Free State in South Africa. Bosch argued in similar lines, contending that despite the digital divide in South Africa, and limited access to the internet by the majority of citizens, Twitter was central to the student protests. These few studies highlight the trend of research on student protest in South Africa as focused on the causes and the influence of social media in the protest.

Studies such as that of Onivehu (2021) and Viatonu, Asikhia, Fabinu, and Ademola (2018) investigated the occurrence, consequences and control of students' unrest in Nigeria. Viatonu et.al. (2018) limited their studies to the tertiary institutions in Lagos State. In his studies, Fomunyam's (2017) argued that the culture of violence exhibited by students and their advocates is an inherited ideological trait from the colonial period that is gradually manifesting itself among students. Thus, studies on student protests in Africa have largely focused on the triggers, trends, consequences as well as the linkage of current student protest to the waves of protests towards the decolonization of Africa. Recently, in Ghana, there have been two major protests in Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) and University of Education, Winneba (UEW). Most importantly, these student protests that occurred in Ghana, KNUST (2018) and UEW (2019), have not been subjected to academic investigation by scholars.

Whiles some of the studies discussed above make mention of the effect of student protests, they did not specifically focus on illuminating the impact that student protests have on the administrative and academic policies of the universities. In the so- called democratic age, student protests in universities have not wane, but the factors that trigger students protest are parochial in nature and largely student centered. However, the nature of student protests in African universities and their impact on administrative and academic policies have not been sufficiently researched in the academic literature. As a result, this study seeks to engage in a comparative analysis of the impact of student protest on academic and administrative policies of selected universities in Africa.

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Research Objectives

The main purpose of the study is to examine the impact of student protests on the academic and administrative policies of four African Universities. The specific objectives of the study are to:

1. explore factors that influence students' protest in some African universities.

2. discuss the implications of students' protest on the academic and administrative policies in some African universities."

3. examine what measures can be put in place to minimise the occurrence of students' protests in some African universities.

Research Questions

Based on the objectives of the study, the following research questions will be addressed:"

1. What factors influence student protests in some African universities?

2. What are the implications of students' protest on the academic and administrative policies in some African universities?

3. What measures can be put in place to minimise the occurrence of students' protests in some African universities?

Significance of the Study

The study examines the implications of students protest on administrative and academic policies in four African universities. The study is significant to university authorities seeking to make changes in policies or reform in relation to the causes for student protests. Therefore, the results of the study could help the authorities to put mechanisms in place to reduce the occurrence of student protests.

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Furthermore, the study adds to the available literature on the variables being studied. In other words, the findings of this study may serve as related literature to future researchers investigating issues concerning students' protests.

Organisation of the Study

Chapter one introduces the topic of the research and explains the rationale for the study. It is based on the general background of the study, problem statement, purpose of the study and specific objectives, significance of the study, limitations of the study, and description of chapters. Chapter two consists of the review of the literature relevant to the study. The section will include theoretical, conceptual and empirical review. The empirical review will be divided into sub-headings that reflect the research questions. Chapter three presents into detail the research method of the study. It describes the philosophical bedrocks of the study, research design, population, sample size and sampling technique, sources of data, data collection instruments, method of data analysis, and presentation. Chapters four presents data analysis and results of the study while chapter five presents the summary, conclusion, and recommendations of the field of study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The chapter reviews relevant and related literature pertaining to the issue of student protests. The chapter is divided into three sections which are the theoretical framework, conceptual review, and empirical review. The theoretical framework consisted of two major theories, the Frustration Aggression theory and the New Social Movement theory. The theories are expounded to highlight and explain the eventual emanation of student protests, particularly in Africa. The concepts reviewed comprised of Student Protest and University Education. Lastly, the empirical section of this work reviewed other studies that are related to the objectives of the study.

Theoretical Framework

This section discusses the theories that have been used to guide the research, especially as it relates the impact of student protests on both the academic and administrative policies in some selected Universities in Africa. The two main theories considered are the frustration aggression theory and the new social movement theory.

The frustration aggression theory was developed by Dollard, Miller, Doob, Mowrer and Sears in 1939 to explain how people will react when they are frustrated. The main thesis of the theory is that "the occurrence of aggressive behaviour is a manifestation of existence of frustration and, inversely, that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression" (Dollard et al., 1939:1). They defined frustration as "an interference with the occurrence of an instigated goal-response at its proper

time in the behaviour sequence" (Dollard et al., 1939, p. 7). On the other hand, they defined aggression as actions taken by a person with the intent of harming or damaging the person who is the target of the aggression. It is important to note that aggression or violent behaviour may be directed towards thing(s) or individual(s) responsible for the frustration or who may have nothing to do with it. Generally, protests often erupt or are organised to air displeasure or frustration of some events in the society, institution or organisation. Gusfield (1971) argues that certain characteristics of student life encourage unpredictable collective action more than the case for other groups in society. His point is that university students live closer to one another, whether in their Halls of residents or in other private accommodation facilities. These factors facilitate easy communication and cooperation among the students. That is frustration or displeasure of an issue is easily spread, therefore organization of students to protest in response to a perceived frustration(s) can be easily done or even emerge spontaneously.

Furthermore, Aluede (2001) provides a picture of what triggers the unrest of the students in Nigerian universities along this line. According to Aluede, the self is extremely vulnerable frustrations of life obstacles and threats in the environment may cause an individual's frustration. Whether these obstacles are in the form of persons or objects, the individual responds explicitly to some external figures in other to avoid them and reduce the fear of feeling guilty. In other situations, the individual may not be capable enough or it may not be convenient for him/her to express his/her aggressive behaviour satisfactorily against the source of this frustration. The student has these beliefs throughout the life on the campus. Since the activists are

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particularly involved. They are sensitive to these issues; they are less likely to accept dissolution and to take on board (Aluede, 2001).

Student protests may be highly confrontational, aggressive, and even violent, whether on or outside campus (Luescher, 2005). However, aggressions from violent protests are often displaced to include other people who had nothing to do with the frustration. For example, #BlackLivesMatter and the #EndSARS protests in the Unites States and Nigeria respectively have resulted in protracted violence, looting and destruction of properties of innocent civilians. However, Breuer & Elson (2017) argue that aggressive responses to frustration does not always prevent the aggressor from achieving his objectives. The objective may be to overcome or overpower the frustration. This means that, violence responses to frustration can achieve some positive results. Thus, despite the violent nature of the protests, they sometimes result in reforms or positive changes in the organisation or societies. Hanink and Dunbar (2022) confirm that there has been a general support for police reforms across the United States in the aftermath of the #BlackLivesMatter protest.

However, Berkowitz (1989) critiqued the theory for its failure to consider the emotion of individual(s) experiencing the frustration. Crawford (2015) added that Dollard et al. failed to consider the mechanism that acts as a buffer between a frustration and aggressive behaviour. This is because, the emotional reaction to the frustrating situation is crucial to the frustration-aggression relationship (Fox and Spector, 1999). That is, it is possible that the same level of frustration that may cause someone to be aggressive, may not make the other aggressive because of a stronger emotional response. While

this argument is valid, it may not always apply. This is because of a possible influence from other members of the group. For example, someone who may initially be unwilling to protest can later join the protest and engage in aggressive behaviour due to influence from other members of the group. Berkowitz (1989) further argues that the frustration aggression theory fails to consider the arousal of negative emotion before aggressive behaviour. His point is that frustration may first lead to negative emotion before resulting in aggressive behaviour. Again, this criticism does not challenge the fact that frustration leads to aggression. It only points to the fact that frustration is processed through some brain activities before resulting in aggression. The theory will help in analysing and understanding factors that triggered the student protesters to engage in violence behaviour.

Beside protests that erupt spontaneously in response to existing frustrations, people also organise themselves into recognised social movements to overcome existing frustrations. Melucci (1989) developed the new social movement theory in the 1970s to explain the proliferation of post-industrial, quality-of-life movements that are difficult to analyse using the resource mobilisation. The new social movement theory posits that contemporary social movements are now basically about structure, welfare, ideological and goal differences (Pichardo, 1997). As a result, the traditional social movement theory such as the resource mobilisation, which focuses on how resources such as individuals and materials are mobilised to achieve the goals of the movement cannot appropriately be used to explain these new developments (Opp, 2009). While the resource mobilisation focusses on how different classes of people in the society mobilise resources to achieve change

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in the society, the new social movements go beyond resource mobilisation to advocacy. The new social movements advocate for the peace and disarmament, environmental protection, feminism, LGBTQ and student welfare (Bhim, 2022). Thus, Alberto Melucci's perception of new social movement theory offers the most appropriate theoretical framework for understanding contemporary social movements like protests. The new social movement questions the structure of representation of citizens in decision making and participation in governance. Onivehu (2021) indicates that welfare, political and security issues are common variables underlining students protests across the world.

Au (2017) examined the London protests of 2017 through the eyes of social movement theory with the view to articulate a social-ecological approach. Olcese and Saunders (2014) studied student protests in Britain through the lens of new social movement theory. They also stated that students' protests in the US during Vietnam, in Paris in 1968, Italy, and Germany during the 1970s played a key role in the emergence of the new social movement theory. Similarly, Guzman-Concha (2012) adopted the theory to analyse students' rebellion in Chile that happened in 2011. These applications of the theory by scholars indicate its usefulness in analysing student protests across the globe.

However, while Bhim (2022) indicates that the new social movement theory advocate for, among many other things, disarmament, feminism, LGBTQ and student activism, he points that the theory failed to take into consideration pro-life, Christian, and militia movements. Nevertheless, the new social movements have presented a significant symbolic challenge to the

state and institutional leadership, by highlighting the ways in which the relationship between leadership and citizens is necessary to depoliticise key issues to ensure better representation and governance. Bhim (2022) further indicates that innovative methods of protest adopted by women's groups and movements in many developing countries have helped to place women and their issues on the political agenda. Student protests are not unique to Europe or Africa. It is a global phenomenon.

Global Student Protest: A Historical Review

Student protest is not a new phenomenon in Africa or elsewhere in the world. Boren (2013) asserts that student resistance and protest in universities is as old as the university itself. Although complex educational systems existed in different parts of the world, including China, India, and Greece, student activism and protest can be traced to earliest higher institutions in Bologna and Paris in the 9th and 12th Century respectively (Boren, 2013). During the period, students, through collective action were able to pressure landlords and school authorities to reduce room and boarding fees, as well as demand lower pricing for books and supplies in Bologna (Boren, 2013). Subsequently, the students realised their strong bargaining power through collective action and often embarked on protests to demand better welfare and economic treatment from school authorities and members of surrounding communities (Boren, 2013). As new universities were established across Europe, student activism and protest keep expanding and their involvement in socio- political issues became more pronounced. Boren added that student associations were politically important and served as transformational forces by contributing to intellectual debates throughout the Renaissance and

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Protestant Reformation in the 16th Century. For example, students demonstrated and articulated the demand for the national unification and drafting of national constitution which played an important role in the formation of the German state (Boren, 2013). From the 18th Century in the United States of America, there were many student demonstrations in which students demanded equal freedoms and opportunities. Some examples include the Harvard University protest of 1766 christened the "Butter Revolution," the 1924-1925 Fisk University student protest, the 1964-1965 Berkeley student protest, the 1968 Columbia University demonstrations, and the" 1988 Deaf President Now (DPN) demonstration (Fomunyam, 2017).

However, Rodriguez-Amat and Jeffery (2017) indicate that the consequential event of student protest was the assassination of Prince Franz Ferdinand of Austria by student militant Gavrilo Princip, an event that triggered World War I. Subsequently, student protest saw a sharp increase across the world in early post- World War II till the 1960s. Throughout the 1960s to the mid-1980s, student protests were largely focused on geopolitical events in the world and national policies relating to race, gender or labour rather than internal university issues. This notwithstanding, there were many isolated cases where students staged protests against internal university issues. For example, Amat and Jeffery (2017) report that, in 1968, armed student protestors stormed and occupied Tokyo University and forced the university president to step down. Also, Lutz (1971) argues that students played significant role in the victory and acceptance of the Chinese Communist Party during the Chinese revolution (1945- 1949). According to them, the student activists believed that a communist victory will lead to the development of the

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Chinese society, as a result, they became the main architects of propagating anti- imperialist sentiments Across China (Lutz, 1971; Joshi, 1973; Wasserstrom & Xinyong, 1989). Student protests were not limited to ideological and political issues.

Also, African American students who belonged to the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) staged many protests across the country in the 1950s against racial discrimination and racial injustice in America (Franklin, 2003). This was even before the student-led civil rights movement was launched in 1960. Subsequently, university students, mostly blacks, played very important roles in organising black community protest movements for the civil rights protests (Franklin, 2003). Hoefferle (2012) adds that British students and their European counterparts who were outraged by the Vietnam joined their peers in America to protest and air their displeasure about the war. Also, students across Western Europe during the period protested against inadequate facilities, lack of student representation in university governance as well all exorbitant charges (Webster, 2015). Subsequent decades (1970s and 1980s) saw students in Europe and America begun to demand bigger roles in the governance of the universities. Johnston (2015) confirms that the students demanded to be included in curriculum, hiring and disciplinary committees, board of trusties, have autonomy and control over student fees and governance.

The 1990s to the mid-2000s saw more reforms in the administration and governance of universities across Europe (Rodriguez-Amat and Jeffery, 2017). Students were more involved and represented at key positions in European universities. The development of communication technology and the

birth of social media in the mid-2000s has impacted student activism and protest in Europe, America and other parts of the world. Soltysiak (2020) indicates that unlike the 1960s when students engaged solely in "gather and protest", the period from 2005 has seen them protest through various online and social media platforms. One novel thing about student protest in the age of social media is the use of online platforms to send information to protesters. Also, student protests are no longer frequent on socio- political and ideological issues, rather student welfare, representation and participation. However, this is not to say that students no longer protest against political issues. For example, in Finland, while the Finnish constitution continues to support free tuition at universities for domestic students and other students under limited conditions, a new Universities Act, which was introduced in 2010, was viewed by students as the" "thin edge of the wedge" and prompted opposition from students on many social media platforms and later conducted a protest march (Dobson, 2010). The rationale behind the impassioned protests by these students was that there was a worldwide trend in universities to impose higher tuition fees and that they sought a guarantee from political parties that they would not push for higher fees during the then parliamentary session (Dobson, 2010).

Similarly, in 2011, students in South Korea staged a protest against increase in tuition. In 2011, South Korean universities in Seoul and several other universities, were destabilised by the resurgence of the call from students to" "halve tuition fees". According to Kim (2011), students of the South Korean University had already begun campaigning in 2007 for the reduction of tuition fees, and their protest was directly targeted at President Lee Myung

Bak and other members of the ruling Grand National Party. However, the protests, which had previously been confined to the university campuses, spilled over into the streets, and these recent protests included civil society and opposition parties with 510 civic groups forming a coalition to support the students in a clear escalation of the campaign (Kim, 2011).

Furthermore, student protests in Sri Lanka in January 2012 saw the Sri Lankan Minister of Higher Education, after weeks of escalating opposition, temporarily withdraw a proposed private university bill (De Alwis, 2012). According to De Alwis (2012), the main opposition came from students who claimed that the bill's provisions had never been made fully public, although a draft was approved by the cabinet the previous year. However, one year later, the bill had still not been tabled in parliament. Nonetheless, as a result of the student protests, two universities had to be closed, with other universities joining the protest. What is significant for this study concerning these protests was the fact that students were joined by lecturers who were members of the Federation of University Teachers' Association (FUTA) (De Alwis, 2012).

Also, when the Ukraine government was seeking to mislead the public about its European integration intentions, students, quite unexpectedly, in January 2014, became the strongest drivers of what is known as 'Euromaidan', which loosely means square or a place where problems are discussed and solutions are sought for issues of significance for every member of the community (Kvit, 2014). The fact that the protesting students were not in the majority is relevant to this study, they seemed very motivated and fully convinced, and the young people in this instance expressed their desire to live in a different European Ukraine. They protested against corruption, the

ineffectiveness of the state system in general, and the education system (Kvit, 2014). However, according to Kvit (2014), the Ukrainian government, as a result of these protests, became more closely aligned with Russia.

Student Protest in Africa

Students' activism in Africa can be traced to the early missionary schools. However, Khapoya (2015) indicates the missionaries frowned upon African students' discussion and interest in political issues. As such, Babatope (1974) and Onwuejeogwu (1991) argue students' activism in Africa was born and nurtured in the womb of colonial protest. Hence student unionism the colonial era was more of a protest union rather than a student union, which was aimed at far-reaching changes in society. On the African continent, African nationalism took various forms in the fight for freedom and independence. In the early 1940s, widespread of student activism and protest arose (Fomunyam, 2017). For instance, in Nigeria, there were enormous anti-imperialist protests and activities by the West African Students' Union (WASU) and the National Union of Nigerian Students against British colonial rule (Fomunyam, 2017). Ajuluchukwu (as cited in Onwuejeogwu, 1991) also notes that the National Union of Nigerian Students (NUNS) embarked upon deliberate campaigns of fostering national consciousness and inspiring a strong sense of militancy in the Nigerian people's liberation struggle (Aluede, 1995; Babatope, 1974).

However, student protests in Africa from the 1960s are due to varying factors and reasons. For example, Nigeria experienced a series of student protests since the independence of the country (Aluede & Aluede, 1999). In April 1988, Nigerian students led series of protests organized by workers and

civil servants against increases in the price of fuel, the cancelation of housing and other allowances, and the dissolution of the Nigerian Labour Congress (Nkinyangi, 1991). In Zimbabwe, which was formerly Rhodesia, African students were a strong political force in the independence struggle of the country in the 1970s and 1980s (Nkinyangi, 1991). Also, in South Africa, students were key actors in the country's fight against racial discrimination and apartheid in the country. Steve Biko, a student leader and the first President of SASO, fiercely opposed the white minority rule and racial segregation of South Africa. He insisted that the ruling white minority could not claim to ensure democratic society and yet continue to enjoy special privileges as whites (Maimela, 2013). Nkinyangi (1991) indicates that between 1970 to 1979 and 1980- 1989, there were major student protests by students in 29 and 25 countries in sub-Saharan Africa respectively.

These periods are of particular interest because it was marked by market oriented economic reform programmes by Bretton Woods institutions across sub-Saharan Africa. Nkinyangi (1991) reports that students were dissatisfied with the economic reform programmes, particularly the structural adjustment programme, therefore formed alliance with some workers to stage series of protest against the budgetary reduction in some social welfare programmes. In Ivory Coast, who was then the second most indebted country in sub- Saharan Africa after Nigeria in 1990, the government cut students' boarding and feeding cost. This was met with furious protest and anti-government strikes from students across the country (Nkinyangi, 1991).

In the last two decades, several student protests have taken place at Nigerian universities, including Nsukka, Nigeria, Lagos, Ilorin, Ibadan, Jos, and Port Harcourt (Omonijo et al., 2014. These have culminated in the partial closing of these colleges and the death of a few graduates. Abah and Folarin (2016) add that during demonstrations against the lack of basic facilities, students at Lagos University shut down the campus on 6 and 7 April 2013. Student protesters chased students from hostels, installed barriers at university entrances, and threatened police before the Senate was forced to shut the institution to normalise the situation.

In Chad, students from the University of N'djamena went on a strike on 14 September 2011, protesting about the non-payment of grants, while simultaneously, in the Democratic Republic of Congo, angry students protested against the increase of fees and demanded the resignation of their university's management committee (University World News, 2011). However, according to University World News (2011), a significant aspect of this particular protest in the Congo was that the arrests which followed were not of students, but primarily of individuals who joined the students and committed acts of vandalism.

Reacting to this, the government of Congo deployed the military to counter the student protests. An article by O'Malley (2014) sought to highlight the violent nature of the government's effort to quell student protest, it also highlighted the persuasive nature of student dissent and how students braved the wrath of security forces when expressing their dissent. For example, in Ethiopia in June 2012, security forces reportedly stormed dormitories and arrested engineering students at Haramaya University in Oromia to break up a

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demonstration. In Sudan, when students protested, 15 of them were killed during the period 2009–2012 and 479 students were injured, mainly in protests which" had started on campus (Fomunyam, 2017).

In December 2012, students at the Omdurman Islamic University in Khartoum, Sudan, protested over tuition fees, and around 140 students were arrested, and 180 students were injured (O'Malley, 2014). What is significant for this study is the violent reaction from authorities and the sustained resistance from students, even in the face of the distinct possibility of losing their lives or at least the possibility of serious injury to themselves.

Jenvey (2016), posits that regardless of geographical distances, political agendas, and student bodies, countries in Africa faced similar challenges in respect of massification, quality, funding, leadership, and internationalisation of higher education. Furthermore, politics has the ability to play out in higher education, in varying degrees, and in certain instances, the autonomy, leadership, and management of universities was under threat of interference from government, to the extent that government, for example, wanted to approve master's and doctoral programmes despite institutions being legally entitled to develop these programmes without external approval from the government" (Jenvey, 2016).

Student Activism in Ghana

Student activism has been at the centre of political movement throughout Ghana's history, from the country's independence struggle to the Fourth Republic's democratic dispensation (Van Gyampo, 2013). This, according to Van Gyampo, explains why the major political parties in Ghana established student wings in institutions of higher learning across the country.

Student activism in Ghana can be traced to late 1950s to early 1960s when university students' activism became a significant component of the developing postcolonial political order in the newly independent Ghana (Asiedu-Acquah, 2019). However, student activism during the period was more directed towards national political issues than internal university structures. Meanwhile, Van Gyampo (2013) argues that the repressive and hostile political environment under the Dr Kwame Nkrumah during the early years of Ghana's nationhood, made student activism on and outside campuses dangerous and unattractive activity. As a result, student activism was less significant during the period.

Nevertheless, Nkrumah-led Convention People's Party (CPP) established pro- CPP student groups on university campuses, especially at the University of Ghana (Asiedu-Acquah, 2019). Finlay (1968) reports that National Union of Ghana Students condemned Nkrumah for judicial interference when he dismissed the Chief Justice after the suspects who were charged with terrorism after the Kulungugu attempt on Nkrumah's life were acquitted and discharged in 1962 (Van Gyampo, 2013; Asiedu-Acquah, 2019). Subsequently, in 1964, students of the University of Ghana staged another protest against Nkrumah's deportation of six faculty members (Finlay, 1968).

Also, there are reports of some student protests after J. B. Danquah was imprisoned by the CPP government and during the aftermath of his subsequent death in 1665 (Van Gyampo, 2013; Asiedu-Acquah, 2019). Van Gyampo (2013) further reports that there were confrontations between the CPP government and students of University of Ghana over academic freedom and other national issues. One of the contending issues that characterised

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student activism under Nkrumah is the passage of the Universities Act in (1961), which mandated the head of state to be the chancellor of the universities (Van Gyampo, 2013). This angered both students and university authorities which led to series of protest against what was described as an attempt to control the institution and restrict academic freedom. It is as a result of these factors that Van Gyampo, (2013) reports that students and university authorities celebrated the overthrow of Nkrumah and supported the newly constituted National Liberation Council (NLC) military regime.

It is important to note that student activism was not much pronounced under the NLC administration and many students were adamant about returning to a civilian rule but rather to give the NLC administration time to re-establish the political structures which they believed were malfunctioned under Nkrumah (Van Gyampo, 2013). Finlay (1968) reports that there was student- led crackdowns on pro-CPP activists on University of Ghana campus during the early days of the NLC. Just like Nkrumah and NLC regimes, student activism remained geared towards national political issues than internal university matters under Busia and Acheampong regimes. The relationships between student activist and the state during this period, can best be described as love and hate affair. While the students supported some policies and programmes introduced by the regimes, they equally opposed those that they considered unfavourable to their welfare (Van Gyampo, 2013).

It is worth noting that, there was an initial nationwide support for the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). However, as a result of the brutalities and human rights abuses by the regime, its support quickly dwindled (Van Gyampo, 2013). Under Provisional National Defence Council

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(PNDC), there were several confrontations between students and the regime. This was particularly seen in 1983 when students staged nationwide protest against budgetary cut to the education sector. Though student activism especially against the regime was an unattractive thing to do, student activists were part of those who agitated for democratic rule which led to the birth of the Fourth Republic.

One unique characteristics of student activism in the new republic is the polarisation of the student front by the main political parties in Ghana, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) (Van Gyampo, 2013). Also, unlike the previous republic, student activism in the Fourth Republic is more directed towards internal welfare and academic issues than national political issues. This may be a as a result of two possible reasons. First is the lack of a united student front resulting from politicisation of the student unions. The second is that the universities now have more power and freedom to handle most issues internally so students turn to them to address these issues within the universities than to go to the national government. As such, student protests in the new republic are often directed towards the leadership of the universities.

Conceptualizing Student Protest

Protest, whether violent on non-violent is a product of collective social action. However, the concept has no generally accepted definition (Nkinyangi, 1991). Protest is defined as "sites of contestation in which bodies, symbols, identities, practices, and discourses are used to pursue or prevent changes in institutionalised power relations" (Taylor & Van-Dyke 2004, p. 268). When a change in the actual situation of students deepens, the desire for rebellion

emerges because unfulfilled desires and dissatisfaction sets in. This problem is further compounded when a period of economic and social growth accompanied by subsidies, high living standards, unmet conditions are the causes of student protest (Agarwal, 2009). Protests are driven by varied socio-political and other factors. For example, factors that may instigate a group of aggrieved workers to protest against their employer may be different from those that will make university students to stage protests against their school authorities.

In effect, the need to operationalise the definition of student protest. Onivehu (2021) refers to student protest as the disagreement between students and other important stakeholders in the university, such as lecturers, non-academic staff, administrators, policymakers, politicians, and the host community. Though the above definition indicates the possible stakeholders that student may have disagreement with which may lead to protest, it failed to give the characteristics or forms in which student protest may take. Student protest may be peaceful or violent or chaotic. However, Nkinyangi (1991) gives a more detailed definition of the concept. Nkinyangi defines student protest as "any incidents of student revolt or unrest which constitute a serious challenge or threat to the established order or to sanctioned authority or norms" (Nkinyangi, 1991: 158). In African Universities, these occurrences may include, online protests, boycotts of lectures or classes, vandalization of school, private and public property, attacking school authorities and violent confrontation with security officials. The study adopts Nkinyangi's definition because it takes into account the changing nature student protest and activism

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in Africa. It also underscores how unresolved concerns of students can escalate into violence

Amutabi (2002), is of the view that university students are considered to be the thinkers who will take over the reins of power one day. Students also constitute the largest reservoir of technocrats in Africa's development milieu, providing highly trained workers in many sectors. They are also the vehicles of ideological dissemination and are often regarded as the representatives of the political left and sympathetic to the cause of the common worker. As such, to engage the students is to engage the common man (Amutabi, 2002).

Empirical Review

This section reviews works relating to the objectives of this study. These include the factors that influence student's protest, implications of students' protest on the administrative and academic policies (programs), and the measures to minimize the occurrence of students' protest in some African universities.

Factors that influence students' protest

Elaborating on some of the factors that influenced students' protest, Matthews, Edmonds, Wildman and Nunn, (2013) aver that violence is inherited from a parent or is acquired from contemporaneous purveyors of violent ideologies. Such violence is learnt independently of the other characteristics of an overall belief system. Lea (2013) notes that at least 100 studies have shown that genes play a role in crime and violence. Fomunyam (2017) makes it clear that students at African universities have inherited the culture of violence generated by the previous generation during the colonial era or the fight for independence. To this, Luescher-Mamashela (2011, p. 8)

posits that "violent student protests often occur where formal channels of communication and consultation are absent". These were some of the factors identified by some studies to influence students' protests. This study is conducted in a similar environment as the previous studies and will analyse the differing factors which serve as the basis for student protests.

Furthermore, Dafflon (2009) posits that is not shifts and deteriorations in socio-economic conditions that bring about disturbances, but the common individuals or community perception of worsening economic conditions. When the awareness starts to give rise to anger, mass dissatisfaction, disillusionment, etc., then the likelihood of a protest or agitation is heightened" (Dafflon, 2009).

Also, Dyke (2014), is of the view that there are several differences between the factors that facilitate cross-movement and within-movement coalition events. The availability of resources is important to within-movement coalition events but not to cross-movement coalition formation. Local threats inspire within-movement coalition events, while larger threats that affect multiple constituencies or broadly defined identities inspire cross-movement coalition formation which is associated with high levels of all forms of protest including single and cross-movement coalition events (Dyke, 2014).

In his study, Luescher (2005) indicates that students may participate in protests when the perceive that their views are not being heard or based on their negative perception about social and political issues in the school or the society. To reduce this development, Luescher (2005) suggests that students should be considered or seen major contributors rather than recipients of

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higher or universities education, and be included in the governance and decision- making process of the university. Luescher (2005) further indicates that there is evidence that representation and involvement of students in the governance of African universities is growing. While this finding may be generally true, it needs more interrogation. In the university of Cape Coast for example, two student representatives (undergraduate and post-graduate) are members of the 15- member council. This means that in a situation where the student leaders oppose a decision but the issues get approval of the majority of council members, they decision will be implemented. However, since the student leaders are representatives of the entire student body, this, to some extent will mean that the views of the students have not been taken into consideration. If the issue is sensitive to the majority of the students, implementation of the decision will be met with some hostilities or possible protest from the students.

In his study one students protest in Zambia, Onivehu (2021) notes that the University of Zambia and Copperbelt University was closed indefinitely by the Zambian government after student protests against non-payment of allowances turned violent. Students at Lesotho's Limkokwing University also launched a protest against what they called bad management and poor services; other grievances included slow internet speed and delays in disbursing their allowances" (Khama, 2010). Likewise, in Ivory Coast, students protested over a lack of housing, which resulted in the violent nature of the strike which caused the government to shut down the university for two years; 18 months after it reopened, the strike began again (MacGregor, 2014). Karmo (2016) notes that students at the University of Liberia gathered at the

entrance of the Capitol Building to protest against a proposal to increase tuition fees. In Togo, the situation was not different as the government of shut down the University of Lomé after two days of continuous student protest against the introduction of educational reforms anchored on the Bologna Process, and the constant presence of security forces on the University campus to curb student violence ˮ (MacGregor, 2011).

Bawa (2016), posits that protests began at Tshwane University in South Africa when students with outstanding debt were prevented from registering. The financial dilemma in which many students found themselves was exacerbated by the inability of the state loan and bursary agency – the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) – to meet its commitments. The protests spread to other campuses, taking different forms. Students at three universities in the south were the next to act. In East Africa, Chuka University in Tharaka-Nithi County, Kenya was closed indefinitely because of student unrest over disputed student union elections. In Burundi, the government closed all universities in April 2015 following student protests the announcement that the incumbent President, Pierre Nkurunziza, would run for a third term in the presidential elections. Between 2011 and 2015, students at the University of Djibouti took to the streets on several occasions to protest against their grades and the country's poor education system and to prevent the president from seeking a third term in office.ˮ

A study by Uyanga (2016), found that students' unrest in Nigeria is highly due to lack of social amenities on campuses, the presence of cultism, and moderately the breaking of rules and regulations by the students. On the other side, he also found that student unions were highly effective bodies in

influencing students' unrest and that periodic strike by staff creates an atmosphere for students' unrest. Similarly, earlier studies of Ekundayo and Alowye (2010), Alabi (2002), and Chinyere (2003), also found that students' unrest on campus happened as a result of drastic and obnoxious rules and regulation, non-provision of basic amenities on campus and, pervasive and unchecked high level of students' involvement in cult activities on campus. According to Adeyemi (2009), the commonest cause of students' crises in public universities was cultism and other causes given by the respondents included the failure of authority to listen to students' complaints, poor transportation network, failure to guarantee the security of lives and properties and the lack of good accommodation.

In 2018, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology in Ghana protested because of the arrest of 11 students who participated in their weekly party known as "jamborees", a gathering that the vice-chancellor had banned, claiming that the events caused "misbehaviour" and "profanity" on campus. The protest continued because students were reported to have been beaten and brutalised by the University's security personnel before being handed to the Police.

Consequently, in 2019, the University of Education, Winneba (UEW) in Ghana also staged a protest against what seems to be a "partisan take-over of the institution and cheap vindictiveness" as stated by Mr. Amoakohene Frank (Former NUGS President). Student protests claim that the central Government took a centre stage in the removal of the former Vice-Chancellor, Prof Mawutor Avoke to replace him with "one of their own" Rev. Afful-Broni. The students, as well as some of the lecturers of the campus,

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demonstrated against what they called unjustifiable dismissal of some lecturers supervising project works by the Vice-Chancellor Rev. Prof. Afful-Broni. They also accused the Vice-Chancellor of maladministration of the school's resources. Earlier in April 2007, students of the University of Ghana also protested against a new residential policy. The new policy will provide accommodation for first-year students only, replacing the existing system which allows final year students to be accommodated at the university residence."

Implications of students' protest on the administrative and academic policies

Considering the implications of students' protests on the administrative and academic policies or programmes, David (2013) notes that violent student protests in Nigeria over the past 30 years have led to diverse changes in the educational and political landscape of the nation. Omonijo et al. (2014) further state that there have been several student protests at Nigerian universities, including the Universities of Nsukka, Nigeria, Lagos, Ilorin, Ibadan, Jos, and Port Harcourt. These protests have led to the temporary closure of these universities and the death of several students. In South Africa, between 2015 and 2017, academics faced challenges as students protested for a "free decolonial quality education" and the cessation of exclusionary practices. This was done through the coordinated #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall protests. All students and staff in the South African academy were part of the Fees Must Fall movement, in the sense that all had been affected by it. Their studies and employment had been influenced by protest actions and by institutional responses (Hodes, 2017).

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The impact of these protests went well beyond the question of fees. According to Czerniewicz, Trotter and Haupt, (2019), the disruptions affected the entire educational enterprise. They affected the delivery of course content (such as the timing or even possibility of lectures and tutorials), the quality of tuition (as compromises had to be made against the standard level of provision), and the ability of students to prepare for end-of-year exams (which determine whether they pass or even graduate).”   Ultimately, the protests only came to an end when the national government decided to phase in tuition-free higher education for “poor and working-class South African undergraduate students” in the year 2018. This was a resolution that went far beyond what any individual institution could have delivered to the students; however, while it addressed the financial exclusion issues to some extent, the other forms of exclusion were left to individual universities to engage with.”

Uyanga (2016), found that students' unrest disrupts academic programmes and causes students to spend longer time with less zeal to pursue their programmes. Similarly, he claims that lecturers are unable to cover the syllabus and there was also a brain drain among lecturers thus affecting administrative and academic programmes of universities. According to Adeyemi (2009), the disruption of academic programmes was a major consequence of students' crises in public universities. Other consequences of protest found by Adeyemi included loss of life, destruction of properties, closure of the institution, suspension of erring students, and dismissal of ring leaders (ibid).

In Ghana, the situation was not different as students protest in the University of Education, Winneba (UEW) and the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) resulted in the arrest of some students, destruction of properties, and eventually, the closure of the university from any administrative and academic works.

Measures to minimize the occurrence of students' protest

To minimize the occurrence of students' protests, Muswede and Sebola (2018), in their position paper reported that in some instances of student protest, the use of inclusive democratic values in the form of student participation and involvement in decision-making as hoped to facilitate the peaceful restoration of order in campuses. In his contribution, Ojo (1995) calls for greater involvement and representation of students in the governance of universities from the departmental, faculty and college levels."

Uyanga (2016) adds that on the higher side, using dialogue can solve the problem of students' unrest. In a similar vein, Odu (2014) also claims that dialogue between the authority of universities and student representatives will go a long way to breach the communication gap and thereby encourage a harmonious relationship between students' representatives and authorities which will ultimately curb frequent and avoidable students' unrest on campuses of most Universities."

In an earlier study, Adeyemi (2009) also argued that the dialogue strategy was a good control measure of students' crises. He also claims that the signing of an agreement with students and their parents on the prohibition of students' unionism is a control measure. Other control measures included inviting the parents-teachers association and involving students in decision

making. However, all the respondents disagreed on the use of the negligence strategy.

Uyanga (2016) affirms that training school administrators on crisis management and the presence of adequate infrastructure on campuses can moderately reduce students' unrest in institutions of higher learning. He also points out that rustication of erring students after unrest lowly solves the issues of students' unrest. Likewise, adequate funding by the government and corporate bodies did not effectively reduce students' unrest.''

In Ghana, Chandi (2010) showed that students generally agreed that their participation in the 'management of the University would enhance the smooth teaching and learning in the institution. Chandi (2010) revealed that in the University of Development Studies in Tamale, one or two student representation are given on a few committees and boards to represent in decision-making. Ironically, the study also showed that students did not know the extent to which they participated in the various administrative systems which seemingly listed for their opinions. Prior to that, Owusu (2008), found that students had little or no involvement in university decision-making in the University of Kwame Nkrumah Science and Technology except in the areas of hall administration, student welfare, and student discipline. Ultimately, Owusu, (2008) found out that the fear of victimisation was the main factor that prevented students from participating in the decision-making processes in the university.

Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the theoretical framework, the conceptual review, and the empirical review. The theoretical review consisted of three

theories; the frustration aggression theory, value-added theory with much emphasis on; panic, craze, hostile outburst, norm-oriented and value-oriented, and the new social movement theory. The chapter also reviews literature on student protest globally and also in Africa. The conceptual review looked at the concepts of student protests. The empirical review looked at studies done within Africa on student protests and their implications. Under the empirical review, factors that influence students' protest, implications of students' protest on the administrative and academic policies or programs, and measures put in place to minimize the occurrence of students' protest in some African universities were the issues that were reviewed."
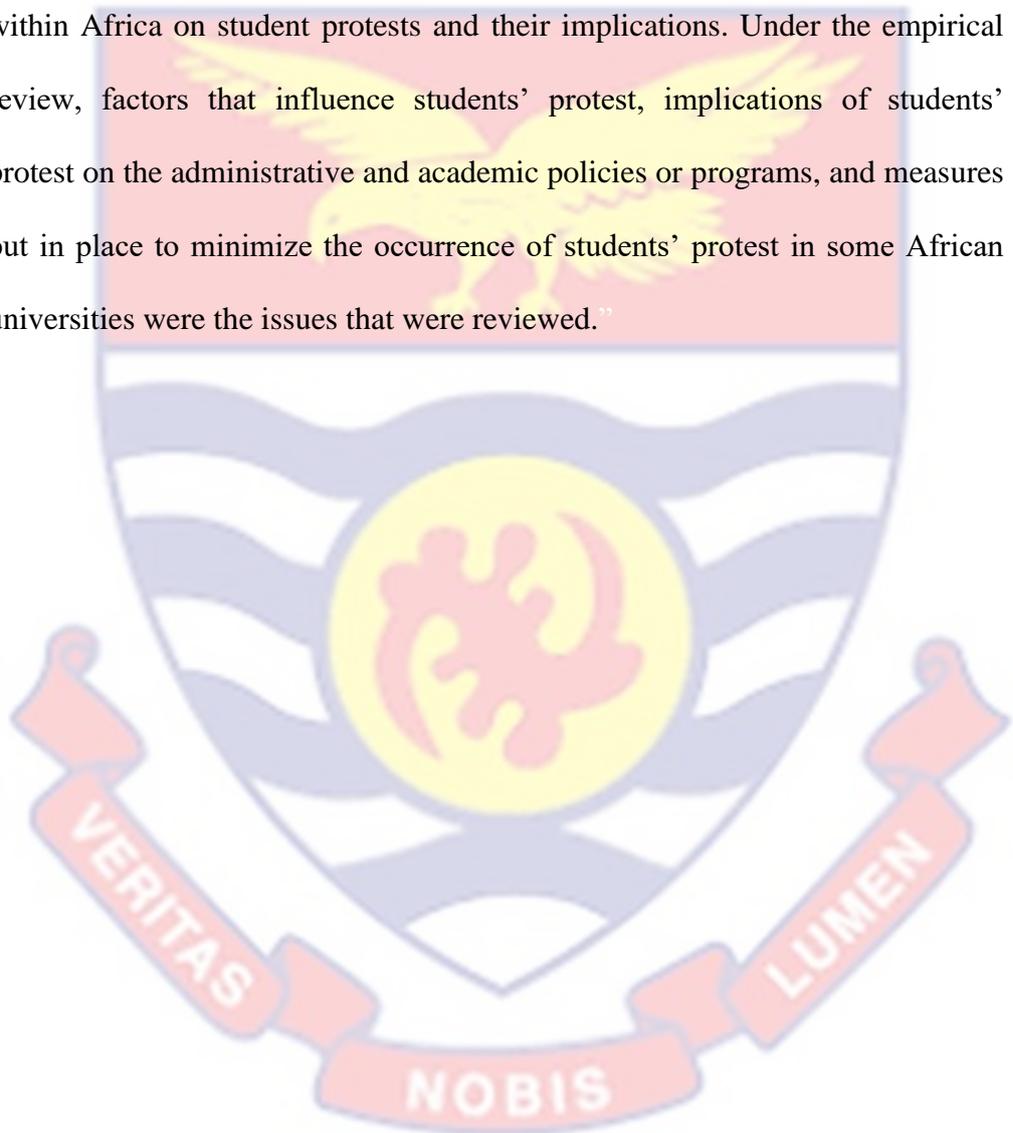
CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODS

Introduction

This chapter of the study presents the detailed methodological processes that were followed in collecting and analysing the data for the study. The chapter consists of a detailed description of the research approach, research design, population of the study, sample size, sampling techniques, and data collection tools, procedure, and methods as well as the ethical considerations that were observed are also discussed

Research Approach

On the basis of the constructivist paradigm which is based on the belief that human behaviour and their actions are based on the relative experiences they have of the society and how they perceive it, this research employs a qualitative approach. The qualitative approach involves the study of subjects in their natural settings, whereby the researcher conducts a systematic inquiry into meanings, attempting to interpret and make sense of the phenomena and the meanings that people attribute to them (Dube, 2015; Parker, 2004). The qualitative research approach is also described as a research approach that uses mostly narratives or observations as data for analysis among a small sample of participants (Creswell & Creswell, 2017; Plonsky, 2017).

The qualitative research approach often objects to and contests the basic tenets of positivism, which are fixed reality and use of numbers as routes to objectivity (Lincoln, 2010). Qualitative research pays critical attention to the subjectivity of life, and therefore focuses on using narratives and

observations as routes to understanding the meaning of people's reality. This means that rather than being interested in numbers and treating individuals as statistics, the qualitative research approach treats individuals as human beings who have sociocultural and religious values, morals, and norms that shape their particular life experiences, which must be considered when conducting research."

The qualitative approach was selected for this study because it enables the collection of comprehensive descriptions which provide a basis for analysis to establish the essence of experience (Creswell, 2007; Moustakas, 1994). In this study, collection of detailed and comprehensive descriptions of data on the causes and implication of student protest in the selected universities was achieved by giving students and relevant authorities the opportunity to tell their stories from their points of view on the causes of protests and their implication on academic and administrative policies. This made it possible for the study to obtain detailed descriptions from the participants pertaining to students' protests. This was done through detailed interviews and focus group discussions in order to establish the causes and impacts of student protests.

Research Design

The study adopts the multiple case study design. Multiple case study is a research design where the researcher examines several cases to identify and understand the differences and similarities between the selected cases (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Punch (2005) gives a prescriptive definition of multiple case study design. He indicates that:

> The multiple case study aims to understand the case in-depth, and in its natural setting, recognising its complexity and its context. It also has a holistic focus, aiming to preserve and understand the wholeness and unity of the case (Punch, 2005, p.144).

Multiple case study explores an instance or a few instances of a phenomenon by interacting with the participants in their socio-cultural setting. Typically, case study researchers neither aim at discovering generalisable truth, nor look for cause-effect relations as quantitative researchers do (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2002); instead, they focus on describing, explaining, and evaluating a phenomenon (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2007). This study uses multiple case studies to assess the current situation of student protests in Africa by reviewing the causes of protests in their university context. Also, the multiple case study was chosen because it allowed the researcher to examine the differences and similarities of the causes and implications of student protests in the selected countries. This allowed for a more convincing and generalisation of the findings. Four universities in three African countries that have experienced protests by students, were selected as the cases for the study. These Universities are the University of Education, Winneba, Kwame University of Science and Technology all in Ghana, the University of Lagos in Nigeria, and the University of South Africa in South Africa.

Population

In this study, the research target population was made up of students and student leaders from the four selected universities. The targeted population includes the student leaders of Kwame Nkrumah University of

Science and Technology, University of Education, Winneba, University of Lagos, and the University of South Africa. It also includes the Deans of Students of the universities. This population was chosen for two reasons. First, student leaders are believed to be close to students; they are believed to understand the plight of students more than any authority in the university. Also, student leaders were the main organisers of the protests under study. Therefore, they are believed to be in the best position to explain the factors that necessitated the protests and why they engaged in violent protest in some instances. Secondly, Dean of Students of the universities are responsible for student welfare issues in the university, they were able to state some factors that caused the students protests, and the implications the protests had on academic and administrative policies.

Sample and Sampling Procedures

An entire population tends to be too large to work with. A smaller group of participants must act as a representative sample, and hence the need for sampling (Chireshe, 2006). There is the need to adopt an appropriate technique to sample or interrogate the needed participants. As a result, the study employs the purposive sampling technique to select the research participants of the study. According to Merriam (1998, p.48), "purposive sampling is based on the assumption that one wants to discover, understand, gain insight; therefore, one needs to select a sample from which one can learn most".

In the first qualitative phase, purposive sampling was used to identify research participants (SRC) members in the various universities under study. In the second qualitative phase, the researcher adopted a convenient sampling

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procedure to select the SRC members who were willing and available to be interviewed. Convenient sampling involves selecting participants for a study based on their availability and willingness (Gravetter & Forsano, 2018). As at the time this study was conducted, some of the student leaders at Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology had ended their term of office and had already graduated and were not willing to take part in the study. This made the researcher to select participants who were part of the protests but were not necessarily executives based on their willingness and availability. This helped to get an adequate sample size that reflects the characteristics of the population."

However, for the purposes of rigor, it was important to ensure that the sample selection was an adequate reflection of the entire population. The total sample for the study was twenty (10) students' representative council (SRC) members and two Deans of Students from the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology and the University of Education, Winneba. Winneba.

However, for the University of Lagos and University of South Africa the study employed purposive sampling of documented information or data on student protest in these universities. This includes journal articles, online news portals, press conferences and other relevant web pages. Baily (1994) explains documentary research as the search and analysis of documents that contain information about the issue or phenomenon under study. The study had to rely on the documented sources for gathering data on student protest in these universities because several attempts to reach the student leaders and the Deans of Students from the universities through emails and their social media accounts such as Facebook and Twitter were unsuccessful. Nevertheless, the

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documented sources provided they study with relevant data on the causes and implications of the student protests in these universities.

Data Collection Methods and Instruments

There are a variety of methods available, such as interviews, document analyses, and reflective journals (Magwa & Magwa, 2015; Gill, Stewart, Treasure & Chadwick, 2008). The semi structured- interview and document analysis were the most appropriate methods for gathering relevant data for the study. In semi-structured interviews, researchers have the opportunity to develop, adapt and generate questions and follow-up probes appropriate to the central purpose of the study (Rubin, 2005). O'Leary (2005, p. 164) argues that "semi-structured interviews are neither fully fixed nor fully free and are perhaps best seen as flexible". The semi-structured interview was preferred ahead of other data collection methods because it allowed for the gathering of in-depth or detailed information on the factors that led to the protest, the nature of the protests as well as their implications on academic and administrative polices of the universities. Specifically, it gave the researcher the luxury to probe further and ask the respondents follow up questions when the need arose for a more conversational style of interview that may see questions answered in order natural to the flow of the conversation.

The main data collection instruments employed by the study are semi-structured interview guides and the use of key search terms on protests in University of Lagos and University of South Africa. The interview guides gave the researcher the freedom to modify some planned questions to get the intended in-depth information. The study employs the interview guide because it is the best instrument for collecting data issues such as protests which are

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largely based on people's opinion and experiences. Details of the interview guides can be found at appendix 1 and 2 of the study. Also, the study also used key terms such as "FeesMustFall press release" and "UNILAG protest press release" to search for press statements and related news on the protests. Similar terms were also used to search for information on the protest from secondary sources.

The study used document analysis as part of the triangulation process to supplement information from the semi-structured interview. The researcher used books and journals written on students' protests to support his claims. Document analysis enabled the researcher to find out the causes of students' protests. Through conducting documentary research, the researcher gained access to information about the implications of students' protests that would be difficult to get from interviews. Gablinske (2014) asserts that the key advantage in conducting documentary research, especially primary documents, is that one can get access to information that would be difficult to get in any other way.

Data Collection Procedure

The researcher spent up to two (2) months collecting the data. However, letters of introduction were first sent to the institutions and the individuals selected for the study. The letter of introduction was meant to introduce the purpose of the study and why their involvement is crucial for the study. After the introductory letters, some of the participants expressed their desire to participate in the research. I, then, contacted these individuals and scheduled a date for the interview based on their convenient time.

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For the Deans of Students, the interviews were held at their offices in UEW and KNUST respectively. The interviews usually lasted between forty (40) minutes to an hour. For the student representatives, some of the interviews were held at the campuses of UEW and KNUST at an appropriate location. However, the student leaders who had travelled out of the country at the time the study was being conducted were interviewed through WhatsApp calls. The interviews also lasted between forty-five (45) minutes to an hour.

All the interviews were recorded with the knowledge of the participants. The recorded interviews were transcribed. The researcher then employed colour coding to develop themes from the data based on the research objectives of the study. This process allowed the researcher to use different colours to colour code the sections or parts of the data that relate to the themes under various objectives.

For the data on student protest in University of Lagos and the University of South Africa, the researcher used related search terms ("press release UNILAG" protest and "UNILAG protest") to look for information such as press releases, commentaries and newspaper reports on the protests. A similar approach was used to gather data on the University of South Africa protest. These searches led to several results. However, the researcher scanned through the results, select and downloaded only the information that correspond with the research objectives of the study. Some of these results included YouTube videos of press conferences of the leaders of the Fees Must Fall protest. These videos were later transcribed into a word document. Subsequently, the researcher employed colour coding to categorise relevant

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information under the various themes generated from the interviews and the information gathered online.

Data Processing and Analysis

The study employed content analysis approach to analyse the data for the study. Content analysis is the scientific study of the content of recorded human communications such as interviews, newspapers, books, videos, Facebook posts, tweets among others (Stemler, 2015). This data analysis approach allows the researcher to study the meanings, contexts and intensions contained in the messages. To commence the data analysis, the researcher reviewed the themes developed from the data during the coding. This was to ensure that the themes correlate with the research objectives of the study. This was followed by critical analysis of the data with regular reference to the literature and the theories underpinning the study.

Validity and Reliability of the Research

To ensure the validity and reliability of the study, the researcher adopted the audit trail approach. This approach is when a qualitative researcher details the process of data collection, analysis and interpretation (Cassel, et al. 2018). To achieve this, the researcher explained in detail all the processes and procedures involved from the beginning of data collection to analysis. Also, some colleagues were asked to review the transcribed data and generated themes to ascertain whether they correlate or they contradict. Also, my supervisor's regular check helped to correct errors and any inconsistencies identified in the study.

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Ethical Consideration

In this section, the following ethical guidelines and how they were considered in this study are highlighted: permission, informed consent, confidentiality, and anonymity. For every participant that the researcher spoke to, permission was sought to record their evidence.

There is the need to secure the approval of participants prior to conducting research. To secure the approval for data collection, the following measures were taken. First, a letter of introduction was taken from the Centre of African and International Studies to seek permission from the authorities from the selected universities. Permission was also requested from the SRC members who were willing to be part of the study.

The participants gave their consent to participate in the research study after receiving honest information about the purpose of the study and the risks and benefits involved (Cohen et al., 2011; Patton 2002). The participants were also free to decline to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, even during the interview process.

Another significant ethical consideration is confidentiality which indicates the researcher's ethical obligation to keep the participants' identities and responses private and solely for the purpose of research (Nueman, 2000). The participants were assured that their responses were purely for research purposes and that the data would not be divulged to any third party. Also, it was ensured that the participants' identities are anonymised by making sure that a given response could not be matched with a given participant. Furthermore, pseudo names were used for the participants and this helped to keep the participant's identity hidden. In addition, ethical consideration means

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the findings from the study can be shared with participants and they should also be made aware where to find the study should they wish to access it for themselves in the future.

Limitation of the Study

According to Best and Kahn (2006), limitations are conditions beyond the control of the researcher; in that, they may place restrictions on the conclusions of the study and their application to other situations. In conducting this research there were some limitations that were encountered."

One of the major difficulties encountered during the data collection stage was getting data from the University of South Africa, and the University of Lagos, Nigeria. These two universities are part of the selected universities for the studies, but reaching them for data collection was challenging. I tried contacting the schools through their various contacts (emails, phone and social media accounts) but to no avail. To overcome this challenge, I relied on primary and secondary sources including newspaper reports, web pages, published articles and books on the #FeesMustFall and #RhodesMustFall protest in South Africa and students protest in the University of Lagos. The secondary sources made it possible to appreciate the influencing factors of protests in these countries and their impact.

The COVID-19 pandemic also presented several challenges to the researcher. The goal of timely collection of data was disrupted as a result of lockdown imposed on the Greater Accra and Greater Kumasi metropolitan areas. In effect, the researcher had to wait for the restrictions to be relaxed to commence the data collection. This to some extent affected the timely completion of the study.

Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the research approaches employed for the study. these include the research approach and research design, population, sample and sampling procedure. Others include data collection instruments, procedure, processing and analysis. The main point from this chapter is that scientific approaches were employed to collect and analyse the data in order to achieve the objectives of the study."

CHAPTER FOUR

IMPLICATION OF STUDENT PROTEST AND MITIGATION

MEASURES

Introduction

This study has sought to examine the impact that student protests have on some African Universities' academic and administrative policies. To achieve this broad objective, three research questions were formulated to guide the study. These questions are, what are the factors that influence student protests in some African Universities? What are the implications of student protests on the academic and administrative policies in some African universities? What measures can be put in place to minimise student protests in some African universities? Both primary and secondary data, including documents, interviews, and reports, were collected to answer these questions. This chapter presents the analysis and discussion of the data explicitly by juxtaposing the data against the existing literature and the theories underlying the study. The analysis is structured along three sections that answer each of the research questions. The final section provides a summary of the chapter.

Factors that Influence Student Protest in Some African Universities

This section addresses the first research question:

Research Question 1: What are the factors that influence student protests in some African Universities?

This question sought to find out the factors that influence student protests in some African Universities. There are many different reasons why students protest. Onivehu (2021) links student protest to a variety of internal and external factors to the occurrence of student protest. In other words,

university students may take part in demonstrations because of a number of reasons, whether they are primarily associated with the university system or come from urgent, trending issues in society and the larger community. The data gathered from the study indicates that several factors influence student protests in African Universities. Some of these include: low involvement of students in decision making, the influence of external actors, and exorbitant tuition fees."

Low involvement of students in decision making at the Universities

One of such factors is the low involvement of students in the decision-making process of various universities. Students, through their leaders, are expected to play significant roles in the decision-making processes in the selected universities. However, the role of students in the decision-making processes is sometimes restricted by university administrators in these universities. The participants identify such a situation as brewing tensions between students and the various university managements, which sometimes results in protests. A participant in response to the cause of the protest in KNUST had this to say:

> The S.R.C. claim that when they send a petition to management, they are usually side-lined, and then management does their own thing, so they don't take into consideration your representation of the people, the reason why these people voted (Kwame, personal interview, December 15, 2020).

This response specifies that the Student Representative Council was triggered by the fact that the school's management consistently undermined them. The S.R.C. is the students' official mouthpiece, and such frustration is likely to seep into the entire student body, thereby causing a reaction.

Other participants of the study further highlight the low involvement of students in decision-making as a cause for students' protest. One participant lamented that the management of universities usually "treat student leaders as their children". As it is synonymous with the African culture, "parents barely listen to the inputs and demands of the children". The participant further espoused that:

> The example I gave you, the motivation was that the school had acted without involving the students or the student body in the decision-making process. In KNUST, it was the use of authority to treat students in a way that they thought was not deserving of them. So, I think these are always the kind of motivation. It's always about the problem, and the problems could differ in various areas, but mostly when students are not involved in decision making, they are aggrieved (Kwesi, personal interview, November 13, 2020).

This finding is in line with the argument espoused by Luescher-Mamashela (2011), who posits that violent student protests often occur where formal channels of communication and consultation are absent. What is apparent is that, in some cases, formal channels of communication may be present but ineffective or unresponsive to students' demands or requests. Elsewhere, Owusu (2008) found that students had little or no involvement in university

decision-making in the University of Kwame Nkrumah Science and Technology except in the areas of hall administration, student welfare, and student discipline.

In reference to the causes of the protest at KNUST, another participant stated that:

> in 2018, the problem the student had was the way students were being governed. So, when you listen to the concerns that S.R.C. raised at the time, they wanted a couple of things to be done at the time. Agitations of mixing the two male halls and making them a mixed hall, there were also the agitations of students not being a signatory to their accounts. There were also agitations of suspension of hall weeks, so all the halls had to merge their hall weeks into one. There were a lot of agitations on how students were being treated (Kwame, personal interview, October 23, 2020).

When student leaders are undermined in the decision-making process, students end up agitating before their concerns are taken seriously. In similar research conducted in Nigeria, Adeyemi (2009) found that one of the most typical causes of student crises in public universities is the failure of authority to listen to students' complaints. A Dean of Student also agreed with the assertions made by the student leaders that students are likely to agitate when they are side-lined from decision making. In a personal interview, he stated that:

> The causes or the motivation behind it is that when they feel that their rights have been trampled upon, then they decide to

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go on strike. That's what they think. When they think that the

administration likes to treat them like kids, they try to protest

in that manner (D.O.S. 1, personal interview, November 5,

2020).

This response is in line with the frustration aggression theory which says that

people engage in violent behaviour when there is interference with the

occurrence of an instigated goal-response at its proper time in the behaviour

sequence. In the case of KNUST and UEW protest, the students felt that their

rights to be involved in making decisions that affect in the school are not

respected since their views are not considered in decision and policy making.

Thus, their goal here is to take part in decisions and policies that affect their

lives in the school. As a result, any process or attempt that fails to include their

views is likely to result in violence response, in this case protest from the

students.

External actors influence student protests

Participants also point out that students can embark on protests, not

necessarily because students' interest is undermined, but because external

actors influence them. By external actors, they mean that students can be

affected by politicians, organisations, or individuals who may benefit from the

protest. A participant argued that:

Sometimes what people have been saying is that some

politicians are sometimes behind these protests. They sponsor

them, give them money, old students too they do that. For

example, what happened at Tech, we learnt that some alumni

were behind it because they didn't want the halls to be multisex

> or something of that sort, so they want to maintain the status
> quo. So always, if it is male, it should be male and nothing else
> (D.O.S. 1, personal interview, November 5, 2020).

The issue of external interference student activism, particularly in the universities has been a major concern for leadership of universities across Ghana and other stakeholders. The above claim by the respondent agrees with studies by Van Gyampo (2013) and Paalo & Van Gyampo (2019) who found the phenomenon to be a challenge to university governance and Ghana's democracy. Though external influence in student activism can be traced back to early post- independent Ghana, the dynamics have changed over the years. While, political involvement in student activism under Nkrumah regime was largely ideologically centred through the establishment of the Young Pioneer Movement to Nkrumah's ideology among students (Finlay, 1968), the Fourth Republic has witnessed the involvement of multiple actors such as political parties, churches and the alumni.

A former student leader interviewed for the study also espoused this assertion that organisations or individuals sometimes influence student protests for their gains. The participant explained:

> The other issue that would also lead to student protests is
> what I call external influence on students. It is a fact that
> some students are being lured into it without any grievance or
> concern and don't even have an idea as to what the protest is
> all about. But because some people have a motive and an
> objective to ensure that their ambitions or objective are
> achieved, they devise various ways and measures to include

other people to achieve that goal (Kwaku, personal interview,

November 18, 2020).

The participants reveal that student protests may sometimes be organised not necessarily in the students' interest but because external factors like politicians influence on them. Notwithstanding the above, there is a case of the protest in the University of Education (U.E.W.) that bolsters the argument that alumni can indeed influence or lead protests in universities. Third and fourth year or level 300 and 400 students of the university largely masterminded the student protest that ravaged U.E.W. in 2019. The protest in KNUST is pointed out as being influenced by the alumni of the student halls that were to be converted from single-sex halls to mixed halls. It is worthy to note that none of the two student protests in Ghanaian universities being examined is linked with political influence. The protest was argued to have been primarily undertaken by students and alumni of the universities and had no political links.

Exorbitant tuition fees and high cost of living on campus

Unlike the student protest in U.E.W. and KNUST that were isolated, the Fees Must Fall student protest in South Africa was a nationwide protest that involved many universities. The immediate cause of the protest, according to Mavunga (2019), was the proposed 10.5% increase in tuition for 2016. Before the protest erupted, there were several unsuccessful attempts by student leaders across public universities in South Africa to engage management of the universities to find amicable solution to the matter. In a press conference addressed by student leaders of the Rhodes University led by Zuko Cawe indicates that;

> In our first meeting with management, we sat for three hours speaking about a free structure of fees adjustment which will relief some burdens on the poor. However, management simply said no they are not willing to do that and they were not even willing to provide us with reasons why they are not going to do that nor suggest an alternative to relief the burden on students (The Oppidan Press, 2016).

After failing to reach a consensus with management, the students started agitating for no increment of fees and this quickly spread to other universities across South Africa. The Fees Must Fall protests started with a student campaign for a 0% increase in tertiary education fees for 2016. However, the aim of the protest spread to demand free education, revised language policies, higher wages for and the insourcing of university support staff such as campus security and cleaners, and an education system with more black and South African focus. One of the student leaders of the University of Johannesburg addressing student protestors during the Fees Must Fall protest laments that;

> In this country, education is now commodified, in this country education in the universities is now a business. Comrades, some of us, our parents are farm workers, some of us, our parents are taxi drivers, hawkers and beggars on the street. All these people fall under the same category; the poor of the poorest. We are here demanding one thing and one thing only! Free and quality education in our life time (eNCA, 2016).

Funding of university education has been an age-long issue, especially for the poor in South Africa (Wangenge-Ouma and Cloete, 2008). As indicated by Linden (2017) students' disgruntlement with several South African higher education issues had been boiling under the surface for a long time. Lagerlöf (2011) reports that as far back in 1976, students in Soweto outside of Johannesburg, South Africa, staged a protest against the apartheid government over the imposition of the Africana language as the lingua franca of South Africa. However, in early 2016, the country had also witnessed the #RhodesMustFall protests, triggered by students' unhappiness over the continued presence of the statue of Cecil John Rhodes and other symbols of colonialism at the University of Cape Town. By January 2016, the #FeesMustFall protests had broadened in scope to unhappiness with student accommodation and language of instruction policies, mainly at historically white universities and the outsourcing of support staff such as cleaners, gardeners, and security guards (Linden, 2017).

The cause of the protest in South Africa was not peculiar to one university. The protest quickly spread from the University of Witwatersrand (Wits) to other universities, gaining a national character. The protests' national nature is because the cause, increase in tuition fees, affected all students in government-funded universities. The cause of the protests in KNUST, U.E.W. and the University of Lagos (UNILAG) were of particular concern to these universities and did not spread beyond their campuses. The cause of the UNILAG protest is similar to the that of the University of Witwatersrand in South Africa. However, though the UNILAG protest was largely about high cost of living on campus, it did not result in a country-wide protest like the

Fees Must Fall protest in South Africa. According to Education Rights Campaign, Nigeria, an advocacy group that campaigns against poor studying and living conditions, fee hikes and victimisations of student activist in Nigeria, UNILAG is the most expensive public university in the country. In a statement, the group indicates that:

> Undoubtedly, among all federal universities in Nigeria, UNILAG has the highest cost of living. However, despite the fact that the current general increase in prices of goods and services as a result of currency crises and fuel shortages have aggravated the situation, it was not caused by those factors. This is a long-standing issue that is the result of the university administration's "cash and carry" policy, which essentially treats education as a business and students as customers (Ogundare, 2016).

There are both internal and external factors that contribute to the standard of living on university campuses. However, the main factor that influence standard of living among university students aside tuition fees is residential facility fees. Adilieme (2019) confirms that the amount and calibre of student accommodation offered by Nigerian universities to their students has become a major concern to students and stakeholders in the country. In 2017, the Vice Chancellor of the University of Lagos indicated in 2017 that only 8000 out of their 58,000 students enrolled can be accommodated by the university. In Addition to that student who are unable to get accommodation on campus find difficult to find alternatives outside campus and in the process private hostel facility owners use the opportunity to charge exorbitant fees for their facilities.

All these factors contribute to the high standard of living in the university which eventually made the students to protest.

The underlying and immediate factors also reflect the tenets of the new social movement theory, which states that protests are likely to occur when peoples' expectations are violated. The theory posits that the likelihood of a collective action increases as the duration and significance of such abuse of expectation continues. The theory's tenet is highlighted in the causes of protest in African universities. The data indicates that students' rage has built up over the years as university administrators have undermined their demands and school fees gradually increased to become unbearable. The various causes of protests discussed also pays credence to the long tradition in social movement theory identifying strain, grievances, and discontent as driving forces of protest. The study's findings have revealed that student protests do not occur out of vacuum but are a result of strains and grievances that build up over time.

Implications of Student Protests on the Academic and Administrative Policies of Some African Universities

This section answers the second research question:

Research Question 2: What are the implications of students' protest on the academic and administrative policies in some African universities?

This research question sought to investigate the implications that student protests have on the academic and administrative policies of the selected African universities. University management is in charge of regulating administrative procedures. These policies are mostly the target of student protests as they perceive some of these policies as inimical to students'

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interest. Participants interviewed for the study indicated that administrative policies and procedures are affected by student protests. One participant pointed out that the demonstration that students of KNUST embarked on against the conversion of single-sex halls and students' brutality by the campus security, had profound implications on policy. He recounted that:

> The KNUST protest was in part against security brutality, so the KNUST security was heavily reformed after the protest. The issues of hall week celebrations were also heavily reformed after the protest. Unfortunately, or should I say, fortunately, whichever way, the issue of the reversal of the decision in the status of the genders that are supposed to occupy the halls was not reversed, but I mean that was for good reasons. But largely, whenever there are protests, it always sparks reforms, and those reforms may sometimes be slow, but you can trust that those reforms always come at one point or the other; they always come (Kwame, personal interview, December 15, 2020).

As espoused by the frustration aggression theory, people embark on protest to register their anger or frustration about certain happenings in the society and expect authorities to make reforms or respond to those concerns. The respondent's claim is supported by many studies who have indicated that protests often lead to system reforms. For example, Ashine & Berhanu (2021) found that widespread protest across Ethiopia resulted in relative progress in establishing procedural democracy in the country. Aleman (2013) also made a similar finding when he argued that protests result in institutional change in

both developing and advanced democracies. At the institutional level, the respondent's claim aligns with the findings of Kubal & Fisher (2016) who indicate that students protest in Chile has not only led to national democratic reforms but also progressive reforms in universities across the country. The Fees Must Fall protest by South African students has also resulted in zero increment of fees and subsequent introduction of free university education in the country (Mlambo, Hlongwa & Mubecua, 2017).

Another participant also confirmed that there had been some changes in policies in KNUST after the student protest. The participant stated that:

> There has been a change because currently, in KNUST, there is no single meeting that goes on without the student representative. Before the protest, they could ignore, sit and not consult students and bring out policies. Now, every single meeting that goes on from the smallest committee level to the biggest will have the students' representative on it before proceedings. I remember there was one meeting where one person says until the student leader gets here, we cannot proceed, and I think that was a direct order from the Vice-Chancellor. So that shows that administratively, they were beginning to become more accommodating of students and then realised they need to have them in decision making (Kwesi, personal interview, November 13, 2020)

Though the implications of protests are often analysed in the negative sense by focusing on the negative implications of student protests (Onivehu, 2021), Uluğ and Acar (2018) indicate that protests in general sometimes bring positive social change in the society. Though the change in administration procedures in the aftermath of the KNUST protest may be seen by the students as a positive change, it re-echoes the growing perception among Ghanaians that the only language that leaders in the country understands is protest. While some protests may result in positive social change, the destructions and disruption of institutional activities leave serious consequences that take years to rebuild. This is the case of the KNUST protest here management has to spend huge amount of money and other resources to rebuild the structures destroyed by the student protestors. For this reason, it is important for university management to put structures in place to limit the occurrence of protest on university campuses. Nevertheless, the students felt that their goal for embarking on the protest has been achieved.

The protest at the U.E.W. also had significant implications on some administrative policies of the schools. Significantly, the protest also contributed to the revision of the student handbook of the university in 2019. Student Handbook is an essential document that contains the rules and regulations that govern students in a particular university. As part of the reforms after the U.E.W. student protest, the Academic Board in collaboration with the Office of the Dean of Students revises the Student Handbook as the protest revealed some shortcomings in the document. In a personal interview, the participant indicated that:

Once the students raised the issues, some were assessed to be

of truth, and university management realised that something

should be done as I told you. In our case, the Student

Handbook was reviewed and distributed to every single

student. Most of them their claim at that time was that they had

no Student's Handbook and so, therefore, whatever times and

regulations you are quoting is new to them, and so that policy

was implemented partly or due primarily to that protest

(Kwaku, personal interview, November 18, 2020).

While the findings from the study shows some reforms after the student

protest in all the three countries, this finding cannot be generalised. This is

because studies by Brooks (2016) and Cini (2019) have found that students

protests are only likely to have stronger impacts in countries with weak

neoliberal norms. This is because institutions in those countries are often

hesitant to make radical reforms to address some societal issues. Indeed,

Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa are growing democracies that are still

grappling with system reforms and therefore, it is no doubt that these protests

resulted in some reforms. In an agreement to this assertion, a study by della

Porta, Cini and Guzmán-Concha (2020) found that student protest in England

in 2010 resulted in no reforms. Aside the issues of liberal norms argued by

della Porta et al. (2020) the factors that may force students in developing

democracies and developed democracies may not be the same because of

differences in socio-political structures in the countries. Findings from the

protests under study indicate that student protest can effect change in the

administrative policies of the universities. Similarly, a former Dean of

Students of a Ghanaian university also attested to the argument that students' protests could affect administrative policies. He stated that:

> Sometimes it brings about a change. Maybe the administration wants to take a certain direction that will not help the students. When there is a protest, the administration will sit down with the S.R.C., they jaw-jaw [sic] and they will come to a compromise and use whatever compromise they have come, they use it which will favour both. So sometimes it affects administration in a way (D.O.S. 1, personal interview, November 5, 2020).

Another former Dean of Student when asked on whether protest brings about change in administrative policies, opined that:

> Oh yeah. Because it puts the administration on their toes. It brings change because the administration sometimes has an adage that one that is cutting the path will not know whether what he has done behind is crooked. So, if there's a protest, you sit down, reflect on it and say oh ok, then I should do it this way. So, protests in itself is not a bad idea but when it becomes confrontational, that's where the problem is (D.O.S. 2, personal interview, December 10, 2020)

Whilst it is primarily admitted by the participants that student protests in some African universities have implications for administrative policies, the same cannot be said of academic policies. Some participants opine those protests have not had a substantive adverse effect on academic policies in Ghana. One participant stated that:

Speaking maybe in the early 90s and 70s that is National Union of Students (NUGS), they did some protest that led to some education reforms, that is a different subject altogether. But in terms of university students, there has not been a major academic policy change due to student protests. But I can say for sure that it had implications on the academic calendar of those universities. For example, in KNUST, the school was shut down for some period which they reopened again. Definitely, some good academic time was lost. Same here in the University of Education, Winneba was shut down, good academic time was lost to the extent that when the school was recalled, the calendar had to be extended. So definitely it comes with administrative costs. It comes with a whole lot of challenges in the calendar, so student protests, especially the violent ones have some implications on the universities (D.O.S 1, personal interview, November 5, 2020).

Whilst the participant reveals that recent student protests have not let to significant change in academic policies but rather have implications on the academic calendar of the various universities. Another participant explained how students protest affects the academic calendar, which invariably affects the students.

The negative aspect is that when you go on protest, students are asked to go home, affecting academic work. Sometimes you stay home for a week, two weeks, three weeks, or even the whole semester or even more than that, affecting students

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academically. It affects the students because those who were supposed to complete in a particular year could not. (D.O.S. 2, personal interview, December 10, 2020).

Disruption of the academic calendar has been widely cited in the literature as one of the substantial effects of students' protests. For instance, Uyanga (2016) found that students' unrest disrupts academic programmes and causes students to spend longer time with less zeal to pursue their programmes. He argued that lecturers could not cover the syllabus and brain drain among lecturers due to the disruption in the academic calendar, thus affecting the administrative and academic programmes of universities. Similarly, according to Adeyemi (2009), the disruption of academic programmes was a significant consequence of students' crises in public universities in Nigeria.

In South Africa, the student protest organised as #FeesMustFall had momentous implications not only on Universities' policies but also on national policies. The effect that the protest had on national policies is that the protest was limited to one university but was widespread among many universities demanding to reduce school fees and decolonisation of higher institutions of learning in South Africa. The impact of these protests went well beyond the question of fees. According to Czerniewicz, Trotter and Haupt, (2019), the disruptions impacted the entire educational enterprise. It affected the delivery of course content (such as the timing or even possibility of lectures and tutorials), the quality of tuition (as compromises had to be made against the standard level of provision), and the ability of students to prepare for end-of-year exams (which determine whether they pass or even graduate).

Overall, the #FeesMustFall movement was lauded for its achievement in raising awareness about the funding crisis in higher education in South Africa. The funding crises is a long-standing problem that universities have been battling for years. But the #FeesMustFall movement brought the situation to public attention within a period of two to three weeks. The protest resulted in the national government resolving to phase in tuition-free higher education for poor and working-class South African undergraduate students in 2018. The movement also achieved several positive things at various universities, including renaming university buildings, curriculum transformation, and general workers' insourcing. The state has also been compelled to explore other options and models to fund higher education, although the progress has been slow so far (Langa, 2017).

Measures to Minimise the Occurrence of Student Protests in Some African Universities

The following section of the chapter discusses some measures that can be put in place to minimise student protests in African Universities. Specifically, the analysis and discussion of the data is done with reference to the third research question

Research Question 3: What measures can be put in place to minimise the occurrence of student protests in some African universities?

Student protests have become a common strategy that students use to pressure university authorities to accept their demands. Some of these protests have turned out to be violent, destroying properties, injuries, closure of schools, and in some cases, loss of lives. It is therefore essential to explore ways to minimise protests, especially ones that are likely to violent.

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Involving students in decision-making

An examination of the data divulges that one of the primary means through which the number of student protests can be reduced is by involving student leaders in the decision-making processes. Both student leaders express this sentiment and also university management interviewed for the study. A former Dean of Student stated that:

> We need to include students because they are, for example, the S.R.C. they are with the student's day in and day out, so they know much about them. So, if they are included in the administration, they will be able to feed the administration. If they are included in the management, they will be able to feed the administration what is happening down there, and it can help the administration to amend their policies in one way or the other for amicable living, for both administration and students (D.O.S 1, personal interview, November 5, 2020).

Involvement of students in decision- making or university governance is a debatable or controversial subject. While some maintain that the presence of student representatives on the governing council of universities and since the university council is the highest decision- making body in the university, students are involved in decision making. However, others especially students hold the view that the mere presence of student leaders or representatives on the governing council is not enough to conclude that students are involved in decision-making about the affairs of the university. For example, the SRC President represents the entire undergraduate student body and issues of

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student concerns are channelled to him/her to present at the university council.

However, because issues are often determined by votes at the council, in a situation where a matter of student concern, say reduction of school fees, is presented by the SRC President is voted against by the majority of the council members, that will mean that an issue that is of student concern has been rejected by the university management. Even though this is a democratic process, the rejection may provoke some reactions from the student body. On the other hand, in a situation where a student leader votes or kicks against a policy or an issue that has been raised by management does not mean that management cannot go ahead to implement to the policy. As result of the above issues and to ensure effective governance of universities, Acharya (2015) calls for mutual understanding, negotiation and consensus building among the stake holders of the university which include, student, lecturers, administrators and other relevant stakeholders in the university.

In a similar vein, a former student leader expressed that:

> I think when student protests, they should just be called to the table. I think that's always the end goal, to be called to the table to provoke deliberation. The protest could be stopped; however, the authorities should find their way to deliberate with the students, and then, they should find a way to amend or involve students in part of the decision making. This will definitely prevent protests from happening. When students feel like they are involved and their voice are heard, whatever they want is being implemented; that's the best way to start. You

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might not always give students what they want but then at least give them that enabling environment to be heard and that would minimise the rate at which might want to get infuriated or, because if you realise, anytime there is protest, it means that somebody wants to be heard, somebody feels like his or her right has been denied (Kwesi, personal interview, November 13, 2020).

Another study participant argues that university management must adopt a dialogue approach in dealing with students' unrest. The participant advances that the university management approach of clamping down on dissenting students with security personnel usually escalates protests. As such, the dialogue approach, when adopted, will ensure that protests do not escalate into violence and reduce the incidents of protests. A former student leader explained:

I think that student protests, in order for them not to be turned violent, law enforcement agencies and management of the various universities should always try at all possible times to engage the leadership of a set protest. Because having their leadership talked to, they will speak with their members to pull out. But using brutal force to condemn will rather boost them the more to turn the process into very violent. But the more pragmatic measures that should be taken is the root cause of student protests, and that is basically communication, is at the heart of student protests because of the bureaucratic channels

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that have been put in place for students to follow (Kwaku,

personal interview, November 13, 2020).

As established earlier, people embark on protests as a result of frustrations or anger about certain developments in the society or institution. Therefore, the best approach to control this anger is through dialogue. This is because dialogue can serve as the most central mechanism through which competing social groups, in this case protesting students, can engage with school management in a peaceful way to reach an agreement or resolve the issue at hand. Any attempt to use force or violence to quell student protests can escalate the situation as witnessed during the KNUST protest.

Furthermore, another student leader added that:

I have always been a great advocate for dialogue, so the first

point must always be dialogue, dialogue devoid of threats,

are very important. In dialogue that is devoid of threats

sometimes you find the management issuing subtle threats to

students and all those things. A very typical example was the

KNUST protest when the S.R.C. had declared that they were

going on a protest, the university quickly released a message

that attendance to lectures is compulsory for all students and

that attendance would be taken at all lectures (Kwame,

personal interview, December 15, 2020).

The respondent explained that the students were agitating against the system, so the worst thing the management of the university can do is to threaten them with that same system that they are agitating against. Meanwhile, to avoid escalation of protests into full scale violence, Costas Trascasas and

Casey-Maslen (2017) caution authorities against the use of any form of force which include threats. They rather encourage the use communication and open dialogue with protest organizers to see whether they can find amicable solutions to the issues before the protests take place. The respondent added that:
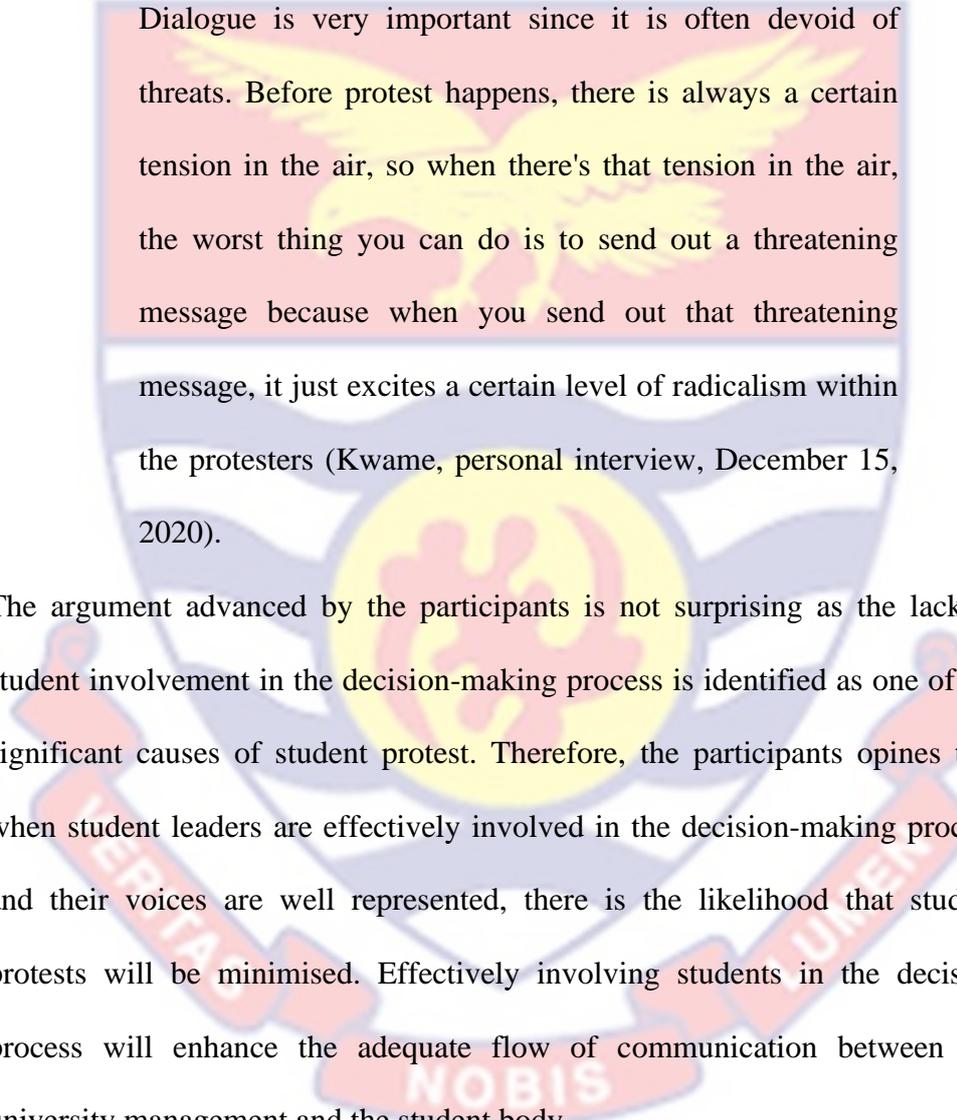
> Dialogue is very important since it is often devoid of threats. Before protest happens, there is always a certain tension in the air, so when there's that tension in the air, the worst thing you can do is to send out a threatening message because when you send out that threatening message, it just excites a certain level of radicalism within the protesters (Kwame, personal interview, December 15, 2020).

The argument advanced by the participants is not surprising as the lack of student involvement in the decision-making process is identified as one of the significant causes of student protest. Therefore, the participants opines that when student leaders are effectively involved in the decision-making process and their voices are well represented, there is the likelihood that student protests will be minimised. Effectively involving students in the decision process will enhance the adequate flow of communication between the university management and the student body.

Similar measures are espoused in the literature by scholars like Odu (2014), who claims that dialogue between the authority of universities and student representatives would go a long way towards breaching the communication gap and encourage a harmonious relationship between

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students' representatives and leaders which will ultimately curb frequent and avoidable students' unrest on campuses of most Universities. Adeyemi (2009), found that all the participants in his study mentioned that the dialogue strategy or the involvement of students in decision making was a good control measure of students' crises.

Developing strong institutions

Developing and maintaining solid institutions in the various African universities is regarded as a critical measure to control the rampant and violent student protests across the continent. Robust, transparent, and accountable institutions are essential for good governance in academic and social institutions like the university. Strong institutions are also regarded as crucial and the cornerstone for smooth management. However, in African universities, the various institutions are perceived to be weak and under central administration control. This perceived weaknesses of the institutions in a higher level of education creates uncertainties and tensions or agitations among the students. Students are reluctant to use the laid down procedures to seek redress from the recognised institutions resulting in incessant protests as their preferred means.

For students to be confident in the system and abide by the laid down procedures instead of resorting to protest, participants argued that there is the need to grow strong and trusted institutions in the university's structure. A former student leader explained this during a personal interview.

> I think that largely we need to grow stronger
> institutions, we need to create institutions that are not
> just going to go by the wishes of the management but

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will have the interest of both students and management.
If students are confident that the legal and right means
to drive their demands are effective, there will be no
need to protest or destroy properties so that
management will listen to them (Kwame, personal
interview, December 15, 2020).

The general sentiment shared by the students is their distrust in the university
management and the internal institutions in the university. Though their
distrust may be justified or otherwise, there is the need for institutions such as
the Office of the Dean of Student to be impartial in their engagement with
students.

These is particularly crucial because students don't trust institutions like the
Dean of Students and other disciplinary committees because they believe they
are on the side of management. This situation or misconception needs to be
corrected. Fair and transparent institutions will go a long way to reduce the
incessant protests because students will be confident that they will be listen to
and their issues will be attended to. Another participant added that:

I mean, in an ideal world, the solution to minimise
student protests will just be to ensure that all student
qualms are effectively addressed and that can be done
if we have effective institutions in the universities.
When there are effective institutions, they will ensure
that student needs are adequately addressed and where
they notice voices of dissent or tension among the
student populace, they will quickly move to address it

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by calling students to the table to listen to their concerns (Kwame, personal interview, December 15, 2020).

The above suggestion is in line with Omodan (2020) who argues that the best way to ensure harmonious relationship between students and management of universities is the quick response to student services and welfare as well as the establishment of accountable and transparent institutions. Also, the exposition by the respondent clearly illustrates the argument advanced by student leaders that institutions in the various universities need to be strengthened. However, the claim that institutions are weak is contested by a former Dean of Student who was interviewed for the study. Though the former Dean of Student argued that the Office of the Dean of Students upholds the interest of students, it must also ensure that the rules governing the universities are applied. This notwithstanding, the participant agreed that there is the need to be strengthen the relationship between the Office of the Dean of Students and student leaders as well as the entire student body.

Embracing social media

Examination of the data also reveals that student protest can be minimised if university management embrace technology, particularly social media as a tool for communicating with the student body. Thus, social media has not only become the fastest way of disseminating information, it has proven to be effective in establishing connections amongst many stakeholders within the university, including students and management, as well as other stakeholders in and outside the university (Junco, Heiberger, & Loken, 2011).

Participants espoused that social media has become a major tool used by students for communication and there is the need for university management to adopt this trend to close the communication. A participant explains this:

> So, I think that some of the policies that can be put in place to minimise protest is that our universities must adopt technology and embrace technology. The truth of the matter is that our students are ahead of the university in terms of social media regarding the use of the internet. And so the universities must develop a comprehensive social media plan to be communicating to the university students than the old bureaucratic system way of communicating to students (Kwabena, personal interview, November 18, 2020).

Most importantly, students engaged in protests are increasingly able to engage with media technologies to become more visible and ensure their voice is heard. Social media platforms like Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube are used by students to disseminate information on the organisation of protests and as the platform to showcase their plight to the world. The #FeesMustFall protest in South Africa is an example of a student protest primarily driven and aided by social media. In Ghana, social media played a key role in the protest embarked by KNUST students (#SayNoToBrutalityInKNUST). Since social media has been a platform used to plan, disseminate and execute protests, Universities in Africa must adopt an approach to monitor such platforms to prevent tensions from escalating. A participant better explained this.

Because most of the students take to social media to air their grievances, to call their colleagues to gather at a place to congregate to do protests. That is the platform they use to organise themselves to protest. So once the university adopts this strategy of making sure that social media is a major platform that they can communicate to their students, it will go a long way to detect protests early and communicating issues to students in a very long term and in a very short term to come (Kwaku, personal interview, November 18, 2020).

This is a novel finding and one that has not been reported significantly in much of the mainstream literature. However, it is a crucial one strategy to employ to deal with the menace of student protests. Many of the recent protests started off from social media and generated into street protests on the various campuses. It is, therefore, essential that university management monitor social media posts about their school. Social media is a platform that students use to vent their frustrations and anger about their schools. As such, when university managements monitor such platforms, they will be in a pole position to address student concerns early.

According to Saha & Guha (2019) the majority of people using social media today are students, and their activities on these social media platforms are influencing them to change their daily activities and behaviours, societal perspectives and public life. As a result, Farinloye et al. (2020) indicate management of universities can use social media updates as a crisis communication tool. For example, social media might be useful in case of an emergency or protest on campus to calm students. Also, updates and

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information regarding the state of affairs can be shared on the official university handle or pages.

Chapter Summary

The chapter analysed and discussed the data gathered from interviews on student protests in the selected universities and juxtaposed against the existing literature and the theories underlining the study. The analysis reveals that the primary cause of student protests is the undermining of student involvement in the decision-making process by the university management. Others include the excessive increase in tuition fees as it was the case in South Africa and student maltreatment by the security of KNUST. Unlike the KNUST and the South African protest, that of UNILAG was largely caused by high standard of living on and around the university. Furthermore, student protests were found to have a substantial effect on administrative policies resulting in changes in policies in universities like KNUST and U.E.W., where there were reforms in the security apparatus and the student handbook. In South Africa, the effect was mammoth as the campaign attained a national character and resulted in changes in country-wide educational policies like zero increase in tuition fees. On academic policies, it was revealed that student protests mostly distort the academic calendar, which presents enormous challenges to academic delivery in the various universities. The data also highlights that student protests can be minimised if university management involves students in the decision-making process and dialogue with students when tensions brew in the student body. The causes and the organisation of the protests as well as the issues and demands made by the student protestors supports the assumption put forward by the new social move theory and the

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frustration aggression theory. This is because the student lament about the structure of the south African society and indicate that their parents belong to the most disadvantaged group such as hawkers, farm workers and taxi drivers, therefore, could not afford their fees. More so, issues of high standard of living on UNILAG campus and the non-involvement of students in decision making as claimed by students of KNUST and UEW are all point to structural issues as explained by the new social movement theory. Furthermore, the causes of the protest and the subsequent expression of violent behaviour by the student protesters also underscores the frustration aggression which explains that the exhibition of aggressive behaviour is often as a result of existing frustrations.
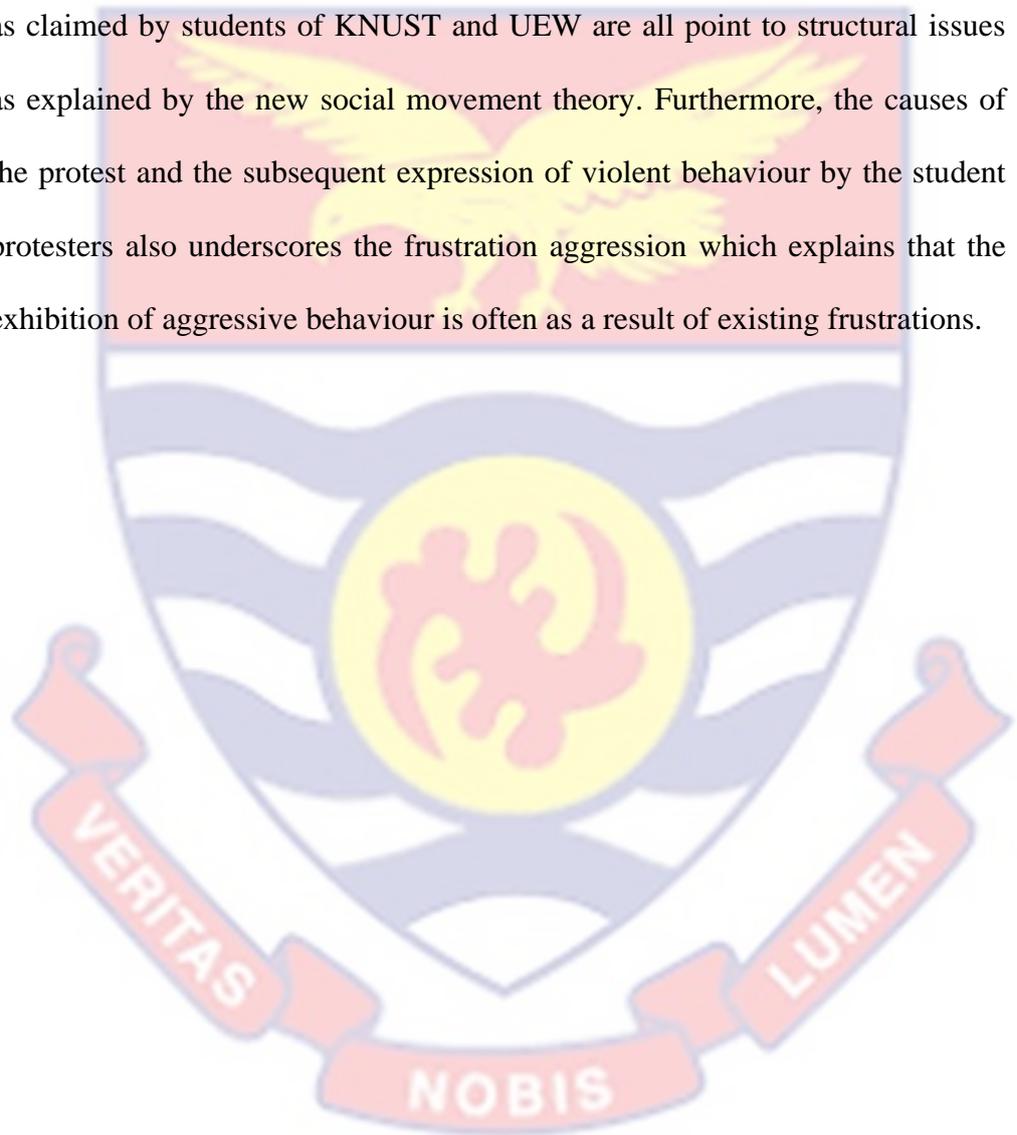
CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The aim of the study has been to examine the causes of student protests in some African universities and their implications on the administrative and academic policies. This chapter summarises the study and gives the main conclusions of the study. The chapter also presents the main findings of the study and gives recommendations for stakeholders and for further studies.

Summary of the Study

To achieve the above aim of the study, the study sets three objectives at the beginning of the research. These were to explore factors that influence student protests in some selected African universities. The second was to discuss the implications of student protests on academic and administrative policies in the selected universities and finally to examine measures that can be put in place to minimise the occurrence of student protests in the selected African universities.

To achieve these objectives, the study adopted the frustration aggression and the new social movement theories and reviewed relevant literature on the history, causes, impacts and mitigating measures of student protests. Key secondary sources such as Melucci (1989), Van-Dyke (2004), Van Gyampo (2013) and Paalo & Van Gyampo (2019) among others were crucial for the study. Furthermore, to gather and analyse relevant data for the study, the multiple case study design was employed as it allowed for detailed scrutiny and description of multiple cases of the phenomenon under study. The study was not limited to a single case, but four African universities were

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purposely selected as the cases. The selected universities are the University of Education, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology in Ghana, the University of Lagos in Nigeria, and Cape Town in South Africa. These universities were selected because each of them has experienced the brunt of student protests in recent times

The purposive sampling technique was used to deliberately interrogate participants who have experienced or took part in the student protests in the universities under study. The research participants were made up of former student leaders and current students of Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology and the University of Education, Winneaba. Also, the former Dean of Students of the two Ghanaian universities were interviewed for the study. Newspaper reports and YouTube videos were utilised to gain insights into the student protests particularly in Nigeria and South Africa. The study employed content analysis to analyse the data based on the themes generated from the objectives of the study, juxtaposing it with existing the literature and the frustration aggression and the new social movement theories.

The study found low involvement of students in the decision-making process, poor treatment of student by campus security and excessive increase in tuition fees. It was found that despite the laid down procedures, which makes room for student involvement in the governance structure of the universities, students are primarily side-lined in decision-making and significant policy formulation. Within the general management and decision-making processes of the four universities selected for the studies, student concerns are barely considered, which increases the tension among the student

populace. Because students perceive that they are unrepresented in university management, they resort to unconventional means like violent protests to voice their concerns. Students also perceive that the channels for addressing their concerns are skewed against them and do not trust the system. Protest, therefore, becomes the means to get their concerns addressed effectively.

On the other hand, the study found that student protest has not severely affected academic policies. it was found that the academic calendar is chiefly disrupted when there are student protests. Due to the violent nature of the student protests, the universities are closed down to prevent further destruction of school properties and violence. This results in a situation where the academic calendar is disrupted, affecting the academic work, including the scheduled teaching periods.

The study also found that student protests could be minimised by effectively involving students in the decision-making process of the universities. This is significant as the non-involvement of students in the management of the universities was regarded as a key factor that results in a student protest. The findings also indicates that students resolve to protest when university management undermines their involvement and demands. To reverse the rampant protests, it is significant that students are effectively involved at levels of the management structure and their concerns fully considered.

Key Findings

The following key findings were made with specific reference to the research objectives.

1. With reference to the first research objective, the study found several factors that influenced student protests in the selected universities. However, these factors vary across the universities. Thus, while the protest in the UEW was against partisan or political influence in the school, that of KNUST was against non-involvement of students in decision making and security brutality of students. On the other hand, the UNILAG and Fees Must Fall protests in Nigeria and South Africa were against high cost of living and astronomical increase of tuition fees respectively.

2. With respect to the second research question, the results revealed that the student protests had varied degrees of implications on both administrative and academic policies in the universities under studied. While the KNUST and UEW protests contributed to administrative changes in these universities, it also led to the closure of the schools which affected their academic calendars. Also, the Fees Must Fall protest in South Africa disrupted the academic calendar of South African public universities but resulted in zero increment of fees and subsequent introduction of free university education in South Africa. However, while the UNILAG protest led to the closure of the university which eventually affected the academic calendar of the school, it had very little or no implication on the administrative

policies of the school as standard of living in the school has not changed.

3. Finally, with regard to the third research objective, the study found dialogue as the best measure to engage agitating students or organisers of protests on campus before the issue escalates. Also, the study found that universities need to embrace the use of social media platforms like Twitter and Facebook to communicate with students and calm them when they are agitated on certain issues.

Conclusions

From the preceding discussions and findings of the research, the following conclusions are drawn with respect to the research questions.

First, it can be concluded that the low involvement of students in the university's management at all levels and the undermining of student concerns are the key factors that have resulted in the increased student protests across African universities. In addition, external influence from politicians and alumni of the universities, excessive increase of tuition fees and high cost of living on campus were identified as factors that influence student protests.

Second, it can be established that student protests have severe effects on administrative policies as well as academic policies. Available evidence from the data reveals that student protests affect administrative policies in the various universities. This is primarily because student protests target administrative policies that they deem unbearable or oppressive.

Finally, the study indicates that effective involvement of students in the management of the university and a dialogue approach by the university management in times of crisis will be effective measures to minimise student

protests. Social media has become a platform actively patronised by students and used to organise protests. Adopting social media by university management is regarded as crucial to spot resentment in the student populace to reverse the likelihood of a protest.

Recommendations for Future Research

Based on the findings and conclusions drawn from the study, there is the need for further studies in the following areas:

First, a further study should be conducted to critically examine the responses of university administrations in African universities to student activism (protest). Such a study can thoroughly scrutinise the varied responses adopted by university management in universities in Africa.

Further studies can be conducted to map the incidents of protests in Africa to ascertain the hotspots of student protests on the continent and how such a trend can be reversed. A trend analysis of student protests will give a graphic and deeper understanding of the countries significantly affected and the reasons.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND LEGAL STUDIES

FACULTY OF ARTS

CENTRE FOR AFRICAN AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR DEAN OF STUDENTS

Introduction

Dear Participant,

I am Kwame Ntiamoah Ntim, gathering data for a research project in fulfilment of my MPhil at the University of Cape Coast (UCC) at the Centre for African and International Studies. The interview guide seeks to solicit information on the impact of *Student Protests on both the Academic and Administrative policies in some selected Universities in Africa.*, I would be very grateful if you could respond to all the questions provided as much detailed as required. The answers given will be used for academic purpose only. Please be assured that information provided will be treated with absolute confidentiality. Many thanks for your cooperation.”

Questions and persons to contact:

The researcher will answer all questions that you may have to clear your doubts. If you have any questions, please send them to the researcher, Kwame Ntiamoah Ntim– ntimk@mail.gvsu.edu Mobile: +233 546452575.

 Background Information

Please indicate your institution

 ....

1.   Tell us who you are, where you work as a staff and what you enjoy most when you are not working?

2. What is your understanding of student protests?

3. Are there examples of student protests you know of in Africa?

4. If yes, which of them and year?

5. What is/are cause(s) and motivation(s) for these students protests?

6. Are you of the view that protests are aimed at achieving change? Explain

7. Why do most of these protests end up in chaos?

8. What challenges hinder efforts to effectively protect students protesting?

9. Have student protests had an impact on academic policies?

    If yes, what are some of the policies?

10. Have student protests had an impact on administrative policies?

    If yes, what are some of the policies?

11. What is your view on student's inclusiveness in the decision-making process in the Universities?

12. Does the University have legislative rights to restrict students from protesting?

    If yes, why and if not why?

13. What restrictions has been put in place for students protesting?

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14. What monitoring mechanisms have been put in place to ensure compliance to these restrictions on student protests?

15. What are the safety measures put in place to monitor these protests?

16. What are the effects of student protests on the image of the Universities?

17. Are you of the view that protests are aimed at achieving change and why?

18. What do you recommend being done about students protest?

Thank you very much for your time.
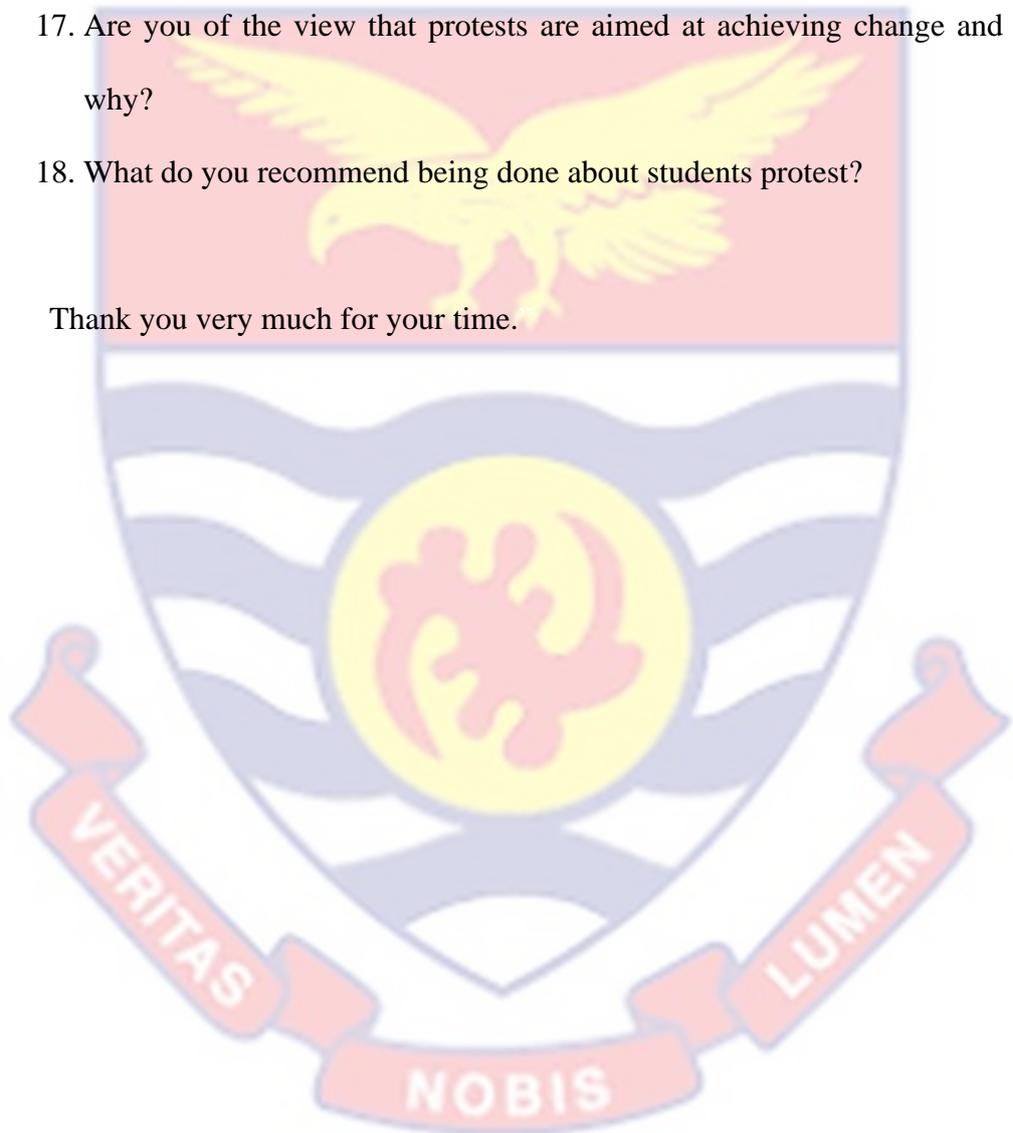
Appendix 2

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND LEGAL STUDIES

FACULTY OF ARTS

CENTRE FOR AFRICAN AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR EXECUTIVES OF THE STUDENTS

REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL

Introduction

Dear Participant,

 I am Kwame Ntiamoah Ntim, gathering data for a research project in fulfilment of my MPhil at the University of Cape Coast (UCC) at the Centre for African and International Studies. The interview guide seeks to solicit information on the impact of *Student Protests on both the Academic and Administrative policies in some selected Universities in Africa.*, I would be grateful if you could respond to all the questions provided as much detailed as required. The answers given will be used for academic purpose only. Please be assured that information provided will be treated with absolute confidentiality. Many thanks for your cooperation."

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7. Why do most of these protests end up in chaos?

8. What challenges hinder efforts to effectively protect students protesting?

9. Have student protests had an impact on academic policies? If yes, what are some of the policies?

10. Have student protests had an impact on administrative policies? If yes, what are some of the policies?

11. What is your view on student's inclusiveness in the decision-making process in the Universities?

12. What measures can be put in place to minimise the occurrence of students' protest in universities?

13. What are the safety measures put in place to monitor these protests?

14. What do you recommend being done about students protest?

Thank you for your time.

Appendix 3

Centre for African and
International Studies,
University of Cape Coast,
23rd October 2020.

The Director,

Centre for African and International studies,

University of Cape Coast.

 Dear Sir,

<u>REQUEST FOR AN INTRODUCTORY LETTER</u>

I, Kwame Ntiamoah Ntim writes to request an introductory letter to conduct my Master of Philosophy research on the topic: ***Student Protests in some selected Universities in Africa***. The study seeks to solicit information on the impact of Student Protests on both the Academic and Administrative policies in some selected Universities in Africa. My research will make use of the Dean of Students and past Executives of the Students Representative Council in some selected universities in Africa. I will therefore need an authorized letter from the Centre.

Thank you.

Yours Faithfully,

Kwame Ntiamoah Ntim

(AR/MP1/18/0002)

Cc

The Office of the Dean of Students:

Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Ghana.

University of Education, Winneba-Ghana.

University of South Africa, South Africa.

University of Lagos, Nigeria.

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Appendix 4

PERMISSION LETTERS

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND LEGAL STUDIES
FACULTY OF ARTS

CENTRE FOR AFRICAN AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

PHONE: (233) 332092181/0552481788
EMAIL: cais@ucc.edu.gh
OUR REF: CAIS/I/3/65
YOUR REF: DATE: 2ND NOVEMBER, 2020

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Madam,

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION
(MR. KWAME NTIAMOAH NTIM)

This is to introduce the above-named M.Phil. student of the Centre to you for your kind assistance.

Mr. Ntiamoah Ntim is seeking to collect data from your institution to aid his academic research work on the topic: *Student Protests in some selected Universities in Africa.*

We would be most grateful if you could accord him the needed assistance he may require from your outfit.

The Centre appreciates your kind gesture in this regard.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

Dr. Alex J. Wilson
Director

DIRECTOR
CENTRE FOR AFRICAN & INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST
CAPE COAST

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UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND LEGAL STUDIES
FACULTY OF ARTS

CENTRE FOR AFRICAN AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

PHONE: (233) 332092181/0552481788
EMAIL: cais@ucc.edu.gh
OUR REF: CAIS/I/3/65
YOUR REF:

DATE: 2ND NOVEMBER, 2020

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Madam,

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Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

Dr. Alex J. Wilson
Director

DIRECTOR
CENTRE FOR AFRICAN & INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST
CAPE COAST

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UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND LEGAL STUDIES
FACULTY OF ARTS

CENTRE FOR AFRICAN AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

PHONE: (233) 332092181/0552481788
EMAIL: cais@ucc.edu.gh
OUR REF: CAIS/I/3/63
YOUR REF: DATE: 2ND NOVEMBER, 2020

Dean
The Office of the Dean of Students
University of South Africa
South Africa

Dear Sir/Madam,

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION
(MR. KWAME NTIAMOAH NTIM)

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Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

Dr. Alex J. Wilson
Director

DIRECTOR
CENTRE FOR AFRICAN & INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST
CAPE COAST

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UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND LEGAL STUDIES
FACULTY OF ARTS

CENTRE FOR AFRICAN AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

PHONE: (233) 332092181/0552481788
EMAIL: cais@ucc.edu.gh
OUR REF: CAIS/I/3/61
YOUR REF: DATE: 2ND NOVEMBER, 2020

Dean
The Office of the Dean of Students
Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology
Ghana

Dear Sir/Madam,

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION
(MR. KWAME NTIAMOAH NTIM)

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Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

Dr. Alex J. Wilson
Director   DIRECTOR
CENTRE FOR AFRICAN & INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST
CAPE COAST

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