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Chapter I: University of Cape Town and University of California-Berkeley: A Comparative Study

On March 21, 1960, the South African police rained down bullets on thousands of peaceful demonstrators. As the crowd fled, the police aimed at their backs and shot down women and children. The bloody event became known as the Sharpeville Massacre, with a body count totaling 69. The dead included schoolchildren, university students, and parents. Across the world, the University of California-Berkeley experienced momentous social and political upheaval on its campus. Four years after the attack on demonstrators in South Africa, the Berkeley campus witnessed its own conflict with the police. On October 1, 1964, thousands of students protested outside a police car on University of California-Berkeley's campus. The car contained Jack Weinberg, a university student arrested for refusing to show campus police his identification. After Jack Weinberg sat in a police car for 32 hours, with a growing crowd surrounding the car, the Free Speech Movement was born. The students' protest was effective; Weinberg' charges were dropped and the event offset widespread protests began on campus.

Both of these events were oriented around the requirement for photo identification and travel documents. However, the actions of both groups were steeped in the restrictions of their political freedoms. Jack Weinberg was setting up a table to provide political information on the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE), a civil rights organization that became crucial in the student movement. This act was a response to Berkeley's restriction on the dissemination of political information on campus. During the 1960s, the campus had banned the presence of political organizations and other forms of political activity (Cohen & Zelnik 2002). While at his table Weinberg was accosted by a campus officer, and when the student refused to show his

identification, he was arrested. The protestors in the Sharpeville Massacre rallied around the government's demand that all black South Africans carry pass books (Lodge 2011). This demand required police officers to question and investigate citizens. The protest was an attempt to combat the apartheid government's continuous restrictions. After international criticism of the massacre, the police later claimed they feared for their life, and that the shooting was a reaction to previous conflict with citizens.

Comparative Study of UC-Berkeley and UCT Protests

These independent events in South Africa and the United States occurred during key moments in the political and social struggles of their respective countries. This project focuses on the years 1960-1965 because this era is characterized by large-scale violations of civil and human liberties. These human rights and political violations led to domestic and international support for anti-apartheid and free speech political activists. Violent acts in South Africa, primarily the Sharpeville Massacre, led to continuous police repression and brutality. South African officials passed a series of laws that prohibited the collective action of black South Africans. In comparison, the Free Speech Movement also led to a period of repression by University of California-Berkeley's administration and police department.

This project chronicles the student movements of the early 1960s and its' effect on two campuses- the University of California-Berkeley and University of Cape Town. There are startling similarities between the racist government of both countries and the policies of the respective institutions. Both protest-based movements stemmed around social injustice within the country and on campus. Each movement occurred on large, public universities with majority affluent and white student populations (Luescher et al., 2011). One important issue that comes up is the use of public space for political activity. Both protest-based movements helped form the

democracy of each country and established the importance of political liberty. Student activism can be catalyst for democratic change, as illustrated by these movements. Political activism is a key component of a healthy democracy, and it's important to examine who's involved in this activism.

College campuses have networks for information; this includes news stations, newspapers, and other sources of political information that have a large audience. Political networks are built in part because of location and opportunity to engage, which brings up questions of access to information. The cultural transition theory explains how institutions with majority white student population cater primarily to white students (Dickert-Conlin, 2008). This theory is applicable to the two universities- the political restrictions impacted all students; however blacks were disproportionally impacted. The political leadership on both campuses was also dominated by white students. To analyze the legacy of the student activism on the University of Cape Town and University of California-Berkeley's campus, survey data for current students is available. The goal of this project is not only to make a historical analysis of the events on both campuses, but understand the lasting impact of the political activism.

The results of my comparative study suggest whether these campuses were successful in promoting political activism among all groups. It's also crucial to understand how these protests helped form the political identity of youth-aged populations during this decade and later years. This is essential because universities often have the resources and networks to inspire political and social change. This study has important implications for institutions and their promotion of political expression among youth populations, as well as influencing the advancement of social causes.

Historically social movements have been a key tool for political expression. In the past five years, political activism among youth has continued this trend by using movements to push for democratic change. Protest movements during the Arab Spring and Occupy Wall Street illustrated the motivation by college-aged youth for political change and democratic ideals. These movements were fueled by the youth and were primarily initiated by university students. Historically and in contemporary civil society, colleges are spaces for political engagement and social movements. It is often implied that colleges promote democratic ideals; this research focuses on this claim. The study of student activism primarily examines the voting behavior and protest participation in youth movements. However, my research moves beyond this field, also focusing on the political development of citizens during their formative years. This political development has important implications for an active citizenry in South Africa and the United States, specifically among college students.

Historical Background of the Two Student Movements

The years 1960-1965 were marked by high tension in the political and social conflict in both the United States and South Africa. The segregation in the United States remained largely uncontested, with the freedoms of African-Americans restricted through legal racism. The Civil Rights Movement gained increasing attention, as African-American leaders secured a national audience. In South Africa, the apartheid system was gaining renewed vigor, after relative freedom for blacks in the 1950s. Apartheid was acknowledged as the most extreme system of segregation, comparable only to the Jim Crow segregation of the United States. After the election of the National Party, the government instituted a series of racist policies that stripped black South Africans of their economic, social, and political freedom (Matsinhe 2011). This system of racial segregation was instituted by the white minority government through a series of legislative

acts. From 1948 to 1994 the National Party government dictated the rights of black, Indian, and coloured South Africans. The racial segregation in the United States and South Africa led to resistance among citizens, particularly among college students.

The Sharpeville Massacre occurred as a result of the Pass Laws, legislation initiated by the apartheid government. The Pass Laws dictated the segregation of South Africans, requiring blacks to carry pass books while traveling. The Pass Laws were one of many laws dictating the citizenship of blacks, and remained legal until 1986. This legislation intentionally restricted the movements of blacks, including designating specific areas for traveling (Lodge 2011). After the massacre the government imposed a state of emergency, which lasted until 1990 after negotiations were initiated. This state of emergency severely limited the political freedom of South Africans. The Sharpeville Massacre marked the beginning of armed struggle by the anti-apartheid resistance (Frankel 2001). After the massacre, the government received criticism from the international community, including other college campuses worldwide. On University of Cape Town's campus, the Sharpeville Massacre's impact was felt by the student body. Student political leaders became active in the armed resistance. There were 25 sabotage attacks launched against the government, primarily committed by University of Cape Town students (Davies 1984). These attacks, instigated by the African Resistance Movement, were conducted in the years 1960-1965. Similar to the Free Speech Movement, the ARM's leadership was composed primarily of white, liberal students (Gunther 2004). Their threats of violence remained a fear for both apartheid officials and resistance organizers, which also became an issue in the Free Speech Movement.

The Free Speech Movement was influenced by the violation of political freedoms that occurred in earlier years. While it is widely acknowledged as beginning in 1964, the movement's

origins can be traced to 1960. The conflict over Weinberg's table was in part because of his work with CORE, a key organization for student activism in the Civil Rights Movement. The Free Speech Movement has been linked to the development of the broader struggle for racial and social equality: "Originating at the University of California within the Berkeley campus, the Free Speech movement had a key role in the development of the 1960s counterculture and the struggle for civil rights" (Carlisle 2007:188). The FSM was able demonstrate the importance of student activism: "It [FSM] set up an agenda for students' activism, and by the end of the decade, its spirit had spread to hundreds of other universities…" (Carlisle 2007:188). The movement on Berkeley's campus and the broader struggle for civil rights are inextricably linked: "The Free Speech Movement cannot be separated from the more general civil rights movement, which, throughout the 1960s, advocated a more inclusive society where African Americans could finally enjoy equal rights with white people" (Carlisle 2007:188). The key figure in the FSM, Mario Savio, participated in the Mississippi Freedom Project, working as an organizer for voting rights: "Savio's experiences in Mississippi gave him a wealth of insight into the nature, meaning, and consequences of American style apartheid" (Cohen & Zelnik 2002: 92). The Civil Rights Movement provided a foundation for the movement at Berkeley. Each of the student organizations, including CORE and SNCC, provided political resources for the Free Speech Movement. Several of the FSM' leaders, including Mario Savio, participated in the civil rights organizations, and were influenced by the fight for political freedom.

The demographics of Cape Town and Berkeley had an impact in the social movements on both campuses. Cape Town, South Africa is the largest city in the country, and the primary destination for tourism and economic development. While Johannesburg was viewed as the primary face of black resistance, Cape Town proved to be a key space for anti-apartheid

activism. Seen as the most diverse and developed city in the country, Cape Town was a mix of coloureds, whites, and black South Africans. Berkeley, CA is a small city with a history of political activism and had a significant African-American population during the Free Speech Movement (Gibson and Jung 2005). Both cities remained a backdrop for the political activism of the era. Both universities provide a central identity for the city's residents. The Free Speech Movement occurred during the school year 1964-1965 on Berkeley's campus. In 1964 the university banned political literature on campus, prompting wide-scale protests. The ban was in large part a response to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), who had an important presence on UC-Berkeley's campus. SNCC promoted non-violent techniques of resistance among the student population, and were leading organizers for students in the Civil Rights Movement. SNCC's influence on other campuses was primarily coordinating students' political development. Berkeley's administration banned political activities on campus, in part because of the widespread social conflict in the United States. In Cape Town, the 1960s ushered in a new era of police brutality and political repression as the white minority attempted to coerce the black population. College students witnessed an elimination of freedom to assemble, and political organizations on campus were actively monitored or outright banned by the administration.

Civil Society and Student Movements

Traditional theories about civil society provide understanding about movements on both campuses. Civil society aids democratic transition, and influences the consolidation and deepening of democracy. Civil society, described as "the organized expression of various interests and values operating in the triangular space between the family, state, and the market" (Ballard et al., 2005:617), is needed to ensure a strong democracy. This collective helps ensure

the upholding of citizen's rights, the spread of information, and other important values in a democracy. These values all promote an empowered citizenry, who are then able to hold the government accountable: "Civil society helps spread information, whether about rights, policies, or institutions" (Habib & Kotze 2002). The theory surrounding a strong civil society was evidenced in UC-Berkeley and UCT student protests. During the political strife of the 1960s in South Africa and the United States, civil society promoted the importance of citizen involvement. Civic engagement is crucial to developing a society that is aware of their rights and can advocate for them. Civil society helps spread information, whether about rights, policies, or institutions (Habibi & Kotze, 2003:3). Within South Africa, civil society positively influenced the move towards a democratic state. South Africa has a rich history of civil engagement that has led to the continued mobilization in support of democracy.

The mobilization on University of Cape Town and University of California-Berkeley led to the inclusion of more political and social liberties on these campuses. With the fall of the apartheid regime and the move towards democracy, the nation has used the strength of civil society to progress. Civil society has empowered social movements, which has led to democratic change. The purpose of a democracy is to achieve an empowered citizenry that elects leaders. Civil society has empowered social movements, which helps lead to democratic change by promoting accountability of government and responsibility to the people. Concepts of democracy support the influence of an involved public that engages in activism by promoting rights. Within South Africa, the idea of civil society lends itself to political engagement both during and after the apartheid regime. South African cultural networks and associations have a legacy of providing a forum for grievances to be discussed and the basis for political action (White,

2010:687). The primary association is the university, which provided a space for political engagement.

While other demographics were key in the fight for political rights, college students were an important demographic that helped achieve political freedom and influence on social movements. Because of the risk of economic and social backlash for other political protestors, college students gained a significant role in the respective movements for each country. These students had more resources to dedicate to political participation, and were more readily influenced by the political environment of their college campuses. The key figures in each social movement were students. For the Free Speech Movement, the key leaders were Jack Weinberg and Mario Savio: "…A social movement is never simply 'about' its object, but is always 'about' the deeper identities of the participants…who stoke it and shape it" (Cohen & Zelnik 2002: 4). For the anti-apartheid movement, the central figures included Frederick John Harris and Steve Biko. Frederick John Harris, a member of the African Resistance Movement, became the only white person executed for anti-apartheid resistance (Okoth 2006). His role as a guerrilla fighter inspired renewed dedication to armed resistance: "This [Harris' execution] will serve to strengthen the faith of all those who fight against the danger of a "race war" and retain their faith that all human beings can live together in dignity irrespective of the colour of their skin (Marof 1965). Steve Biko, founder of the Black Conscious Movement, had an active role in apartheid resistance during his time at University of Cape Town. His leadership was responsible for the formation of black-led student organization dedicated to challenging the UCT administration. Social movements provide the foundation for a strong civil society, and in turn, a flourishing democracy. As the key component of civil society, social movements are able to demand

government accountability to the population. Social movements provide links of identity, and create a mobilized and empowered civil society (Ballard et al. 2005).

Social movements remain the most influential way to mobilize and radicalize civil society and push for change. Social movements are the most instrumental component of civil society. The social movement represented the interests of students and demanded political accountability from the administration and government. They were also effective in supporting democratic ideals, such as freedom of speech and assembly.

In apartheid South Africa, social movements have empowered citizens to demand government action and intervention, which has led to a stronger democracy. There are key tenents of democracy; concepts that ensure a fair and successful democracy are able to thrive. One key democratic norm is the accountability of the state, which ensures the government's responsiveness to the needs of the citizenry. The political movement on University of Cape Town's campus was steeped in a call for government accountability. The students called for the dismissal of apartheid laws by the state, and the wide-spread discrimination experienced by black South Africans. The protest at the Sharpeville Massacre was based on black South African's demanding that the government acknowledge their rights (Lodge 2011). The Free Speech Movement protested the restrictions on political freedom by the administration. The administration's decision to ban political literature was done despite the opposition of the student body (Cohen & Zelnik 2002). Government accountability is ensured by civil society because citizens have influence on the laws and legislation that governs them. A key theoretical definition of social movements describes its commitment to change: "Social movements are thus, in our view, politically and/or socially directed collectives, often involving multiple organizations and networks, focused on changing one or more elements of the social, political

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and economic system within which they are located" (Ballard et al., 2005:617). This idea of social movements is applicable to the student resistance at University of Cape Town and UC-Berkeley. This commitment to change begins by providing citizens with tools to demand government action.

The student protests were also driven by coalitions with other social movements. In a post-apartheid society, coalitions among movements provide a stronger base for mobilization and additional resources: "Social movements are not spontaneous grassroots uprising of the poor as they are sometimes romantically imagined, but are dependent to a large extent on a sufficient base of material and human resources, solidarity networks and often the external interventions of prominent personalities operating from within well-resourced institutions" (Ballard et al., 2005:627). These coalitions became useful in social movements by combining their resources.

In a democracy, sufficient resources are needed to attain the attention of the state, and force government action. Networks are linked to the importance of collaboration in social movements: "For example loose networks increase the resources available to social movement organizations" (Porta & Diani, 1999:161). Another key dynamic discussed in the literature on student involvement is a strong system of political networks. Networks were crucial for the Free Speech movement; the Free Speech Movement was influenced by SNCC and CORE, while student activists at University of Cape Town were influenced by the African National Congress (ANC) and African Resistance Movement. The African National Congress was the primary resistance organization to the apartheid government. Networks are necessary to spread information in civil society, especially among youth-aged population (Kahler 2009). It analyses how the characteristics of each university influenced the political behavior and attitudes of students.

Network-building is a crucial component of civil society; it leads to government

response. Post-apartheid civil society operates within a newly consolidated democracy, and now

functions as a catalyst for deepening democracy. Civil society, especially social movements,

forces the government to incorporate the citizen's opinions and remain responsible to them. The

Free Speech Movement demanded administrative response, and its first protest led to the release

of Jack Weinberg from police custody. The FSM was able to establish a committee to discuss the

students' grievances with the administration. In comparison, the protests in Sharpeville, and later

protests on University of Cape Town protests, also called for government accountability and

citizen rights.

College Attendance and Liberal Ideology

Collegiate institutions are often elite, well-funded universities that promote political

activity and engagement. This is true for University of Cape Town and University of California-

Berkeley, especially during the years 1960-1965. This project examines the impact of the college

environment on both campuses, and how this influenced the activism and legacy of the

movement. The central theories about the impact of college are the socialization effect and the

liberation effect. The socialization process occurs during college, when students adjust to their

college environment and this shapes their values and attitudes (Dey 1997). Before entering

college students have their own values, beliefs, and goals; while in college they adjust to the new

pressures of their environment and the new groups that surround them. The college impact

theory also discusses that youth attending college display more political activism than

individuals that do not attend college (Dey 1997). College-attendees are more likely to vote,

participate in protests, and sign petitions. While incoming students may enter institutions with

political ideologies and habits, their college campuses socialize them to be more politically involved. However, there is variation in the socialization process. The literature suggests that the socialization effect is not universally accepted for all students. This project will examine this effect, particularly by studying the political leaders and activists within the movements on both campuses. Other scholars have contributed to the debate of college's effect on student activism. A 1985 study by Frederick Weil discusses the cognitive, affective, and ideological effects that college has on student's activism. College attendance "liberalizes" students, allowing for higher rates of self-efficacy and political development. Overall collegiate institutions promote liberalized political ideas. However, there is variation in its effect on students: "Education does not have a universal liberalizing effect" (Weil 1985). However, there is variation in its effect on students. Education does not have a universal liberalizing effect. Weil's paper brings up the psychodynamic theory, which concludes better educated people tend to be more secure and able to tolerate diversity. This encompasses political activity and the promotion of political diversity. Education is correlated with liberalization and political engagement, but this does not hold for all groups; social categories largely influence this phenomenon.

Political identity is primarily formed during college years, between the ages of 16-24 (Dey 1997). These formative years define student's political identity and activism. The political behavior students' form follows their political behavior throughout their life. The development of students is crucial to the mission of universities as they mold student activists:

The interests and issues of student activists have often spoken to the larger concerns of society. As higher education moves toward renewing its commitment to civic engagement, citizenship, and education in democracy, understanding the learning

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outcomes emerging from involvement in activism will help develop civically responsible

citizens (Rosas 2010).

The political activism on each campus was characterized by a commitment to democratic

freedom. This project examines the different forms of political activism on both campuses-

protests, political organizations, and campaigning. Political activism is defined as "direct

political participation activities such as voting, campaigning and communicating with elected

officials. The definition is inclusive of both individual political acts and involvement in political

organizations" (Wilson 2008). Political activism is a key component of a healthy democracy, and

it's important to examine who's involved in this activism. This is helpful in identifying potential

barriers to participation for student activists.

Data Availability

The University of California-Berkeley publishes yearly survey data from its students,

titled the UC-Berkeley Undergraduate Experience Survey. The two data sources, the UCT

Survey: Students Attitude Towards Democracy and The University in Africa and Democratic

Citizenship and UC-Berkeley Undergraduate Study, are from the year 2009. For UC-Berkeley,

all undergraduate students enrolled in the spring semester were invited to participate in the study,

across all class years. There were over 9,000 respondents in the survey (OPA 2009). The survey

questions address students' political awareness of current issues, their political leadership on

campus, and their participation in political organizations. The upcoming chapter will primarily

focus on questions that address students' political involvement with organizations and also

individual political acts such as protest participation or signing a petition. This study of

democracy remains my primary source of data for the lasting effects of the anti-apartheid

movement on University of Cape Town's campus. This report studies three major African

universities to detect how current youth value democracy. A sample of 400 students was

observed on University of Cape Town's campus for this voluntary survey (Luescher et al., 2011).

The survey specifically questions student's commitment to democracy and addresses how they

express their support for democracy, mainly concerning free speech and political liberty. The

survey also addresses the anti-apartheid movement, and this data will be part of my argument

surrounding the legacy of the movement.

The following chapter discusses the data available for the comparative study. The two

available surveys are UC Berkeley- Undergraduate Experience Survey and UCT Survey:

Students Attitude Towards Democracy and The University in Africa and Democratic

Citizenship. While there are issues with the data, including response bias and samples, the

surveys remain an important source of information on activism. The third chapter will discuss

the tension between university administration, the government, and the students. There will also

be a discussion surrounding the politics of higher education, specifically the tension between

public funding and political messages. The chapter will discuss the administrations close alliance

between the Afrikaner government and UCT administration. The chancellor of University of

Cape Town was an Afrikaner, apartheid supporter, and chief justice in charge of South African

legislation. University of California-Berkeley also had controversial administration during the

years 1960-1965. There was continuous administrative turnover, including four different

Chancellors during the examined years.

The conclusion will discuss the current political landscape of each country. This includes

an examination of current political movements on the respective campuses. The chapter will also

discuss the influence of political legacy on students' current political behavior. There will be a

discussion of the movements' resilience, the winners in the resistance movement, the legacy of violent and non-violent tactics, and the future of the movements after the years 1960-1965.

This research includes quantitative and qualitative work. The study uses historical archives and survey data to make a cross-cultural comparison between the University of Cape Town protests and the University of California-Berkeley protests from 1960-1965. Both student protests based movements helped form the democracy of each country. The influence of activism among youth-aged populations is a central piece of this project. Examining their political activism is key to understanding gaps in participation between different social groups currently.

Chapter 2: Survey Data and Political Legacy

In this chapter, quantitative methods are used to investigate the political legacy of the student protests at the University of Cape Town and University of California-Berkeley. The legacy of the University of Cape Town and UC-Berkeley protests is evidenced by the survey results administered on both campuses. This data indicates the legacy of the student movements on both campuses. Each year Berkeley students participate in a survey conducted by the universitiy's Office of Planning and Analysis. The available data is used to analyze the legacy of the Free Speech Movement. The University of Cape Town data became available through the Higher Education Research and Advocacy Network in Africa (HERANA), and the survey was conducted by a group of researchers in collaboration with the University of Cape Town. This project was produced in a report through the organization, titled "University in Africa and Democratic Citizenship." A cross-survey analysis method entails analyzing the results of the data as well as the questions provided on both surveys. These surveys are significant because they specifically question students' political behavior and identity.

University of Cape Town survey

The University of Cape Town survey was primarily conducted in response to the transitional governments in several African countries. Each of the observed countries-Tanzania, Kenya, and South Africa- has experienced the overhaul of single-party authoritarian or military governments in the last twenty years. Tanzania became a multi-party state in 1992 once the Constitution was amended to lift the ban on political parties. Kenya's transition occurred in 2002 with the country's first free and fair election. Finally, South Africa experienced its transition to

democracy in 1994, when negotiations with the apartheid government and the resistance movement led to the country's first democratic election.

While the survey contains data from students in all three countries, the only examined respondents are from University of Cape Town. The primary goal of the University in Africa and Democratic Citizenship (UADC) survey is to evaluate African universities training of student leaders in democracy. South Africa's democracy was consolidated in 1994 after negotiations between the government and the resistance movement. The majority of students involved in the survey were born during the period of negotiations between the apartheid government and the resistance. They were unlikely to experience the full-fledged apartheid system, and are instead connected to the legacy of the movement and the newly democratic state. This survey data is intended to observe the effects of political resistance on the University of Cape Town's campus, and illustrate its connection with the student movement in 1960-1965. The survey data discusses the issue of democratic citizenship by measuring students' commitment to the principles of democracy and political freedom. The report is comparative in nature- analyzing different students' responses among universities, student leaders in comparison to non-student leaders, and student views and non-student views.

The UADC was administered simultaneously in a classroom setting during teaching time. Each university conducted sample sizes with an average of 400 students, while the University of Cape Town hosted the largest sample size with 606 students. The survey illustrates a bias because of an intentional selection of student leaders to participant in the survey. 10% of the participants were required to be student leaders, while the University of Cape Town's sample contains 27% current and previous student leaders. This high concentration of student leaders could lead to a bias in the sample; the survey assumes that the political opinions of the

participants are representative of the student population at University of Cape Town. The sample of student leaders is addressed in the project: "Lastly, because a purely random sample might have resulted in the number of responses from student leaders to be too small to use as a subsample (possibly N<30), student leaders were approached specifically and deliberately oversampled. In the analysis, this subsample of current and previous student leaders is therefore statistically reweighted down to (an empirically defensible) 10% of the total sample" (Luescher et al., 2011:17). However, the results are not negligible, in part because of the emphasis on student leadership and political activism on the campus. The political activism on University of Cape Town's campus was primarily conducted by student leaders during the resistance movement; the survey results indicate this trend continues.

The University of Cape Town survey is part of a larger research project analyzing the current political opinion of democracy across the African continent. This survey is part of a comparative survey on students from leading African universities- University of Nairobi in Kenya, University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, and the University of Cape Town in South Africa. As a result, the questions are not uniquely tailored to the students of University of Cape Town in order to have wider applicability. The researchers applied the survey towards students from three distinct African universities- with varying characteristics within the student population and home countries. These questions were targeted towards institutions located in recently democratic states-Kenya, Tanzania, and South Africa. The study of University of Cape Town examines the legacy of democratic transition, and the current experiences of undergraduates. This indicates the legacy of the student movement on the campus.

University of California-Berkeley Survey

The University of California-Berkeley conducts an annual study, titled the Undergraduate Experience Survey. This survey is made available to participants in the University of California school system. The data available was administered to Berkeley undergraduate students in all class years. The surveys were collected from March until July, after students had been enrolled for at least a school-year. The survey investigates students' characteristics and their collegiate behavior. Berkeley has administered annual student surveys since 1996, and the survey questions were recently updated in 2004. The observed data is from the year 2009, similar to the UCT survey. The year 2009 marked significant periods of political activity in the United States and South Africa, with recent national elections in both countries. The survey results exhibit the impact of increased political activity on UCT and UC-Berkeley students.

Undergraduate students over the age of 18 are eligible to participate. With an available population of 24,379 students, the survey was completed by 9,016. This response rate is 37% for the 2009 survey, which is fairly low in comparison to other years. This fairly low response rate could lead to biased results, with the participants' answers seemingly representing the student population. The results of the student participants can be challenged as being unrepresentative. While the selection pool is expanded for all students, the survey has not been incentivized. The two studies differ primarily because of the use of sampling in the University of Cape Town's survey in comparison to a census of students in the UC-Berkeley survey. The inferences made about the UCT survey based on the sample may be flawed. However, they provide preliminary insight to the importance of political legacy on University of Cape Town's campus.

The UCUES survey is the primary tool to observe the legacy of democratic values and political resistance. The Free Speech Movement was characterized by a legacy of political activism. This legacy is exhibited in the survey results. The political development and leadership

skills of the respondents are key in understanding the political culture on campus. This culture was largely formed during 1960-1965 as civic engagement increased. The UCUES survey's format consists of "common core" questions about the student's background, academic engagement, and development. This "common core" is administered to all students; the second component of the survey consists of modules. Through random assignment the students receive questions from the varying modules. The randomization is beneficial because it implies representative questions, helping to eliminate bias in the results.

The survey is divided into several modules- "Civic Engagement", "Student Life and Development", and "Global Knowledge, Skills, and Awareness". These modules address essential questions in understanding the legacy of the Free Speech Movement and the importance of political development. The "Civic Engagement" module observes student's participation in campus organizations, community service, voting behavior, and campaign contributions. The questions in the module provide insight to the diversity within student's political behavior. The "Student Life and Development" module investigates the participants' goals & aspirations, perceptions & campus climate, and the importance of diversity. These modules are key in understanding the political psychology behind students' current activism. There are several questions that directly investigate the political culture on Berkeley's campus. These questions investigate the legacy of political diversity on campus, which is largely owed to the Free Speech Movement. The final module, "Global Knowledge, Skills, and Awareness", is primarily used to investigate participants understanding of global issues. This section is important, as students' political awareness of current issues is a critical factor in their political development.

The results of the UCT survey are influenced by the current political climate of South Africa. Despite the initiatives for political representation and democracy, South Africa's political

system is reminiscent of the one-party rule during apartheid. The African National Congress, coined as the "liberation party" and successors of Nelson Mandela's legacy, has dominated government. This is owed largely to the lack of accountability within the political system. During 2009 South Africa experienced a general election which might influence the survey results. Political participation and ideology often increases during election season. The election illustrated the dominance of the African National Congress, who captured 69.9% of the vote. While South Africa's constitution and democratic principles imply progress, the legacy has aligned with the political dominance the University of Cape Town protests' attempted to combat.

Democracy is based on the idea of elected leaders serving the public and principally operating for the common good. Democracy emphasizes the importance of a productive civil society, including social movements (Schedler 1998). Civil society, when forcing leaders to be accountable, can reduce corruption by combatting potential oligarchy and elitist power, and these are the current circumstances for South Africa's government: "…salient features of the ANC government are extensive incumbency and a circulation of elites" (Reitzes & White 2010:35). The students at University of Cape Town address the legacy of democracy in the survey and their strength in combatting corruption. While the current ANC government suffers from corruption, it can be combatted through a stronger civil society. Civil society is able to provide a forum for civic engagement and empowered citizens; these citizens demand more from not only state institutions, but their leaders. The importance of this relationship was exhibited through the student protests at both University of California-Berkeley and University of Cape Town during 1960-1965. This accountability is tied to the various levels within both democracy and civil society; the student protests demanded political freedom on their campuses and from the government.

The University of Cape Town survey is tied to the status of democratic ideals and will be reflected in the responses. Democratic ideals begin on a personal level, with autonomy over one's life and freedom from domination, spreads to the local jurisdiction in a city and district, then expands to a national government which includes elections and citizen input (Adler & Webster 1995:79). The survey questions the importance of democratic ideals among the current students. Within a democratic state, certain rights are guaranteed and limited violence by the government is expected. This idea of layers also applies to civil society- mainly because of its operation between the "state, family and market" (Ballard et al., 2005:617). Engagement with civil society begins on within the family and home, to a local level, through community organizations. At each level, civil society forces leaders and institutions to remain accountable to the population's needs. The UCT survey results indicate the importance of government accountability and political rights.

This idea of civil society lends its ability to strengthen democracy. It places all citizens with equal involvement in the democratic process. This concept is analyzed through the survey results of the UCT and UC-Berkeley surveys.

The objective of the "University in Africa and Democratic Citizenship" survey is to analyze the university as a space for political development. While this is not the primary objective for the UCUES, the survey's questions provide insight to the legacy of the Free Speech Movement and the cultivation of student leadership. Student development is the primary objective of universities (Rosas 2010). This development is key to aiding democratic transition and the expression of civil liberties. The surveys differ in several ways- primarily their objective and the format of the questions. The UCUES survey is extensive, with over a hundred questions for participants. However, this project focuses on primary sections that address student

development. The format of the survey is fairly simple- each question is answered on a five-point scale, ranging from "Not Important" to "Essential." This study examines one primary section- titled "Civic Engagement," with three options for each respondent- "Participant or Member," Officer or Leader," or "Neither." These options are essential in measuring the various types of civic engagement among different social groups. The respondents' options help reduce the "missing variables" bias, which is often an issue for studies on political participation.

The missing variables theory explains how traditional definitions of political activism have supported data on the gender gap. The gender gap refers to the gaps in political activism between men and women; men occupy positions of political power, while women are less represented in positions of political power (Fox et al., 2013). Instead, women seek membership in political organizations if there is significant outreach towards them. Women also work in political community service and volunteering. As a result, there is a "missing variables" (Baer 1993) phenomenon in previous surveys. Earlier studies have failed to account for the various ways political identity and participation is expressed. The measures of political activism have historically been biased towards women and other marginalized groups. This survey attempts to expand the measures of political participation to account for women's political involvement. This study defines political participation by "individual political acts and involvement in political organizations" (Wilson 2008). This definition of political participation guides the observation of the "Civic Engagement" section. Community service and non-traditional forms of political activism are also documented in the results for the UC-Berkeley survey.

The characteristics of the student participants are fairly representative of the undergraduate population at University of Cape Town. The survey participants are representative

of the diversity in race, gender, and class on campus. The racial composition of the survey is listed in the table below:

Table 7 Sample by race

	Black/African	Asian/Indian	White/European	Coloured	N/A, DK	Total
Nairobi	219	6	2	1	57	285
Cape Town	117	38	133	58	50	396
Dar es Salaam	364	4	0	6	11	385

N=1 200 Missing=133

Source: (Luescher et al., 2011:40)

The racial composition of the UCT survey respondents is as follows- 30% are black; 34% white; 15% coloured; 10% Asian (including Indian, the largest Asian sub-group). The remaining 12.6 % did not self-identify in the survey. These racial categories are a legacy of the system during apartheid. During apartheid, South Africans were identified in four racial categories. The racial caste system placed whites at the head, then coloureds, Asians (primarily Indians), and blacks. These racial demographics are still widely used in South African society. An important figure for the survey is the demographics of the student leaders- 59% of student leaders are black South African in comparison to 18% for whites. This is important primarily because of the legacy of the anti-apartheid movement, which was led by blacks but white students were key figures and helped provide resources for the resistance. The remaining social groups- including gender, background, and class- are also diverse. The sample's composition at the University of Cape Town is majority female at 51%. The population is also primarily urban, with 90% originating from urban centers before enrolling in school. The primary urban centers of South Africa- Johannesburg, Cape Town, Pretoria- were all centers of anti-apartheid activism. The survey results indicate that this trend of activism continues at University of Cape Town.

Another important social category within the UCT survey is class composition of the respondents. Class is primarily aligned with family background and income. For the survey, class distinction is identified through students main source of funding- their family/personal funds or university & government bursars. This a fairly reliable method for determining class among University of Cape Town students, as the study acknowledges: "These differences relate to different government funding approaches, the financial abilities of each of the universities to provide bursaries from its own budget, as well as the financial backgrounds of the students concerned" (Luescher et al., 2011: 37). A majority of the respondents, 64%, receive their main source of funding from their family or a bank loan. The bank loan can also be tied to family wealth; South African banks are unwilling to lend money unless there is an established line of credit. The study also addresses the government funds and their tie to financial aid: "The South African government is only indicated as the main funder by about 16% of the students (i.e. a figure which closely corresponds to the proportion of the University's undergraduate students on financial aid provided by the National Students Financial Aid Scheme" (Luescher et al., 2011: 38). The sample is of both South African and non-South African citizens. This may influence the number of students using family funding; international students are more likely to have personal funding for their education.

Results

Both surveys indicate political activism on the campuses. However, the University of Cape Town respondents showed stronger direct support for civic engagement and political activism than UC-Berkeley respondents. The UCT survey results are listed below, with the questions primary addressing support of democracy. The students defined democracy primarily through political rights and civil freedoms (51%), popular participation and deliberation (25%), equality, fairness, and justice (15%). These figures are exhibited below:

Table 12 Students' understandings of democracy by university

Conception of democracy	University			% of total
	Nairobi	Cape Town	Dar es Salaam	
Political rights and civil freedoms	55%	51%	36%	47%
Popular participation and deliberation	23%	25%	54%	34%
Equality, fairness and justice	4%	15%	1%	6%
Good governance	4%	2%	5%	3%
Socio-economic development	1%	-	-	1%
Other positive conceptions	1%	2%	-	1%
Neutral conceptions	1%	1%	-	1%
Negative conceptions	-	1%	1%	1%
Don't know, no answer	13%	4%	4%	7%

N=1 200

Source: (Luescher et al., 2011:46)

The students at University of Cape Town provided valid definitions of democracy and overwhelmingly associate positive connotations with democracy. These results indicate the importance of political freedom and a democratic process in South Africa's democracy. This echoes the goals of the anti-apartheid resistance and the student protests at University of Cape Town in the 1960s. UCT students indicate that a fair political process in necessary in democracies.

In the University of Cape Town survey, students were also questioned about their government preference. The survey asks: "Which of these three statements is closest to your opinion?" The respondents are allowed three options- "Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government," "In some circumstances a non-democratic government can be preferable," "For someone like me, it doesn't matter what form of government we have." The results indicate the importance of democracy and political freedoms among the University of Cape Town students. Of the respondents, 72.3%, state democracy is preferable to other types of government. The results of the University of Cape Town respondents are also compared to others in the age cohort as well as the mass public. UCT students prefer democracy at 70%, while the mass public within their age cohort prefer democracy at 65%. Also, UCT's students overwhelmingly rejected non-democratic alternatives. This strong preference for democracy on UCT's campus can be

traced to the authoritarian rule during apartheid. This history of the apartheid government has led to a loyalty to democracy and a fair political process. The survey results are exhibited in the table below:

Table 15 Preference for democracy by university

	University			Total	
	Nairobi	Cape Town	Dar es Salaam		
Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government	266	279	246	791	
	70.4%	72.3%	65.3%	69.3%	
In some circumstances a non-democratic government can be preferred	85	79	78	242	
	22.5%	20.5%	20.7%	21.2%	
For someone like me it doesn't matter what kind of government we have	27	28	53	108	
	7.1%	7.3%	14.1%	9.5%	
Total (N valid)	378	386	377	1 141	
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

% and count of 'Which statement is closest to your opinion?'

Source: (Luescher et al., 2011:50)

An important aspect of democracy is the various freedoms its citizens experience. UCT students disagree with limits on political freedoms- including freedom of speech, freedom of press, and freedom of association, at 84%. UCT students emphasize the importance of political freedoms, especially in comparison to other social groups: "They also demand all political freedoms far more than their 20–23 year age peers who are not in higher education, and more likely than South Africans in general" (Luescher et al., 2011:55). These results indicate the importance of political freedoms on UCT's campus, which is an echo of the student movement in the 1960s. Anti-apartheid resistance was recognized for its' dedication to political liberty. The data table is shown below:

Table 17 Students' demand for political freedoms

		University			Total / N valid
		Nairobi	Cape Town	Dar es Salaam	
Freedom of speech					
Negative	'Government should not allow the expression of political views that are fundamentally different from the views of the majority'. % disagree / disagree strongly	70%	81%	55%	69% 1 146
Positive	'People should be able to speak their minds about politics free of government influence'. % agree / agree strongly	82%	80%	81%	81% 1 144
Freedom of association					
Negative	'Government should be able to ban any organisation that goes against its views'. % disagree / disagree strongly	78%	84%	57%	73% 1 136
Positive	'People should be able to start and join any organisation they like, whether the government approves it or not'. % agree / agree strongly	34%	70%	43%	49% 1 138
Freedom of press					
Negative	'Government should be able to close newspapers that print stories it does not like' % disagree / disagree strongly	88%	88%	82%	86% 1 141
Positive	'The news media should be free to publish any story that they see fit without fear of being shut down'. % agree / agree strongly	79%	84%	84%	82% 1 140

Question: 'Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?' %=demand for freedom

Source: (Luescher et al., 2011:50)

Another important issue tied to the UCT student protests of the 1960s is current students' view of South Africa's current democratic standing. The table below addresses if students believe the country has problems within the current democracy. A large portion agree that there are at least minor problems (42%), while others argue that there are major problems within South Africa's democracy (49%). This political dissent is especially important given the legacy of South Africa's democratic transition and the student movement's call for freedom. UCT students have retained political awareness and recognize problems within the country's democracy. This table is shown below:

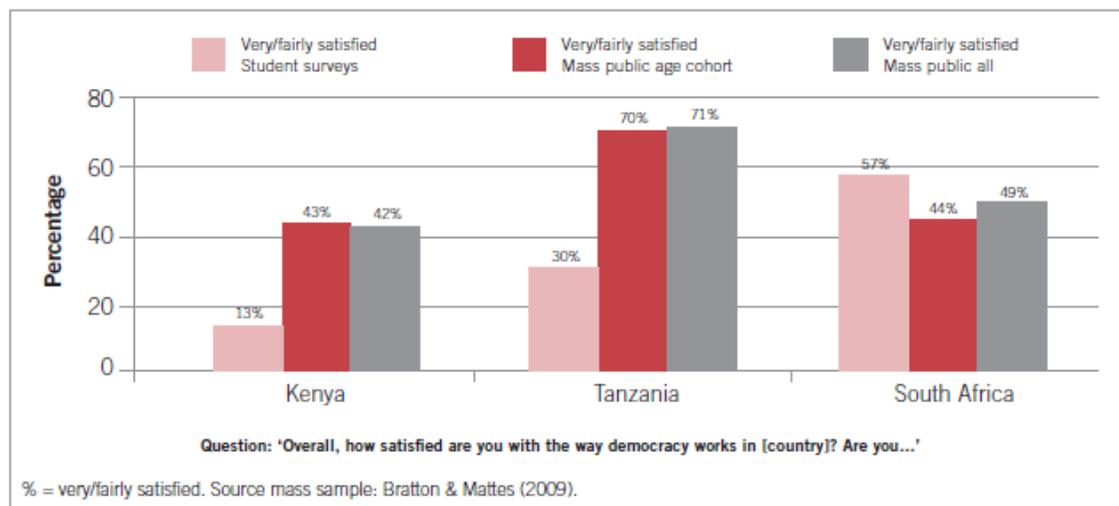**Table 24 Students' rating of the extent of democracy in their country**

	University			Total
	Nairobi	**Cape Town**	**Dar es Salaam**	
A full democracy	2%	6%	3%	4%
A democracy but with minor problems	13%	42%	31%	29%
A democracy with major problems	66%	49%	51%	55%
Not a democracy	20%	3%	15%	13%

Question: 'In your opinion, how much of a democracy is [your country] today?'
N=1 200 Missing=72

Source: (Luescher et al., 2011:66)

These UCT students also show a satisfaction with South Africa's democracy (57%), especially compared to the general South African public in their age cohort (44%). These results are important considering the trend between satisfaction with the political system and trends in activism. Political awareness is crucial for a successful democracy; dissatisfaction usually leads to political progression. The transition from political dissatisfaction to political change was shown during the student protests at UCT. These results are also linked to the college impact theory, which states that college students are more politically aware than non-college bound youth. The results are exhibited below:

Figure 18 Students' satisfaction with democracy in comparative perspective

Question: 'Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in [country]? Are you...'
% = very/fairly satisfied. Source mass sample: Bratton & Mattes (2009).

Source: (Luescher et al., 2011:68)

Finally, the UCT survey examines the respondents as "committed democrats". The term "committed democrats" is defined by the surveyors as: "those respondents who have consistently displayed high demand for democracy in that they 'always prefer democracy' and 'always reject non-democratic regime alternatives' when offered the choice" (Luescher et al., 2011: 56). "Committed democrats" are key in promoting democratic rights in South Africa: "A stable democratic regime does not only require well-designed and functioning political institutions and processes to be sustainable and consolidated; it requires democrats" (Mattes *et al.* 1999). The results of the question indicate that UCT students promote political activity in democracies. A majority of students (54%) are defined as committed democrats in comparison to 32% non-college bound youth and 35% of the mass public. Student leaders and activists proved to fit the "committed democrats" model at 58%. These leaders also emerge as slightly more committed to democracy than the students whom they represent on their respective campuses. However, the correlation shows that the relationship between formal involvement in student leadership and commitment to democracy is not statistically significant (Luescher et al., 2011: 58). Overall, these surveys show that students understand the democratic process and are supporters of political freedoms. This is linked to the student movements of the 1960s, and their commitment to a transition from the apartheid government.

Table 19 Committed democrats by university

			University			Total
			Nairobi	Cape Town	Dar es Salaam	
Committed democrat?	Yes	Count	181	217	146	543
		%	45%	54%	36%	45%
	No	Count	219	183	254	657
		%	55%	46%	64%	55%
Total		Count	400	400	400	1 200
		% within	100%	100%	100%	100%

N=1 200 Missing=0

Source: (Luescher et al., 2011:57)

The results of the UC-Berkeley survey also indicate the legacy of the student movement during 1960-1965. The "Civic Engagement" section illustrates student's involvement in political activity, particularly freedom of expression and community service. At the University of California-Berkeley, 92.5% of the respondents are not involved in governing student bodies. This includes civic engagement bodies like student government. However, a large portion of the student body is involved in community service as a form of political expression (50.1%). This table is listed below:

COMMUNITY SERVICE & LEADERSHIP

3. DURING THIS ACADEMIC YEAR, have you done community service work either on or off campus?

886 *(50.1%)* No

882 *(49.9%)* Yes

Source: (Office of Planning and Analysis, 2009: 16)

The emphasis on community service on Berkeley's campus is tied to the missing variables theory (Baer 1993). The inclusion of non-traditional forms of political participation is helpful to understanding the legacy of the Free Speech Movement. The FSM was known for achieving

political change through non-traditional political practices, including petitions, sit-ins, protests.

The UC-Berkeley students also show engagement in public affairs and also discuss politics. A series of questions ask the students about their political and social development on campus. The students overwhelmingly express positive connotations for their development and political freedoms. An overwhelming majority of the respondents, 85.3% at least somewhat agree that: "I feel I can express my political opinions on campus. Of the respondents, 76.4% at least somewhat agree that opportunities for community service were important to them. The development of leadership skills is also emphasized; of the respondents 87.7% agree that it is important for them to develop leadership while at UC-Berkeley. The campus culture demands freedom of political expression, a legacy of the Free Speech Movement. The results are listed below:

2. Which of these best describes your opinion on the following statements?

	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE	SOMEWHAT AGREE	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE
Opportunities for community service while here are important to me	73 (4.1%)	158 (9.0%)	185 (10.5%)	554 (31.5%)	500 (28.4%)	290 (16.5%)
Opportunities to develop my leadership skills while here are important to me	34 (1.9%)	69 (3.9%)	112 (6.4%)	484 (27.7%)	590 (33.7%)	461 (26.3%)
My experience here provides adequate opportunity to explore my cultural identity	57 (3.3%)	101 (5.8%)	214 (12.2%)	629 (36.0%)	521 (29.8%)	226 (12.9%)
I feel I can express my political opinions on campus	36 (2.1%)	63 (3.6%)	159 (9.1%)	487 (27.9%)	716 (41.0%)	287 (16.4%)

Source: (Office of Planning and Analysis, 2009: 16)

Another important piece of the survey examines the student's political expression through voting. These questions are key because they illustrate student's involvement in the

political system. An overwhelming majority of the students are registered to vote (80.1%), and most are registered to vote in Berkeley (52.2%). This indicates that students are invested in the political process both on and off campus. Of the non-registered voters, most express that they are not registered because of their citizenship (62.3%), instead of disengagement with the political process (22.3%). These survey questions are listed below:

5. Are you registered to vote?

1414 *(80.1%)* Yes

Are you registered to vote in the same city as your campus?

    732 *(52.2%)* Yes

    669 *(47.8%)* No

352 *(19.9%)* No

What is the primary reason why you are not registered?

    218 *(62.3%)* Not a citizen

    78 *(22.3%)* Not interested

    54 *(15.4%)* Other, please specify: *[Open-ended text field]*

Source: (Office of Planning and Analysis, 2009: 17)

The final question examined is students' involvement in the election. The respondents express their political activity during the most recent election season in 2008. This question is important because the 2008 election season exhibited high rates of participation among college-aged students. The grass-roots campaign run by then presidential-candidate Barack Obama targeted youth involvement, which may explain some of the results (McDonald 2009). The

presidential campaign of Barack Obama was steeped in youth activism; there were initiatives to recruit students through social-networking. The campaign's recruitment of students linked Obama with millions of potential voters, who were then able to become involved. A large portion of the respondents were aware of the candidates and issues (82.4%), while 77.2% talked to other students about the campaign. An important question is direct involvement in the campaign. A small portion, 9.1%, worked with a campaign during election season. These results indicate that Berkeley students are invested in the political process, especially during election season. The table results are listed below:

7. In the most recent election season, to what extent did you do the following?

	A GREAT DEAL	A SIGNIFICANT AMOUNT	SOME	NOT MUCH	NONE
Worked for a campaign	25 (1.4%)	31 (1.8%)	104 (5.9%)	116 (6.6%)	1475 (84.2%)
Contributed money to a campaign	11 (0.6%)	16 (0.9%)	127 (7.3%)	126 (7.2%)	1466 (84.0%)
Privately urged others to vote a particular way	114 (6.6%)	161 (9.3%)	425 (24.4%)	236 (13.6%)	804 (46.2%)
Paid attention to candidates and issues	379 (21.6%)	518 (29.5%)	549 (31.3%)	127 (7.2%)	183 (10.4%)
Talked about the campaign with other students	326 (18.6%)	471 (26.9%)	554 (31.6%)	181 (10.3%)	219 (12.5%)

Source: (Office of Planning and Analysis, 2009: 18)

The UCT and UC-Berkeley surveys indicate that political activism is an important issue on campus. Current student movements on the UCT and UC-Berkley campuses exhibit the legacy of the student movements during the 1960s. The legacy of the Free Speech Movement is seen in recent social movements. The Occupy Movement protests exhibited the political activism among Berkeley students. As the Occupy movement gained traction throughout the country, University of California-Berkeley students joined in the protests. They participated in sit-ins,

rallies, and petitions both on campus and in the Berkeley area (The Atlantic 2011). Recent

protests on UCT's campus surround the political and social issues within the country (UCT

2013). These expressions of political activism took root from the Free Speech Movement of the

1960s, and the culture of activism on Berkeley's campus was exhibited in the survey. Current

social movements and activism on both campuses will be further explored in the next chapter.

Limitations

While this data can indicate the legacy of political activism on both campuses, there are

some limits to the survey results. A primary limitation is the use of comparative survey data to

implicate the legacy of the student movements. However, the survey data does not explicitly

state that the students are influenced by stuent protests. These results, collected in 2009, can be

traced to political behaviors formed during the movements. Another limitation is observing the

years 1960-1965; however these years are crucial to student movements. They mark a significant

period of strife within political activism. Also, additional survey data or interviews of current

UCT and UC-Berkeley students. This survey data could question students about their opinion of

the student movements, and directly question the legacy.

Chapter 3: The Political Landscape of University of Cape Town and UC-Berkeley

Introduction

The student political movements at the University of Cape Town and University of California-Berkeley are commemorated for their similar ideologies surrounding political freedom, their alliances with larger political organizations, and the administrative upheaval on both campuses. The left-leaning student population on both campuses clashed with the conservative principles of the administration. By the late 1950s, entering student classes on both campuses promoted liberal policies and equality. This phenomenon occurred primarily because the changing political culture became linked to political and social issues in their respective countries. UC-Berkeley students became invested in the Cold War and Civil rights movement, while UCT students became involved in anti-apartheid activism. The student activism on both campuses was heavily influenced by political organizations; the Free Speech Movement was linked to SNCC, CORE, and Students for a Democratic Society, while UCT activism was influenced by the ANC and PAC. However, the direction of both student movements was stalled by conservative administrations on campus. The administration on both campuses was aligned with the conservative natures of their governments. University of Cape Town and UC-Berkeley had a dependency on public funding, which influenced their alliance with government policy. The political and social progression on both campuses endured resistance from the policies of the administration and the state.

Campus Political Culture 1950-1960

The inherent contradiction between the university's student population and faculty and the official policy of the university was evident on both campuses. State universities often lacked

the autonomy to distinguish their ideology from government policy. The government controlled a majority of the financing and revenue of these universities, so it was difficult for the administration to exhibit independence. As a result, a unique campus political culture emerged at the University of Cape Town and UC-Berkeley.

The campus political culture of each institution was heavily impacted by their demographic makeup. As a result, segregation within both institutions impacted the progression of the student movements. UCT's student population, despite being fairly liberal, was overwhelmingly white during the 1960s. Non-white enrolment at University of Cape Town was no more than 3% of the student population in 1957. The absence of representation led to strategic alliances among student activists to achieve change on campus. UC-Berkeley's campus was slightly more diverse with a non-white population of 10%; however overall the student population was largely homogenous: "[Of] The student body of the early 1960s. Perhaps 90 percent of entering freshmen were white, and most of them hailed from the state's middle and upper-middle classes" (academic-senate.berkeley.edu). However, a majority of Berkeley's campus promoted left-wing policies and political freedom. This is in part owed to the changing student population during the 1960s: "Between 1963 and 1964 the number of entering freshman at the University of California at Berkeley increased by 37 percent" (Burner 1971: 22). These students were also heavily involved in politically-relevant disciplines: "In the previous decade students majoring in the more socially conscious humanities and social sciences had jumped from 36 to 50" (Burner 1971:23). The student population at both institutions provided an important base for political change.

The liberalized population at University of Cape Town included a significant Jewish student population and foreign-born staff. The small Jewish population promoted a liberalized

view of race relations and political equality. In 1934 half of the staff and 7/8ths of the professors were born over-seas (Burner 1971: 25). However, despite a liberal student body and faculty, the administration was dominated by Afrikaner and government leaders. The Extension of University Education Act of 1959 formalized the racial segregation of all universities in the country. It became a criminal offense for non-white students to register at white universities without prior approval. This led to a wider establishment of non-white universities to serve black, coloured, and Indian student populations. These government policies were a tool to limit liberal ideology on campus. University of Cape Town was directly affected by this act, which occurred prior to the student activism during 1960-1965. The government's official policy of segregation was in conflict with the liberal ideology upheld by the university's mission statement. The premier South African student organization, the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), issued a statement in opposition of the act, and initiated a series of demonstrations and petitions, which proved ineffective (Curtis & Keegan 1971: 109). However, this act is further evidence of the political disconnect between administration and university students. It also exhibits the students' involvement in policy issues.

Equality remains the key principle tied to the legacy of the student movement on UCT's campus. Critical ideology emerged on campus that promoted universal acceptance and political freedom:

As the situation in South Africa well demonstrates, the critical role of intellectuals and students which involves applying idealistic principles to politics is not limited to left-wing or progressive activities. Rather the intellectuals and the students may also attack the status-quo, may advocate a purer society from the vantage point of right-wing or reactionary principles. (Merwe & Albertyn 1971: 9)

This occurred on University of Cape Town's campus, while a small minority of students espoused liberal principles and advocated for integration, a majority of the population supported or were indifferent to the government and apartheid practices. Political resistance to government policy was often displayed by political organizations like NUSAS. Youth movement theory implies that students are influenced by the liberal value system in their environment: "Student movements respond to or draw upon manifest or latent values in the groups from which they come; and their youthful idealism leads them to take those values off into an orbit of their own" (Merwe & Albertyn 1971: 9). The liberalization effect, discussed earlier, describes how college students become liberalized during their time in university. This trend is evidenced by the increased political activism on the UCT campus. The students exhibit a development of political self, which was shown at UC-Berkeley during the Free Speech Movement. This political development was key to the mission of universities; however this anti-communist era illustrated the contradictory nature of the university.

In comparison to other South African universities, especially the Afrikaner institutions, UCT promoted political liberty and freedom for all its students. The administration, in conjunction with another elite institution, University of Witwatersand, stated its support for equality in 1957:

> While conforming to the South African practice of separation in social matters, these two universities, so far as possible, admit students on the basis of academic qualifications only, and in all academic matters treat non-white students on a footing of equality and without separation from white students. (Welsh 1971: 22)

This statement proved to be key in its support for equality and student activism on campus. While it shows an official policy towards inclusion, this ideology wasn't neatly transformed into representation for non-white students.

The central difference between the UCT student activism and Free Speech Movement on UC-Berkeley's campus is the ideology surrounding the student protests. The UCT student movement was explicably centred around race relations and the inclusion of all non-white South Africans in politics and education. In contrast, the Free Speech Movement remained oriented around political liberties for students and was also tied to anti-war sentiment. However, the widespread ideology surrounding political freedom and representation was present on both campuses. Each movement also used similar tools- demonstrations, petitions- to influence campus and government policy. The student activism on both campuses was also influenced by their ties to strong political organizations, both within and outside their respective institutions.

Campus Student Organizations and Political Parties

Student organizations on campus, while linked to the movement, were unable to secure the administrative and financial support needed to progress. As a result, they collaborated with more powerful political organizations that retained influence. There were several key student organizations on each campus; the University of Cape Town was dominated by the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), and the primary organizations at UC-Berkeley were SLATE and Students for a Democratic Society.

The National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), formed in 1924 to represent the interests of students and universities, remained the central organization for collaboration and resistance among UCT students (Welsh 1971). The organization was spread across the central

universities within the country- University of Cape Town, Pretoria, Natal, Witwatersrand, Rhodes, Bloemfontein, and Potchefstroom. Also, unlike most organizations within the country, NUSAS was open to students of all races. However, the coalition's membership intentionally excluded African and coloured universities within the country. NUSAS was a central part of student activism on UCT's campus in the 1960s, in part because the organization's permanent office was located on the campus. Eventually the organization's inclusive and liberal policies led to factions within the organization. Afrikaner nationalists and Afrikaner-speaking universities such as Universities of Bloemfontein, Potchefstroom and Pretoria, University of Stellenbosch withdrew their membership after disagreements on NUSAS's purpose and inclusion of all races. After 1961, Black students participation in NUSAS rose exponentially, which led to an increase in student activism (Welsh 1971). However, despite NUSAS's official policy for inclusion, black consciousness leader Steve Biko advocated for an organization dedicated to black, Indian, and coloured South African students in 1968. He later formed the South African Students' Organisation. However, during 1960-1965, NUSAS was the strongest and most liberal student organization at UCT.

While NUSAS was a key support group for liberal students at University of Cape Town, they experienced conflict with the government and the administration. Their political impact intimidated the apartheid government, who attempted to limit their influence : "The Minister of Justice, Mr. B.J Vorster, sought first to drive a wedge between the NUSAS leadership and the mass of students on the White campuses, and then to compel the universities themselves to exert pressure on NUSAS" (Curtis & Keegan 1971: 112). The government attempted to delegitimize NUSAS' political campaign, and placed legal and social pressure on the student leaders. Widespread repression on NUSAS began after the Sharpeville Massacre and continued throughout the 1960s. The repression included deportation, revoked passports, and surveillance

by the South African Police (SAP) force. During apartheid the SAP was known for their intimidating tactics, and a division of SAP officers were responsible for opening fire on civilians during the Sharpeville massacre. A key form of repression was a smear campaign that linked NUSAS' leaders to the (ARM) African Resistance Movement. ARM was known for its' violent campaign against the apartheid system, and during its' inception was nearly all-white. The movement became known for their sabotage campaigns, between 1961 and 1964 over twenty acts were committed by the movement (Gunther 2005). Linking leaders in NUSAS to the movement helped depict the organization as radicalized and dangerous on campus. While it did not destroy the organization, the government's repression led to more conservative policies and separate factions with NUSAS.

Historically, NUSAS was dedicated to inclusive policies and political activism. In 1949, the organization held an executive meeting to discuss leadership and establish an official policy towards non-white students. This proved to be significant because of earlier events within South Africa; the year prior the National Party was elected to power, and instituted the apartheid, white supremacist state that oppressed political rights. NUSAS developed a campaign to ally with black South Africans, and part of their mission was steeped in democratic principles: "The NUSAS objects [objectives] are based on the defence of democracy, freedom of speech, education and economic opportunity" (Curtis & Keegan 1971: 104). Some of these objectives espoused anti-apartheid rhetoric: "To maintain the fundamental rights of all to the free expression of opinion by speech and press" (Curtis & Keegan 1971:104). These objectives also stated NUSAS commitment to democracy: "To be conscious of the deficiencies of our present democratic system in South Africa, and to seek as searchingly as possible how they can be remedied" (Curtis & Keegan 1971: 104). A proper profile of the organization characterized it as: "…as an effective organization of leadership training… and drew recruits into the struggle

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against white supremacy from groups that the left had been unable to reach" (Curtis & Keegan 1971:111). Also, student leaders within NUSAS pushed for a radicalization of the organization: " The Black students provided the impetus behind the pressure group that kept policies on the left, and they generated continual pressure for more radical statements" (Curtis & Keegan 1971:111). Many of these black students helped to later form the South African Student Organization (SASO). SASO, an anti-apartheid organization founded by students in 1969, were crucial in anti-apartheid campaigns and rallies. The organization, founded by Steve Biko as a faction within NUSAS, was dedicated to political activism. While the organization resistance the apartheid government, it tailored their cause to the desegregation of South Africa's higher education system. Their campaigns promoted the inclusion of more non-white South Africans on elite campuses, including University of Cape Town.

Similar to UCT, UC-Berkeley was heavily impacted by strong political organizations on campus. The Free Speech Movement was aligned with SLATE, a student party organization on UC-Berkeley's campus. Historically, SLATE played a key role in student involvement and radical resistance. Prior to the FSM, SLATE organized a major campus rally against the House of Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). HUAC, similar to the wider Berkeley administration, investigated potential communists and their allies. SLATE espoused anti-conservative principles and resented the limits of political freedom on campus. SLATE proved to be a key organization that laid the foundation of the Free Speech Movement. With a membership of 850 students, it provided a key base for student protests and demonstrations. The group was formed in 1959 to combat Cold War injustices and policies, and later expanded their cause to include civil rights. Throughout 1960-1965, SLATE led demonstrations and protested anti-communist policy. In 1962, SLATE also participated in protests against President John F. Kennedy and US-Cuba relations. However, the organization's key contribution was the Free

Speech Movement. SLATE heavily impacted the movement's principles of freedom and their student leadership. When the FSM conducted elections for student leaders, all candidates from SLATE won. These SLATE members also participated in negotiations to achieve free speech on campus, which later proved to be successful. One of the key figures in the movement, Mario Savio, was a former member of the organization, and later emerged as the spokesperson for the FSM. As the political power of SLATE grew, the administration and government attempted to repress its' influence. Prior to the Free Speech Movement, SLATE was accused of "subversive" tactics by the Un-American Activities in California committee. This committee was dedicated to investigating and exposing communist activities. They were especially interested in investigating the influence of communism in racial unrest and campus demonstrations. SLATE was linked to both campus and racial unrest, and appeared as a threat to the administration's influence. SLATE organized student protests and its members led the open rebellion against the administration during the Free Speech Movement. SLATE and its alliance with the FSM continued until the administration allowed more political freedoms for students. On April 28, 1965, the Free Speech Movement officially dissolved itself. SLATE also later agreed to dissolve the organization in October 1968, primarily because of the organization ushered in a more liberal administration that was willing to compromise with the student population.

University of Cape Town student activism attempted to promote change by influencing the political structure and through demonstrations. *Student Perspectives of South Africa* discusses the effectiveness of student resistance at UCT:

In South Africa student demonstrations, and indeed, all student political activities, have been…well-discussed appeals first made through the proper channels-usually the

university authorities-and only when these measures have failed has some form of protest been staged. (Merwe & Albertyn 1971:9)

This remained true on UCT's campus, as the NUSAS worked to institute administrative policy that would promote inclusion and acceptance of more non-white students. In contrast, the Free Speech Movement was built upon more radicalized student action-protests, rallies, and sit-ins. This tactic echoed larger traditions for political activism during the Civil Rights Movement. Mass mobilization and protest proved to be the most effective forms of civil engagement for students. Protesting occurred before administrative meetings and compromises with the university. While non-violent organizations like SNCC and CORE were influential in the Free Speech Movement, Students for a Democratic Society led much of the activity on campus during 1965. SDS has been described for its' radicalized view: "…a body that has shown its tremendous ability to mobilize students for action" (Merwe & Albertyn 9). As the largest student organization during the 1960s, SDS was a key influence in anti-Vietnam and civil rights activism. The organization began in 1960, and was known for its support of student political participation and power. SDS' mission statement discussed the organization's dedication to a participatory democracy:

> We seek the establishment of a democracy of individual participation governed by two central aims: that the individual share in those social decisions determining the quality and direction of his life; that society be organized to encourage independence in men and provide the media for their common participation. (SDS 1962: 1)

Their ideology had a direct influence on the Free Speech Movement, which resented the limitations on political expression and freedom imposed by the administration. The organization emerged from a socialist youth organization, Student League for Industrial Democracy.

Beginning at University of Michigan, SDS spread to thirty universities with a peak membership of 100,000 in 1969 (SDS 1962:1). The organization opposed several issues that affected UC-Berkeley's campus- racial discrimination, Cold War policy, and limitations on political freedom. The organization was also inspired by the civil rights movement; SDS incorporated the non-violent tactics of SNCC (Pekar et al., 2008). Students for a Democratic Society influenced the Free Speech Movement, and provided support towards university reform and radicalization. SDS was a key figure in the coalition that initiated the FSM and led negotiations with the administration. Jack Weinberg, a former graduate student and a key leader in the movement, was heavily involved with SDS.

  An important connection between UCT and UC-Berkeley student activism is the position of education and elitism and political rights for all. Despite their goal to advocate for non-white South Africans, the largest portion of non-whites remained outside the higher education system and off college campuses. The government attempted to wedge divides between the mass public and political organizations. Organizations like the ANC were steeped in an educated membership, primarily elite black South Africans with college education. Elitism is a major criticism of the anti-apartheid movement, especially the advocacy conducted by universities students. Even the largest resistance organization, the ANC, was founded by black middle class elites and their earlier policies were oriented towards assimilation and opportunities for elites. The Sharpeville Massacre became an event that pushed UCT student resistance and the ANC towards mass organization and resistance for all non-whites. On UC-Berkeley's campus the connection to elitism and student resistance is also apparent. Not only were the student leaders in the Free Speech Movement largely white, male, and wealthy, their advocacy were oriented in their own political freedoms, not the liberties of others.

The Sharpeville Massacre provided evidence on government's Afrikaner nationalist ideology and dismissal of black lives within the country. South African political parties also employed a heavy presence on campus. Three of the central political parties- the African National Congress, the Pan-African Congress, and the South African Communist Party, were banned in South Africa and forced underground. Additional conflict arose from the South African Defense Force, the armed forces unit within the government.

The ANC in South Africa and CORE in the United States initially incorporated the non-violent teachers of Mahatma Gandhi in their student protests and resistance. However, the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960 led to a declaration of war by Nelson Mandela and other leaders within the ANC (Zunes 1999). While the ANC and UCT students historically advocated non-violence, the massacre pushed the ANC towards violence (Kurtz 2010). One of the ANC's key leaders, Chief Albert Luthuli, won a Nobel Peace Prize for his commitment to non-violence. Within the South Africa more passive organizations such as NUSAS experienced wide-spread acceptance similar to the dichotomy of non-violent student protests and Malcolm X's claims toward self-defence provided a renewed appreciation for King's practices. The opposing direction of violence in each country became applicable to the struggles on each campus. The African National Congress was the primary resistance organization to the apartheid government. During 1960-1965 the armed branch of the African National Congress, began to incorporate violence resistance into their movement. Umkhonto we Sizwe, or "MK", became known as the armed branch of the ANC (Tambo 1986). Umkhonto we Sizwe , translated to "Spear of the Nation" incorporated armed tactics and collaborated with other resistance movements in Zimbabwe, known as Rhodesia, as well as Algeria. In contrast the civil rights movement in the

United States had been inexplicably tied to non-violence, as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. instituted more passive resistance within the protests.

The 1960s marked a period of anti-colonialism as revolutionaries fought dominant Western powers. As anti-regime forces fought for independence, these resistance groups channelled an image of fierce opposition. ANC training camps throughout southern Africa and Algeria were conducted to aid the fight against apartheid. Umkhonto we Sizwe was founded by Nelson Mandela after the Sharpeville Massacre (Tambo 1986). The formation of the arm marked a turn away from the non-violent stand the ANC had traditionally taken. After the Sharpeville Massacre, the ANC adopted a more militaristic approach to resistance. The main leaders within the ANC were men, and after the targeting of these leaders, most were sent to jail. In 1961, the leaders of the military wing, all men, were arrested and tried. This targeting continued through the decade. At University of Cape Town, the political leaders on campus were also targeted. During the treason trials of 1963, eight prominent ANC leaders were arrested and sentenced to life in prison. These continuous targeting left the ANC vulnerable, similar to the loss of leadership for student organizations like NUSAS. Nelson Mandela was arrested in 1964 and charged with treason. The Rivonia trial was also a key period in South African history (Feit 1971). This event provided an important background for student activism, and highlighted the repression of anti-apartheid movement. Government repression was an effective tool in limiting the influence of student activism at University of Cape Town. Within University of Cape Town's campus and the larger resistance movements, anti-apartheid activists channeled the spirit of aggression and fearlessness that dictated the 1960s. The path towards armed resistance was enabled by recognizing the brutality of the apartheid government. This resistance was linked to the ANC, who were fully committed to the movement: "Their duties are to build the true image

of their party to the world, fearlessly putting across our message and justifying our cause; to procure money and any other help and assistance required" (Sapire & Saunders 2012: 45).

Administrative Overhaul and Student Activism

Student political activity became the central theme on Berkeley's campus, as the resignation of several chancellors occurred during the instability of the Free Speech Movement. The institutional limitations and administration within Berkeley coupled with the instability and fluctuation on campus led to political conflict. Intellectual freedom was an important debate on both campuses and influenced student activism.

The Chancellor of University of Cape Town stated in 1932 that the goal of universities is to unite all the white races, and consolidating their strength: "Under present circumstances, it was impossible to have black and white students together" (Welsh 1971: 18). White South African history is a crucial component of the student activism on University of Cape Town's campus. University of Cape Town was heavily influenced by white South Afrikaners, who held key administrative positions like Chancellor. Afrikaners dominated the government and ruled South African society through segregationist practices. Afrikaner nationalism had an important influence on student activism and administration at UCT. The divide within the white population in South Africa played a role in the political life on University of Cape Town's campus. The political strife on campus was an important component of South Africa's education system: "Education has long been a highly charged political issue in South Africa. Administrators and politicians have recognized it as a powerful instrument for moulding citizens in a desired shape" (Welsh 1971:13). The student activism at UCT partly emerged because of differing opinions of the university's mission to educate leaders: "This is the conflict between what may be called the libertarian and the authoritarian views of education, the former contending that the chief purpose

of education is to develop the possibilities, intellectual, moral, physical, and spiritual, of every individual; and the latter that it is to mould the individual into the shape which will enable him best to fulfil a function assigned to him by the State" (Welsh 1971:13). Higher education was used to cement political citizenship and liberty within the country for the Afrikaner community. The development of higher education correlated within the Afrikaner community increasing in population and securing their political power. Because the apartheid system had an authoritarian nature, the university was seen as a space to produce students that functioned well within the state. However, student activists at UCT provided resistance and fought for political liberties.

At University of Cape Town, the administrative was directly linked to the Afrikaner movement and apartheid government. During the student protests, UCT's administration had a direct impact on the movement and the apartheid system. The Chancellor, The Honorable Mr. Justice Albert van der Sandt Centlivres, was also a judge and chief justice of South Africa (Zimmermann & Visser 1996). The Chancellor was not only a supporter of the apartheid system, but a leader in the legal system that approved apartheid laws, including the Pass Codes. This conflict of interest was present throughout UCT's administration. The direct links between the government and UCT helps explain some of the ineffectiveness of student protests at UCT.

Administrative conflict at UC-Berkeley also had an important impact on the development and success of the Free Speech Movement. The University of California president and former Berkeley Chancellor, Clark Kerr, represented the contradictory nature of the administration's policy throughout the early 1960s. President Kerr was president of the UC system from 1958-1967, during the key period of student activity on Berkeley's campus (University of California Office of the President 2015) . California legislators attempted to enact a faculty loyalty oath beginning in 1949 in response to fears about communist ideology and its' spread in universities. However, President Kerr refused to enact the policy on campus and its' infringement on political

liberty. While this act hinted at Kerr's liberal background, other decisions aligned with the administration's overall conservative beliefs. He refused to allow Malcolm X to visit campus in 1961, and a few years later Kerr placed a ban on communist speakers. The Speaker Ban, as it later became known, was dictated by Kerr but was often lifted to accommodate radical conservatives and religious leaders. These administrative decisions were in direct conflict with the liberalization of UC-Berkeley's campus; a new generation of students began protesting the campus administration and the Vietnam War as early as 1960. The Speaker Ban remained a part of the University of California system until 1963. During that year Kerr stated in a speech, "…The University is not engaged in making ideas safe for students. It is engaged in making students safe for ideas. Thus it permits the freest expression of views before students, trusting to their good sense in passing judgment on these views" (Freeman 2004). The university embraced the ban-lift by re-inviting Malcolm X, who spoke on campus later that year. However the legacy of the ban and its' inflammatory nature became a renewed issue in 1964, and Berkeley's ban of political literature. The attempt to limit political thought originated from the administration and the Speaker Ban.

The 1964 presidential campaign also influenced the actions on Berkeley's campus, and the administration's response to the Free Speech Movement. The election of Lyndon B. Johnson and his decision to support Civil Rights legislation in combination with harsh Vietnam War policies contributed to the radicalization of the students on UC-Berkeley's campus. The first major civil rights legislation occurred in 1960, protecting voting opportunities for American citizens and holding Southern states accountable for disenfranchisement. This act, titled the Civil Rights Act of 1960, also prompted political representation and democratic freedom. Throughout 1960-1965, civil rights legislation was approved as the movement solidified rights for African-

Americans. The peak of the civil rights legislation was signed into law on August 6, 1965, The

Voting Rights Act of 1965 (Graham 1990), which guaranteed voting rights for all American

citizens, regardless of race. However, the most important legislation coincided with the Free

Speech Movement occurred in July 1964, the Civil Rights Act 1964, which prohibited

discrimination based on personal background-including religion, sex, national origin, and race

(Graham 1990). This legislation was in direct conflict with the happenings on Berkeley's campus

in 1964, as the administration instituted prohibitive practices based on student's political origins

and alliances. These effects were seen on University of California-Berkeley's campus, as the

student body became involved in the movement. This helps explain their willingness to engage

in the Free Speech Movement and continue the student protests. The administration enacted

policies and promoted a culture of American loyalty and anti-communist rhetoric. However, this

clashed with the student's ideals of free speech and liberty.

The University of California is a public school system, and UC Berkeley was the first

institution founded in 1868 (UC Berkeley Office of the President 2015). UC-Berkeley has a long

history within the system, and its institutional barriers were linked to the constrictions of the

system. In 1960 then-Governor Pat Brown supported the California Master Plan for Higher

Education to form a cohesive post-secondary education system within the state (University of

California Office of the President 2009). With the consolidation of the school system, political

influence became a major theme within UC-Berkeley's administration. This project specifically

studies the student protests during the years 1960-1965, in part because of the expansion of state

influence on campus decisions. Governor Pat Brown had a key position in the early protests on

UC-Berkeley campus and increased tension over Vietnam War protests. The two-term governor

administered over key changes in the California education system- including enacting in-state

tuition, opening new college campuses, and the doubling of student enrolment (University of California Office of the President 2009).The history of the Free Speech Movement is documented through the protestors' interaction with UC-Berkeley's administration. The combination of student sit-ins and a faculty resolution on December 8th called for Chancellor Edward Strong's resignation; the Chancellor was dismissed from office on January 2, 1965. The chancellor wasn't the only administrative figure that conflicted with the protestors. Alex Sherriffs, vice chancellor for student affairs, clashed with student protestors and became a problematic figure against the movement (Sherriffs 2011). However, despite being discredited, Sherriffs remained in office after the resignation of Chancellor Strong. Other supporters of Strong also remained in office, like Kitty Malloy, his secretary. Strong's successor, Meyerson, also remained in conflict with both the institution and the student protestors. The campus was divided over Martin Meyerson's appointment; Katherine Towle, Dean of students, Arleigh Williams, Dean of men, were in conflict over the in-coming leader, while the students remained somewhat optimistic about his policies (Cohen & Zelnik 2002). The institution's attempt to connect with protestors resulted in the Free Speech Movement Steering Committee, composed of eight students directly connected to the protests and student leadership. Faculty members on Berkeley's campus faced a peculiar situation- torn between institutional loyalty and their relationship between students, many of the faculty issued letters of support for the student protestors.

   UC-Berkeley's administration was composed of two divisions- the campus-wide leaders such as Chancellor Strong, but also the state-wide leaders, President Kerr. UC-Berkeley's inclusion in the California university system has a strong impact on the political implications of the Free Speech Movement. This remained true for the University of Cape Town, which remained the premier higher education institution in South Africa. As the oldest university within

the country, UCT was inextricably linked to the apartheid government. While the students and some faculty promoted liberal anti-apartheid views, their progress was stalled by the administration and legal system. The similarities between administrative conflict and student political involvement are apparent on both campuses.

The Free Speech Movement negotiations led to the formation of several committees to organize the students and work with the university's administration. The Executive Committee, composed primarily of 50 students, became the lasting voice of the movement and its direction (Goines 1993). This committee was responsible for facilitating student groups, off-campus allies, and student leaders together to provide cohesive action. This group provided the major groundwork and was largely connected to the student body. The Steering Committee later emerged to mark the transition to negotiations between student groups and the administration. Key figures such as Jack Weinberg, Mario Savio and Steve Weissman were spokespersons for the committee. The decision to create the Steering Committee consolidated the leadership but also placed a small group of students in direct opposition with the administration and their culture of loyalty. One of the student leaders, Mario Savio, was also influenced by the civil rights movement. Savio was a participant in the historic Freedom Summer, a political campaign during June 1964 to register eligible voters and provide educational opportunities for Mississippi blacks (Cohen & Zelnik 2002). Freedom Summer was organized by Council of Federated Organizations, an alliance between SNCC, CORE, NAACP, and SCLC. Two of these organizations, SNCC and CORE, had a heavy presence on UC-Berkeley's campus. Savio and Weinberg, who later became leaders in the Free Speech Movement, were also involved with SNCC. The catalyst of the movement, Weinberg's confrontation with campus police, which started the FSM, occurred because he was operating a table for CORE. These larger civil rights

organizations had an important effect on the Free Speech Movement and its' campaign for political freedom.

Conclusion

UC-Berkeley and University of Cape Town were spaces for political radicalization and liberal ideas. The student activism on both campuses was attributed to strong political organizations, such as SLATE or NUSAS, and ties to large political associations such as Students for a Democratic Society or the ANC. Liberal political ideology on these campuses heavily impacted the student activism during this time period. 1960-1965 was a key moment within the United States and South Africa as each country experienced clashes between student activists and conservative government leaders. The Free Speech Movement was effective in establishing more political freedom on university campuses, and its' leaders were heavily influenced by the Civil Rights Movement. While South Africa continued to experience apartheid government until 1994, student activism during the 1960s provided a key foundation for the anti-apartheid movement. However, the opposition of the university administration and government limited the effectiveness of the student protests. The final chapter will discuss the current political environment of both campuses, and the government's recognition of the impact of student activism during the 1960s.

Chapter 4: Implications of UC-Berkeley and University of Cape Town Student Protests

This final chapter examines the implications of the student movements at University of Cape Town and UC-Berkeley. This is a discussion of the current political landscape at both

campuses, the legacy of political freedom, and movement's impact on institutional transformation. These political movements at both campuses laid the foundation for democratic transformations in each country. The political freedoms of all American citizens were helped secure in 1965 with passing of civil rights legislation. However, the Free Speech Movement secured political liberty on college campuses. Later student movements, including the anti-Vietnam War protests and women's movement used negotiation strategies similar to the Free Speech Movement. In South Africa, the student movement provided a foundation for student activism that remains on campus today. Political representation has become a key concept on both campuses.

The campus movements pushed for a participatory democracy and an environment of inclusion. Participatory democracy, defined as "the opening up of core activities of the state to societal participation…to improve accountability and governance" (Rose-Ackerman 2004:448). Both University of Cape Town and UC-Berkeley have become representative of democratic freedom and inclusion. It has been rare for a country with such deep divisions of race, wealth, and culture to manage a democratic political transformation of the kind achieved in South Africa…" (Beinart, 1994:270). The legacy of the student movements has been oriented around democratic building and consolidation, and remains a continuous process: Democracy-building is an ongoing process of struggle and deliberation" (Gaventa, 2006:32). These student movements helped empower the students; however, these campuses have also maintained student development. As public spaces, these campuses have an obligation to strengthen democracy and inclusion. Student engagement is a key part of development on campus, and is evidenced by the legacy of the 1960s student movements. The participatory element of the student protests was

focused on representation for individuals reflected in government. This element of participation has remained on UC-Berkeley and UCT campuses.

Recent Student Movements on Campus

On both campuses, student activism continues to influence on the political development of students. UC-Berkeley remains a space of political activity and a symbol of student political power. The Free Speech Movement provided a foundation for student activism and liberal policies. In the last year, student activism on University of Cape Town's campus has increased. The student activism has been linked to political and social issues on campus, but also widespread involvement with the democratic system. 2014 also marked the twentieth anniversary of the country's democracy, and the country experienced its fourth election cycle, which had an important effect on UCT's campus.

On University of Cape Town's campus the most recent political activity has been centered on the Rhodes Statue on campus. Cecil Rhodes was a British colonialist and ardent apartheid supporter; he also founded the British territory Rhodesia, present-day Zimbabwe. His investment in the diamond and mining industry made him one of the wealthiest men in the world. Rhodes was selected as Prime Minister of the Cape Colony in 1890, and his policies led to the further disenfranchisement of black South Africans. He supported franchise development in the mining industry with the Glen Grey Act, which established individual land ownership. The act also forced Xhosa men into employment on farms by instituting a labor tax. The Xhosa people are an indigenous ethnic group in South Africa, and were significantly repressed by the apartheid system. During British colonial expansion, the Xhosa, along with the Zulus, waged war against the invaders. They were also the first group stripped of political rights during colonial rule. Britain and the Netherlands stripped the Xhosa of their land and demanded their labor.

Rhodes' policies directly affected the marginalized groups within the country. He also instituted a Hut Tax, which demanded schillings from South Africans, usually Bantus, for each inhabited hut. His policies were dedicated to establishing white supremacy within the colonies. Rhodes' imperialist beliefs were evidenced in a personal diary in 1877 at Oxford University: "I contend that we are the first race in the world, and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race" (Rhodes 1877). Despite his racist policies, a South African university, Rhodes University is named after him, and there is a statue and memorial on UCT's campus dedicated to his memory.

The Rhodes protests began with one student's actions, similar to UC-Berkeley's Free Speech Movement. UCT student Chumani Maxwele threw human waste on the statue in early March to protest it's placement on campus: "The statue symbolises white supremacy. It's about the students at large and racism in the institution," Maxwele (*The Citizen*, 2015:1). A similar statement could be stated during the 1960-1965 student protests on campus. The Student Representative Council (SRC), whose presence also influenced the 1960s student protests, organized the "Rhodes Must Fall" movement. For University of Cape Town students, the removal of the statue seemed to symbolize the administration's commitment to rejecting leaders of apartheid. This is in stark contrast to the 1960s, when apartheid government officials had direct control over the campus. Instead of direct opposition, the UCT administration issued a statement of support for the students' right to protest. The current Vice Chancellor, Max Price, stated:

> Last week's student protests have resulted in a massive outpouring of anger and
> frustration – much about the issue of the statue, much more about experiences of
> institutional racism. Given this recent escalation of debate and protest, I think it

appropriate to replace our original programme with a more accelerated process to

facilitate a more rapid decision about the statue. (*The Citizen,* 2015)

The Rhodes protests are connected to a larger student movement surrounding the legacy of

apartheid leaders. Several buildings and statues on UCT's campus are named in honor of white

supremacists. Beginning in October 2014, the UCT administration agreed to establish a council

to investigate the naming of buildings around campus. Buildings across campus are dedicated to

key figures during the 1960s, including Steve Biko and Albert van der Sandt Centlivres. This

decision was made in response to student's dissatisfaction with the universities' naming policy.

The Black Lives Matter movement also became an important movement on UC-

Berkeley's campus. Student activists displayed solidarity with the protests against police

brutality. Black Lives Matter is an important social political movement that originated in 2012

with the murder of Trayvon Martin. Martin, a 17-year old high school student, who was killed by

a neighborhood watchman. His killer, George Zimmerman, was charged with murder and

manslaughter, but was later acquitted. Zimmerman's acquittal led to widespread demonstrations

against police brutality and the justice system. The protests encountered renewed support after a

string of police murders of unarmed black men. The most famous case, the 2014 killing of

Michael Brown, provided the movement with renewed vigor. The movement has also been

inspired by the police brutality encountered by commnuities of color. The Black Lives

Movement became a direct response to the violence against black youth, as well as the

systematic inequality within society. The movement resonated on UC-Berkeley's campus, with

student organizations initiating petitions, demonstrations, and supporting policy changes. The

Black Student Union (BSU) initiated a sit-in at the cafeteria and submitted demands to aid black

student's experience on campus. The Black Student Union, founded in 2010, has conducted several demonstrations to protest the racism within the campus and Berkeley police department.

This study has examined the importance of student activism and the legacy of these movements for free speech on campuses. The campaign to remove Cecil Rhodes statues began as a grass-roots operation, similar to the anti-apartheid movement in the 1960s. However, instead of the influence of a student organization, groups of student protestors began the campaign by throwing excrement at the statute. In contrast, the Black Lives Matter movement at UC-Berkeley began with peaceful protests on campus and in the city of Berkeley. The student movements led to to a strong civil society within South Africa, despite the government's attempt to fracture the protestors. Civil society is an active arena, as illustrated by the protest movements at UCT and UC-Berkley. Social movements are a key component of civil society, providing citizens with political empowerment.

Legacy of Student Activism

Legitimacy was an important part of the student movement during the 1960s. Student leaders like Mario Savio represented their grievances and retained the voice of their peers. Because of their ties to the movement, the student leaders enjoyed legitimacy throughout the negotiations. Civil action occurs in response to political limitations and oppression. The student movements on both campuses were in response to political injustice. These movements were initiatives to check the political power of the administration on each campus; however these administrations were also inextricably tied to the state. As a result, the student movements gained political traction on a national level, and propelled the movement's political ideology on a national stage. Civil society pushes for democratic states; however, after democratic states form, civil society also restrains the political power of the government. For South Africa social

movements have been key in the transition to a democracy. After the formation of a South African democracy in 1994, student movements, especially at University of Cape Town, have focused on maintaining representation and accountability in government. Citizens' expectations for an effective government remain present in South Africa and the United States. Youth political activism has provided an outlet for students' expectations. As a result, forms of political action have remained on UCT and UC-Berkeley campuses.

The 2014 South African national election illustrated the importance of democracy in the country. The anti-apartheid movement advocated for a fair electoral process and the UCT student movement helped achieve this democratic transition. As a result, the electoral process is an important part of UCT's culture. Political organizations like the ANC and DA retain a heavy influence at University of Cape Town. During the national election, campaign posters were spread across campus, and political rallies were held for each party. University of Cape Town and UC-Berkeley have emerged as "schools for democracy", institutions that have politically transformed their respective countries. These institutions have political influence- their student body is a key voting populace and source of political power. This is owed to the student movement, which established the importance of youth activism.

The political landscape of these campuses illustrates the importance of the student movements during 1960-1965. While organizations like the NUSAS and SDS no longer exist, their political influence remains. During the 2014 national elections in South Africa, student organizations had an important role on the political outcomes in the country. The most important student political organization, the South African Student's Congress, organized rallies and partnered with political parties, such as the ANC and DA, to spread information about the election and party policy.

Institutional Transformation

The most important piece of the student movements' legacy is the renewed dedication to political change on a national scale. The ban of political parties in 1960 after the Sharpeville Massacre forced the anti-apartheid organizations underground. However, the government lifted the ban in 1991, and these decisions hold weight currently on UCT's campus. The two most influential organizations on campus are the African National Congress Youth League and the Democratic Alliance Students Organisation. These two organizations, part of the larger political parties, represent the transition to political participation on campus. The political culture on campus has been widely diversified since the student movement of the 1960s, with greater political participation from all groups. However, the liberalization of UCT's campus remains largely the same from earlier decades. The tactics used in the 1960s are still used on campus- protests, sit-ins, and demonstrations- have been the primary forms of political participation.

The South African Students Congress (SASCO) was founded in 1991 as a collaborative effort between the National Union of South African Studies (NUSAS) and the South African National Student Congress (SANSCO). The organization was founded on the heels of the negotiations between the resistance and apartheid government. Although SASCO was founded at Rhodes University, the organization began to influence student involvement on University of Cape Town's campus. The Democratic Alliance Student Organisation is also a key organization on UCT's campus that is a direct legacy of the student movement in the 1960s. Although the organization didn't lead the campaign against Cecil Rhodes statue, DASO issued a statement in support of its removal.

The success of the movements on both campus are tied to their ability for negotiations between students and the administration. During the Free Speech Movement, a student advisory

board, representative of the protestors, engaged in a series of meetings with the administration. At University of Cape Town, student representatives were selected to negotiate with the administration surrounding the Rhodes protests. The Free Speech Movement also has an important legacy at the University of California-Berkeley. The students on campus expressed the importance of the political process and community development in the survey results, and their current political involvement exhibit this sentiment. The fiftieth anniversary was commemorated in 2014, with reflections made on the progression of political freedom on UC-Berkeley's campus. The FSM was initiated because the administration revoked student groups' privileges on campus, and the success of the movement led to campus political freedom. On Berkeley's campus student groups enjoy political freedoms and the right to assembly. The success of the FSM led to the wider political freedoms on universities campuses, especially public universities. During the Vietnam War protests, the right to assembly became crucial, and the FSM was effective in negotiating for public rallies and protests.

Conclusion

The UCT protests and Free Speech Movement are significant because they demonstrated the political power of civil society. These student movements were able promote civic engagement and led to an expansion of political freedoms. Civil society, a collection of organized political interests, strengthens democracy because it combats inequality (Ballard et al., 2005). The foundation of civil society often forms around the community, especially marginalized areas as seen in South Africa. Civil society and its strength within a society can combat inequality through interest groups that serve under-resourced populations with particular needs. The combativeness among interest groups in civil society also aids a democracy, because it allows for plurality in both society and government. During the anti-apartheid student protests,

groups such as the African National Congress were the primary communicators between the resistance and the apartheid government. In the Free Speech Movement, student groups like Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and Congress Of Racial Equality represented the students and combatted an injustice system. The relationship between state and civil society has been described as a productive part of South Africa: "Some relationships between civil society actors and state institutions will be adversarial and conflictual, while others will be more collaborative and collegiate. This state of affairs should not be bemoaned. Instead, it should be celebrated since it represents the political maturing of South African society (Ballard et al., 2005:672). The concept of civil society involves the idea of equal access: "Civil society is not open only to those whose values we share, but to all citizens…if we understand civil society as the realm of citizen voice and acknowledge that democratic principle requires that all enjoy a say, the test of democracy's health is not whether our favoured section of civil society is able to participate, but whether all can" (Friedman 2009:28).

The Free Speech Movement was effective in establishing acceptance of free speech and liberty on college campuses. Later protest movements, primarily against the Vietnam War, were able to successfully negotiate with their university's administration. The movement provided a blueprint for later civil rights activism-including the women's rights movement- and campus activism. The University of Cape Town protests were effective in establishing a cohesive student movement dedicate to anti-apartheid activism. The student leaders focused on institutional change and inclusion for all South Africans. While the UCT protests did not have the same institutional success of Free Speech Movement, the movement was effective in establishing a student culture of liberal activism. Student activism remains present on both campuses today,

and the legacy of the movements are apparent in the community service, democratic principles,

and liberal ideologies at UC-Berkeley and University of Cape Town.

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