DOREH TAGHAVI

EXPLORING FALLISM:

Student Protests and the Decolonization of Education in South Africa.

DOREH TAGHAVI

EXPLORING FALLISM:

Student Protests and the Decolonization of Education in South Africa

Editor's Preface

This volume engages with the Fallist student protests of 2015/16 and the demand for a decolonized system of education in post-apartheid South Africa. It is based on Doreh Taghavi's MA thesis, which was supervised by Prof. Michaela Pelican and supported with a research grant of the Thematic Network 'Remapping the Global South - Teaching, Researching, Exchanging' of the Global South Studies Center Cologne (GSSC).

Doreh Taghavi's study sheds light on the experiences, motivations, and visions of Fallist student actors, and provides the reader with a nuanced understanding of the need for educational reform in South Africa. It is based on empirical research conducted in Cape Town from October to December 2016, with a focus on the perspectives of student actors and the events at the University of Cape Town (UCT). Three research questions were at the heart of the study: What were Fallist students' experiences of their primary, secondary, and tertiary education? How did the Fallist movements unfold and what are their demands? What do student actors mean by decolonization of education, and what would such a decolonized education – and by extension a decolonized South African society – look like? Doreh Taghavi argues that current student protests in South Africa have to be seen in the light of South Africa's apartheid history and its uneven educational system which has disadvantaged large parts of the population on the grounds of race, socioeconomic status, ability, sexuality, gender identification, and their intersections. Fallist student actors envision a more just and appropriate system of education which provides them not only with useful skills and chances to further their own career, but to help their families and communities, and to position (South) Africa in its rightful intellectual place.

<div align="right">Michael J. Casimir</div>

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
AZAPO	Azania People's Organization
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
CPUT	Cape Peninsula University of Technology
COP	Congress of the People
DA	Democratic Alliance
DASO	Democratic Alliance Student Organization
EC	Eastern Cape
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
FS	Free State
GP	Gauteng Province
DAAD	German Academic Exchange Service
GSSC	Global South Studies Center
HDA	Housing Development Agency
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
LGBTQ	Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Queer
LP	Limpopo Province
MP	Mpumalanga
NSFAS	National Student Financial Aid Scheme
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NW	North West Province
NC	Northern Cape
OBE	Outcomes Based Education
PASMA	Pan African Student Movement of Azania
PPE	Politics, Philosophy, and Economics
RMF	Rhodes Must Fall
SA	South Africa
SAA	South African Airlines
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SAHO	South African History Online
SAFLII	South African Legal Information Institute
SAPS	South African Police Services

SASCO	South African Student Congress
SFA	Student Financial Aid
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Committee
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific & Cultural Organization
UNPFA	United Nations Population Fund
UCT	University of Cape Town
UWC	University of Western Cape
WITS	University of Witwatersrand
WC	Western Cape

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis was made possible by the direct support of many people who helped to inspire and motivate my academic endeavors over the last two years. I am deeply grateful to those who supported me in this unique opportunity.

I would like to thank Professor Michaela Pelican, who provided a huge amount of support and supervision in this process, without whom this project would have never reached fruition. I am further grateful to the Global South Studies Center, which helped me realize this research through funding and partnerships with South African Universities. The University of Cologne welcomed me as an international student, providing me with a platform to learn and grow. Thank you.

Daniel Bovelet, thank you for your ongoing support in every way through this entire process.

My deepest and most heartfelt thanks go to the University of Cape Town students who allowed me to learn more about them in a very sensitive time. Their willingness to engage with me is what made this project possible. I am inspired by their passion and dedication, and thankful that they allowed me to listen.

PREFACE

The South African Bill of Rights, Section 29
(The Constitution of South Africa, 1996)

Everyone has the right to basic education, including adult basic education; and to further education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible.

Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable. In order to ensure the effective access to, and implementation of, this right, the state must consider all reasonable education alternatives, including single medium institutions, taking into account—

a.) Equity
b.) Practicability; and
c.) The need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory laws and practices.

Everyone has the right to establish and maintain, at their own expense, independent educational institutions that;

a.) Do not discriminate on the basis of race
b.) Are registered with the state; and
c.) Maintain standards that are not inferior to standards at comparable public educational institutions

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

On March 9th, 2015, students of the University of Cape Town (UCT) started the complex process of decolonizing their university. They gathered around the sizeable statue of Cecil Rhodes, which stood watch over UCT from a prestigious position on the Upper Campus. The British businessman Cecil Rhodes served as the Prime Minister of the Cape Colony from 1890-1896. As an imperialistic colonizer, he is remembered flagrantly through quotes such as "I contend that we [Anglo-Saxons] are the first race in the world, and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race." (Keppel-Jones, 1983) Rhodes' legacy is part of South Africa's turbulent colonial history. This reminder of racial divide is not unique due to the stronghold of the colonial past, despite the shift out of *apartheid*[1] and into democracy in 1994.

The statue of Rhodes at the UCT Campus was one of many remaining tangible and intangible elements of colonialism in tertiary institutions in South Africa. Students are confronted with these tangibles and intangibles on a daily basis, but before March 9th, 2015 many had not conversed over these issues in a public platform. Eventually one student, Chumani Maxwele, decided to assert that Rhodes was a symbol of institutionalized racism, and threw a bucket of feces at the statue. This action served as a catalyst, which promoted South Africa's most intellectual students to take the lead on an ambiguous process known as decolonization, beginning with the decolonization of education; so began the Fallist movements.

The colonization of the southernmost area of Africa began in 1652, leaving South African tertiary students of today with a vast question; how to unravel the effects of more than three and a half centuries of colonialism, namely, how to decolonize. (SAHO, 2017) The chilling racial supremacy of colonialism is commemorated through Rhodes' legacy in the education sphere and beyond. In South Africa's education system, such commemoration comes not only in the form of statues, but also in the form of the prestigious Rhodes Scholarship[2] and the colonially branded Rhodes University in Grahamstown, South Africa. Outside of the education sector Rhodes' name is also highly visible, titling highways, apartment complexes, parks, businesses, and beyond. These

---

[1] *Apartheid* most literally means 'separateness' or 'aparthood', which illustrates the racial segregation that colonial actors enforced in a minority-rule government.
[2] The Rhodes Scholarship was established in 1902 in order to promote 'civic minded leadership'. Nearly 8,000 students have received this scholarship so far. Black students were not able to receive the scholarship until 1991, and women in South Africa were unable to receive the scholarship until 2012. (The Rhodes Trust, 2017)

types of colonialism, in the form of names and statues, are the tangibles. Such elements can be identified and acknowledged as clear remainders of the colonial past. Attitudes, tendencies and embedded social dynamics meanwhile, are phantom limbs of colonialism, rarely seen or discussed, but reportedly deeply painful.

The intangible remains of colonialism include the foundations of white privilege[3], institutionalized racism[4], and the manipulation of indigenous cultures. Curiously, many white South Africans, such as those represented by the group 'AfriForum[5]', reject the idea that they are inherently privileged in the neoliberal democracy, refuting the idea that privilege is complexly heritable. (Roets, 2015) As history indicates, white South Africans were able to access education in a higher quality than South Africans of color, until at least 1994. After 1994, socioeconomic jurisdiction allowed South Africans of color to also access education of a higher quality, though race was not eliminated as a hurdle to receiving quality education.

Given the aforementioned inequalities, the Fallist protests have not been the first to scrutinize the education system. Another memorable call to decolonize South African education occurred in June of 1976, known as the Soweto Uprising. Students from Sowetan high schools protested Afrikaans becoming the medium of instruction. Youth lost their lives through police confrontation, and the death toll estimates are upwards of 500. This day is marked Youth Day, and is celebrated annually in South Africa. (Ndlovu, 2007) Forty years stand between the student protest of 1976 and the Fallist Protests of 2015 and beyond. In light of the 40th anniversary, President Jacob Zuma gave a speech highlighting 2016's Youth Day theme as "Youth Moving South Africa Forward". (Zuma, 2016) Fallist youth are seeking to propel South Africa, particularly through the transformation of the education system.

Researchers who have expressly explored the South African education system include highly accredited black academics, such as South Africa's Jonathan Jansen (2006) and Cameroon's Francis Nyamnjoh (2012; 2016). The South African education system has been described as

---

[3] White privilege is based on structural bias favoring white people, which is present in various facets ranging from stereotypes and opinions to economic advantages. (Applebaum, 2016)

[4] Fallist students conceptualize institutionalized racism as systematic oppression of non-white people through subtle means, including having a societal model which does not prioritize the majority. Essentially, aspects of a 'system', such as that of the university, inherently favor white people through entrenched racists values and beliefs.

[5] AfriForum is a non-governmental organization focused on representing minorities in South Africa, namely Afrikaners and white people, and supporting them in taking part in democratic debate. AfriForum has also made a public statement against Fallist student leader Chumani Maxwele, accusing him of racism against whites. (AfriForum, 2017)

bimodal, alluding to a historically black disadvantaged system and a historically white advantaged system. (Fleisch, 2008; van der Berg, 2008) For example; research from 26 schools across South Africa shows, fifth grade learners in the historically black school system performed only as well as third grade learners in the historically white school system. (Fintel, 2015) Sociological theorists including Durkheim (1961), Kennet (1973), and Dreeben (1968), propose a critical connection between education and the social paradigm. Though the Fallist movements developed principally concerning tertiary education, they call for an important discussion regarding the social paradigm of South Africa in general.

It is debatable whether South Africa's new neo-liberal context has shifted the country far enough from colonialism, or if it is just masking the problems of present day. Highly intellectual students of the Fallist movements have examined this topic rigorously, through discussion, academic investigation, and forms of protest. Since 2015, Fallist movements have demanded change in society, and strived to build that change on a free decolonized education system. Fallist actors have continued to criticize the problematic education system, and with an urgency they have sought to offer decolonized solutions. This study seeks to dissect the education system in South Africa, while investigating decolonization through the perspectives of the Fallist movement and its actors.

1.1 Research Questions

Academics have been significantly involved in the analysis of South Africa's educational, racial and social landscapes; including Fleisch, (2008), Vanderberg, (2008), and Jansen (2006). Student movements in South Africa have also been investigated by historians (Healy-Clancy, 2017) and anthropologists (Nyamnjoh, 2016). I sought to explore the movement in a way that allowed me to connect the educational landscape to the movement. This research is based on three main pillars: educational experiences, mapping the social movement, and dissecting decolonization. The three following comprehensive questions are examined in this thesis:

1. Were the primary, secondary, and tertiary educational experiences of Fallists wrought with tangible and intangible colonialism, and did those experiences lead them to the movement?

2. How is the movement organized, and what are the dynamics behind its mobilization? What holds the movement together? Does the movement have a primary ideology, political affiliation, or structure?

3. What specifically is meant by decolonization of education to Fallists, and what exactly do Fallist seek to achieve in decolonizing their university?

After following the movement in the media remotely for a year, and conducting background research, the empirical aspect of this study began in Cape Town, South Africa. This study was funded by a research scholarship from the Global South Studies Center (GSSC) at the University of Cologne. This research program of the GSSC was part of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) thematic network 'Remapping the Global South'. The research stay spanned from October to December 2016. Permission to conduct research amongst UCT students was granted by the University's Department of Student Affairs.

Qualitative methodologies were implemented in collecting data, beginning with participant observation and informal conversations, including both movement and non-movement related student activities. This aspect of the methodology helped focus questions for qualitative semi-structured interviews, which took place in the second stage of the research. Specifically, interview topics chosen were refined based on the core content of student meetings and protests. The qualitative data from interviews and ethnographic observations were then applied to theoretical frameworks. Students with varying levels of involvement with the movement were interviewed, including key actors, such as Chumani Maxwele. Semi-structured interviews explored the following distinct topics: basic demographic information, primary and secondary educational experience, tertiary experience, the movement, and decolonization.

Interactions during the research phase were influenced by how I was perceived as a researcher. As a white female who was interested in learning more about the movement or attending a protest, I was not only a minority, but my presence was often viewed with great suspicion. In order to be trusted to some degree, I faced a level of scrutiny regarding my true character and intentions. In an American or German context, I am a heterosexual 26-year-old Iranian-American female. Though I am mixed-race, from a South African viewpoint and context, I am rather perceived as white and contextually economically privileged. These subjective points either added to or subtracted from my relatability while engaging with students. One advantageous commonality was age and occupation, as I was able to interact and speak with students, as a student myself. Sharing where I am normally contextualized in the United States, and being a foreigner in South Africa, differentiated me marginally from white female South African researchers, who many of the students I spoke to have been inflamed by. Having spent two years in a rural village

in Limpopo province (LP), South Africa, prior to my studies, may have also deemed me slightly more trustworthy. Nevertheless, in South Africa's post-colonial context, I am undisputedly white and privileged, and this work is thus a secondary source, with primary sources being those voices of the movement.

1.2 Thesis Structure

In the following chapters, I will seek to dissect three interconnected facets; the movement, decolonization, and the education system. In chapter two, I provide a historical and contextual description of the study area, South Africa, followed by a description of the education system. Chapter three focuses on the methodology used in this empirical study. Chapter four offers a theoretical framework, which focuses on the paradigm of social reproduction within education systems and demonstrates these ideologies in a post-colonial context in correlation to Fallism. Chapter five details the educational experiences of Fallist actors through primary, secondary and tertiary education. Chapters six and seven provide an analytical take on the movement, including the development, ideology, political affiliation, and a case study on the dynamics of Fallist demonstrations. Chapter eight investigates decolonization as defined by Fallist actors, in addition to decolonized education in South Africa. Chapter nine, the conclusion, builds final deductions about where the movement is leading, the significance of the movement for the future of South Africa's education system, and the global relevance of Fallism and movments like it.

CHAPTER 2

SOUTH AFRICA: HISTORICAL & CONTEXTUAL OVERVIEW

To grasp the findings of this research fully, it is imperative to introduce some basic contextual information about South Africa's history, demographics, economy, and politics, which have largely been shaped by colonialism. In this chapter, a short overview is given of significant historical aspects which molded the 'Rainbow Nation' and its neoliberal context. South Africa's history of education in the later 20th century is summarized, followed by a description of the education system today. This overview will assist in comprehending the movement, as well as the education system.

2.1 History, Demographics, & Diversity

The history of colonization in South Africa, specifically in the Western Cape, South Africa's southernmost province, is almost 350 years old, with the first settlers arriving in 1652. (SAHO, 2017) Slavery and forced labor came soon after, including the importation of slaves from India to suffice the labor needs of Dutch colonizers. Slaves were also brought in from Madagascar and other areas of Africa. (SAHO, 2017) Not far from present day UCT, ports in the former Cape Colony were used as a key location in slave routes. Whites in South Africa are of Dutch and British decent, groups which both took part in the colonization of the area. Slavery is said to have played a role in every aspect of present day Cape Colony, from social and legal dynamics to economics. It is thought that nearly every settler owned at least a few slaves. The Cape Colony gradually began to give slaves more rights in the early 1800s, and eventually in 1834 slavery in the Cape was outlawed, but segregation was not over. (SAHO, 2017) South Africa gained its independence from the British in 1910, and a few years later passed the 1913 Land Act, which forced black Africans to live in designated areas and disallowed them to work as sharecroppers[6]. Land Acts between that of 1913 and 1948, the beginning of apartheid, reserved 80% of South Africa's land for white people, a figure that has been debated to have not changed as much as it should have in the young democracy. (Nyawo, 2014)

The ostensibly named 'Rainbow Nation' celebrated its 22nd year of democracy on April 27th, 2016: Freedom Day. The first official democratic elections took place in 1994, marking the

---

[6] Sharecropping is a concept that was developed and commonly used for ex-slaves, where the sharecropper was a tenant farmer who contributed a share of his crop in order to pay rent. (SAHO, 2017)

successful overturn of apartheid regime. The momentum that mobilized South Africa out of apartheid was energized by many actors, including Steve Biko, Robert Sobukwe, and Nelson Mandela. Although, many South Africans report an indubitable suspicion about whether Mandela can rest on his laurels. (Azania, 2015) Mandela is conceivably the most popular anti-apartheid activist. As the country's first black president, representing the African National Congress (ANC), he preached for a path of nonviolence, equality, and forgiveness. Contrarily, Steve Biko advocated for transformation of a different type, which focused on the enhancement of the black identity. (Biko, 1978a) Sobukwe, considered extremely dangerous by the apartheid regime, was famed for his development of the Pan African Congress of Azania[7], which broke away from the ANC. (SAHO, 2011)

Since the fall of apartheid and the shift into democracy, the main political parties have been the African National Congress (ANC), the Democratic Alliance (DA), and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). The ANC has won every election since the first, in which Nelson Mandela was elected. Yet, it is projected that the ANC is losing its grip of the popular vote and is expected to face a tough national election in 2019, as indicated by the results of 2016's municipal elections. (Macharia, 2016) In today's democratic South Africa, people can theoretically utilize their voting power to make critical governmental choices, a privilege which was lacking during the apartheid regime. Since the major changes that came with the shift to the ANC administration in 1994, engaging with formal democratic institutions has been a weak aspect of political participation on behalf of South Africans. (Mattes, 2013) That is not to say, however, that South Africans do not engage with their government in other forms, such as protests, which Fallist movements are only one example of. The transformation from colonialism to democracy, however, is more than just a renaming, rather, a reframing. Many aspects of the new South Africa are still contentious; racial tension, income inequality, high rates of crime, and as many South African youth have recently voiced, a persistently colonial education system.

The happenings in early colonization contributed to today's demographic composition of the so called 'Rainbow Nation'. This includes more than 15 cultural groups in a highly diverse country with 11 official languages[8]. According to the 2011 census, around 52 million people

---

[7] The Pan African Congress of Azania is a black nationalist movement, which during apartheid focused on Africans leading Africa, having no ties or allegiance to any non-African nation state. (Pan African Congress of Azania, 2016)
[8] The 11 official languages of South Africa include: Afrikaans, English, IsiNdebele, IsiXhosa, IsiZulu, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, SiSwati, Tshivenda, and Xitsonga.

inhabit South Africa. As Table 1 below articulates, the majority of the population, 80%, is made up of black South Africans, with whites and coloreds, respectively, making up 8.9%, Indians making up 2.5%, and others .5%. (Lehohla, 2011) Colored South Africans are a specific ethnic group resulting from colonial South Africa, with a diverse mix of African, European and Asian heritage.

Table 1: Statistics South Africa,

Population by Province and Population Group. (Lehohla, 2011:19)

Population Group	Province Name[1]									SA total
	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP	
Black African	32.8	86.3	50.4	87.6	86.8	89.8	77.4	90.7	96.7	**79.2**
Colored	48.8	8.3	40.3	3.1	1.4	2.0	3.5	0.9	0.3	**8.9**
Indian or Asian	1.0	0.4	0.7	0.4	7.4	0.6	2.9	0.7	0.3	**2.5**
White	15.7	4.7	7.1	8.7	4.2	7.3	15.6	7.5	2.6	**8.9**
Other	1.6	0.3	1.6	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.7	0.2	0.2	**0.5**
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[1] Western Cape (WC), Eastern Cape (EC), Northern Cape (NC), Free State (FS), KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), North West (NW), Gauteng Province (GP), Mpumalanga (MP), Limpopo (LP).

When addressing the area of this research, the Western Cape (WC), specifically, the demographics are notably different than the country on average. The majority of the Western Cape is populated by colored South Africans, followed by blacks at 32.8%. Whites, reaching their highest numbers nation-wide in the Western Cape, come in at 15.7%. Indians and others make up the remaining 2.6%. During the apartheid, along with blacks, colored and Indian people were also classified by the apartheid government, and forcibly removed from areas they inhabited, such as Cape Town's infamous District Six.

Amongst the aforementioned groups, different languages are spoken, often clustered by province. Table 2 articulates regional variations of predominant languages, with the only exception being Gauteng province (GP), the seat of the legislative capital, where languages are most evenly distributed. Whites of Dutch descent speak primarily Afrikaans, and those of British descent speak English. The majority of black Africans in the Western Cape are Xhosa speakers, though, by far, Afrikaans is the most common first language in the Western Cape, with English coming in third.

Table 2: Statistics South Africa,

Population by First Language Spoken and Province. (Lehohla, 2011:23)

First Language	Province Name[1]									SA total
	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP	
Afrikaans	49.7	10.6	53.8	12.7	1.6	9.0	12.4	7.2	2.6	**13.5**
English	20.2	5.6	3.4	2.9	13.2	3.5	13.3	3.1	1.5	**9.6**
IsiNdebele	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.4	1.1	1.3	3.2	10.1	2.0	**2.1**
IsiXhosa	24.7	78.8	5.3	7.5	3.4	5.5	6.6	1.2	0.4	**16.0**
IsiZulu	0.4	0.5	0.8	4.4	77.8	2.5	19.8	24.1	1.2	**22.7**
Sepedi	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	2.4	10.6	9.3	52.9	**9.1**
Sesotho	1.1	2.5	1.3	64.2	0.8	5.8	11.6	3.5	1.5	**7.6**
Setswana	0.4	0.2	33.1	5.2	0.5	63.4	9.1	1.8	2.0	**8.0**
Sign language	0.4	0.7	0.3	1.2	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.2	**0.5**
SiSwati	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	1.1	27.7	0.5	**2.5**
Tshivenda	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.5	2.3	0.3	16.7	**2.4**
Xitsonga	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.1	3.7	6.6	10.4	17.0	**4.5**
Other	2.2	0.6	1.1	0.6	0.8	1.8	3.1	1.0	1.6	**1.6**
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

[1] Western Cape (WC), Eastern Cape (EC), Northern Cape (NC), Free State (FS), KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), North West (NW), Gauteng Province (GP), Mpumalanga (MP), Limpopo (LP).

The language figures for all of South Africa rank the most common first language as isiZulu, with isiXhosa coming in second, and Afrikaans coming in third. The diversity within South Africa and the Western Cape, including language and race, plays an important role in Fallism. It is imperative to note the figures regarding the Western Cape should not influence the composition of the university, which accepts students nationally and internationally. Regardless, the full-time residents of Cape Town certainly penetrate into the university bubble in some way. These figures allude to the racial and linguistic dominance in the Western Cape as a whole in comparison to the rest of South Africa. Not only did colonialism influence the distribution of language and race, but furthermore, the distribution of the country's wealth and its position within a global economy.

Economic inequality within South Africa has increased since apartheid ended, though the nation's economy is one of the strongest in Africa. (van der Berg, 2010) However, South Africa's pivotal role in the African continent is in question, with Nigeria having taken the lead as the biggest economy. (International Monetary Fund, 2016) South Africa joined BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) in 2010, noting itself as an emerging national economy with a rising labor

force within the top 25 most populated countries worldwide. David Lipton, the First Deputy Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, stated in 2016: "It is a generation since the end of apartheid, and regrettably there remains a large and growing gap between South Africa's accomplishments and its concrete economic needs." (Lipton, 2016) Lipton implies the faults within South Africa's economy are due to internal and external factors, including "infrastructure bottlenecks; skills mismatches in the work force; regulations that stifle competition and entrepreneurship and keep that one-third of the labor force unemployed or too discouraged to seek work." (Lipton, 2016) In the conclusion of this speech, which Lipton gave at the University of Witwatersrand, one aspect recommended for improvement was education.

2.2 History of South African Education

Education in South Africa went through a number of changes during and after apartheid. Apartheid schooling, or what is commonly known as 'Bantu Education' was enforced by The Bantu Education Act of 1953. (Christie & Collins, 1982) It was later renamed the Black Education Act, and is said to have pushed non-white South Africans towards an unskilled labor market. The act was repealed in 1980 for an equally repressive act called the 'Education and Training Act'. Healy-Clancy describes the historical shifts as follows:

> Precolonial initiation schools had stressed the cultural reproduction of African societies, and mission schools had sought to transform those societies (scholars differed greatly on whether this was for better or worse); state schools had previously neglected Black schooling in favor of spending on Whites. In contrast, apartheid schooling was an unprecedentedly concerted official effort at what Tabata (1959) called "education for barbarism:" using educational policy to build a white-ruled state and economy, while suppressing Black resistance. (Healy-Clancy, 2017:2)

Christie and Collins described the Bantu Education system by asserting; "Ideologically, Bantu Education clearly envisaged the separation of whites and blacks in political and economic structures, and promoted this ideology through schools." (Christie & Collins, 1982:67) The education system is criticized for creating unequal funding schemes for black and white schools, leaving 'black schools' with untrained teachers, overcrowded classrooms, and a lacking curriculum. In 1996, the 'South African School Act' took effect as the first post-apartheid education policy, and attempted to equalize education. Education in South Africa in 2016 appears different, particularly the racial make-up of certain school districts through redress efforts. In the

perspective of the Fallists, however, changes to the education system have been minimal, if not completely negligible.

2.3 South African Education Today

The education system in South Africa is comprised of two departments, that of Basic Education, dealing with primary and secondary, and that of Higher Education, which oversees tertiary and vocational schools. There are a variety of educational avenues that a child can take; public schooling, former Model-C schooling, or private schooling, with each requiring respective fees. Public schools supplement governmental funding through charging school fees, unless declared a 'no fee school'. Technically, no school is allowed to prohibit a child from attending if they cannot pay the fees, nor can they withhold a report card. (Department of Basic Education, 2017)

Former Model-C schools offer education at a higher cost, yet less than that of a private school. Model-C schools were formerly white government schools, which became willing to accommodate children of other races in 1992. These semi-private schools were developed during final years of apartheid to absorb the changes to the budgets for white schools. (Bush et al., 2003)

> The cutbacks in white education expenditure could be seen as an attempt to rationalize or equalize the distribution of resources between the different education departments. The logic was that if parents in the more privileged schools were required to pay more for their children's education, additional resources could be directed to those disadvantaged by inferior education facilities and services. However, many community-based organizations argued that the move to semi-private white schools was part of an attempt to maintain segregation and privilege through financial rather than overly racial means. (Bush et al., 2003:11)

Come 1996, these schools were no longer classifiably Model-C, but they maintained many of their financial and management strategies. Private schools in South Africa also come at a high cost, but in 2016 they achieved a 98.67% matriculation rate, in comparison to the overall matriculation rate of 72.5%. (Evans, 2016) The non-governmental organization (NGO) Equal Education criticized the Department of Basic Education for presenting a figure that aims to inflate the overall matriculation rate, while ignoring that a large percentage of students never make it to matriculation. "It is crucial to bear in mind that between 40% to 50% of learners never write the matric exam. This year the attrition rate was 44,57%. This means that of the 1,054,582 learners who were in Grade 2 in 2006, 32,4% qualified for tertiary education and a mere 15,4% qualified for university studies." (Equal Education, 2017) Needless to say, parents who have the financial

opportunity utilize the avenue of education which is more likely to lead to university, and to employment.

South African news agency, City Press, estimated the fees of an average fee-paying school, in comparison to that of an upper-income former Model-C school, and a private school. These figures were estimated for a time frame of 2016 to 2028, 12 years of schooling. The average 'fee-paying' public student's education from grade R-12 would cost over €17,000[9], or around €1,400 a year, while the former Model-C student's education would cost €46,000[10] , or around €3,800 a year. The extraordinary cost of private school for 12 years, which includes stationary, board, and uniforms, totals more than €250,000 based on estimates from St. Stithians College in Johannesburg. (von Berg, 2016)

Conclusively, socioeconomic standing is a key factor when considering a public, private, or Model-C school, where private school students have a far greater chance of matriculation. In the following chapter, I will further articulate the function of the education which these schools deliver, and provide the theoretical framework which structures this study's analysis of education, decolonization, and Fallism.

---

[9] These figures are based on the Federation of School Governing Bodies of SA's annual report. (von Berg, 2016)
[10] These figures are based on two middle-to-upper income schools in Johannesburg, Blairgowrie Primary School and Bryanston High School. (von Berg, 2016)

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

While Fallism hinges upon the decolonization of education, cumulative societal effects are also anticipated. This connection prompts exploration of the interlinkages between society and education, and the postulation that Fallism's proposed education transformation will be largely catalytic for a greater societal change. The most simplistic definition of education is the process of facilitated learning, or the acquisition of knowledge or skillsets. Nyamnjoh summarizes it by saying "Education is the inculcation of facts as knowledge and also a set of values used in turn to appraise the knowledge in question." (Nyamnjoh, 2012: 129) Whether via formal institution or informal learning, education plays a vast role in a child's development. (Cannella, 1997) Focusing on one of the main educational theories, the functionalist theory, I seek to provide framework to the analysis of the perpetuation of colonialism within education systems, while exploring alternative post-colonial frameworks.

3.1 Social Reproduction & Education

From a sociological perspective, functionalist theory examines the way in which educational institutions align the student with society. Classical theorist, Emilé Durkheim, focuses on the relationship between education and society, including how education oils the machine of the social system, and maintains the health of the social body. (Durkheim, 1961) Durkheim classifies education as 'society in miniature'. The framework Durkheim provides in 'Moral Education', (Durkheim, 1961) focuses around aspects in which education primes the morality of children, preparing them for society. Durkheim presupposes two characteristics make children vulnerable to influence: 'character as a creature of habit' and 'suggestibility, especially his openness to imperative suggestion'. (Durkheim, 1961:134) Merging Durkheim's framework with the analytical chapters of this work, which describe the educational experiences of Fallist students, offers insight into the types of morality education systems are encouraging. "When he notices that everybody around him always behaves in the same way under the same circumstance, he thinks it quite impossible to behave otherwise." (Durkheim, 1961:136) Where the role of the teacher is analyzed, Durkheim asserts that having a variety of teachers is the only way to prevent the child from becoming 'a carbon copy of the teacher's shortcomings'. (Durkheim, 1961)

Critics of Durkheim, such as Filloux, highlight that while Durkheim accurately delivers the key functions of education, his analysis is static, disregarding the dynamic evolution of education in relation to social reality. "The 'science of education' as the objective study of the social fact of 'education' must consequently situate these systems in the context of a general dynamic which can in fact be described by analyzing it in terms of stages in social reality." (Filloux, 1993:3) The collective character of education systems which existed during the apartheid era would certainly pose a problem in today's South Africa. Collectives which reflect racist and colonial ideologies within the national education system would surely indicate a lack of dynamic transformation. Furthermore, the educational critiques proposed by functionalist theory, delve into matters extending beyond academics.

Functional theorist Robert Dreeben emphasizes how a 'hidden curriculum' promotes the acceptance of categorical treatment, insinuating a paradigm of social reproduction. The concept of a hidden curriculum, as opposed to its counterpart, the formal curriculum, focuses on an indirect promotion of norms and values. (Dreeben, 1968) This paradigm which perpetuates inequality and the status quo within society must therefore be addressed through one of its main components: the education system, which helps to propel this inequality and the status quo through means such as the hidden curriculum. (Dreeben, 1968)

Naturally, the contents of the hidden curriculum vary by culture, school, and age. Hidden curriculums are not taught in lessons or through textbooks, but instead, they manifest subtly into the subconscious. (Dreeben, 1968) Hypothetically, every educational structure has some form of hidden curriculum. Researchers have investigated the role of the hidden curriculum, exploring the cultural and societal implications. (Cannella, 1997; Phaswana, 2002) Aspects of South Africa's hidden curriculum as inferred from Fallists include hairstyle, way of speaking English, and even the necessity to abandon culture in its entirety. Examples described in later chapters include schools discouraging natural black hair, requiring students to speak English in a proper Oxford style as opposed to a 'township style', promoting English over Bantu languages, and racial remarks made towards students of color on behalf of students and teachers. Furthermore, passing requirements are also a promotion of the hidden curriculum, especially when success is reached by mastering less than 50% of the curriculum, while the matriculation rate indicates only few can do even that. One could argue that such a hidden curriculum, within public schools particularly, teaches students that they should expect to fail. What Dreeben calls 'hidden curriculum',

Nyamnjoh describes as 'whitening up', or, assimilating to whiteness and white culture. Nyamnjoh argues 'whitening up' plays a prominent role in education, and has done so since the days of Rhodes. (Nyamnjoh, 2016)

Where inequality exists in economic capital within societies, it also exists within cultural capital[11]. (Kennet, 1973) Connecting the concepts of cultural capital and the hidden curriculum, Apple and King suggest that schools themselves play a pivotal role in allocating cultural capital and effectively legitimizing 'categories and forms of knowledge'. (Apple & King, 1976:34). Furthermore, Apple and King articulate: "The very fact that in certain traditions normative 'content' are construed as school knowledge is *prima facie* evidence of their perceived legitimacy." (Apple & King, 1976:34). Fallists are rejecting aspects of cultural capital which exclude African students, acquisition of cultural capital in its current form, and a hidden curriculum which seeks to maintain the status quo. University of Cape Town students have taken several actions, which are further explored in chapter six, with intent to gain forth cultural capital, while destroying an objectified form of white cultural capital. Applying the framework of the social reproductionist paradigm, as theorized by Bourdieu, to the post-colonial context of South Africa, suggests that education has the feasibility to advance colonialism, or do the opposite, within a proclaimed neoliberal society.

The social reproduction paradigm exemplifies the entanglement of colonialism in education and society, when looking through the lens of Bourdieu's framework of cultural and social reproduction. Bourdieu argues that there is a constant doubling-up of value within academic and social changes, while investigating the French system. "Those classes or sections of a class which are richest in cultural capital become more and more over-represented as there is an increase in the rarity and hence in the educational value and social yield of academic qualifications." (Bourdieu, 1973) In short, the most prestigious aspects of society become the most prestigious aspects of education; but such prestige is isolating the majority of the population who use a different currency of cultural capital, which cannot be bargained against such exclusivity. This can be captured in the 'aspiration towards Oxford[12]', which Nyamnjoh articulates that Rhodes himself

---

[11] Cultural capital is acquired within groups and classes, and includes aspects of identity such as skills, accent, clothing, preferences, belongings, tastes, and credentials. (Bourdieu, 1986)
[12] The 'aspiration towards Oxford' is referring to the University of Oxford, specifically, which the Rhodes scholarship affords many students the opportunity of attending. Oxford is also the oldest English speaking university in the world. (Rhodes Trust, 2016)

had intended. "It is hardly an accident that education as an institution has maintained its colonial roots, as most African elites have embraced a Eurocentric index of social visibility and social mobility at the heart of which are Western symbols of achievement and the good life." (Nyamnjoh, 2016:16)

3.2 Gluckman's Conflict Theory

As Gluckman theorizes, conflict is a cultural mechanism utilized in order to reach a more just and socially unified society. (Gluckman, 1952) First and foremost, Gluckman proposes "rebellious ritual occurs within an established and unchallenged social order." (Gluckman, 1952;20) Rituals of rebellion are often repeated due to the social order which they rebel against remaining unchallenged and therefore unchanged. Revolution, on the other hand, breaks the cycle of rebellion in search of a new social order. While rebellion seeks to redistribute power within the same system, revolution seeks to overturn the structure of the system all together replacing it with a new one. (Gluckman, 1952) This framework, applied to Fallist movements, poses the critical question whether Fallism seeks to reverse existing power structures or replace the societal model. The goal of decolonization, therefore, would either seek to balance society, or proivde a new structure all toghether. Some Fallists directly express the need for the latter, while others fear the stripping down of exisiting structures and would be satisfied with a redistribution of power. For example, redistributing power could generate a shift in who has access to economic, social, and cultural capital, while a structural overhaul would change the systems of capital all together.

3.3 A Post-Colonial Education

Fallism searches for a solution which pivots on the theoretical frameworks of African academics in an effort to decolonize. To explore decolonization, we must first understand colonization, and therefore, colonialism must be distinguished from apartheid. While apartheid may have resulted from colonialism, the end of the apartheid did not liberate South Africa from effects of colonization. Defining colonization can be done tidily, which anthropologist Kroll-Zeldin has done:

> Generally associated with European imperial powers, colonialism and the colonial project include political and legal domination over a subordinate people, the exploitation of human and natural resources and the redistribution of those resources to benefit imperial interests, and the construction of racial and cultural difference that privileged the colonial ruler over the populations they ruled. (Kroll-Zeldin, 2016)

16

Defining decolonization, however, is much more convoluted, and it is unclear at which point decolonization is achieved. There is no guide to decolonization and it is unclear what will need to be done to realize a decolonized education system, though post-colonial theorists have offered numerous propositions on how to decolonize. Many of these researchers, including Steve Biko and Frantz Fanon, are embraced by Fallist ideology. Post-colonial theorists, particular those who take an anti-colonial perspective, have provided insights into the biggest hindrances of colonization. Fanon offers a philosophical perspective on advancing beyond colonialism, which requires the abandonment of European mimicry and the adaption of a completely new structure, or, as Gluckman put it, a revolution instead of rebellion. (Gluckman, 1952) "Let us not pay tribute to Europe by creating states, institutions, and societies which draw their inspiration from her. Humanity is waiting for something from us other than such an imitation, which would be almost an obscene caricature." (Fanon, 1963) Fanon's perspectives on liberation from colonization inspired activists and academics such as Steve Biko, who further developed theory about the requirements for decolonization and liberation, particularly that of achieving mental liberation. (Biko, 1978)

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o addresses language particularly, criticizing the continued use of English, emphasizing how the adaptation of curriculum was therefore dependent on English texts. He summarizes the three categories of literature available to African children: 'humanist and democratic tradition' of European literature, the literature of 'liberal' Europeans, and the 'downright racist' literature. (wa Thiong'o, 1986) He goes on to present a concept similar to that of Nyamnjoh's 'whitening up', in describing literature's depiction of the 'good African' and the 'bad African', depending on how aligned the African was with the colonizer. (Nyamnjoh, 2012; wa Thiong'o, 1986) As with the student protests of 1976, which sought to refute Afrikaans as a means of instruction in schools, language and identity politics are a point of dispute.

Alternative frameworks suggest the abandonment of all things colonial would be inherently damaging to the identities of Africans who have resulted from the merging of cultural and ethnic identities. Nyamnjoh indicates the counterintuitive nature to seeking a form of liberation which would require the dismantling of complex African identities in order to be 'black enough', articulating a dangerous hierarchy of blackness. (Nyamnjoh, 2016)

> If the negative colonial and apartheid history of ethics or cultural citizenship continues to shape the highly critical stance of African intellectuals and nationalists towards all claims of autochthony, it has also, quite paradoxically, tended to render invisible the everyday reality of postcolonial Africans who straddle civic, ethnic, and cultural citizenships, on the one hand, and multiple local cosmopolitan identities, on the other. (Nyamnjoh, 2016:236)

Discourses on how to purge colonial contexts exist on a spectrum, which entails perspectives inclusive of identity, nationality, and globalization. Though the effects of decolonization cannot be foreseen, the effects of colonization have brought society to the brink.

3.4 Modeling Decolonization Globally

As Fallism extends its reach within South Africa, Western or Global North countries will have a lot to learn from such models of protest and education, as Comaroff and Comaroff (2012) propose. They describe:

> Western enlightenment thought has, from the first, posited itself as the wellspring of universal learning, of Science and Philosophy, uppercase; concomitantly, it has regarded the non-West—variously known as the ancient world, the orient, the primitive world, the third world, the underdeveloped world, the developing world, and now the Global South— primarily as a place of parochial wisdom, of antiquarian traditions, of exotic ways and means…These other worlds, in short, are treated less as sources of refined knowledge than as reservoirs of raw fact: of the historical, natural, and ethnographic minutiae from which Euromodernity might fashion its testable theories and transcendent truths. (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2012: 1)

These ideas not only align with the core of Fallism, but they push it towards creating a model by which the Global North will have no choice but to notice: "What if we posit that, in the present moment, it is the Global South that affords privileged insight into the workings of the world at large?" (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2012:1)

3.5 Summary

While applying the aforementioned theoretical frameworks to the analysis of the Fallist movements, I hypothesize that the ever-widening inequality, particularly between racial classes, has been imparted within the hidden curriculum of South African education systems to retain colonialism. Within this given framework, I propose that Fallism will play a significant role in deconstructing the current social paradigm through the education sector, while either redistributing or restructuring cultural, social, and economic capital, most of which has been disproportionately distributed on a national level. Guided by Gluckman's social conflict theory, this process will

18

likely hinge on a model of revolution (rather than rebellion), and as proposed by Comaroff and Comaroff (2012), such changes will serve as blueprints relevant on a global scale.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

This thesis is mainly informed by the three-month research period in Cape Town, South Africa from October to December 2016, which was funded by the GSSC. Although, it is additionally influenced by impressions obtained during a volunteer stay in a rural area of northern Limpopo. Between 2012-2014 I engaged significantly with the crèche, primary, and secondary schools in the area. Many students were struggling, especially with English, the language that they were taught in after grade four. Teachers often failed to show up to class, and students were not equipped with materials they needed to learn. While Fallism had not yet taken form during this period, it was clear that schools were facing problems. The education system in South Africa was already of particular interest to me, thus I sought to know more about the educational experiences of Fallists. Ethnographic methods were used to closely engage with the Fallist movement, namely that of participant observation and qualitative interviews. I chose to focus on the movement specific to UCT for numerous reasons. As a prestigious and internationally recognized institution, Fallism at UCT is particularly important. UCT has taken the lead on Fallism in the Western Cape during pivotal moments over the last two years. The demographic composition and colonial history of the former 'Cape Colony' is also unique, as the first point of contact for colonizers.

Preliminary research included the review of varying media and news resources which circulated in South Africa's online platform (e.g. City Press, South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), Times Live, IOL) as well as UCT's online Daily News Archive. UCT's Daily News Archive, which is publicly available, provides a useful overview of the legal actions and responses taken by the university, particularly those dealing with violence and damages. Mass media and social media provided information around the status of Fallist protests, events, negotiations with the university, as well as violence and arrests. During the research phase, the rudimentary understanding of these monumental events and accompanying terminologies which had unfolded since 2015 was advantageous. Discussions around Fallist movements were popular not only amongst students, but commonplace citizens of Cape Town as well.

4.1 Participant Observation

In order to gain insight into the movement and unveil the educational experiences of South African UCT students, I sought to submerge myself in student life at UCT. This section overviews the

context in which participant observation was realized. Student life at UCT is multifarious, and the positionality of the student life is largely dependent on categories of race, gender, ability, sexual orientation, and socioeconomic status.

4.1.1 Student Life at UCT

Types of experiences and engagements with the university itself, and 'university life', are exceptionally diverse amongst UCT students, therefore making it difficult to engage in 'student life'. Rather, each individual engagement and interaction I had was with one type of student pocket, living one type of student life at UCT. While students would frequent some of the same areas at the university, a distinct separation was noticed outside of the university, with certain popular areas of student congregation off campus being notably black or white. Student culture at UCT was observed through such dynamics. It was unclear if the university acknowledged that students are living these very different lives, as it expects them all to fit the same learning style, follow the same criteria, and achieve the same standard.

During time of this research, UCT had already been totally shut down due to the movement, creating an unusual scene on the campus. Some students were walking around, but for the most part it was empty. Exams had been delayed, and were being negotiated between, chiefly, UCT's Vice Chancellor Max Price, and a representative group of students. Private security and police forces were present on the UCT Campus for the entire duration of this study. Armed men in unmarked vehicles would drive around the sparsely populated campus, while others would stand outside large police vehicles. Being a female researcher, my experience on the UCT Campus seeing private security was generally negative and threatening, as most were large armed men in unmarked vehicles, who operated independently from South African Police Services (SAPS).

4.1.2 Mass Meetings, Protests & Plenaries

I spent a significant amount of time on the Upper Campus of UCT and attended meetings about the movement whenever possible. These ranged from plenaries, to protests, to all student meetings which were called by particular offshoot groups of the movement. By walking on the campus regularly, I was able to observe a variety of different day-to-day scenes. Specifically, I attended one major protest, the March to Parliament of October 26th, and three major meetings on campus, at which I took opportunities to engage with students and gain understanding of the movement. Each of these meetings were organized respectively by different entities of the university: Fees

Must Fall Western Cape, Masters students who served as assistant lecturers, a UCT Fallist student group, and the regional committee of Fees Must Fall. The assemblies observed include the following:

- I first observed The March to Parliament on the 26th of October. This protest included Fallist students from all of the Western Cape; UCT, Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT), University of Western Cape (UWC), and Stellenbosch. Students protested outside of South Africa's parliament building, where a mid-term budget meeting was taking place.

- The second meeting I observed was the 'Pens Down Mass Meeting', in which students conversed and explored how to communicate with administration about upcoming exams, rejecting the Universities arguably exclusive approach to continuing the semester despite shutdown through 'blended learning'. This meeting initially congregated outside at the Graca Lawn area of UCT. After an hour of discussion, students mobilized towards the administrative building, where they had further conversation with Vice Chancellor Price.

- The third event was an open plenary that took place approximately eight hours after the initial Pens Down meeting, on Upper Campus, in order to discuss methods of moving forward and strategies of communicating with the administration in regards to upcoming exams.

- The last meeting I was able to attend was a regional meeting, which included representatives from the primary universities in the Western Cape: UCT, CPUT, UWC, and Stellenbosch. I observed conversations between students from the varying universities, inferring the unique presentation of Fallism across the varying university landscapes.

4.1.3 Plays & Events

I was able to attend two plays related to Fallism, one at the Baxter theatre on UCT's Campus, and one in a popular student area, Observatory. 'The Fall; All Rhodes Lead to Decolonization', starred seven UCT 2015 drama department graduates, who aimed to illustrate their experiences during the original eruption of the Fallist Movements in 2015, in their final year of university. The program of the play describes it as follows: "The vital new play adds its voice to the national and worldwide debate and youth-led revolutions, against injustices, inequality in education, cultural representation and many other contemporary conflicts." (Baxter Theatre, 2016) The second play

that brought insight into Fallism was called 'Reparation'. This play focused on how black South Africans had not sought reparations after the human rights violations that occurred on indigenous land, and explores what kind of debt is owed, and how it can be repaid.

Exploring spectrums of student life brought clarity into the multi-dimensional lives of South African students, which only allows for existence within an exclusive cultural and social framework. More specifically, if one does not conform to UCT's understated definition of a model student, engaging in particular student activities, cultural rejection reportedly occurs. As observed, student life, particularly for students of color during 2016, consisted of a great deal of social justice related activities. I engaged with students at an event held to support striking workers of Robertson's Winery, as well as a poetry evening with the theme of 'Black Jesus'. These events, which were not Fallist organized, demonstrated the social justice concerns of students in addition to the dynamics behind them. Participant observation while attending Fallist protests, plenaries, and other Fallist events, allowed me to engage with Western Cape's student Fallists outside of UCT, and hold informal conversations while gathering insights and impressions.

4.2 Formal Interviews

Formal interviews were conducted with students and recent graduates[13] of the University of Cape Town. These comprehensive semi-structured interviews were split into five sections; basic demographics, primary and secondary educational experiences, experiences at UCT, the Fallist Movement, and decolonization. Where possible, interviewees were chosen to represent a wide range of demographics. Of the 11 interviewees, there was one master's student, two recent graduates, two first year students, three second year students, one third year student, and two fourth year students. One student identified as genderqueer, six identified as male, and four identified as female. Two were white, one was colored, one was Indian, and seven were black. Interviewees had varying levels of involvement with the movement, while some were key actors. Five students spoke isiXhosa as a first language, four spoke English, one spoke Sepedi, and one Xitsonga. The average length of an interview was 90 minutes. After obtaining a signature of consent, the interviews were presented in a semi-structured format in English. Data gathered from interviews was analyzed through the coding of recurrent topics, and is hereafter presented both within texts that describe the movement and narratives around educational experiences.

---

[13] Recent graduates were attending the University of Cape Town through the end of 2015.

As the interviews were semi-structured, the original questionnaire was not exhaustive. Questions included, for example: 'Describe your educational experience while growing up,' and 'Describe an experience with an educator that you remember very well'. Positive and negative answers were welcomed, and students were asked to elaborate on the stories they presented. Broad open-ended questions asked students to describe the movement, their involvement, and the positive and negative aspects of the movement. Students were also asked to explain decolonization, describe a decolonized university, and portray their perceptions on the transformation of the education system since the end of apartheid.

Due to the confidentiality of the interviews, no names will be provided, however, quotes from students will hereafter include limited student data in the following format: (Race, Gender, School Type, Province). In regards to race, though there are several ways to classify black, all participants reported their race in a non-ambiguous way, so no colored or white participants reported themselves to be black, and no colored or black participants reported themselves as white. School types presented are either public, private, or Model-C. In the next chapter, the educational experiences of the interviewed UCT students are described from primary to tertiary, while colonial elements of education are examined in relation to Fallism

CHAPTER 5

A SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION

Comprehending which aspects of education Fallism refutes requires not only an understanding of the tertiary experiences of Fallists, but the entirety of their educational backgrounds. Utilizing the sample of interviewees, the first research question is specifically explored in this chapter: Were the primary, secondary, and tertiary educational experiences of Fallists wrought with tangible and intangible colonialism, and did those experiences lead them to the movement? Issues that brought students to the brink of protest, and even violence, appeared to be aggregated within their continuum of educational experiences, which began in primary and secondary schooling environments. In the upcoming sections, interview results and analysis of the education system are presented, opening with primary and secondary experiences, and concluding with tertiary experiences.

5.1 Primary & Secondary

This segment on primary and secondary schools is informed by interviewees, as well as insights gained while volunteering in 'no-fee' public primary and secondary schools in Vhembe, Limpopo. Public schools, where the majority of South Africa's youth are educated, have a direct reliance on the national education scheme, which researchers suggest is struggling. (Spaull, 2013; Department of Education, 2015) Angie Motshekga, the education minister, stated in an interview that the education system was in crisis, and that students struggle due to the legacy of apartheid and poverty. (Nkosi, 2016)

In Limpopo I observed many primary learners struggling with literacy, often unengaged in overcrowded classrooms. Secondary learners struggled with certain subjects in grade 10, simply swapping for different subjects the following year if they had failed. In this regard, passing requirements are not actual indications that students have developed an understanding of the curriculum. The scores required to pass in 2014 were 40% in English, 40% in any two subjects, and 30% in any three subjects. Passing, for many of South Africa's schools, appears to be prioritized over achieving and critical thinking, guided by a system which is seeking outcomes. (Lombard & Grosser, 2008)

The majority of UCT's current students were educated in primary and secondary schools sometime between the years of 1994 and 2015, with the average interviewee being 23 years old.

Therefore, it is important to explore what changes took place in education policy after 1994, or post-apartheid. The education system went through several changes, which Jansen proposes were debatably symbolic. Jansen, who currently serves as the Rector and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Free State, explores the education system in his 2006 publication, specifically focusing on curriculum based reform. Jansen depicts the first shift as one that was meant to "purge the apartheid curriculum (school syllabuses) of racially offensive and outdated content." (Jansen, 2006:1) The second shift focused on introducing regular assessments into schools, and the third, which is explored in depth, was Outcomes-Based Education (OBE).

> Earlier research has demonstrated that the national syllabus revision process (1995) was driven almost exclusively by official attempts to demonstrate to constituencies that at least some action was forthcoming from the Ministry of Education in the period immediately following the elections. Similarly, OBE is primarily an attempt to push forward something innovative into the schools at all costs in order to reclaim political credibility for a Ministry of Education which is still charged, within and outside of government, with having delivered little concrete evidence of transformation in the schools. (Janson, 2006:9)

Outcomes-Based Education faded from South Africa's educational framework in 2010, though many current day tertiary students were certainly educated within the system. (Department of Basic Education, 2010) The current system alludes to a focus on outcome percentages, such as the matric rate, as a major driver in policy decisions. (Spaull, 2013) As reported by the Department of Basic Education, the national curriculum hinges on principles of social transformation, active and critical learning, high knowledge and high skill, progression, human rights, inclusivity, environment and social justice, and valuing indigenous knowledge systems. (Department of Basic Education, 2017) Examining the low pass rate alone indicates that the goals of this national curriculum are not being reached.

5.1.1 Description of Sample: School Types

Interviewees described their educational experiences, which varied greatly depending on where the students went to school, whether the school was private or public, and what resources were available to students. The data presented in Table 3 provides a view into a sample of primary and secondary schools of interviewees. Experiences that students chose to share varied, though it is important to note students were not guided on what types of experiences to report. In this section, township and rural schools are described first, followed by private and Model-C schools.

26

Table 3: Regional and school background of the interviewees.

(Taghavi, 2016)

Student No.	Regional background		School background		
	Province Name	Type of Area[1]	Type of School	School Specifications	Racial Composition
1	Eastern Cape	Township	Public	none	Black
2	Gauteng	Township	Public	none	Black only
3	Gauteng	Urban	Public	none	White only
4	Gauteng	Urban	Private	All girls school	Multi-cultural
5	Kwa-Zulu Natal	Township	Public	none	Blacks, Indians
6	Limpopo	Urban	Private	All girls school	Predominantly White
7	Western Cape	Township	Public	none	Black only
8	Western Cape	Township	Public	none	Black only
9	Western Cape	Urban	Private	All boys school	Predominantly White
10	Western Cape	Urban	Private	Waldorf school	Multi-cultural
11	Western Cape	Urban	Public, but higher fees	All girls school, former Model-C	Multi-cultural

[1] Urban is meant to describe a central city area, yet excludes outskirts and townships.

5.1.2 Township & Rural Schools: Narratives

Interviewees who attended schools in townships, such as Khayelitsha, a well-known area of over one million black residents on the outskirts of Cape Town, reported education as a challenging experience. "I came from a so called public school, and it's like any other township school, it's overcrowded, under-resourced. There's no sense of relationship between the teachers and students, a proper one. So it's like any other township school." (Black, Male, Public, Western Cape) A lack of resources in South Africa's primary and secondary schools is undoubtedly a problem in poor areas. While South Africa's wealthy send their children to funded schools, international aid organizations focus on supplementing public school programs. In Limpopo, I was familiar with a few organizations supplying books to schools using programs such as 'Books for Africa', which seek to set up libraries in under-resourced schools.

Rural schools also supplement staff with international volunteers, in addition to programs that promote literacy, such as 'SOUNS'[14], a program supported by Rotary International. (SOUNS, 2017) One interviewee who was educated at a township school in the Eastern Cape described his experience with a program called 'Read', which provided the school with a box of 50 books. This student reports to have read all of these books, and noted the impact they had on his education. Another student from a township in the Western Cape described his educational experience with one word: violence.

> You have no teachers for certain subjects, or the type of a teacher that you have is not qualified enough to be a teacher for that subject. To me that is violence. Being subjected to that is violence. Even with structures and basic things, the toilet, you will find out that inside the bathroom there is no toilet paper, they never put toilet paper there, and its full of filth. To me that's violence, that is a type of psychological violence that I've experienced. I first saw it here in university that a school has to have psychologists. A school has to have social workers. My [secondary] school, even now, it's full of broken people that have no help that are put in an environment that is not conducive to learning, and when they fail are blamed for all those results, whereas they are not given a fair chance as a student. (Black, Male, Public, Western Cape)

Aside from forms of psychological violence, numerous other forms of violence take place in schools, including school corporal punishment[15] and sexual violence, with 20% of sexual violence incidents taking place in schools. (DSD, DWCPD, and UNICEF, 2012)

Some students were very critical, saying that the schooling they received was near useless, describing it with words such as 'toxic' and 'suffocating'. Alluding to the high dropout rate, one student described these disadvantaged education environments as a critical factor regarding student's engagement level. "It's not worth it because there's no resources, […] when we look at dropouts, we look at dropouts and try to attack them but we don't ask ourselves why did they drop out?" (Black, Male, Public, Western Cape)

5.1.3 Private & Former Model-C Schools: Narratives

Black students who were educated in the private schooling system may have had access to an increased number of resources, but faced issues of inherently discriminatory schooling structures.

---

[14] SOUNS is a literacy program taught in varying languages which use the Roman alphabet, and seeks to help young students develop literacy skills through phonics. (Souns for Literacy LLC, 2017)

[15] School corporal punishment seeks to control the behavior of students through physical violence or intimidation, such as slaps on the hand or buttocks, though it was banned in the National Education Policy Act 1996. (Morrell, 2001)

A black female student educated in Limpopo and black male student educated in the Western Cape both reported being called monkeys by teachers and peers. "I remember at my matric dance, or my formal dance, I was introducing my partner to a few of my white compatriots, and the one friend, my white friend said to me, come let me shake your monkey hands. To him it was all a joke." (Black, Male, Private, Western Cape) Studies in developmental psychology, including those by McKown and Shutts, suggest to the fragility of children's development, noting that children are likely to notice and process race, developing an awareness of it. (Shutts et al., 2011) One study that took place in the United States noted; "Children's exposure to discrimination has been regularly documented as has the impact of discrimination on children's academic achievement and mental health." (Mckown & Strambler, 2009:1655) The study by Shutts et al., which was conducted in the Western Cape, reported: "Children develop race-based social preferences even when they are raised in a country that emphasizes national unity over racial and ethnic divides. Indeed, the results of the present studies are similar to findings from studies of children's racial attitudes conducted during the apartheid years." (Shutts et al., 2011:1290)

Not only do these racial distinctions affect children of color, but they also influence white children to adapt beliefs about their peers. "When children develop stereotype-consciousness, the social world admits of new and consequential interpretations." (Mckown & Strambler, 2009) Students of color who attended private schools gave particular reference to the way they speak, reporting that they lost an aspect of their blackness by assimilating to the schooling environment, and adopting another accent, which is a further demonstration of Nyamnjoh's 'whitening up'. As one black student articulated: "I'm black. I'm a Xhosa person, I must leave my Xhosa-ness outside and come. I must assimilate. I must not be myself within this space." (Black, Male, Public, Western Cape) An Indian student expressed a similar conundrum: "I'm not able to do what is in my heritage. I would not be able to be myself in the system. I have to be at least a certain amount white to survive in the system." (Indian, Male, Public, KwaZulu-Natal) It has long been a practice in South African education to aspire towards the British Empire's model of an academic, infusing Eurocentrism into the most important institutions in the country: schools.

In private and former Model-C schools that had a mixture of races, students reported a naturally occurring filtering of racial groups. In some cases, white students would form groups respective to their first language, whether it be Afrikaans or English. Then, students of color described themselves banding together, regardless of cultural background. "I went to a very

Afrikaans school, I really enjoyed it, apart from the racism, [..] I really enjoyed having other black people around me to identify with and laugh with." (Black, Female, Private, Limpopo) Nevertheless, students did form friendships across cultures, as described by the same black student from the predominantly Afrikaans school: "There was a clear division between the black and the white people, but because I played sports, I had a lot of white friends, unlike my other black friends who didn't play sports. So it was more like okay we know you, you're the better black, so to say." (Black, Female, Private, Limpopo)

Several private school students of color from various provinces reported having trouble making white friends, and feeling isolated from their white peers. One interviewee, a graduate student, was educated in a public school during apartheid, and though it was public it was 'white only'. They described an experience where their white friends bullied them at school because they were seen swimming with the black child of a domestic worker. When asked what kind of response this student's friends sought after, they answered: "I would have to kind of admit to failing as a white person, and I was somehow being disciplined by my peers for failing whiteness." (White, Genderqueer, Public, Gauteng)

Two of the students who attended private schools, one in Gauteng and one in Western Cape, respectively reported to having isiXhosa and isiZulu language teachers that were not only white, but not fluent in the language: "I remember going home and reciting a poem that we'd learnt in Zulu in the same accent, and my parents were so angry. It wasn't the right pronunciation." (Black, Female, Private, Gauteng) In a nation with a competitive job market, it is unlikely that there were not native speakers available. It was not only the African language teachers who were white, but rather the majority of the educators at these private institutes. "I had a white isiXhosa teacher. […] We didn't think it was weird cause I think I had [only] two colored teachers throughout high school, the rest were all white women. You don't notice that it's weird because it's so normalized." (Colored, Female, Model-C, Western Cape)

How students present themselves, particularly female students, also requires colonial assimilation to whiteness. In 2016, Pretoria Girls High School protested against rules which regulated their hairstyle, regarding natural African hair as unruly and needing to be tamed, a glaring example of Dreeben's hidden curriculum. (Dreeben, 1968) South African Basic Education Minister, Angie Motshekga, defended the rules of the school, insinuating there was nothing

unusual about them. (Mahr, 2016) A female colored student, who attended a former Model-C school, described her experience with her hair as follows:

> My natural hair was always a big deal because I have very, very, thick curly hair […] I would wash it and plat it, because then it was out of my way and the teachers weren't hassling me. But the black girls [..] who were trying to grow natural hair couldn't do that because their natural hair was seen as unnatural, gross, or untidy. My hair was seen as untidy. I had a very, very, horrible experience with my high school and my hair. (Colored, Female, Model-C, Western Cape)

5.1.4 Synopsis

Overall, the primary and secondary experiences reported were certainly complex, and some experiences contained aspects that are problematic for a child's development, while other experiences seemed to indicate a hidden curriculum at work. Educators were reported to play significant roles in the educational experiences of interviewees. It is nonetheless true that most of the educators were educated during the apartheid education system. Lombard and Grosser summarize obstructive aspects of teachers within the South African education system, saying that 'teachers are likely to teach in the way that they themselves were taught', and 'teachers place very little focus on the construction of knowledge and thinking skills'. (Lombard & Grosser, 2008) Through this sample, it is clear that tangible and intangible (or hidden) aspects of colonialism are present within primary and secondary education systems in many forms, including: funding discrepancies, racial bias, and curriculum. Many interviewees expressed aspiration to decolonize not only higher education, but basic education as well.

5.2 Tertiary Experiences

The following section will describe the experiences of Fallists at the University of Cape Town, which have been largely marked by university shutdowns, protests, private security presence, and other elements of the Fallist movements. Amongst other experiential questions, interviewees were asked to describe a chosen experience with a lecturer or professor at UCT, and were welcomed to describe positive, negative, or neutral experiences. Some students recounted negative experiences, some positive, and others described both. Notably, since the fall of Rhodes, negative experiences are at the forefront of discussion in the current university atmosphere. Negative experiences and discrimination at the university may not have been reported if these questions were asked prior to the day Rhodes was tarnished. This can indicate that students are not only more willing to talk about these incidents, but more likely to notice and categorize them. Nevertheless, Fallism has

promoted a kind of critical thinking amongst students regarding their education and happenings on campus.

The movement seemed to be very popular amongst UCT students, though students who participated did so within different facets. Levels of engagement varied from student to student, and many students reported often taking self-care breaks to rejuvenate from the 'emotionally exhausting' space that the movement is. Black pain being brought to the forefront of the university experience at UCT is, inferably, a psychologically taxing occurrence. Moreover, psychological fear tactics, such as stun grenades during demonstrations and armed occupation of student spaces, are being implemented by private security forces on campus. Interviewees reported sexual harassment, sexual assault, stalking, violence against students, verbal assault, and threats. It is therefore clear why any student would need to take a break from the movement to support their mental and physical health.

5.2.1 Welcome to UCT: A Tertiary Experience

When interviewed students found out that they had been accepted to UCT, most described being thrilled. However, many found that the hopes they had for their university experience were unrealistic. "I had been working hard to get into this place, and I thought this place would uplift me, I had so much hope, it would uplift me as a human being and as an individual and I would come here and be a great person." (Black, Male, Public, Western Cape) Some students were brought in through programs such as 100UP, a program which focuses on the issue of redressing categories[16], accepting more black students from disadvantaged backgrounds to UCT. Though students from the poorest of backgrounds had succeeded in getting to university, many reported feeling lost, financially distraught, and had trouble integrating into colonial UCT traditions and residence cultures, such as 'war cries': "It was my first time seeing and hearing war cries from my room from my residence. They sing songs, it's old culture of white people that are preserved through those songs. The sub-warden use to say, 'You need to keep the culture of brotherhood'. I asked the question; whose culture are we preserving?" (Black, Male, Public, Western Cape)

---

[16] UCT's statement around redressing is available in the admissions policies: "We interpret this as placing an obligation on us to provide redress for past racially-based discrimination in our society, in our schools and in public higher education; and because we acknowledge that the effects of pre-1994 discrimination remain in our society." (University of Cape Town, 2012:1)

5.2.2 Lecturers, Professors, & Curriculum

The peculiarities of a culturally misappropriated education presented themselves far beyond one faculty. Students from drama, arts, economics, and politics, faced experiences within the university that proved they were 'out of context'. Nyamnjoh insinuates 'such education has tended to emphasize mimicry over creativity, and the idea that little worth learning about, even by Africans, can come from Africa.' (Nyamnjoh, 2012:129) Students echoed the idea that their creativity was being limited in exchange for a more orthodox form of education.

> I remember there being a voice class where pronunciation was an issue, and English was quite a sensitive issue. […] There was an argument, a lecturer had said that someone's pronunciation of a word wasn't natural to them, but it was. It was in the accent that they were speaking, it was a black student and the lecturer said that they should go more 'natural' in their pronunciation of that word. Then the lecturer proceeded to demonstrate this natural pronunciation but it wasn't, it seemed very stereotypical. (Black, Female, Private, Gauteng)

Another student in the drama department described a similar experience with 'Shakespeare voice', stating that several of her classmates were criticized for a pronunciation which was 'not British enough'. Students of color described the will to be able to identify with their curriculum, seeking academia which embraces their cultural richness.

Experiences reported were not all negative. Several students reported having positive experiences with lectures, particularly those who supported them to further investigate their cultures, or controversial political ideologies. In regards to support of the movement by professors, students described how some professors encouraged discussion around decolonized education, while others passively and directly expressed their disapproval. One student described a lecturer who promoted conversations about the movement in 2016 by bringing protesters from the 2015 movement in to address the class. The professor had since faced disciplinary threats from the university, and was required to submit lesson plans for approval. "He was teaching us political culture by showing it to us. And then a lot of people complained. They were saying it's too noisy, people were chanting and stuff and he said that's a part of African political culture." (Indian, Male, Public, KwaZulu- Natal) Students reported other professors expressed their view on Cecil Rhodes, saying 'Cecil John Rhodes has done wonders for Africa'. At this particular time within UCT's landscape, advocating to black students about what good Rhodes did for Africa is notably provocative.

5.2.3 Ethical Concerns at UCT

The sample of interviewees unanimously expressed that they felt the University of Cape Town did not treat students ethically, or at least not all students. One student elaborated on why she felt this way: "There was private security at the entrance of my faculty, the Law faculty, and they racially profiled students. White students were allowed to just go in without security checking anything, and the black students, they had to see your student card and search your bag." (Black, Female, Private, Limpopo) Another student expressed the following:

> It's a very controversial question […] Ethics in themselves are subjective, because when you come to a space such as UCT you are confronted with different cultures, different beliefs, different value systems, different principles. Those principles are deeply rooted in culture, so we find that we differ at some point. In principle, one would say that the university treats students ethically, understanding that there are differences, so at the university, if ethics then takes into consideration the question of ableism[17], then we could argue that this university doesn't treat people ethically. Then, now, we can say that no, it doesn't because it disregards the question of ableism, the question of class, the question of race, because these things are deep. How do you expect me to perform academically coming from my social positionality? And you throw these blanket [policies]? You apply blanket policies assuming that we all come from the same backgrounds, even the rules and the code of conducts are deeply rooted in ethics, are not ethically applicable for people coming from a different social position. So then […] I would be tempted to argue to say that no, the university's actions are not ethical. (Black, Male, Private, Western Cape)

Students also suggested that private security was ethically problematic. The sample of interviewees unanimously reported feeling threatened by private security, and reported challenging encounters with the hired forces. One student stated: "I remember this one time, I put on a black shirt of mine. And I immediately took it off because I thought: I'm not going to put this on because the private security are going to harass me, like sexually." (Black, Female, Private, Limpopo) Another student recounted the advice to stay close to the police: "I always tell my friends if you're stuck between the police and the private security, just go to the police because the private security are rough." (Indian, Male, Public, KwaZulu-Natal) Students also expressed a preference and trust towards the South African Police Services, who were more transparent, and more accountable for their actions.

5.2.4 Tertiary: Black Tax & Financing University

As described by interviewees, black South Africans have a pronounced sense of family and community, extending beyond that of white South Africans. This can be seen simply in community

---

[17] Ableism, as defined by Merriam-Webster, is discrimination based on bodily ability.

dynamics, which I also observed in Limpopo. If a funeral in the community happens, everyone is invited, even if they did not know the person very well. Traditionally, everyone is also fed at these events, which is a huge cost for the family of the deceased. This extensive sense of family is not common amongst white South Africans, who use a more 'European traditional', blood-relative model of family. Such cultural nuances between black and white South Africans are common, creating a conflict for relevance within South African institutions. 'Black Tax' has been used as an argument for Fallism.

The term, Black Tax, emphasizes how the black student is indebted to his or her family, conceivably extended family, and perhaps any community member who invested in the black student's future, perhaps by sending them to private school, and later, university. Some UCT students from poor families have made it to university via private basic education, paid through the pooling of family resources, as a kind of investment for the future of the family. Furthermore, though underprivileged students receive government financial aid, it is oftentimes not enough to provide the student with essentials needed for study. It is not uncommon for families to pool resources for any given member at any given time. Many students of color in universities are the first generation, and are expected to help uplift the family upon graduating. Students reported being apprehensive about how much help they will be able to provide while owing a large sum to the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS). Yet, strong familial and community ties compel black students to support their families, especially if they are in poverty. This is not to say, however, that white South Africans do not have any familial obligations, financial or otherwise. As observed, however, relations extend more frequently beyond blood lines for South Africans of color than for white South Africans.

Students elaborated that it was unrealistic to pay back the sums they owed to NSFAS, simultaneously develop themselves, and escape poverty. One black second year student described his experience with financial aid as follows:

> I pay 120,000 [ZAR] [~9,000€] a year, so I have to do that for four years, so once I leave this space I will have, if I do graduate, a debt of close to half a million rand [ZAR] [~37,500€], and I haven't even started anything. I haven't even got a job or nothing but I already owe these people half a million. Where would I get the chance to develop my family? I'm the first one to come to university out of all my mom's kin, you understand? So if I have so much debt how am I going to develop myself? So if education is meant to uplift me, I must ask the simple question, how is it uplifting me as an individual? In this regard how is it making me a better off person? I'm owing people money now as I speak to you. (Black, Male, Public, Western Cape)

Coming from a poor family in Khayelitsha, and going from poor to half a million rand in debt, is daunting for students. These students feel immense needs to help their families, making the burden of financing university and the need to perform severely stressful. This student in particular mentioned at a different time during the interview that his mother was hungry that day and did not have money for lunch. Another student explained Black Tax when asked if any teachers had encouraged her to pursue a Master's Degree.

> I'd say no, especially, because well speaking from a black person's perspective, even if teachers aren't encouraging me, I know that after I finish my bachelors I need to get a job because I have other people to support. I'm speaking in general […] I know for a lot of black students; you know Black Tax? Black tax is when if I graduate, [...] I still have to send money home, whatever money I make, whatever my salary is, I still have to pay back my loan, I still have to buy food, and buy for my family so that's Black Tax […] yeah, so unlike a white student, who when they graduate they can only focus on themselves. I have to focus on my family, my extended family, my relatives, yeah. (Black, Female, Private, Limpopo)

5.2.5 Synopsis

Narratives of students who support Fallism illustrate the hardships of being a university student at UCT, before and after the commencement of Fallist movements. Fallist students would argue that even those who have not recognized it yet are being discriminated against by the university and society. Narratives opposing Fallism also exist, refuting that discrimination is occurring, and adopting the philosophy that those who try hard enough will succeed. Collectively, the narratives indicate that universities should err on the side of caution to avoid an escalation of conflict, particularly in regards to tensions created by encounters with private security. Students supporting Fallism disclosed that they resorted to protest, a practice well within their rights, to gain not only national attention, but to question the normalization of colonial structures within the university. Furthermore, financing university studies is a challenge to students and their families, many of whom will rely on the future university graduates for years to come. In the following chapter, Fallism as a response to these educational experiences, will be further explored.

CHAPTER 6

FALLISM: DEVELOPMENT & DEMONSTRATION DYNAMICS

Since Fallism began, social media, including Facebook and Twitter, have been used to share information about the movement, utilizing hashtags such as #FeesMustFall, #RhodesMustFall, #Shackville, #FreeDecolonisedEducation, and more. WhatsApp Groups have also been common in regards to specific planning by smaller plenary groups. While many academics, including Healy-Clancy (2017) and Nyamnjoh (2016), have chosen to utilize the hashtag form of #FeesMustFall, #RhodesMustFall, #Shackville, I have refrained from doing so. The movement is in no way restricted to its presence on social media, where these hashtags are primarily used. At no point did interviewees mention a hashtag when referring to the movement, nor did they outline social media as a key aspect, indicating that the movement is not limited to media activism. This chapter seeks to address the first part of the second research question: How is the movement organized, and what are the dynamics behind its mobilization?

6.1 Development

The development of the Fallist movements prior to this research study spanned from March 9th, 2015 until October 2016. Figure 1 provides a visualization of key developments.
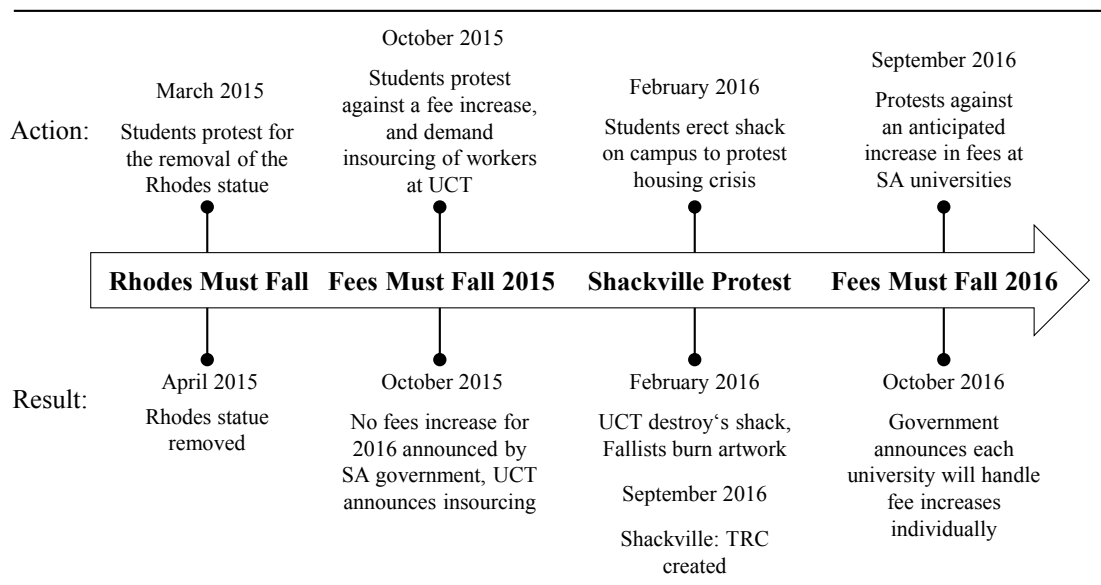
Figure 1: UCT`s Fallist Movements:

Major protests and selected milestones. (Taghavi 2016)

6.1.1 Rhodes Must Fall

The first nationally and internationally recognized Fallist action was that of March 9th, 2015, the besmirching of the statue of Cecil Rhodes. The student who threw the feces, Chumani Maxwele, expressed how he logically questioned his higher learning institution, based on the continuous oblivion that he witnessed in his university study coming from whites, and some people of color. The situation in South Africa's townships and rural areas is hidden by the lavish experiences noticed within the southern suburbs of Cape Town and its surrounding high class urbanity. For students like Maxwele, continually obscuring these realities, or keeping them on the periphery, is the resilient agenda of colonialism. Shedding light on the reality of nearly 50% of South Africa's urban population[18], was one aspect of the feces which tarnished Rhodes, that reality being: poor sanitation. (HDA, 2013) This was not the first time feces has been utilized in a protest in Cape Town. The issue of sanitation in Cape Town sparked the arrest of 180 people in 2011, ahead of a planned protest, who were planning on sharing the overflow of feces through a demonstration which included dumping some bags into government offices. (BBC News, 2013) Bringing these realities into the best learning institution in Africa, was the objective by throwing feces on Rhodes' statue, while simultaneously politically critiquing the institution, as Maxwele described in an interview.

The political critique came in the form of questioning Rhodes himself, and his role in radical colonialism. This action galvanized thoughts and questions, which mobilized into responses and actions. Several students interviewed who are present-day Fallists reported feeling confused about the action at first, asserting that they needed time to consider what it meant, and why. One black second year female summarized her experience of becoming a Fallist on the 9th of March as follows: "I really didn't understand why he was doing that, but a part of me was like, I want to know why he's doing that. Because in high school when we learn about Rhodes, we learn that he's such a good man and he's done so many good things you know, so that's when I joined." (Black, Female, Private, Limpopo) It became clear to many students on that day that a conversation around Rhodes' presence was important, and they wanted to explore it further. Another student

---

[18] It is estimated that 50 percent of South Africa's urban dwellers are living in townships, areas which were specified for blacks and Indians only during the apartheid regime. These areas are located on the outskirts of urban areas, hidden from the most appealing city areas. Generally, townships lack proper infrastructure, sanitation, and housing. (The Housing Development Agency, 2013)

felt that Rhodes Must Fall revealed a lack of transparency about historical figures, which the female student above also alludes to in her education about Rhodes.

> Most people, I can assure you 70% of UCT students during that time never knew who and what Rhodes was, even though he was on the center of campus as a statue and all of that. People didn't know what it meant, they didn't know what he did to our people, and these are people who are in the best university in Africa. Yet they failed to identify an imperialist when he's in our own yard. (Black, Male, Public, Western Cape)

6.1.2 Fees Must Fall

While Rhodes Must Fall began at the University of Cape Town, Fees Must Fall was ignited by students at the University of Witwatersrand (WITS) on the 12th of October, 2015. Fees Must Fall was the initial response to the Wits Administration announcing a fee increase of around 10%, which led to students occupying university buildings in a sit-in style protest. (WITS University, 2015) This action sparked national interest, and students from universities across South Africa began to stage their own interventions in response to the unaffordable and exclusive systems of tertiary education.

UCT had announced an increase as well, and by October 19th, 2015, UCT students had aligned themselves with this rebuttal. (UCT Administration, 2015) However, by that time UCT had been granted an interdict by the Western Cape High Court, to prevent students from disrupting university activities and protesting. (SAFLII, 2015) The interdict named several student groups, organizations, and individual students, including: #RhodesMustFall, #FeesMustFall, Left Students Movement, UCT Trans Collective, South African Student Congress Organization (SASCO) UCT, Pan African Student Movement of Azania (PASMA), Patriarchy Must Fall, UCT Left Students Movement, Thatho Phule, Brian Kamanze, Ru Slayen, and Mzomhle Bixa. (SAFLII, 2015) This interdict resulted in the arrest of 23 UCT students on that day alone. (Kalipa, 2015) Measures such as interdicts have continued to be utilized by the University Administration to attempt to control the environment on campus, but according to students, the environment has become more hostile, not less.

Acting quickly, the students of UCT, joined by counterparts from CPUT, organized a 5,000-person march to the South African Parliament. The occasion was a mid-term budget meeting October 21st, 2015, which South Africa's President, Jacob Zuma, and Higher Education Minister, Blade Zimande, were attending. (Merten, 2015) During this protest, students entered the gates of

South African Parliament, demanding to be addressed by Blade and Zuma.[19] It was uncertain exactly how students were able to enter parliament grounds. Student accounts of the occasion describe the large crowd of students seeming to spill easily into the gates, while continuing to chant and sing. Though on the grounds, they were not able to enter the building. Police used tear gas and rubber bullets to evacuate protesters, and it is reported that many students got charged with High Treason during this event. (Torchia, 2015)

On the 23rd of October, 2015, President Jacob Zuma announced that there would be no fee increase in 2016 (Areff, 2015). The fee increase is what initially sparked the protests, but having no fee increase did not demobilize the movement by any means. During this stage of the movement at UCT, students had begun to clarify and expand on what they expected from their university. One of their demands included the insourcing of workers, such as cleaning staff, catering, transport, and ground keepers. By the 28th of October, the University had agreed to the insourcing of workers, which was a huge success for UCT students and the outsourced workers. (University of Cape Town, 2015) One black female interviewee identified the union between students and workers as the most powerful aspect of the Fallist Movements. "Even if I don't have my family here, my parents here, you know, someone else, the workers here I can still view as my parents and I can fight for them like I would for my mom. They can fight for me like they would for their kids, so […] there is the whole merging of students and parents." (Black, Female, Private, Limpopo)

On November 7th, 2015, Fallists, explicitly 'Fees Must Fall/Rhodes Must Fall' and the Student Representative Council, drafted an agreement with the University administration, which is described in a document published on UCT's website, issued by UCT's Vice Chancellor, Max Price. (Price, 2015a) The agreed upon terms ranged from having a representative on the Student Financial Aid (SFA) appeals committee, to the waiving of fees for counseling services. This draft agreement was the first of many discussions and agreements between representative student groups and the university over the course of 2015 and 2016. It was expressed during this research that students do not trust the university to hold up their end of the bargain concerning any agreements, either by blatant disregard of the agreement, or inability to support students.

---

[19] The sources of this information are a combination of South African mass media sources, including online news platforms, such as Cape Argus, News24, SABC, and information obtained during the research period.

6.1.3 University Shutdown

The complete shutdown had altered UCT's 2015 exam schedule, which normally begins in early November. A statement was offered by the university stating that pending an agreement with students, the exams would be shifted to the end of November. Later, it was declared that January deferral would be possible. By November 27th, the University indicated that the 'vast majority of students' had completed their exams successfully, however, 3,332 undergraduates had deferred their exams until January of the following year. (Calata, 2015) This figure indicates from a total of 15,747 undergraduates, around 20% had deferred. The year came to a close, but not without administrators, students, and communities wondering what 2016 had in store for Fallism. Price issued a statement in December 2015, addressing students, parents, and fee payers:

> The #RhodesMustFall campaign has prompted most, if not all, members of UCT to revisit their positions, to reflect on what it means to be a university in South Africa in 2015, on the experience of students who have felt excluded by its heritage and practices, and on how we must adapt to be fully inclusive. It has initiated an important review of names, symbols and artworks; and many other transformation initiatives are being pursued with renewed energy and commitment, ranging from curriculum reviews to recruiting and advancing more black academics. (Price, 2015b)

The usage of the term, 'transformation', as opposed to decolonization was very triggering to some students, and was observed to be a topic of contention between Fallists and the university. Specifying the need for decolonization, as opposed to a mere transformation, was a part of the point.

6.1.4 Shackville

The next school year at UCT commenced in February 2016, and was met with resistance regarding the issue of student housing. UCT had only 6,600 beds for 27,000 students, leaving many students without a safe place to stay. (Price, 2016) Several reasons were listed by UCT as to why 2016 was a particularly complicated year for housing. These included: an increased number of accepted first-year students, students who stayed to complete deferred exams as a result of the 2015 protests, as well as an increased return of students due to the University's clearance of previous students' debts. (Petersen, 2016) In previous years, a lower percentage of students returned, due to having been financially barred from the University. Fallists achieved an agreement with the UCT administration during Fees Must Fall, which included no student be barred from returning to the University on financial grounds.

Students articulated that the situation at UCT was a housing crisis, demanding that they be addressed by the university. To bring this issue to the urgent attention of the university, on February 15th, Fallists erected a shack on the main road of the Upper Campus at the foot of the prominent Jamie Steps, just a few meters from where Rhodes had stood, an area highly trafficked by pedestrians and vehicles. (University of Cape Town, 2016a) As shown in figure 2, students gather on Upper Campus next to the shack, with 'UCT Housing Crisis' written on the back.

Figure 2: Shackville: UCT Housing Crisis. February 15, 2016.

Source: This photo was kindly contributed by a student who was in attendance.

For Fallists, bringing a shack onto campus was simply bringing a piece of home into an exclusive space. It cannot and should not be ignored that many students are from communities where they live in shacks. The shack was reportedly jarring to students and staff who have avoided areas of South Africa in which such dwellings are prominent. Khayelitsha is one example of South Africa's semi-concealed communities: hidden from the view of city-dwellers, but visible on the drive from Cape Town's major international airport to the city center. Khayelitsha means 'new home' in isiXhosa, and was a relocation point for people of color during apartheid who had been forcibly removed from their homes. (Brunn & Wilson, 2013) One Fallist from Khayelitsha, summarized the reason for erecting the shack on one of the main roads:

> We're from communities where we live in shacks, and now we're bringing those shacks in the white areas and we want to say, is it a problem to bring a shack in a white area? We're living in shack, so is it a problem when we bring it here not there? So it's where we say,

okay, it's a problem, we'll just bring out reality inside. (Black, Male, Public School, Western Cape)

One black male fourth year student with a low level of involvement in the movement described his experience during the housing crisis:

> I had a place where I was staying but it was far. I was also caught in this because I came in late during registration. I was working […] and I was thinking, I don't need to be there during orientation, I can just come later. Then when I got here there was this housing crisis. I just got another place somewhere quickly and I stayed there for a while. It was a bit far so I slept on campus when I couldn't go back home. Some students they had to like sleep at friends' places and stuff like that for a long time. And this went on until like March or so. It was a mess actually. (Black, Male, Public, Gauteng)

This particular interviewee reported also being robbed several times while living at the aforementioned residence, which was located around a 45-minute walk from Upper Campus. During the period of this research study, this student slept on campus frequently. Figure 3 shows South Africa's Housing Development Agency (HDA) report, which compared 2001 and 2011 census data, in regard to informal settlements. Figure 3 indicates a significant percent of households in South Africans are informal dwellings, such as shacks. (HDA, 2013) In the Western Cape in 2011, 12% of people live in shacks, with an additional 8% living in shacks in a backyard. As shown in figure 3, this percentage has not changed since 2001. (HDA, 2013) While these figures have improved slightly in other provinces, it is observable that a large number of South Africans continue to reside in shacks. It must be noted that this figure does not account for the number of persons which constitute a household, creating the possibility of a higher percent of the population living in shacks than the household number might suggest.

The University Administration demanded the shack be removed within half-an-hour in a letter that was circulated at 16h30, as it was congesting traffic on the UCT Campus.

> Dear members of RMF,
> We write to you in relation to the shack you have erected on Residence Road. We completely respect your constitutional right to protest action and recognise the importance of the issues you are raising. […] If you refuse to allow the officers to move the shack and the shack is still in its current position by 17h00 we will unfortunately have no option but to take action to remove it. (University of Cape Town, 2016b)
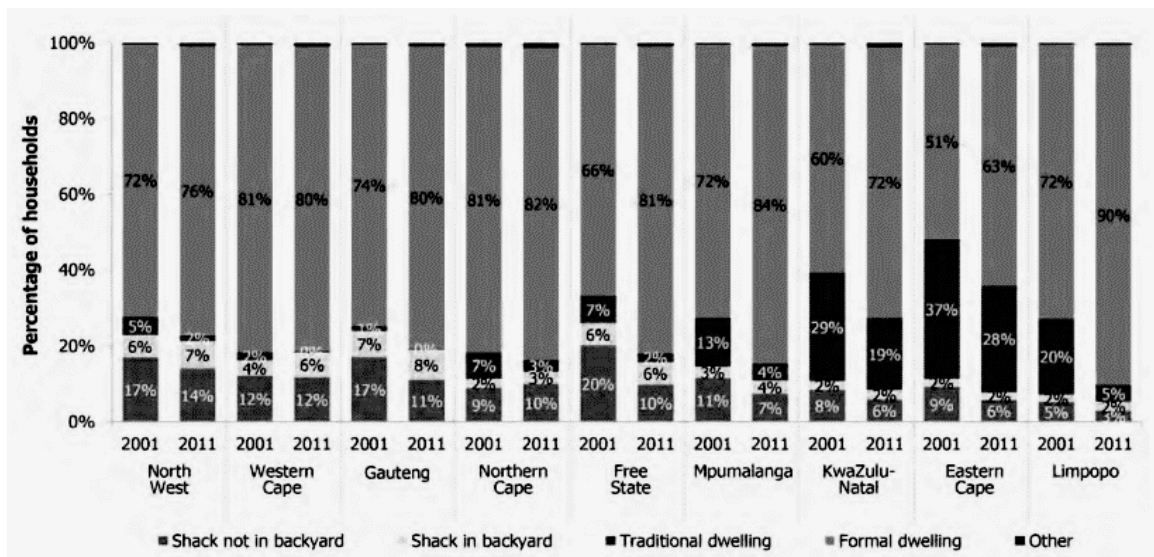
Figure 3: Informal Settlements Status, South Africa. (HDA, 2013:18)

Note: Formal dwelling contains: House or brick /concrete structure on a separate stand or yard, Town/cluster/semi-detached house, Flat or apartment, House/flat/room in backyard, Room/ flatlet on a property or larger dwelling/servant's quarters/granny flat.

When the shack was not removed, it was destroyed, but not without further action from protesters, who took paintings from residence halls, namely Smuts, Jameson, and Fuller, and burned them next to the shack. Some of the paintings burned were reportedly from UCT's first black student who graduated with a Master's of Fine Arts, Keresemose Richard Baholo. (News24, 2016) These particular actions of the Shackville protests brought the criticism of Fallism to a new level, with many news outlets stating that protesters were 'attempting to decolonize UCT' through these destructive actions. Protesters clearly took action against cultural capital, which was either colonial or inspired by colonialism. They also offered alternative cultural capital, namely, the shack. Social media, specifically Twitter, was surging with tweets about #Shackville, both for and against the actions of student protesters. Rhodes Must Fall's twitter account replied to the accusations on Twitter, stating: "If you think what happened tonight is just about accommodation and university politics, then you are utterly deluded." (Rhodes Must Fall, 2016)

Between the 16th and 17th of February, UCT issued nine separate updates addressing each event and issue on campus as it unfolded. This included the housing crisis, the shack itself, the burning of the paintings, and information about the university student transport buses, Jammie shuttles, having been set alight. The University made it clear in these web updates that they condemned the actions, and would not tolerate such forms of protest. These events certainly started

the 2016 school year with a turbulence that propelled the movement, in positive and negative ways. Private security on campus had more of a presence after these incidences, and the general public was bitter about actions that were perceived as violent. Some Fallists would say, however, that decolonization is a violent process, as was colonization, and violence is a regular experience for people of color. When asking the interviewees which aspects of the movement they disagreed with, many of them mentioned violence as a point of contention, but simultaneously acknowledged that it may be necessary. They expressed that they could understand to a degree how someone could be pushed to that point, while also voicing the possibility that decolonization may require violence to some extent.

The Shackville protest remained an important key point for black Fallist students. Students saw the necessity for a 'Shackville Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)'[20]. By September, the Shackville Truth and Reconciliation Commission had been established. One student describes how the destruction of the shack lead to the establishment of this new chapter of Fallism: "We're just being black inside, and they demolished it, they removed it. It's where we said Shackville TRC, there was a need for a commission to stand on that because they demolished part of us, part of our home, part of our being, part of our existence within UCT." (Black, Male, Public, Western Cape) Shackville plenaries were generally black only, in order to prevent students from being subjected to the violence of white bodies in safe spaces. I asked one Shackville TRC member to elaborate on this particular aspect of the meetings. They stated:

> There have been many times where white people are sympathetic, Biko calls them white liberals. It's not only their mere presence changing the psyche of the black man. It's their urgency towards issues, and how when we are in struggles with white people they all will assume the role of educating the black masses and leading the black masses. In them leading the black masses, they lack the urgency because these issues don't affect them directly. So that's why we must reject white people for when we are talking about black issues[...]it's not a segregationist idea it's merely[...] black people find your identity, find yourself, grow in confidence. (Black, Male, Private, Western Cape)

---

[20] In 1995, the first Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) had been established as a body of restorative justice, based on the *Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act*, No. 34 of 1995. This particular body of justice was specifically meant to hear, witness, and also to grant amnesty to those who had committed heinous crimes during apartheid. The crimes that were specifically addressed were those of human rights, as well as the right to rehabilitation and reparation. (South African Government, 1995)

6.1.5 Synopsis

By October 2016, the main Fallist student bodies that had developed included Fees Must Fall, Rhodes Must Fall, and Shackville TRC, all of which managed communication on social media, coordinated movement related happenings on campus, and addressed management at UCT. It was not uncommon that students were involved in multiple groups or sections of the movement. Other groups on campus, such as the UCT Trans Collective and Patriarchy Must Fall, also invested themselves into the movement, despite difficulties faced by transgendered people, women, and bodies of non-binary gender. Aspects of intersectionality were brought into the movement by these particular groups, which was noted as one of the most important aspects of the movement at the time of this study. Fallism over time shows a clear pattern of development and depth, in relation to a complex set of issues facing people of color in post-colonial South Africa.

6.2 Demonstration Dynamics: A Case Study

Utilizing the March to Parliament protest of October 26th, 2016, as a case study, I seek here to describe comprehensive dynamics behind a single demonstration which focused on free decolonized education. The protest of October 26th clearly required effort on behalf of the planners, including but not limited to the successful attainment of the protest permit and mobilizing students from universities around the province. I learned about the details of the protest through social media, specifically Facebook and Twitter. While attending the aforementioned play, 'The Fall' on the 25th of October, I observed the actors of the play encourage attending the protest in solidarity with the protesting students, as a few of the actors would also be attending.

The regional committee of Fees Must Fall had arranged for students in the Western Cape, from Stellenbosch, UWC, UCT and CPUT to gather at the CPUT Campus and march to South Africa's Parliament, where Finance Minister, Pravin Gordhan, was set to give a mid-term budget speech. Students, however, were not the only group planning to march to parliament on that day. Other organizations such as the Democratic Alliance and its student body, Democratic Alliance Student Organization (DASO), also planned to march in support of the students, however they gathered at a different starting location, with a different designated marching time. This protest was particularly important for students of the Western Cape, as approximately one year earlier, they had also gathered outside the gates of Parliament for the same purpose. The movement at UCT, as students indicate, had grown and developed since its last march to Parliament, working through some detrimental issues and dynamics, such as patriarchy, homophobia, and transphobia.

There was some confusion about the March to Parliament on social media, including a fake document that was circulating with incorrect time and meeting point information. I arrived at 10h00 at the CPUT Cape Town Campus, the protest's starting location, which is located just over a kilometer from Parliament. There, students were engaging with one another calmly, singing and dancing in the square, as shown in figure 4a. There was a small mock coffin that had been brought in for Blade Nzimande, the education minister since 2009, as displayed in figure 4b. (South African Government, 2017) In light of the sensitive situation at UCT, which involves arrests and ongoing court cases, figures 4 and 5 have been edited to obscure faces. I tried to engage with a few students, some of them seemed hesitant to engage with me, others were very welcoming and friendly. The distribution of race, though not representative of actual student demographics, consisted of more white students than I expected. A large group of students from UCT arrived around 10:30h, at which point all protesters, many of whom were sitting down by that point, rose and clapped for UCT's arrival. I inquired with some of the CPUT students about what was going on, and was informed that they were standing to give respect to the UCT Chapter of the movement, who had begun the conversation around this critical issue.

As time went on, not much changed, though things became a bit quieter, as students were saving their energy, preparing for a long day in high temperatures. At 11:00h, the mass was informed that the permit to move to Parliament was valid at 12:30h. Protesters were informed that they could leave at 12:30h, and not before, in order to honor the official permit students had been granted. In efforts to further mobilize the group, 50 student volunteers were requested to wear yellow bibs assuming specific positions along the march. The purpose of these volunteers was to keep an eye on the outside edges of the march, insuring that non-students were not interfering, creating violence or undermining the march in any way. At 12:30h, the march filled the streets in an orderly fashion and began to move towards Parliament, singing and dancing 'liberation songs'[21] in isiXhosa.

---

[21] Struggle songs, or liberation songs, played a significant role in the movement against apartheid. Singing is a critical part of black South African culture, utilized in politics, business, school and family life. One example of a struggle song is Senzeni Na, where each line is repeated four times, reads (in English): "What have we done? Is our sin the fact that we are black? Is our sin the truth? We are being killed. Return Africa." (Nkoala, 2013)

Figure 4: March to Parliament, October 26th:

a) Student Groups b) Blade Coffin. (Taghavi, 2016)

People in Cape Town were aware that the protest would be occurring that day. Several news and media organizations had issued warnings, including News 24, and Cape Argus. (Dano, 2016; Evans, 2016) Some of Cape Town's residents gathered on rooftops and balconies located between the CPUT Campus and Parliament, taking photos or simply watching what was going on. A student in the crowd yelled to some of the observers above, telling them to stop watching, and to come down and join. Irritated by the people, a black student said to her friend: "Why are they watching and taking pictures of us?" As the march moved closer to Parliament, more police were noticeable, standing on most street corners armed with large and visible weapons, including guns with rubber bullets as shown in figure 5a. Police helicopters also circled the area. Outside of parliament, different groups congregated, awaiting 14:00h, when the Finance Minister's speech was scheduled. Due to the high midday temperatures of over 30° and the unshaded environment directly outside of Parliament, protesters reverted to different side streets. People took breaks to eat and drink, preparing themselves to reenter the sun and rejoin the protest.

On a few different occasions people started running suddenly, creating a domino effect and scattering the crowd. This happened several times, though calm resumed once crowds realized nothing was happening. Students were dancing and singing on police vehicles, as shown in figure

5b, causing them to shake, though this did not seem to bother anyone, police included. No police appeared to be addressing the protesters or asking them to get down, this went on for more than 90 minutes. It is reported by people in the crowd that some protesters were throwing rocks at police, this was observed on a few occasions prior to 15:00h. At 15:00h, police showered the crowds with stun grenades, tear gas, and rubber bullets. Many students were injured, and some were arrested. One video captured on social media shows police driving with a student on top of their car, then suddenly stopping, causing the student to be thrown off the top of the fast-moving vehicle.

Figure 5: March to Parliament, October 26th:
a) Police Presence b) Students Dance on Police Vehicles. (Taghavi, 2016)

After this point, there were continual incidents of violence, which were reported by news outlets as a clash between police and protesters. (Koyana, 2016) One of the incidents included the symbolic coffin for Blade being set alight. Leading up to 14:00h, I did not witness any direct physical violence on behalf of anyone. However, panic ensued amongst police and protestors several times due to the high tension. It is hard to identify if something instigated acts on behalf of individuals, particularly when a large crowd scattered in pandemonium. While a few individuals may have instigated such violence, the majority faced police repercussions, which have psychologically impacted many students, as students described to me. One black male student stated that he jumps when he hears a door slam since his exposure to stun grenades at the parliament protest of October 2016. Stun grenades are a predominantly psychological tacit used to confuse and distort senses. Violence, one of the most contentious aspects of Fallism, has been a

problematic part of the issue, as argued by both sides. Beyond perceptions of Fallists being violent, other criticisms have emerged from outside and inside the movement.

6.3 Critiques of Fallism

'Fallism' as a new collective force and ideology has been the subject of critique by many, including students, professors, parents, and the general public. One undergraduate Politics, Philosophy, and Economics (PPE) student from UCT, Nicholas Woode-Smith, summarized the Fallist ideology as "Bastardised Fanon and Biko were merged with Critical Theory to Justify dogmatic demands and hate filled rhetoric", (Woode-Smith, 2016:20) in his article Rhodes Must Fall, a contribution to an online platform named 'Rational Standard[22]'. Rational Standard published an eBook titled 'Fallism, One Year of Rational Commentary', a compilation of anti-Fallist experiences written by the website's contributors. (Rational Standard, 2016) Social media sources also display criticisms by students and non-students alike. Speaking to South Africans outside of the UCT Campus about Fees Must Fall brought a variety of responses. While many of Cape Town's residents appeared to support the movement, some scoffed at the idea of free education, expressing that protesters were just being lazy and trying to defer their exams.

The movement has not only been critiqued by outside forces, but some students have had to reconsider their dedication to the movement as well. One repeated theme throughout interviews and student meetings was the topic of patriarchy. 'Patriarchy Must Fall' became a branch of Fallism, describing itself on its twitter page as a 'student movement centered on black feminism.' At many of the student plenaries I attended at UCT, women certainly participated. When asking participants to elaborate on aspects of the movement they disagreed with, one colored female responded with the following:

> I had to move away from it, I had to take several steps back, and re-identify myself outside of the movement as well, because, and as much as it was a very loving space, it was also quite ostracizing. There were a lot of hyper-masculine men in the space, there was a lot of patriarchy, homophobia, transphobia. But these were issues that were being dealt with, within the movement, so they were trying, but there was…not trying hard enough in a way. And the colored narrative, the colored discourse was constantly ignored. So it was, it had maintained, in a weird way, this polarizing view of white and black, and there was

---

[22] Rational Standard states that it seeks to be 'a forum for pro-freedom and reasonable commentary in South Africa'. This website is organized by Martin van Staden, Nicholas Woode-Smith, Christiaan van Huysteen and more, all of which either hold a university degree or are working towards one. Moreover, all of the people working on this website are male, and white, with the exception of two black contributors, who argue that they were disappointed by Fallism and they never felt discriminated against by their institutions. (Rational Standard, 2016)

nothing in between that was being discussed, which was a problem for me, as someone who sits very heavily in the in between. (Colored, Female, Model-C, Western Cape)

Another issue that this student identified is the role of non-black people of color in the movement. Though colored people faced colonial hardships before and during apartheid, it is reported by some colored students that they did not feel 'black enough'. Steve Biko, who the movement bases many of their ideologies from, defines blackness as "not a matter of pigmentation, but a reflection of mental attitude." (Biko, 1978b) As mentioned in the methodology, though the definition of 'Biko black' extends beyond pigment, within this text, students interviewed gave non-ambiguous racial identities. It was not only colored students who experienced this differentiation of blackness, but black students that were socioeconomically advantaged and went to white schools also reported feeling challenged about their blackness. "I found that I had to justify myself a lot. Between both races, so amongst black people I'd have to prove my blackness, amongst white people I'd have to prove that I was equally as human." (Black, Female, Private, Gauteng)

As students faced issues around gender, socioeconomic status, sexuality, and identity within the movement, a discourse in the movement emerged around these topics, given the contemplative nature of Fallism. Though challenges still exist, Fallism has addressed many of the inner-movement issues and is said to have evolved over the last two years. In the next chapter, specifics about the evolving ideologies and affiliations of Fallism will further contextualize its theoretical origins, as well as the direction its heading.

CHAPTER 7

FALLISM: IDEOLOGY & AFFILIATION

As Fallism has developed, ideologies and affiliations have been challenged by participants. As one interviewee described, the Fallist movements are dynamic: "I think at this point, they are amorphous, ever changing and organic." This chapter seeks to explore one part of the second research question: What holds the movement together, and what was the primary ideology, political affiliation, and structure, as it stood at the end of 2016?

7.1 The Ideology of Fallism

The Fallist movements are complexly organized, but despite compartmented ideologies, they come together for the greater cause and overall goal. The goal of the Fallist movements by no means ends at free education. Fallism can furthermore be summarized as an urgent and necessary need to reclaim South Africa from the grip of colonialism, and to restructure the society in a revolutionary way to better suit peoples indigenous to the African continent, in Africa. UCT's Fallists display strong leadership skills, while the movement at UCT overall seems to serve as the forerunner in relation to other universities in the Western Cape; not hierarchically, rather, they are respected as the initiators of what would become a country wide movement. Often times, meetings and protests would include students from universities throughout the Western Cape, mainly including UCT, CPUT, UWC, and Stellenbosch.

Protesters at each university are facing different issues, and appeared to be in different stages of reaching their respective goals, as described by professors and students, and as noted during observation of regional meetings. Nevertheless, Fallist movements, at least those in the Western Cape, appear to be seeking a change which is united by the experiences of South Africans who report having been ostracized from areas of whiteness due to their race and culture. Beyond race, issues of gender, sexuality, socioeconomic status, beauty, intellectuality, and generational privilege drive the lives of South Africans. The status symbols of success in South Africa have observably conformed to that of the colonizers, particularly in urban areas. Having neither social, cultural, nor economic capital, the non-white South African is expected to struggle to conform to the colonizers' notions of a model citizen, as argued by students and observed during previous stays. One factor that could influence the direction of Fallism is the synchronicity between varying

groups; while some might be seeking Gluckman's idea of revolution, others may be preforming a ritual of rebellion. (Gluckman, 1952)

Fallism in the Western Cape is organized around three pillars; Black Consciousness, Black Radical Feminism, and Pan-Africanism, according not only to their Facebook page, but also to students describing the movement. Each pillar arose due to oppression in its various forms. The three pillars are as follows:

1. The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) was developed during apartheid in the 1960's, driven by Steve Biko, and held the premises that liberation of black people hinged on their own psychological understanding. To this effect, political freedom would come to exist only after the black mind was liberated. (Hook, 2004)

2. Black Radical Feminism focuses on dissecting patriarchy and intersectionality, concepts which have had growing importance in the movement. Intersectionality and intersectional theory were developed by Crenshaw in 1989, and describe how various aspects of social identity relate to corresponding systems of oppression. (Crenshaw, 1989) Patriarchy, as it relates to the movement, speaks to the systematic structures of male power based on gender relations, and the dismantling of those structures.

3. Pan-Africanism, the third pillar, focuses on the comradery of African Nations, and is aligned with the ideology of Robert Sobukwe. The Pan-African Parliament exists explicitly as branch of the African Union, objectively seeking to unite the continent, with objectives such as: "Contribute to a more prosperous future for the peoples of Africa by promoting collective self-reliance and economic recovery." (Pan African Parliament, 2004)

One Shackville TRC member explained the foundation of Fallism as follows:

> What Fallist movements do, they seek to get rid of all forms of oppression, whether it be patriarchy, racism, classism and all these things. So they seek to change the world or the construction of the world and how people view it. […] If you interact with Pan-Africanists or black conscious literature, and there's this cortical Afro-Pessimism and it speaks of the world and itself and the constructions of the world being anti-black, and institutions are erected to perpetuate and to sustain racism. So now every construction of this world is designed to oppress black people, so the world in itself is anti-black. Now the only way to solve this problem is to end the world as we know it. Which is basically what the Fallist movement seeks to do, it seeks to bring an end to all forms of oppression. It is obviously a student led movement which is merely a catalytic moment to the greater call, because the call to decolonize is not only a university fight. The call for free education does not only

apply to university students, the call for patriarchy to fall doesn't only apply to university space but it applies to our general society. So all these things they are merely catalytic moments to what should follow which in our hopes is a revolution of some sort. Not a mere regime change, but a social change. (Black, Male, Private, Western Cape)

Such an explanation would indicate that Fallism is aiming towards a revolution. (Gluckman, 1952) Through the development of Fallism has emerged the aspiration to exit realms of intersectional oppression, including those of ableism, racism, sexism, transphobia, homophobia, classism and otherwise. The role of intersectionality in Fallist movements has evolved the movement from a single cause, to a cause which is all-inclusive. One genderqueer student identified the intersectional leadership as the most powerful aspect of the movement, stating "it's a movement that has been led by black queer women". These ideologies were not individual to a few students, rather, the majority of students I spoke to identified gender and sexuality based issues as a key part of Fallism at UCT. Some of the male students acknowledged not having a background of understanding around topics of patriarchy and feminism, admitting that it was an area which needed improvement; "We had never heard of it and we struggled to understand it. I don't know if it's lack of understanding, but a lot of feminist [issues] I believe I still need to unlearn and learn." (Black, Male, Public, Western Cape) Meanwhile, students also acknowledged progress:

We understand Biko, Sobukwe, all those people to have been part of the Pan-Africanist black conscious space and that's where they write from. But we understand in the dawn of the 21st century we now speak of gender politics and black radical feminism, which was not a discourse, which was preached back then. That's what differentiates us from what Sobukwe and Biko, it is that we are able to even entertain the idea of the black radical feminist space. (Black, Male, Private, Western Cape)

7.2 Fallism & Politics

As aforementioned, Mattes, a professor of Political Science from UCT, suggests that South Africa has a low rate of political participation via formal democratic institution. However, protests, violent or not, have risen, indicating the willingness to engage with politics and governmental institutions. (Mattes, 2013) In elections since the first democratic vote of 1994, the percent of registered voters casting votes has declined. (Schulz-Herzenberg & Southall, 2014) The upcoming section will explore how Fallists identify and engage with South Africa's political landscape.

7.2.1 Political Affiliations

Though the movement overall does not affiliate with a particular ideology, different parties have tried to align and incorporate themselves into the movement, such as the Democratic Alliance, who marched to Parliament on behalf of Fallists in 2016. Parties including the DA, Economic Freedom Fighters, African National Congress, Pan African Congress, and Congress of the People (COP), have student groups present on the UCT Campus, which many students participate in. Political parties in South Africa are certainly not unaware of the student movements, and are gravitating towards South Africa's youth, given 66% of the population is under 35. (UNPFA, 2016) Many students spoke about political alignments having no use in the movement, other than to cause unnecessary separation and fragmentation. This perception came out both in interviews with individuals and public meetings. In one plenary meeting of Fees Must Fall Western Cape, which took place on the UCT Campus, this necessity to step outside of a political perspective was announced by meeting facilitators. One interviewed student identified politics as the aspect of the movement that he felt most uncomfortable with. Citing Biko, the student described how political affiliation interferes with the greater cause:

> Political organizations, as they exist within black communities are there to divide black people, I mean the fact that you have EFF, ANC, PAC, COP, DA, all of those things, we have divided black people. Biko argues that political organization, black people must organize themselves to be able to resist, so political organization is meant to collectively unite black people. But what we find within our spaces, is that you have all these different political organizations. And non-partisan people are drawn into these toxic battles, battles which derail the movement. That's one aspect I don't like, but when you're watching or you're going to a Fees Must Fall movement, or any Fallist movement, you must be able to leave your political badge, we are here issue-based. It's a struggle not only for its person members, but it affects black people. (Black, Male, Public, Western Cape)

7.2.2 Fallism & Voting Practices

Given that students involved with Fallism are making a conscious effort to get the attention of their government, I also asked interviewees about their voting practices. Mattes argues education and voting practices in South Africa do not correlate to the global trend. "Indeed, the fact that the basic relationship between education and support for democracy is not observable in South Africa does not detract from our ability to make a global generalization. And indeed, this very exception then provides new and fruitful avenues of research within South Africa to identify what it is about the old and new educational systems that fail to produce this outcome." (Mattes, 2013) While the sample size of interviewees in this research was small, students provided a very split view on

voting. Six of eleven interviewees did vote, and planned to continue voting, while the remaining five were consciously abstaining. Those who did not vote were certainly still engaged with politics, and perhaps more informed than many voters, however, an ideological conflict stopped the remaining five Fallists from voting. One student summarized his abstinence from voting by stating: "For me the voting thing is still a bit conflicting. I've abstained, I think I will abstain until I find an organization which is able to mobilize black people to a single cause." Fallists do not seem to be avoiding an obligation, rather they have a great suspicion about their democracy as a whole. One black male student stated:

> The ballot never gave us anything, the ballot just integrated and assimilated to the system that was created by white people for black people. We're just continuing the system that has been created not by us, not for us, just to control us, so what is the meaning of me voting? I know that how people occupy our land was through a gun, was through violence, or was through severe things, it was not through voting, that's my context. (Black, Male, Public, Western Cape)

Issues with voting are not limited to black people, but expand into intersectional aspects, including gender identity. One genderqueer student expressed their experience with democracy: "I don't really believe in democracy. My body is not respected by democracy. Democracy is majority rule, and I don't think it's adequate to where we're shifting, because, let's be frank, the majority of people that are now doing things are hateful." (White, Genderqueer, Public, Gauteng)

7.2.3 Fallism & Current Political Quandaries

A great dissatisfaction has been pronounced by South Africans regarding President Jacob Zuma, who has also earned a Fallist hashtag, #ZumaMustFall. Fallists and non-Fallists alike are expressing their distrust for Zuma, who has been accused of using government funds for personal needs. Shown in the figure 6a, one parent holds a sign which says: "I'm a Parent. I Support #FeesMustFall 100%." He then lists contentious bullet points targeting Zuma. "There is Money to Buy Cars For Zuma. There Is Money to Buy Private Jets for Zuma. There Is Money to Bail Eskom[23] & SAA[24]. There is Money For Increasing Zuma's Salary. But There Is No Mone For Free

---

[23] Eskom is a South African electricity public utility which has recently received criticism for a practice called load shedding. Load shedding, or outing large areas of the power grid, is implemented in order to prevent the collapse of the national electricity grid. Eskom has been in the public light for possible corruption in the last few years in South Africa. (Jordan, 2017)

[24] South African Airways (SAA) is the largest airline in South Africa, which has experienced a turbulent corruption investigation in the last few years. (Khosa, 2017)

Education. Mr. and Mrs. Politicians Stop Playing Games Open the Doors of Learning. Education To Us Means Service To Afrika." Figure 6b expresses another message towards Zuma, stating "Fuck Private jets, Nkanla, SAA & Zuma." Noting that Africa is spelled with a 'k', as 'Afrika' in figure 6b, highlights another effort to bring an African-centered view into the equation. Black nationalists have stated that Europeans diluted even the name of the continent by switching the 'k' to a 'c'. (Madhubuti, 1979)

Figure 6: Protesting Zuma:

6a) I'm a Parent 6b) Fund our Universities. (Taghavi, 2016)

Political practices seem to be convoluted by a distaste for the current political landscape, which Fallists try to address by promoting the need for an entirely new and decolonized perspective, from education to government. While the political practices and opinions differ greatly among UCT's Fallists, the concept of decolonization presents a consistent, sensible, and aligned ideology, which prioritizes South Africa's post-colonial development. In the call for decolonization, Fallists express the rise of a new kind of South Africa; *Azania*. This term, currently utilized by the political groups, Pan African Congress of Azania and Azania People's Organization (AZAPO), means the land of black people at the southernmost tip of Africa. The term originated from Greek, and was used by many anti-apartheid activists, who sought of a new decolonized beginning. In the next chapter, decolonization, particularly in the education sector, will be analyzed from the perspective of students in the Western Cape.

CHAPTER 8

DECOLONIZATION

Decolonization and the decolonization of education are ambiguous in some regard, though diverse post-colonial schools of thought guide the topics. This chapter seeks to answer the third research question; What specifically is meant by decolonization of education to Fallists, and what exactly do Fallist seek to achieve in decolonizing their university? Much of decolonizing education is expressed through an inversion, or opposite look at colonization; students identified what aspects of colonization were problematic in their education, and urged the ending of such aspects in decolonized education. After decolonization of education is explored, an overview of a decolonized university is given, including recommendations on: curriculum, teaching methods, and the transformation of educational environments.

8.1 The Decolonization of Education

To further understand decolonization and decolonized education from the perspective of UCT Fallist students, I asked students to define decolonized education. While answers varied in terms of specifics, it became clear that the core of the answer hinged on an Afrocentric[25] foundation, as opposed to a Eurocentric[26] foundation. Some selected phrases from student interviews include: 'recentralizing the focus onto African stories and African ideals', 'reimagining Africa for Africa', 'shifting our reality from white supremacy', and 'an African Space, a South African space'. It seemed the principal objective of students was precisely what colonization never gave South Africans a chance at: namely shaping structures and institutions within the country in a way that relates to Africans in Africa. Students described how Eurocentrism was embedded into educational institutions, supplementary to what and who they were learning about. Students gave specific descriptions of a diversified curriculum, focusing on African authors and academics. One black male student explained the process of decolonization in light of the countries neocolonial[27] standpoint.

---

[25] Afrocentric most simply indicates that the primary focus is on Africa. Afrocentrism focuses on African specific philosophy, history and culture. (Asante, 2009)
[26] Eurocentrism indicates that Europe, and a focus on European history, economics, and culture, is a viable focal point for viewing the world. (Alatas, 2007)
[27] Neocolonialism is characterized by a colonial influence through economic and cultural factors, rather than political factors as in traditional colonialism.

> Seeking an Afrocentric education, we understand that we live in neocolonial times. There was the first process of colonization. [...] They legally made a system that oppressed black people, and they continued the oppression of black people through the erection of these institutions. Now we live in a system which is neocolonial. We have taken Western and European ideals, and employed them within an African society. Understanding that, when we speak to decolonize we seek to break down all of that. To destroy and to do away with and erect something new which is Afrocentric, which speaks to the needs of the African people. So an example could be, maybe, if we look at economics, and the way in which we analyze things in economics, we must understand that the way which you are taught, you are taught to look at European and Western examples but these examples don't speak to you to your lived experience as a black person, how am I going to take that and try to employ it in my community? (Black, Male, Private, Western Cape)

This student highlights the need for a curriculum not only that steers away from traditional Western examples, but something that is more adaptable and relevant to the lived experience of South Africans. Curriculum was certainly the most prominent aspect of the sought after decolonized education. Comprehending Western economic models may be useful in the globalizing world, but can it be useful in a country which is trying to succeed globally, yet does not offer useful economic solutions to the ever widening gap of inequality inside the country, and the 26.6% employment rate? With the majority of the population under 35 years of age, these problems are anticipated to reach new heights. Decolonization implies an inherent need to address Africa-specific problems before engaging with the Western world.

> In politics or in history we don't learn about Patrice Lumumba[28] or Thomas Sankara[29], and that's the greatest crime. These are the great African thinkers who decided to reject Western modernity. They're being completely overlooked, and we're not being taught their ideas. Lumumba said that we cannot trade with European nations, we need to trade within Africa to build ourselves up […] to carry on with colonial trading is to just trade one form of slavery for another. (Indian, Male, Public, KwaZulu-Natal)

Students described how their learning had focused around European history and ideals. Shakespeare, Hitler, and Socrates were just a few examples of the Western focus. Certain normative aspects, such as methods of teaching, school names, and uniforms were also criticized. White lecturers who took an aggressive approach in their classes were negatively perceived by some black students. These students expressed the historical complexity of a white lecturer firmly

---

[28] The first democratically elected prime minister of the Congo, Patrice Lumumba, is considered the leader of Congolese independence. Lumumba wrote a book titled 'Congo, My Country' which was not published until after his death in 1962. (Immanuel & Dennis, 2012)
[29] Thomas Sankara was the former president of Burkina Faso who is well renowned for being a Pan-African theorist, as well as a Marxist revolutionary. He is affectionately referred to as Africa's 'Che Guevara'. (Ray, 2015)

addressing them, pointing out an inability to focus on the content within hostile teaching frameworks.

Decolonization would require the reframing of teaching style to suit African students, creating more supportive environments, which embrace cultural relevance, the same concepts described by decolonial theorists such as wa Thiong'o (1986) and Fanon (1963). Moreover, though South Africa's diverse array of black African cultures all have forms of traditional dress, schooling systems make use of a colonial uniform policy. School uniforms in South Africa's private and public schools appear to be modeled after British school uniforms, despite the sharp contrast in weather, as one of the interviewees pointed out. Many UCT students expressed that lecturers did not bother to learn African names properly, usually giving nicknames to ease their struggle with pronunciation. A decolonized educational environment, on the contrary, would embrace the proper pronunciation of an African name, therefore embracing the African student. Superficial changes, such as the renaming of schools, institutes, and buildings, would also be a result of decolonization, though not the primary purpose.

Critics of the movement have adopted a negative position towards the word decolonization. For many people, it is not obvious what is meant by decolonization of education, and what steps would be necessary to achieve such. One video shared over one million times on YouTube homed in on a Fallist who took the opinion that in order to decolonize science, it should be done away with entirely. Critics express the beliefs that such ideas are absurd, impossible, and ridiculous to propose. The rejection of Western modernity is clearly a contentious topic, and it appears that many people in South Africa feel threatened by the possibility that their comforts may shift in order to create restructured and decolonized world. Though for some concepts of decolonization seem drastic, it is not exactly new, nor does it indicate the necessity to support the radical discourse 'do it all over again', neither in the curriculum, nor through aspects of ethnic and cultural livelihoods. As Nyamnjoh states, "The baby of ethnic and cultural citizenship does not have to be thrown out with the bathwater of colonialism and apartheid." (Nyamnjoh, 2016:236) Instead, Fallists are seeking the recognition, appreciation, and contextual relevance, that they and their cultures and African identities deserve.

One student highlighted that she had been well aware of Brexit, Britain's planned secession from the European Union, yet she had never learned about the formation of the African Union, of which she stated she was 'ashamed'. This focus alludes to the direction South Africa's compass is

pointed towards: Europe. Rather than exploring the African continent and context, learning institutions and general media outlets are prioritizing Western events. In order to redirect the general focus of South Africa towards Africa, whether it be regarding learning or media coverage, students and academics seek a decolonized university.

8.2 Developing a Decolonized UCT

Interviewees were asked to describe a decolonized education at UCT, as if it were a completed process. Answers varied from student to student, as one student explained why that might be; "I'm not sure if decolonization is a destination. I think it's a process. […] We might not have either the language or the understanding of what it will become. […] I don't know if decolonization is just a reaction to colonization or if there's something to be found in going through the process." Some students on the other hand, had a very clear image, which included more black lecturers, African content, African authors, and curriculum with a type of relevance that may have never existed in the history of South African education. A few students gave detailed descriptions of a free style of learning on a university campus which felt like home, a place which was welcoming to black people, and a non-exclusive environment. Students expressed repeatedly that they sought an applicable education, with which they could better their communities. Students described how the current day South African education system requires an assimilation to whiteness, Western modernity, and capitalism. The relevance of such education could certainly extend to all of South Africa, but quite possibly to the African continent, and furthermore, the globalizing world. As Comaroff and Comaroff explore in their work, the problems that the 'Global South' have managed to address thus far are viable solutions for problems that the 'Global North' has not yet encountered. (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2012) Decolonized education could therefore be a model.

> Decolonized education for me means that this education is not for me, it's for my community. When I go back home I'll be able to explain what I studied here. It will be able to benefit the African child. I'm not just prepared to go to work places, I'm prepared to survive on my own, to build my things, not to work for other people. Not to advance capitalist 'what what'. I must take that education and survive on my own. […] I must not be taught Eurocentric history, I must be taught African history and my roots and I must be taught to be proud of myself, not to assimilate to the Western world in order to be seen as this person who is symbolized. (Black, Male, Public, Western Cape)

Several students described how they felt their academic works never stood a chance with certain professors. In the same respect, many mentioned better grades when describing a decolonized

UCT, namely due to contextual relevance.

> I see a lot more students getting good grades. Why are they getting good grades? It's because their education is no longer standardized to support 'eliteness'[...]. For instance, constantly when we design in architecture school, from first year, there's this constant ambition of designing for a rich client. I think it's just something they drill inside of us in a way. And the thinking is like that. The thinking is making money, and they're looking for people who can make money, so if you're not that material, that money making material, you get swept aside. What about education where they say, ok there are slums in Khayelitsha, how do you solve that problem? (Black, Male, Public, Gauteng)

UCT students' envisioned 'decolonized curriculum' sparked backlash amongst some of UCT's scientific community. While critics ask how a scientific curriculum could possibly be diversified, international institutions, such as the United Nations, have taken steps towards embracing indigenous knowledge, especially in the realm of sustainable development. "The last few decades has seen a shift in the relationship between science and other systems of knowledge, reflected in the explicit recognition of indigenous knowledge[30] in many global environmental governance fora." (UNESCO, 2017) In many aspects of environmental science, traditional practices have proven to be not only valid, but pertinent and extremely useful. Long-standing indigenous communities have generational knowledge that is absolutely relevant to the globalized world, especially when it comes to solving current issues such as crises brought on by climate change. Boisselle proposes 'localization' when addressing the decolonization of science in Trinidad. (Boisselle, 2016)

> Primarily people must be taught how to live and build the capacity of where they are. Within science education localization may include a consideration of indigenous definitions of scientific literacy and of indigenous science(s); place-based science; and a drive toward the creation and fulfilment of an indigenous innovation agenda. (Boisselle, 2016:9)

8.3 Moving forward

"Euro/American social theory, as writers from the south have often observed, has tended to treat modernity as though it were inseparable from *Aufklarung*, the rise of Enlightenment reason."

---

[30] Local and indigenous knowledge concentrate on generationally imparted philosophies, skills, and mechanisms, which are supported by cultural longevity. Such types of knowledge have influenced everyday life for people over a long term, and hinge upon language, resources, social interactions, and more. (UNESCO, 2017)

(Comaroff & Comaroff, 2012) Beyond offering what Comaroff and Comaroff say has been described as primitive, tribal knowledge, decolonized education could expand the enlightenment of modern thought, solving problems that the West has not yet faced. (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2012) As Nyamnjoh explains: "Education in Africa is still the victim of a resilient colonial and colonizing epistemology, which takes the form of science as ideology and hegemony. It is an education which is impatient with conviviality." (Nyamnjoh, 2016:69) It is clear that the sought-after system will take effort on behalf of the academics who are striving for decolonized education, as well as governmental support and a willingness on behalf of Eurocentric minded South Africans to shift towards a more appropriately fitting model of national culture, primarily that of Afrocentrism. Decolonizing UCT and education in South Africa could, in the view of Fallists, leads to innovative solutions, passionate learners, and increased access. Students are providing ideological contributions in response to a failing system, alongside black academics, such as Jansen (2006) and Nyamnjoh (2012).

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

Overall, this work sought to explore three interconnected pillars with respect to Fallist movements at UCT: educational experiences, mapping the Fallist movement, and decolonization. The main research questions sought to clarify the educational experiences of student actors, which were dissected in the analysis in search of tangible and intangible elements of colonialism. The roles of such elements in primary, secondary, and tertiary education were investigated in correlation to the movement, alongside the movement itself, its ideologies, affiliations, and the dynamics behind its mobilization. Lastly, views of decolonized education were investigated amongst Fallist actors, as well as the greater goal of Fallism.

Through investigating the key research questions and drawing on the theoretical frameworks of decolonization, hidden curriculum, social reproduction and social conflict, Fallism comes into focus. Accounts described by interviewees about education revealed that students of color, their cultures, and their contexts are swayed by the hidden curriculum and persistent colonial education institutions in South Africa. Though perhaps not outright racist, educational systems portray a society which white people are more familiarized with and are more predisposed to success within. Furthermore, whites naturally fit the physical and stylistic demands of education and society, for example, by speaking a first language that benefits them in school or in career contexts. This is evident by the Eurocentric focus and financial structures, as well as the subtleties of hidden curriculums, and discriminatory schooling environments. Moreover, these realities are preparing students to perpetuate social systems, in which white superiority and Eurocentricity are what is to be aspired.

In decolonizing their university, UCT's Fallists seek to focus on creating a new education system in South Africa which is Afrocentric in nature. Beyond that, Fallists are aiming to enhance and introduce this decolonized model into society, emphasizing the importance of African identity through Black Consciousness, the importance of intersectionality through Black Radical Feminism, and the importance of Africa through Pan-Africanism. Some ideologies of Fallism are indicative of a revolution, particularly those which require starting all over again, while others suggest a rebellion, or an uncomplicated redistribution of wealth and cultural capital. Fallist students seek to uplift their families and their communities after their education, without the

constraint of debt repayment. From a Fallist perspective, a decolonized society, adjunct to a decolonized education, strives towards the frameworks proposed by post-colonial African academics. "Let us decide not to imitate Europe; let us combine our muscles and our brains in a new direction. Let us try to create the whole man, whom Europe has been incapable of bringing to triumphant birth." (Fanon, 1963) The change in direction proposed has expanded beyond the discourse of the 1960's and 1970's, adopting an intersectional model which refutes oppression in all regards.

While free decolonized education is the central goal of Fallism, in order to restructure society it will need to create a revolution, as opposed to a rebellion. (Gluckman, 1952) As one student stated: "Free education is not our first and last problem, but it is means to getting there. A means to an end, it is a means to us freeing ourselves." (Black, Male, Public, WC) While some students, like Maxwele, had developed an acute awareness of colonialism at UCT, others began to awaken to colonial realities upon the commencement of Fallism. Participation in the movement appeared to cause some students to reflect on what they learned in primary and secondary school, challenging for the first time structures which they had been adhering to. In this way, some students were led to the movement through a retrospective realization of their education experiences. Elements of colonialism played large roles in the education of interviewees, via hidden and official curriculums, socioeconomic status of the schools, teaching methods, and outright discrimination. All students interviewed said that they felt that they had been treated unethically by an educator at some point due to factors such as race, gender, socioeconomic background, sexuality, or gender identification. Regarding UCT specifically, interviewees felt that numerous students were being treated unethically and that the university stood to advance whiteness.

I propose that Fallists in the Western Cape, at UCT specifically, seek to overturn embedded colonialism via what Gluckman's conflict theory calls revolution, beginning with access to free decolonized education. Students are not simply looking to increase racial inclusivity within the existing structure, or extend more debt-driven opportunities for education to students of color, as was the result of rebellious changes so far. "UCT will claim that it's not institutionally racist, because it has redressed categories and it offers bursaries. In theory it's supposed to treat all of its students the same, but in practice it doesn't because the nuances of racial politics in this country won't be fixed with a redress category." (Colored, Female, Model-C, WC)

Elite and exclusive frameworks continue to separate and isolate South Africans based on race, socioeconomic status, ability, sexuality and gender identification, amongst other things. Fallist movements, reactive to these frameworks, are held together by a resistance to ongoing oppression in South Africa. National, regional, and university specific groups structure Fallism and mobilize the movement through social media usage, plenaries, and protests. Fallism is not based on any sort of political affiliation, though in and of itself, it is a form of political engagement, and will likely be greatly influential in the 2019 election. In this sense, it is an alternative type of political engagement, offering a structure which varies from the current democratic system. As one interviewee mentioned, democracy does not equate to respect for all, if the majority do not believe in it.

The Fallist movement asserts that it is different from current structures in that it has no hierarchy. This claim has been rebutted to some extent, indicating a limited hierarchy, which has shifted throughout the development of Fallism. Fallists continue to mobilize a growing number of actors, and provide support to local high school students who have spoken out against colonized elements of their education. It is unlikely that Fallists will stop protesting until they break way into the current structure, creating a platform for shifting education, or universities take an authoritarian approach, violating the constitutional rights of students.

In many ways, Fallists movements of 2015 and beyond are connected to the 1976 student protests, including expansion outside of the student realm and fighting for worker rights. Healy-Clancy describes a connection between workers and students which brought depth to the struggles of the 1960's and 1970's, while promoting ideas of socialism (Healy-Clancy, 2017). Interviewees described the similarity between the two movements, noting that the protests of 1976 were an 'incomplete revolution', (or what Gluckman would call rebellion), describing the need for a complete overturning. In this respect, Fallism is described as a continuation for every black struggle for liberation that has existed within South Africa, which were plausibly rituals of rebellion, while simultaneously combating other aspects of oppression, such as women's, trans, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) rights. As opposed to the 'Rainbow Nation' that Nelson Mandela campaigned to create, Fallists demand a need for reparation which creates dynamic and permanent change through reclaiming the African identity and restructuring the entirety of South Africa.

The inequality in South Africa is likely maintained through the education system, in which values, beliefs, and social ideologies are transposed through direct and hidden curriculums. Incidents within South Africa's schooling systems should be investigated, especially incidents which interviewees reported, where educators and peers call students monkeys, or identify them with phrases such as 'black thug'. Such stereotypes and racial slurs have a large influence not only on the student themselves, but their peers, many of whom come to label and view the students in the same way that teachers have done. Durkheim's sociological understanding of education suggests that the repetitiveness of these incidents create mental grooves that grow into adulthood. Society mirrors such behavior, as the education system reinforces the validity of these ideologies from an early age. Subtle aspects of institutionalized racism, therefore, continue to prevail in education and society simultaneously.

Under-resourced schools with poor infrastructure are much less likely to send students to tertiary institutions than former Model-C or private schools. Statistics indicate not only are private school learners more likely to make it to tertiary institutions, but they are more adequately prepared for them. Such academic marks and merits wedge a further gap of inequality between those with access to quality education, and those without. Bourdieu summarizes that academic hierarchies legitimize social hierarchies, and for Fallists, both need to be remedied.

> By making social hierarchies and the reproduction of these hierarchies appear to be based upon the hierarchy of 'gifts', merits, or skillsets established and ratified by its sanctions, or, in a word, by converting social hierarchies into academic hierarchies, the educational system fulfils a function of legitimation which is more and more necessary to the perpetuation of the 'social order' as the evolution or the power relationship between classes tends more completely to exclude the imposition of a hierarchy based upon the crude and ruthless affirmation of the power relationship. (Bourdieu, 1973:271)

A decolonized education would require long term construction, which Fallists voice they are prepared for. While a decolonized curriculum has not been firmly set, Fallist students have begun to identify culturally significant Africa-specific academics, whom they seek to study within educational institutions. Additionally, structuring a curriculum which seeks to achieve a sovereign and successful South Africa, or more fittingly, Azania, is required by Fallists. Monumental successes have already been made by Fallists, such as the insourcing of workers at UCT, removal of Rhodes, and prevention of the fee increase. Fallist movements have opened a Pandora's box on the UCT Campus, exposing issues that the majority of people in South Africa can identify with, whether it be for economical, racial, or other intersectional reasons. Fallist movements are likely

to continue, with an ever growing network of support, including communities outside of the campus. A great advantage lies in the fact that young South Africans are leading this movement, as they represent 66% of the population. (UNPFA, 2016) Fallism, and similar movements, fight against the conjunctures of 'Euro-narcissism' (Comaroff & Comaroff 2012: 1). I postulate that Fallism will continue to play a significant role in deconstructing the current social paradigm through the education sector by utilizing a revolutionary approach. When Fallism is prepared to embody revolution that can serve as an example globally, it will be more successful than rebellions that came before it.

Fallism in South Africa has expanded to address inequalities, cultural imbalances, and issues of education. Comaroff and Comaroff propose South Africa's approach to address such issues, is a model worth noting not only in the Global South, but globally, including Europe and America. The Comaroffs forecast that the Global North will continue to face problems that nations in the Global South have been dealing with. In essence, the Fallist revolution in South Africa could provide insights to countries such as the United States, which has struggled with the concept of white superiority, white nationalism, and democracy, in ways similar to South Africa. For instance, recent events at the Texas A&M University have sparked protests amongst students. (Watkins, 2017) Another example is the protest that sparked in Charlottesville, Virginia, over the statue of Robert E. Lee, slave owner and military general, which left one person dead. (Fortin, 2017) One may pose the question: Has South Africa reached a state of revolution, where the United States rest in the comfort of rebellious rituals? Does the Global South offer more experiential solutions to social problems?

Works Cited

AfriForum. (2017). *About AfriForum*. Retrieved 8 2017, April , from AfriForum: https://www.afriforum.co.za/about/about-afriforum/

Alatas, S. F. (2007). *Eurocentrism* . Retrieved April 4, 2017, from Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology: http://www.blackwellreference.com/public/tocnode?id=g9781405124331_chunk_g97814 0512433111_ss1-74

Alexander, N. (2007). Affirmative Action and the Perpetuation of Racial Identities in Post apartheid South Africa. *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa, 63*(1), 92-108.

Applebaum, B. (2016, June). *Critical Whiteness Studies*. Retrieved March 3, 2017, from Education: Oxford Research Encyclopedias: http://education.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264093.001.0001/acrefore-9780190264093-e-5

Areff, A. (2015, October 23). *Zero increase in fees - Zuma*. Retrieved February 1, 2017, from News24: http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Zero-increase-in-fees-Zuma-20151023

Asante, M. K. (2009, April 13). *Afrocentricity*. Retrieved April 3, 2017, from Asante: http://www.asante.net/articles/1/afrocentricity/

Azania, M. (2015, July 15). *I was not liberated by Mandela*. Retrieved April 7, 2016, from IOL: http://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent/i-was-not-liberated-by-mandela-1887330

Baxter Theatre. (2016). The Fall: All Rhodes lead to Decolonization. Cape Town.

BBC News. (2013). *Cape Town 'poo wars': Mass arrests in South Africa*. Retrieved January 23, 2017, from BBC News: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-22853095

Biko, S. (1978a). Towards True Humanity in South Africa. *The Ecumenical Review*, 355-368.

Biko, S. (1978b). *I Write What I like*. Johannesburg: Heinemann Educational Publishers.

Boisselle, L. (2016). Decolonizing Science and Science Education in a Postcolonial Space (Trinidad, a Developing Caribbean Nation, Illustrates). *SAGE Open*, 1-11.

Bourdieu, P. (1973). Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction. *Knowledge, Education, and Cultural Change*, 71-112.

Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J.-C. (1977). *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* . London: Sage Publications.

Brunn, S., & Wilson, M. (2013). Cape Town ' s million plus black township of Khayelitsha: Terrae incognitae and the geographies and cartographies of silence. *Habitat International, 39*, 284-294.

Bush, T., Thurlow, M., & Coleman, M. (2003). *Leadership and strategic management in South African schools*. London: Commonwealth Secretariat.

Calata, A. (2015, November 27). *UCT's year-end exams completed successfully*. Retrieved January 7, 2017, from UCT Daily News Archives: https://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/archives/?id=9496

Cannella, G. (1997). *Deconstructing Early Childhood Education: Social Justice and Revolution. Rethinking Childhood*. New York: Lang Publishing.

Christie, P. C. (1982). Bantu Education: Apartheid Ideology or Labour Reproduction? *Comparative Education, 18*(1), 59-75.

Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. (2012). *Theory From The South. Or, How Euro-America Is Evolving Toward Africa.* Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.

Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 136-167.

Dano, Z. (2016, October 26). *Protesting students to march on Parliament and highlight their fees plight.* Retrieved January 2017, 2017, from Cape Argus: https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/cape-argus/20161026/281492160858949

Department of Basic Education. (2010). *Action Plan 2014 Towards the realisation of Schooling 2025.* Pretoria: Government Gazette.

Department of Basic Education. (2017). *National Curriculum Statements (NCS) Grades R - 12 .* Retrieved 26 2017, March , from Department of Basic Education: http://www.education.gov.za/Curriculum/NationalCurriculumStatementsGradesR-12.aspx

Department of Basic Education. (2017). *School fees and exemption .* Retrieved March 10, 2017, from Basic Education, South Africa: http://www.education.gov.za/Informationfor/ParentsandGuardians/SchoolFees.aspx

Dreeben, R. (1968). *On What Is Learned in School: (Foundations of Sociology).* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

DSD, DWCPD, and UNICEF. (2012). *Violence Against Children in South Africa.* Pretoria: Department of Social Development/Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities/UNICEF.

Durkheim, E. (1961). *Moral Education: A Study in the Theory & Application of the Sociology of Education.* (E. Wilson, Trans.) New York, NY: The Free Press.

Equal Education. (2017, January 9). *Martric Results and South Africa's Youth Unemployment Crisis.* Retrieved March 25, 2017, from Equal Education: https://equaleducation.org.za/2017/01/09/matric-results-and-south-africas-youth-unemployment-crisis/

Evans, J. (2016, December 30). *Private Schools Boast 98.67 Pass Rate.* Retrieved April 8, 2017, from News 24: http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/private-schools-boast-9867-pass-rate-20161230

Fanon, F. (1963). *The Wretched of the Earth.* (Farrington, Trans.) New York: Grove Weidenfeld.

Filloux, J.-C. (1993). Inequalities and Social Stratification in Durkheim's Sociology. *PROSPECTS: the quarterly review of comparative education.*

Fintel, M. (2015). Social mobility and cohesion in post-apartheid South Africa. *Dissertation, Economic and Management Sciences.*

Fleisch, B. (2008). *Primary Education in Crisis: Why South African school children underachieve in reading and mathematics.* Cape Town: Juta.

Fortin, J. (2017, August 13). *The Statue at the Center of Charlottesville's Storm.* Retrieved from New York Times: https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/13/us/charlottesville-rally-protest-statue.html?mcubz=1

Gluckman, M. (1952). *Rituals of Rebellion in South-East Africa.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

HDA. (2013, August). *South Africa: Informal Settlements Status.* Johannesburg: The Housing Development Agency.

Healy-Clancy, M. (2017, March). The everyday politics of being a student in South Africa: A history. *History Compass, 15*(3), 1-12.

Hook, D. (2004). Frantz Fanon, Steve Biko, 'psychopolitics' and critical psychology. *Critical psychology*, 84-114.

Hook, D. (2011). Retrieving Biko:a black consciousness critique of whiteness . *African identities, 9*(1), 19- 32.

Hutton, D. (2016). Cover Image. *UCT Shackville Protest.* Cape Town, South Africa.

Immanuel, W., & Dennis, C. (2012). *Patrice Lumumba.* Retrieved from Britannica: https://www.britannica.com/biography/Patrice-Lumumba

International Monetary Fund. (2016). *World Economic Outlook Update.* Washington, D.C.: International Monetary Fund.

Jansen, J. (2006). Curriculum Reform in South Africa: A Critical Analysis of Outcomes Based Education. 11.

Jenni, E., & Etheridge, J. (2016, 10 26). *Students planning another protest at Parliament.* Retrieved January 20, 2017, from News24: http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/students-planning-another-protest-at-parliament-20161026

Jordan, B. (2017, February 16). *How Eskom load-shedding was a get-rich scheme.* Retrieved March 5, 2017, from Business Live: https://www.businesslive.co.za/rdm/business/2017-02-15-revealed-how-eskom-load-shedding-was-a-get-rich-scheme/

Kalipa, S. (2015, October 21). *Cops release 23 UCT students.* Retrieved March 1, 2017, from IOL: http://www.iol.co.za/news/crime-courts/cops-release-23-uct-students-1933305

Kennet, J. (1973). The sociology of Pierre Bourdieu. *Educational Review*, 237-249.

Keppel-Jones, A. (1983). *Rhodes and Rhodesia: The White Conquest of Zimbabwe 1884-1902 .* Kingston and Monteral: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Khosa, A. (2017, January 20). *Zuma still considering ANCWL's SAA commission of inquiry proposal-Presidency.* Retrieved April 5, 2017, from News24: http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/zuma-still-considering-ancwls-saa-commission-of-inquiry-proposal-presidency-20170120

Koyana, X. (2016, October 26). *Violent clashes break out between police, protesters outside Parly.* Retrieved April 20, 2017, from Eyewitness News: http://ewn.co.za/2016/10/26/Violent-clashes-break-out-between-police-protesters-outside-Parly

Kroll-Zeldin, O. (2016). *Colonialism.* Retrieved 5 2017, January, from Oxford Bibliographies: http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199766567/obo-9780199766567-0139.xml

Lehohla, P. (2011). *Cencus 2011: Census in Brief.* Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.

Lester, A. (2000). Global Capitalism, Social Dislocation and Cultural Discourse in South African History. *South African Historical Journal*, 277-289.

Lipton, D. (2016). *Bridging South Africa's Economic Divide.* Witwatersrand University. Johannesburg: International Monetary.

Macharia, J. (2016, August 7). *South African's ANC Suffers Worst Election Since Taking Power.* Retrieved March 10, 2017, from Reuters: http://www.reuters.com/article/us-safrica-election-idUSKCN10G2GA

Madhubuti, H. (1979). From Plan to Planet: Life Studies--The Need for Afrikan Minds and Institutions.

Mahr, K. (2016, September 3). *Protests over black girls' hair rekindle debate about racism in South Africa*. Retrieved 5 2017, March , from Washington Post: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/africa/protests-over-black-girls-hair-rekindle-debate-about-racism-in-south-africa/2016/09/02/27f445da-6ef4-11e6-993f-73c693a89820_story.html?utm_term=.c35b9f486db8

Mattes, R. (2013). Systematic, Quantitative Political Science in South Africa: The Road Less Travelled. *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies, 40*(3), 479-499.

Mckown, C., & Strambler, M. (2009). Developmental Antecedents and Social and Academic Consequences of Stereotype-Consciousness in Middle Childhood. *Child Development, 80*(6), 1643–1659.

Merten, M. (2015, October 22). *Riot police vs student power*. Retrieved December 1, 2016, from IOL: http://www.iol.co.za/news/crime-courts/riot-police-vs-student-power-1933836#.VikYJ_mqpBc

Morrell, R. (2001). Corporal punishment in South African schools: a neglected explanation for its persistence. *South African Journal of Education, 21*(4).

Ndlovu, S. M. (2007). The Soweto Uprising. In S. A. Trust, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa: Volume 2* (Vol. 2, pp. 317-368). Unisa Press.

News24. (2016, February 16). *UCT students burnt painting of black protest artist*. Retrieved April 1, 2017, from News 24: http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/uct-students-burnt-painting-of-black-protest-artist-20160217

Nkoala, S. M. (2013). Songs that shaped the struggle: A rhetorical analysis of South African struggle songs. *African Yearbook of Rhetoric, 4*(1), 51-61.

Nkosi, M. (2016, January 29). *Is South Africa's education system really 'in crisis'?* Retrieved January 10, 2017, from BBC: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-35427853

Nyamnjoh, F. (2012). 'Potted Plants in Greenhouses': A Critical Reflection on the Resilience of Colonial Education in Africa. *Journal of Asian and African Studies, 47*(2), 129-154.

Nyamnjoh, F. (2016). *#RhodesMustFall: Nibbling at Resilient Colonialism in South Africa.* Bamenda: Langaa RPCIG.

Nyawo, V. Z. (2014). The Original Sin, 100@19: The South African 1913 Native Land Act's History and Impact. *Repositioning the Humanities: Journal of Contemporary Research*, 33-42.

Pan African Parliament. (2004). *Pan African Parliament*. Retrieved from Overview: http://panafricanparliament.org/overview

Pan Africanist Congress of Azania . (2016). *About the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania .* Retrieved January 30, 2017, from PAC: http://pac.org.za/about-us/

Petersen, F. (2016, February 16). *DVC Desk: Campus Update Released: 16h55, 16 February 2016*. Retrieved from University of Cape Town: https://www.news.uct.ac.za/article/-2016-02-16-dvc-desk-campus-updatereleased-16h55-16-february-2016

Phaswana, M. (2002). *The impact of the hidden curriculum on the South African school leaving examination in the Northern Province.* Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

Price, M. (2015a, November 7). *Draft proposed agreement between students organsiations/formations and UCT 's executive.* Retrieved January 30, 2017, from University of Cape Town: http://www.uct.ac.za/downloads/uct.ac.za/fmf/agreement_draft_7_November_2015.pdf

Price, M. (2015b, 28 December). *Letter to 2016 UCT applicants' parents and fee payers.* Retrieved January 30, 2017, from UCT Daily News Archives: https://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/archives/?id=9534

Price, M. (2016, February 17). *Message delivered by Dr Price on UCT student accommodation and protests.* Retrieved January 30, 2017, from University of Cape Town: https://www.uct.ac.za/usr/press/2016/2016-02-17_DrMaxPrice.pdf

Rational Standard. (2016). *Fallism: One Year of Rational Commentary.* Cape Town: Rational Standard.

Rhodes Must Fall. (2016, February 17). If you think what happened tonight is just about accommodation and university politics, then you are utterly deluded. Cape Town.

Roets, E. (2015, Novemeber 5). *Double standards and black privilege: The new story of South Africa.* Retrieved from AfriForum: https://www.afriforum.co.za/double-standards-black-privilege-new-story-south-africa/

SAFLII. (2015, October 19). *University of Cape Town v Rhodes Must Fall and Others.* Retrieved December 3, 2016, from South African Legal Information Institute: http://www.saflii.org/za/cases/ZAWCHC/2015/151.html

SAHO. (2011, February 17). *Robert Sobukwe .* Retrieved December 11, 2016, from South African History Online: http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/robert-mangaliso-sobukwe

SAHO. (2017, March). *History of slavery and early colonisation in South Africa.* Retrieved April 2, 2017, from South African History Online: http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/history-slavery-and-early-colonisation-south-africa

Schulz-Herzenberg, C., & Southall, R. (2014). *Election 2014 South Africa: The campaigns, results and future prospects.* Janaca: Auckland Park.

Shutts, K., Kinzler, K., Katz, R., & Tredoux, C. (2011). Race preferences in children: insights from South Africa. *Devi Sci, 14*(6), 1283-1291.

Souns for Literacy LLC. (2017). *SOUNS Approach.* Retrieved April 1, 2017, from SOUNS: http://www.souns.org/approach.php

South African Government. (1995). *Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act 34.* Retrieved April 10, 2017, from Truth and Reconciliation Commission: http://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/acts/1995-034.pdf

South African Government. (2017). *Government Leaders.* Retrieved January 16, 2017, from South African Government: http://www.gov.za/about-government/leaders/profile/6396

Spaull, N. (2013). *South Africa's Education Crisis: The quality of education in South Africa 1994-2011.* Johannesburg: Centre for Development & Enterprise.

Taghavi, D. (2016). *March to Parliament, October 26: Blade Coffin.* JPEG, Cape Town, South Africa.

Taghavi, D. (2016). *March to Parliament, October 26th: Police Presence.* JPEG, Cape Town, South Africa.

Taghavi, D. (2016). *March to Parliament, October 26th: Student Groups.* JPEG, Cape Town, South Africa.

Taghavi, D. (2016). *March to Parliament, October 26th: Students Dance on Police Vehicles.* JPEG, Cape Town, South Africa.

Taghavi, D. (2016). *Protesting Zuma: Fund our Universities.* JPEG, Cape Town.

Taghavi, D. (2016). *Protesting Zuma: I'm a Parent.* JPEG, Cape Town.

The Constitution of South Africa. (1996). *The South African Bill of Rights, Section 29.* South African Government.

The Rhodes Trust. (2017, January 20). *History of the Rhodes Trust*. Retrieved from
      RhodesHouse: http://www.rhodeshouse.ox.ac.uk/history

Torchia, C. (2015, October 2015). *South African police are firing rubber bullets and tear gas at
      students*. Retrieved February 1, 2017, from Business Insider:
      http://www.businessinsider.com/south-african-police-are-firing-rubber-bullets-and-tear-
      gas-at-students-2015-10?IR=T

UCT Administration. (2015, October 19). *UCT expresses concern about protesters interfering
      with campus activity*. Retrieved November 4, 2016, from UCT Daily News Archives:
      https://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/archives/?id=9403

UNESCO. (2017). *Local and Indigenous Knowledge Systems-Science Policy Interface*. Retrieved
      February 3, 2017, from UNESCO: http://www.unesco.org/new/en/natural-
      sciences/priority-areas/links/science-policy/

University of Cape Town. (2012). *Admissions Policy 2012*. Retrieved February 16, 2017, from
      UCT:
      https://www.uct.ac.za/downloads/uct.ac.za/about/policies/admissions_policy_2012.pdf

University of Cape Town. (2015, October 23). *UCT abolishes outsourcing*. Retrieved 30 2017,
      January, from Daily news archives: https://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/archives/?id=9439

University of Cape Town. (2016a, February 15). *UCT protects rights to lawful protests*.
      Retrieved January 30, 2017, from UCT Daily News Archives:
      https://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/archives/?id=9580

University of Cape Town. (2016b, February 16). *UCT requests RMF to move shack from
      Residence Road*. Retrieved January 30, 2017, from UCT Daily News Archives:
      https://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/archives/?id=9584

UNPFA. (2016). *Young People*. Retrieved from United Nations Population Fund South Africa:
      http://southafrica.unfpa.org/en/topics/young-people-1

van der Berg, S. (2008). How effective are poor schools? Poverty and educational outcomes in
      South Africa. *Studies in Educational Evaluation, 34*, 145-154.

van der Berg, S. (2010). Current poverty and income distribution in the context of South African
      history. *Stellenbosch Economic Working Papers: 22/10*, 23.

wa Thiong'o, N. (1986). *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*.
      London: J. Currey.

Watkins, M. (2017, August 13). *White nationalist rally at Texas A&M to feature Richard
      Spencer; counterprotest planned*. Retrieved from Texas Tribune:
      https://www.texastribune.org/2017/08/13/white-nationalist-rally-counter-protest-planned-
      texas-m-sept-11/

Wilkinson, K. (2014). *Why the Matric Pass Rate Is Not a Reliable Benchmark of Education
      Quality*. Retrieved January 16, 2016, from Africa Check:
      https://africacheck.org/reports/why-the -matric-pass-rate-is-not-a-reliable-benchmark-of-
      quality-education/

WITS University. (2015, December). Fees Must Fall. *WITSReview, 33*.

Woode-Smith, N. (2016). Rhodes Must Fall. In R. Standard, *Fallism: A Year of Rational
      Commentary* (pp. 20-23). Cape Town: Rational Standard.

Zuma, J. (2016). *South African Government Speeches; Youth day*. Retrieved August 16, 2016,
      from South African Government: http://www.gov.za/speeches/president-jacob-zuma-
      youth-day-2016-16-jun-2016-0000

KÖLNER ETHNOLOGISCHE BEITRÄGE
HERAUSGEGEBEN VON MICHAEL J. CASIMIR

KÖLNER ETHNOLOGISCHE BEITRÄGE
HERAUSGEGEBEN VON MICHAEL J. CASIMIR

KÖLNER ETHNOLOGISCHE BEITRÄGE
HERAUSGEGEBEN VON MICHAEL J. CASIMIR