

Review of Fees Must Fall: Student Revolt, Decolonisation and Governance in South Africa, edited by Susan Booysen

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true member of their husband's family after delivering the first child, before that, they are observed and judged on ability to perform other wifely duties (p.99). On visits to South Sudan, Baak grinds grain and carries water to show willing – she wants full acceptance by the community, not to live forever on the “edge of becoming” (p.93.) She also discusses the problem of her family's exclusion with women in South Australia, who cite jealousy in the community as the cause (p.111).

This is an interesting book. By exploring the ways in which we negotiate belonging, it also throws light on an emerging Australian community and the way in which they inform and extend our societal fabric. A range of Australian professionals will garner useful knowledge of the Jieng world from this book, in particular about why certain issues are of concern to these women. If Baak plans further research along these lines, she might note that, at least for this reader, the women's voices are strongest when they speak in their mother tongue with translations provided. Using multiple quotes in limited English may unintentionally put the women and their voices at a disadvantage on the printed page, just as they have so often been disadvantaged in the wider world.

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Susan Booysen (ed). *Fees Must Fall: Student Revolt, Decolonisation and Governance in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2016, 350 + ix pp, ISBN 9781868149858.

A recent exhibition on South Africa at Amsterdam's Rijksmuseum began with San rock art, continued chronologically to colonial maps and sketches, propaganda from the South African war, then from the anti-apartheid movement, and finished with hand-written placards on the backs of fruit boxes from the 2016 Fees Must Fall protests. Or, to identify the movement by its ubiquitous Twitter hashtag, which at one point attracted 300 tweets per second (p. 247), #FeesMustFall. It remains to be seen whether 'Fallism', as the campaign for fully-subsidized and 'decolonised' tertiary education has labelled itself, proves to be the significant event the exhibition suggests it is. Booysen's collection argues that it might be, noting that the government's unexpectedly rapid response to the protests

underlines the status of university students as a group the government cannot afford to antagonise. Even those sceptical, hostile, or simply baffled by 'Fallism' will find this collection reveals a great deal about ongoing racial, ideological, and generational tensions in South Africa. There is much to be learned about university governance in the context of intersectional inequality, in particular, and about the young and aspiring black middle class.

Consisting of fourteen chapters, a long introduction, a short conclusion, and protest-related appendices, the contributions address a particular moment in a complimentary way. Chapters 2 to 5 are written or co-written by Fallist scholar-activists, complimented by later chapters written in a less urgent tone. The early chapters offer insights into the Fallist movement, including its collective social media addiction, as well as its blind spots, such as the idea the movement speaks for all black students, and the issues Fallists are uncomfortable discussing, notably violence. Several of the latter chapters stand out, such as Lynn Hewlett, et al.'s history of student protests in sub-Saharan Africa, warning that the fully-subsidized, radical education Fallists demand proved incompatible with the mass enrolments they desire.

The chapters by David Everatt, on South African student politics, and Patrick FitzGerald and Oliver Seale, on university management during the protests, are the most challenging dialogue partners for the scholar-activists' chapters. They address similar issues, such as the outsourcing of support staff and the rhetoric of white privilege, but from different angles. FitzGerald and Seale's chapter offers fascinating insights into the challenges Fallism poses to university administration. Sizwe Mpofo-Walsh's activist chapter on Fallist theory and practice explains that students reject responsibility for developing policies to implement their demands, that is for politicians and administrators, and yet 'Fallism implies immediacy – it means abandoning the politics of gradualism' (p. 84). While university administrators have been generally sympathetic to Fallism, although not what is described as its 'often undirected militancy', FitzGerald and Seale describe the 'egg dance' of administrators wanting to endorse Fallist demands while avoiding short term policies, such as fee freezes, with long term consequences (pp. 243-4).

While Everatt's chapter offers a brief analysis of past South African student movements, the collection reveals two major differences between Fallism and earlier struggles. Firstly, the presence of radical feminist and queer politics, as analysed by Darlene Miller, who notes that older feminist activists are 'bewildered' by the importance of personal style for feminist Fallists (pp. 272-4). Secondly, the emphasis on subjective experiences of

alienation in historically white universities. As Gillian Godsell and Rekgotsofetse Chikane's chapter notes, Fallism has placed 'the experience and consciousness of young black adults within a white institution' at the centre of debate about higher education (p. 58). It is this aspect of the movement that demands to be unpacked, theorized, and contextualized, for it requires more explanation and careful listening than debate over black students' financial problems, which are simple enough to fit on a placard: 'My mother earns R2 000 a month, where must she get R10 000 for my registration?' (p. 117). The collection really only gestures towards the importance of these experiences of alienation for the Fallist movement, such as the brief discussion on the politics of 'shame' in a chapter by Gillian Godsell and three student activists. Invoking the image of Adam and Eve, made aware of their nakedness, they argue the sudden realisation of financial fragility and inferior prior schooling shames black students who have been accepted into historically white universities on a nominally equal footing with their wealthier white peers (pp. 116-8).

Because of this emphasis on emotional pain and expressive individualism, I think Sizwe Mpofu-Walsh overemphasises Fallism's 'unmistakable Southern bent' and inversion of the 'global system of knowledge production' (pp. 82-3). Fallism is comprehensible to student activists in the global north (pp. 79-82), because it speaks the language of American politics of recognition. Often pilloried as 'identity politics', the questions Fallism addresses, how one's cultural identity and the weight of history impacts one's ability to move with ease in certain societies and spaces, engaged some of North America's leading political thinkers in the 1990s, from Judith Butler to Charles Taylor. It is disappointing that the collection does not substantially address this aspect of Fallism, which is obvious to any scholar engaging with its modality. Another way of saying this, is that Fallism is a complex political movement; it is likely to survive on and off campus for some time to come, and there will be much more written on the topic.

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