Rhodes Must Fall: different layers of intersectionality in students' protests in South Africa

Antje Daniel

Abstract

Since 2015, students have been protesting against the discrimination of students racialised as black and demanding free education in South Africa in the name of decoloniality and intersectionality. The notion of decoloniality is related to the historical experience of racism against "black" people and the particular history of the South African universities. Based on qualitative research at the University of Cape Town, the paper analyses the students' movement from an intersectional perspective. First, intersectionality has been used as an argument within the movement. Second, it has became a practice of the movement. Third, by considering the intersectional categories of race, class and gender, power dynamics and social inequalities within the movement become apparent. Thus, intersectionality is not only a tool for understanding social movements, but also a demand and a practice of student activism. The paper investigates these different layers of intersectionality in the student protests called Rhodes Must Fall.

Keywords: students' movement, intersectionality, gender, South Africa

Introduction

On 9th March 2015, Chumani Maxwele threw faeces at the statue of the British colonialist Cecil Rhodes. This form of resistance is usually considered as the birth of the student movement #Rhodes Must Fall (RMF) at the University of Cape Town (UCT).[1] The protest grew into a nationwide protest known as #Fees Must Fall, which lasted three years and became one of the most important struggles of post-apartheid South Africa. The student protests demanded decoloniality, which includes free education for everybody, and decolonial knowledge production at the university. The students revived visions of decoloniality from African liberation struggles, and related them to transformation at the university (Biko 1979; Fanon 1968). Decoloniality was framed as an alternative future, which would interrupt previous practices at the university, and introduce debate, reflection and change. With regard to decoloniality, mostly *black*[2] students were seeking to overcome the structural

[1] However, the beginning of the movement is contested. Some students placed the start of the *movement* in the mass meeting which was later (cf. Chikane 2018).

[2] *Black* and *white* are used as socially and politically constructed categories of discrimination and *racism* (for a debate on the use and meaning of the concept see Vally & Motala 2018).

violence, discrimination and racism which they experienced at university and in society. Intersectionality was used as a collective action frame and thus a demand. At the same time, intersectionality was also a movement and a practice, and an analytical tool for dismantling discrimination within the movement and in society.

These protests developed into a countrywide mobilisation sweeping across numerous universities. There were different slogans such as "Open Stellenbosch" at University of Stellenbosch or "Transform Wits" at the University of Witwatersrand. But all these protests were joined together by the common demand "Fees Must Fall" (see Langa 2017). The growing pressure of the mass protests finally led to the introduction of free tertiary education for poor students in 2017. The student uprising in 2015 was in line with previous and ongoing protests in South Africa which expressed grievances such as the lack of state services, human rights violations, or discontentment with politics (Alexander 2010; Beinart & Dawson 2010). Nevertheless, the number of student uprisings between 2015 and 2017 is remarkable, as are their demands for "decoloniality" and "intersectionality".

My paper focuses particularly on the student protests at the University of Cape Town[3]. I started my research in 2016 and conducted 15 biographical interviews with students and 13 guided interviews with academics and civil society actors.[4] In particular, the interviews with queer and feminist students contributed to understanding the intersectional dimension of the protests. Due to the reference to postcolonial feminist methodology (cf. Smith 2012), the students' demand for self-representation is pronounced; for this reason, sufficient space will be given to the self-documentations as well as the interview narratives of students. I also make an examination of the limits of research, and show the necessity to critically reflect on methods of data collection and the production of knowledge and related privileges (cf. Daniel 2019).

The main aim of the paper is to show the different layers of intersectionality within the students' protests. I will consider intersectionality first as a demand and then as a practice. This leads to the third dimension of intersectionality: as a lens to show how a critical view of movement activism can reveal hierarchies and power relations within the movement.

The paper is structured in five parts: First, I will embed my analyses of student protests in the debate on intersectionality and social movements (1). Then, I

---

[3] The uprisings at the universities differed with regard to their size and their demands. See Booysen et al. 2016, Chikane 2018, Langa 2017 or Nyamnjoh 2016.

[4] My research on student movements is part of a bigger research project entitled "Aspiring to alternative futures: lived utopia in South Africa". Beyond the students' protest, the project considers other collective actors such as the housing movement Reclaim the City and environmental activism of Oude Molen Eco Village and Green Camp Gallery Project in the South African. For publications related to the project see Daniel 2019, 2020, 2021a,b. Some core quotes from the students can also be found in these articles.

will introduce the genealogy of the student protests and comment on the grievances behind the uprisings. Against this background, the different meanings of decolonisation and intersectionality as demanded by the movement will become visible as collective action frame (2). Using the notion of intersectional activism, I will then describe the intersectional practices in the movement (3). I will explore power dynamics in the movement through an intersectional lens (4). Finally, the different approaches to intersectionality will be discussed and a summary of what we can learn from RMF will be offered (5).

1 Intersectionality and social movement research

Research on intersectionality emerged because of activism and can be traced back to the 1960s and 1970s (Davis 2008, Lenz 2010). Scholars have drawn attention to the intersection of oppression, mostly in women's or feminist movements (Chun et al. 2013, Laperriere & Lepinard 2016). The core meaning of intersectionality is multiple marginalised identities. Scholars have examined how the intersection of *race*, class, gender, sexual orientation, legal status and other categories are linked to structures of inequality and have produced different life courses and forms of oppression (Hancock 2007, Fisher et al. 2019). Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), in particular, described the intersection of *race* and gender as overlapping forms of oppression. Some scholars also argue that the ability of movements to represent a broad spectrum of society legitimates protests. A movement is legitimised by its inclusiveness (Laperriere & Lepinard 2016). Intersectionality emerged out of feminist struggles, and recently entered mainstream social movement studies (Chun et al. 2013).

However, intersectionality is not mentioned in the Wiley Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements, one of the most comprehensive handbooks, with about 400 keywords relating to social movements. Nevertheless, there are many studies on social movements that implicitly adopt an intersectional perspective. For instance, quantitative protest event analyses examine the stratification by exploring socio-demographic data on gender, age, class or *race*. Moreover, studies of movement alliances highlight the role of coalition building between different social groups, composed of different genders, ages, classes or *races* in order to build movements. In research on women's movements, intersectionality was, and still is, an integral part.

This implicit preoccupation is increasingly being replaced with an explicit analysis of social movements through the use and appreciation of the notion of intersectionality. Currently, intersectionality is increasingly entering mainstream social movement research and social science debates. In addition, at the last Forum of the International Association of Sociology in February 2021, intersectionality was included in the titles of many presentations and panels. This shows that there is a shift and a growing lively debate on intersectionality in social movement studies. Sabrina Zajak and Sebastian Haunss (2020) plead for bringing the focus of social movement research back

to stratification and intersectionality, and analysing how social inequalities persist and endure in protest. This makes it even more urgent to explore what significance the concept of intersectionality may have in the analysis of protest.

When applying intersectionality to social movement studies, we need to distinguish between intersectionality as 1) a movement's demand (collective action frame), 2) a tool of practice (intersectional activism), and 3) an analytical perspective.

First, intersectionality has increasingly become a normative goal of social movements. Most academic work on intersectionality focuses on women's movements. Against this background, the question arises of how movements refer to intersectionality as a "collective action frame". To what extent and in what way do social movements use the term intersectionality to draw attention to dissatisfaction and to formulate demands? Considering intersectionality as a collective action frame means analysing intersectionality as a framing strategy with which movements inspire action and define grievances (Ishkanian & Saavedra 2018).

Second, intersectionality is a tool of movement organisation and becomes visible through intersectional activism (Heaney 2019, p.1). This approach can be traced back to Crenshaw (1989). According to Crenshaw, intersectionality is not just an analytical perspective but a strategy to resist and to promote coalition. Thus, intersectionality can be perceived as a strategy and practice of inclusiveness (Fisher et al. 2017, p. 1). "Without intersectionality, group unity threatens to degenerate into compulsory unity that benefits some members of the group at the expense of the others" (Chen et al. 2013, pp. 923). Likewise, intersectional practice reveals whether the needs of the most disadvantaged groups prioritised (Laperriere & Lepinard 2016). Many scholars argue that movements have failed to be intersectional (see Heaney 2019).

Third, an intersectional approach enables us to see how social movements are shaped social categories. It helps to investigate the internal dynamics, power, hierarchy and exclusion within a movement (Zajak & Haunss 2020). By using an intersectional lens, the combination of *race*, class, gender, sexuality and other categories of identity, which produce different experiences and forms of oppression, can be considered (Carbado et al 2013; Fisher et al. 2017). Through an intersectional lens, we can also examine how alliance building, power dynamics and processes of exclusion are used by movements to reach their goals. Thus, intersectionality can be applied as a theory or as an analytical framework. Applying an intersectional perspective in studies of protest means analysing how these intersections shape movement activism, in order to reveal differences, contradictions, conflicts or power relations within the movement (Chen et al. 2013).[5]

[5] This ties in with a post-structuralist debate on social movements (see Leinius et al. 2017, Daniel 2021b).

In sum, intersectionality can be used as a demand (collective action frame), a tool (intersectional activism) and a research lens. Not all these levels of analysis apply when analysing social movements; but one perspective is frequently applied – the analytical lens. Not all social movements demand or practise intersectionality. If this is the case, they are not necessarily subjected to intersectional analysis. It is exciting to investigate those movements that demand intersectionality, and thus to examine whether an intersectional lens reveals the intersectional collective action frame and practice, or whether the movements reproduces power and hierarchies in its struggle for intersectionality.

Revealing the different layers of intersectionality bear the potential to describe it as a collective action frame and practice, and to explore a movement's internal dynamics. The fact that student protests allow us to apply these three different perspectives makes them an exceptional and ideal case for studying intersectionality. So how was intersectionality used as a collective action frame and practice in the students' protest at the University of Cape Town? And which internal dynamics become visible by using an intersectional lens?

2 "Decoloniality" and "intersectionality" as collective action frames

2.1 Decoloniality as collective action frame

Critical debates have a long tradition at UCT and there have always been protests about the reform of the educational institution (see Chikane 2018, chapter 5, Godsell & Chikane 2016; Ndelu 2017; Xaba 2017, p. 98). After Chumani Maxwele threw faeces at the statue, the first mass meeting a little later led to the emergence of the movement. The symbolical act by Chumani Maxwele marked the birth of the student movement Rhodes Must Fall (RMF).[6] A black student explained:

> We using human excrements to express the kind of feeling how Rhodes threated our people (...). We are using the human excrements to delegitimise Cecil Rhodes (...) This will also deal with the psychological issue and with broader issues of the society (Interview student 07.09.2018).

Students complain that the Rhodes statue symbolises the imperial, exploitative system of colonial rule, the exploitation of *blacks* and the collective trauma they experienced. Cecil Rhodes isn't a hero but an evil (Interview student 07.09.2018). that contributed to exploiting the *black* majority, as one PhD student explains:

[6] Even before protests and critical debates shaped the space of the university.

> Rhodes may represent heroism to those who have benefited from his unethically stolen inheritance, but to the majority of black people, he is a national shame, not a national hero (Kasibe 2015).

The continuity of the past in the present and the structural prolongation of apartheid in memory culture is an important critique. This criticism of "encountering the history in the present" reflects the collective trauma and the ongoing discrimination and racism. The students criticised the fact that the government has failed to keep the promise of the multicultural rainbow nation (Turner 2019) and to overcome discrimination against the *black* majority. Others perceived the rainbow nation in itself as a problem and questioned this national ideology. With reference to decolonisation, *black* students especially perceived a continuation of discrimination in post-apartheid South Africa (Danel 2021a,b; Ngcaweni & Ngcaweni 2018, Platzky Miller 2019).

What emerged as a protest against the colonial heritage at South African universities developed into the largest student protest since apartheid. When the University of Witwatersrand announced a 10.5% increase in tuition fees at the end of 2015, the slogan Fees Must Fall replaced RMF (Booysen 2016b, p. 23).[7] Students at universities across South Africa called for a reduction or abolition [8] of tuition fees and highlighted the discrimination against and precarisation of *black* students. Although the universities opened up to *black* students after the end of apartheid, so that their numbers grew steadily, access to higher education remained dependent on income, *race* and gender (CHE 2016; Swartz et al. 2018, p. 1). Not least, stagnation in economic growth and increasing youth unemployment exacerbated the situation, as *black* students could no longer afford tuition fees and had little prospect of finding a job (Booysen 2016b, p. 16). Thus, decolonisation was partially related to a demand to enhance the number of *black* students at universities and to ensure free education.

Due to the low numbers of *black* students, many of them perceived the university culture as isolating and alienating (Daniel 2021b; Nyamnjoh 2017). During the colonial and apartheid periods, the *white* minority dominated the universities.[9] Research and teaching were based on European and US debates (Jansen 2017). The *Western*-oriented content of degree courses, as well as the low percentage of *black* academics, was a cause of criticism. One student

---

[7] FMF and RMF protests differ, and RMF cannot be assumed to merge into all FMF protests. Rather, with FMF, the protests became complex and locally specific, differentiated from university to university, and were henceforth held together by the objective of "Fees Must Fall".

[8] While some students wanted the fee increase abolished, others demanded reduced fees, and others wanted to abolish fees entirely.

[9] It is important to notice that UCT accepted *black* students from the 1920s. Under apartheid UTC was pressured to stop admitting *black* students.

explained: "In South Africa, educational institutions were built to cultivate European ideologies and to create an 'enlightened' Africa" (Matandela 2015). Consequently, UCT was strongly oriented towards international standards and did not pay sufficient attention to the history and culture of the *black* majority (Cornell & Kessi 2017, p. 7; Kessi & Cornell 2015, p. 10)[10]. This became evident in musicology, for instance, where the focus is on classical European music. A *black* student explained:

> Then I started finding it problematic and became highly aware of how African music is taught to African students from a *Western* perspective in this African institution. (...) I found it actually violent to read some of that stuff and read about like myself and my history in these unbelievable *racist* demeaning works that were held as being kind of core studies in the field and I just felt like okay, that's the field and I don't want to participate in it, but I was actually pushed (Interview student 25.03.2017).

The fact that UCT is the highest ranked university in Africa in the worldwide classification of universities, and is regarded as ground-breaking in research and education, makes a rethinking of the curriculum even more necessary, and, at the same time, trailblazing. Decolonisation also implies a demand for a curriculum change (Garuba 2015).

Because of experiences of discrimination and *Westernised* knowledge transmission, many students have perceived the university as alienating (Daniel 2021b, Nyamnjoh 2017). The social experience of alienation and isolation is here expressed as a reality in the physical suffering of the individual. Commonly, this feeling is related to embodied emotions such as inferiority, isolation, shame or anger. A *black* student said:

> So, the first time that I went to the university (...) I hated learning (..). And in a retrospective, I was quite depressed and had a lot of anxiety and I didn't have the language to explain how I was feeling of blaming kind of the situation here. So I generally thought that I was going crazy and that I was like seeing things that were not there in terms of how people were treating me and how I was occupying spaces and I felt completely like I didn't deserve to be there, that I wasn't welcome and I worked really, really hard because I felt I had to like prove myself and prove my work to continue being in the space. So, I was really, really stressed out for a very long time (Interview student 25.03.2017).

---

[10] The debate which emerged was multifaceted and encompassed different dimensions, such as the relationship between knowledge and capitalism, knowledge and indigenous knowledge, and many other areas. It was played out in many UCT institutions and among students. See Garuba 2015 or Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2018.

Alienation at the university became the embodied experience of students. Students realised that their emotions were created by structural violence at the university, which was expressed in discriminatory practices. The alienating university culture also includes *racism*. Many students complain about "macroaggression that happens around language, around professionalism, around who knows, who the knower is" (Interview student 13.09.2018). For instance, a student explains: "because they were requesting and demanding things from me that they would never ask *white* people" (Interview student 28.09.2017). Another student says: "*blacks* in South Africa or anywhere whether in the work place or in academia, you must work ten time harder" (Interview student 29.08.2018). There is a prevalence of negative stereotypes in respect of *black* students at the university, such as that *black* people are lazy or unintelligent (Cornell/Kessi 2017, p. 5).

In addition to the embodied pain, students also argued that decolonisation involves a search for one's own identity. With reference to the *Black Consciousness Movement* in South Africa (Biko 1979), the student protests against apartheid in 1976, and the American *Black Power Movement* in the 1970s (Booysen 2016a, pp. 12-14), students demanded acknowledgement of *black* identities. They used the writings of Steve Biko and Franz Fanon in order to reflect on the meaning of being *black* (cf. Indaba et al. 2017). Consequently, students used decoloniality for regaining of *black* identity or the creation of a new identity or even a post-*racial* identity, for instance through self-liberation and cultural cohesion (Interview student 28.08.2018). A *black* student explained:

> I think that's [*black* identity], what kept us all there, is that we were all *black* and we were all fighting the system, yes, but were not all fighting it for the same reasons. But, yeah, so we ended up all staying, simply because under the umbrella we were all *black* (Interview student 29.08.2018).

Some students also demanded a broader social and political change. In the "Outsourcing campaign", students drew attention to the exploitative working conditions of university staff (Nieftagodien 2016). The campaign was driven by the desire to show that discrimination and marginalisation is not just a matter that concerns students, but is part of the social and the political structures in the country. Others followed pan-Africanism, related their struggle to the workers struggle of Marikana or to party politics. For instance, these debates were particularly important amongst students affiliated to Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) or the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC/PASMA). Decolonisation was perceived as a political transformation.

Students used the notion of decolonisation in connection with varying experienced injustices at the university, and related them to demands such as free education, change of curriculum and university culture, and/or the (re)formation of a *(black)* identity and political transformation. The manifold

meanings of decolonisation facilitated a broad mobilisation of students and alliances across gender, class or political affiliation (Daniel 2021a). In contrast, there was also criticism that the movement was so broad that it lacked a focus (Jansen 2017).

2.2 Intersectionality as collective action frame

From the outset, decolonisation and intersectionality were two sides of the same coin, as students wrote in the founding statement of Rhodes Must Fall (2015):

> We want to state that while this movement emerged as a response to racism at UCT, we recognize that experiences of oppression on this campus are intersectional and we aim to adopt an approach that is cognizant of this going forward. An intersectional approach to our *blackness* takes into account that we are not only defined by our *blackness*, but that some of us are also defined by our gender, our sexuality, our able-bodiedness, our mental health, and our class, among other things. We all have certain oppressions and certain privileges and this must inform our organizing so that we do not silence groups among us, and so that no one should have to choose between their struggles. Our movement endeavours to make this a reality in our struggle for decolonization.

Students understood intersectionality as an overlapping form of oppression of *black* students that relates to gender, *race*, class, and physical and mental conditions. Intersectionality was a tool to uncover overlapping forms of discrimination. A *black* queer student explained:

> So, I think for me, there cannot be a decoloniality without intersectionality. In the sense that for me decolonization is about liberation and justice and self-determination for people and if we are going to decolonize and the only issue that we are going to focus on *race* then oppression will continue to be perpetuated in the sense that for example if it's just about race you putting *black* man in the same position as *white* man and then *black* women and *black* queer people and *black* trans people are going to continue to be facing superior suppressions and working class people will be oppressed and so it's about challenging all of those issues, dealing with them all at the same time (Interview student 28.09.2017).

Students used intersectionality as a collective frame and thus interpreted the experienced and observed discontents, and discovered overlapping forms of discrimination. From this framing process, their demands were formulated. The intersectional collective action frame was intended to overcome existing oppressions and structural discrimination, and to recognise differences which were based on social categories such as gender. In this sense, students

perceived intersectionality as an essential orientation to complement the decolonial frame.

Part of the intersectional collective action frame was the desire to challenge the heteronormative culture. For instance, the Trans Collective, a queer student group, advocated for an intersectional interpretation of decolonisation and connected this with the body politics of "*black* love" (Daniel 2021a). *Black love* can overcome the embodied suffering of *black* pain. *Black love* aims at overcoming structural discrimination of *black* people by challenging the heteronormative *black* culture through an intersectional, queer and anti-patriarchal position, which is not based on resistance but on loyalty and *love* towards those who do not share this position. This is expressed in a Trans Collective statement:

> It was as early as April 2015, just a month after the inception of RMF, that what is now known as the Trans Collective flagged the issue of a rigid loyalty to patriarchy, cisnormativity, heteronormativity and the gender binary within the space. (…) We maintain that decolonisation is necessary for a reclamation of our humanity as *black* queer trans people. Our intervention is an act of *black* love. It is a commitment towards making RMF the fallist space of our dreams. It forms part of the journey towards the 'logical conclusion' of the decolonisation project. There will be no Azania [used as a decolonised space that is liberated] if *black* men simply fall into the throne of the *white* man without any comprehensive reorganisation of power along all axis of the *white* supremacist, imperialist, ableism, capitalist cisheteropatriarchy. To our minds, this interpretation is in line with the commitment that RMF has made in its mission statement in March 2015: "AN INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH" (Trans Collective 2015).

Due to the involvement of feminist and queer activists, such as the Radical Black Feminists[11] or the Trans Collective, and many individual students who shared a feminist and intersectional position, the movement had this intersectional perspective on decolonisation. Students who had experienced multiple forms of discrimination at the university were part of the movement from the beginning. Radical Black Feminists or the Trans Collective were leaders and supporters of the student movement. The participation of queer* feminist activists is remarkable because it is the first time in history that such a coalition emerged so that their demands were equally visible through the notion of intersectionality (Khan 2017, pp. 114).[12]

---

[11] Radical Black Feminists are a young group of activists who distance themselves from the women's movement. They use a confrontational strategy in contrast to the existing women's movement (see Miller 2016).

[12] Khan (2017) argues that during the anti-apartheid struggles, queer activists were not part of the liberation movement. A closer look at history shows that they were very much part of the apartheid struggle (see Croucher 2002; Cock 2003).

3 Intersectional activism

Intersectionality was a collective action frame, but also described the political desire for decolonisation, and the aim to overcome hierarchical power relations. According to Patricia Hill Collins (2014), intersectionality is thus a form of resistance (Matandela 2017, p. 17), a reflection of power, domination and a continuous reflection of the decolonial process. Consequently, intersectionality in the student protest described the cause and process of decolonisation. The process of decolonisation was expressed by intersectional activism.

Intersectional activism became visible when students occupied the administrative Bremner building (Daniel 2021b). On Friday, March 20 2015, just a few students occupied the building, while over the weekend and during the following week 50 to 60 students were all over the building. The occupation lasted six weeks. In a first step, they renamed the Bremner building as Azania House.[13] Azania is a reference to pre-colonial social boundaries and pan-African ideas, so the building was perceived as a liberated and decolonial space. A student explained:

> Azania is (…) an original name of South Africa, which is pan-Africanist. It comes from a pan-Africanist tradition. You can trace it from Steve Biko. Azania is a name for free liberated space for *black* people. We said that Bremner house must be changed to Azania because it is a place for *black* people to speak about their pain and to reengineer the society. And we start with the University of Cape Town. And decolonization become a relevant point of departure (Interview student 23.03.2017).

Azania House was a place to reflect and to create and practice intersectionality and decoloniality. It was also to offer a home to those students who felt alienated at the university. Therefore, Azania House provided a space for feminists and queer students to talk about their experiences of discrimination. A *black* female student narrated:

> I think at first it was like completely just that overwhelming finding people who are feeling the same as you and like feeling very validated in your experience and like saying that a whole lot of people felt super isolated and (…). So I think at first I was like oh, my goodness's this is just a daydream (…) I feel like I got a better education in 18 months of an activists space, from an activists to the space than I got from university at the best university of the continent and I think that's to reflect on (Interview 11.04.2017).

[13] The etymology of Azania is unclear. While some scholars use Azania as the land of Zeus in Greece, others argue that Azania was expressed first in Zanzibar with the meaning of being *black* (Hilton 1992; Ranuga 1986).

The students started reading groups, lectures, debates, and even invited academics for intellectual support in order to use the occupation for creating future aspirations based on intersectionality and decolonisation. Azania House become a lively space for debate in which academics participated. As one academic put it: “There was such a remarkable energy and solidarity at the beginning” (Interview academic 30.09.2017).

For many students it was the starting point of reflection on intersectionality and decolonisation. Students said they learned how to relate their experiences to academic concepts and understood the dimensions of structural violence and the need for transformation. Based on these experiences, students wanted to establish an intersectional practice that avoids structural discrimination and recognises diversity and equality. Basic democratic decision-making procedures were followed in order to form a contrast with the hierarchical university. Flat structures and direct democratic decision-making were intended to pave the way for intersectional practices.

Moreover, the students revealed a desire for intersectional practice by establishing an Intersectional Audit Committee. They set up a committee in order to ensure the participation of feminists and queer activists in the student protests (Matandela 2017, pp. 12). In addition, they questioned the symbolic representation of the movement in slogans, posters or protest songs. For instance, they unpacked male dominance in protest songs and changed them. They integrated “Mama-we” as a maternal leading figure in protest songs and poems. In the same way, students gave a gender-sensitive component to the song “Nantsi indoda emnyama - Here is the *black* man) by singing “Nangu umfazi omnyama - Here is the *black* woman” (Matandela 2015, Gouws 2016). Thus, intersectionality became a reflexive form of resistance which questioned and unpacked hierarchies in usual behaviour and in the representation of the movement. The ideal of the many students striving for intersectional decolonisation was to achieve lived equality between the sexes, and beyond this to reflect on the different overlapping forms of discriminations along social categories. A particular significance was also attached to integrating non-binary positions.

The aim of intersectional activism was to create a space where various experiences of discrimination could be talked about and overcome, and, last but not least, a space where positive experiences could be collected. Some students described this as a “healing process” (Interview student 29.09.2017).

Another aim of the intersectional activism was to challenge the heteronormative culture. *First*, in relation to the narrative of *black* love (see above) the female *black* body contradicted the embodied suffering of *black* pain and should express pride and love. Therefore, female and queer activists used their *black* body to contest the heteronormative practices in the university and in the movement. For instance, a queer student had herself photographed on the pedestal where Cecil Rhodes used to stand. This photo self-documentation staged her as a queer hero and reminded people that

decolonisation as a political practice means liberation from discrimination as well as from structural and symbolic violence. Decolonisation without intersectionality is therefore unthinkable. With this self-staging, the student wanted to confront the masculine representation of RMF with an queer position and give queer a space (Cornell et al. 2016, 110, Daniel 2020, 2021a).

Second, intersectional activism was also accompanied by specific forms of protest, which were mainly used by feminist and queer activists. Feminists and queer activists interlinked intersectionality and decolonisation by using naked protests. On the one hand, the body served as an instrument for expressing multiple forms of structural discrimination and for disrupting and refathoming the social order through its presence. A *black* queer student said that she exposed her breasts in front of the university management during a protest. She interacted with mostly *white* elderly men and used the naked protests to underline her discomfort at the university. She narrated how she provoked the male leaders at the university:

> Do I make you uncomfortable Sir and he looked at me and said: *Of course, I mean I am a man and I am standing in front of you and your breasts are exposed*. And I am like: This is exactly how I feel as his student everyday walking on his campus (…). And if you guys are not come to do anything (…) I am going to come to this campus everyday topless until something is done. And he was like: *Oh no ah you will get arrested for public resistance*. And I said: No I am Zulu and according to my culture we walk air breasted so it is my culture to walk topless as a Zulu person who don't sleep with man. I am allowed to do this. I am definitely going to do it. Every day on campus I will attend all the lectures naked I will go everywhere in this university half-naked literally every day until something is done (Interview student 19.09.2018).

The students legitimised their naked protest by referring to cultural practices. The body is used to show discrimination and cultural colonisation and was used as a form of resistance. The presence of the *black* female body was used as a *dramaturgical* figure to awaken, frighten, make you think and provoke. Naked protests were also intended to illustrate multiple fragility and discrimination and demand the right to self-determination. The use of the naked body can be interpreted as a first step towards self-liberation. The enactment of physical autonomy in the public space and in the course of the protest became the starting point for the constitution of a political subjectivity (Daniel 2021a).

Third, the naked female body in its stereotypical perception as fragile was used to protect male students, during demonstrations for example, as a protective wall against attacks by the security forces (Ndlovu 2017). Heteronormative stereotypical ascriptions to the *black* female body were thus deliberately used to express loyalty to the decolonial project.

At this point, it became clear that the body as a politicised medium was used in multiple ways by the protesters. It had the potential to address the intersectional and decolonial demand and to create diverse affiliations. The body is used to distinguish oneself from the counter-group (the university management or the police); it is used as a form of loyalty towards male students and also to hold them accountable in respect of their intersectional promise. The body is a symbol of demarcation and loyalty within the movement.

These varying, multiple collective action frames, and the multiple meanings of body politics, made it possible for students with the most diverse backgrounds and positions to associate themselves with the movement. In this sense, the intersectional collective action frame and the multiple intersectional practices helped to build the movement. This only changed when conflicts arose within the movement which no longer allowed for multiple attributions. These conflicts can be analysed from an intersectional perspective.

4 Seeing student protests through an "intersectional lens"

Seeing student protests through an intersectional lens reveals which social categories, especially gender, *race* or class, differentiate engagement in a social movement, produce hierarchies and thus facilitate exclusion. While the student protests in South Africa started as a direct democratic, power-critical and nonpartisan movement, conflicts arose in the course of the protest. They emerged along social categories such as party affiliation, class, *race* or gender. The movement was challenged by its intersectional inclusiveness. These social categories played out differently in the movement. Partly, they related to individual or minority experiences, and could not be generalised. Nevertheless, these social categories show which differentiation processes were discussed. The most pronounced differentiation, which became conflictual, was gender. Conflicts about gender occurred at the same time as the structure of the movement changed. I will briefly mention the debates on class and *race* in the movement, and then focus on gender as a social category which shaped the movement.

In the course of the protests, the narrative of suffering became dominant and a precondition for being part of them. Thus, sharing the narrative of being *black* and poor and experiences of exclusion and discrimination created belonging within the movement, while a tendency emerged to exclude students who belonged to the middle class. For example, a *black* student explained that because of his middle-class background he could not subscribe to the narration of marginalisation and almost lost his voice in the student protest (Nyamnjoh 2017, pp. 264). In addition, *whiteness* was perceived as an embodied privilege. Being *white* goes along with being privileged and was regarded critically in the light of the decolonial demand (see Eggers et al. 2015). Thus, debates arose regarding the question of how and in what form *white* students should be involved. While *white* students did take part in the protests, occasionally they

were asked to leave the space or to stay in the background (for a debate on critical *whiteness*, see Eggers et al. 2015). A *black* student explained:

> *White* people were incorporated into the space as mere allies and were frequently reminded that they ought to be aware of their positionality when engaging in the space and should anticipate being expected to leave the space (Ndelu 2017, pp. 67).

A *black* academic who was active in the movement and supported the students protests added that the occupation was for understanding *blackness* (Interview academic 20.08.2017).

While some students completely rejected interactions with *whites* because of their embodied privilege, others argued that differentiation from the other was an intrinsic part of their *black* identity, so that *white* students should be only partially excluded (see also Daniel 2021b).[14]

Despite the proclamation of adopting an intersectional view of discrimination, the *black* identity was (strategically) essentialised (Hall 2016; Spivak 1988). In part, this position went hand in hand with a rejection of empathy and solidarity and a conscious distancing of the students from all those who did not want to, or could not, accept a narrative of *black* pain. These more radical positions by no means correspond to the majority of students.

Beyond, students also increasingly questioned an intersectional and decolonial promise. The question emerged whether and to what extent an intersectional position was necessary to address the decolonial project. Intersectionality was increasingly contested and a heteronormative position was presented. For instance, Khan has argued (2017) that students used buzzwords such as *black consciousness* to impose intersectionality under the guise of the overriding goal of decolonisation. They described intersectionality and being queer as un-African in order to eclipse counter-narrations. A female student said that "patriarchy, sexual violence, ableism and queer-antagonism were either normalised or ignored as negative elements of the movement" (Xaba 2017, p. 96). A participating academic described the debates on gender and heteronormativity during the occupation as follows:

> And it was a difficult learning process. I remember the first night (...). A conversation started on patriarchy and sexual orientation. (...) And nobody knew how to explain patriarchy without getting angry. (...) And then the conservation started on sexual orientation. And now all the lesbian and gay students, and the trans students have the feeling that they have to be the spokespeople about sexual orientation. (...) And that was the most painful day

[14] For a debate on black solidarity in the South African context, see also More 2009; Lamola 2016.

> for me. (..) I realised that the smartest people of the campus (..) and in this room there were the best thinkers of the university and that they can't understand, and they cannot listen to a young women saying 'you should be ok with the fact that I have chosen not to have an intimate or sexual relationship with a man'. They couldn't accept that. And for the movement it was a sense of failure (Interview academic 20.08.2017).

This shows that the intersectional practices of the movement were not deeply grounded and were discarded. What began as an intersectional collective action frame turned against queer and feminist students. Once again the most vulnerable students have been affected by discrimination. Altough intersectionality was coninously used as a buzzword. A *black* student told how the situation in the movement changed:

> But yeah, I think, intersectionality, we just used a bunch of words, stringed together, and we called ourselves intersectional, we called ourselves whatever, which I think has come back to haunt us (quoted from Kahn 2017, pp. 117).

At the same time, some women were sexually harassed (Bernardo 2015). One student described the situation as follows: "I also feel like you can't really be in that space unless you've got a male partner or a male comrade to (...) not necessarily to legitimate your voice but like, to protect you" (Matandela 2017, pp. 25). Another student confirmed:

> But it turned out that *black* men in the movement wanted *black* male freedom and continue to rape *black* women and that the straight people were homophobic. (Interview student 07.09.2018)

Feminists and queer activists experienced the student protests more and more as exclusionary. They challenged the increasingly dominating male leaders who perceived decolonisation as a heteronormative project. Queer and feminist students felt increasingly unrepresented in the movement. A queer student confirmed "I don't believe that any man can liberate me" (Interview 07.09.2018).

These changes in the movement should also be seen against the backdrop of changing actor dynamics and a modification of the structure of the movement. At the beginning, the movement was described as having no official leadership due to its power-critical and non-partisan aspirations (RMF 2015). In the course of the protests, some students who followed a masculine and more political understanding of decolonial transformation were able to assert their interests and gained leadership positions. Some of these male leaders were members of political parties. For instance, students affiliated to PAC/PASMA

or from EFF increasingly dominated plenaries, mass meetings and negotiations with the university management. A student explained:

> It became more of a populist movement rather than one that was actually engaging with challenges and trying to unpack them and speak very critically and very strongly and it's definitely become an issue of partisan in politics and it's very hard to tell what's coming from where. So, Rhodes Must Fall the founding intent was not partisan (…), but everyone was asked and committed to kind of leaving the party affiliation and kind of the party ideology at the door of that space and that didn't really happen (Interview student 23.03.2017).

Many student leaders in powerful positions argued for heteronormativity and pushed for decolonisation without intentionality.

Queers and feminists reacted to these changes in different ways: some students subordinated their sexual identity to their *blackness* and remained in the movement or even tried to achieve change within the movement; others left or created a counter-strategy. For instance, some decided to leave the movement and sought alternative forms of expression for their discontentment. Students seeking a gender-sensitive and intersectional decolonisation used social media. With the slogan "writing and rioting", a decolonial and intersectional practice was continued that no longer seemed possible in offline spaces (cf. Godsell et al. 2016). Students were no longer dependent on being represented by their male colleagues, and presented themselves as independent political subjects and even criticised the leaders of the movement.

Others tried to bring intersectionality back into the movement as a collective frame. For instance, they created counter-strategies to the RMF movement in order to ensure that decolonisation was intersectional, such as *#Rape Must Fall* and the *#Silent Protest*, where students protested against sexual harassment at the university (Daniel 2020; Ndlovu 2017). The protests condemned sexual violence at the university and criticised sexual assault within the movement (Interview academic 05.09.2018). With *Patriarchy Must Fall* female students criticised the male leaders of the movement and demanded the reintegration of intersectional activism (Ramaru 2017). Queer students and feminists also used nude protests. The female body was used to question the dominance of hyper-masculinity, to frighten and confront people, and thus to remind them of the movement's intersectional promises (Interview academic 05.09.2018). Students thus used their bodies to overcome the current state of affairs with their physical presence and reclaim university spaces.

Body politics as a form of resistance to the student movement is also evident in the photo exhibition held in 2016: The photo exhibition, entitled *Echoing Voices from Within*, was intended to present the student protests photographically and thus provided a place to reflect on the course and successes of the movement. Before the opening, the Trans Collective stormed

the photo exhibition naked, blocking the entrances and thereby gaining a presence. The queer students smeared paint on the photos, which mostly depicted male students. This action reclaimed non-binary gender positions and their acceptance at the university space and in the movement. It illustrated the radical nature of body politics. It was not a rejection of the decolonial project per se, but a demand to reintroduce an intersectional perspective into decolonisation, as one activist from the Trans Collective explained:

> The revolution will be *black*-led and intersectional or it will be bullshit. The voices of the Trans Collective had been marginalised within RMF, alleged Kim, and the exhibition reflected neither their contribution to the RMF cause nor their unique struggles as transgender and transsexual students. "This," said Kim, ostensibly referring to the exhibition and more broadly to the power dynamics in the student movements, "is bullshit" (Activist HeJin Kim in Omar 2016).

The Trans Collective argued that it is not about weakening the student protests, but about reclaiming the decolonial project:

> We must, however, state unequivocally that our disruptive intervention at the RMF exhibition should not under any circumstances be construed as a rejection of RMF or a departure away from decolonisation (Trans Collective 2015).

Due to the protest of the Trans Collective, the exhibition was never opened. But queer students continued to be committed to maintaining an intersectional perspective. This is the reason why some students persevered in the movement and repeatedly advocated for an intersectional position (Interview student 29.09.2017). However, this position was contested among feminists and queer students.

5 What can we learn from RMF?

The student protest spread across the country, several protests allocating themselves to Fees Must Fall emerged, and had an impact on the universities. In December 2017, due to student pressure, President Jacob Zuma agreed to fee-free tertiary education for poor and working-class students. However, the protests have continued, because although access to study has been made easier, discrimination and alienation still exist at universities and the curriculum is still in the process of changing. The movement initiated a process that is still ongoing. Protests are still taking place at some universities.

The movement also resonated globally and inspired Oxford students to protest (Rhodes Must Fall Oxford 2018). In addition, the notion of "Must Fall" was used for other protests. In the South African context, this includes the protest

against the then president, called Zuma Must Fall (Gwisai 2017). In Senegal, young people demonstrated against the statue of Louis Faidherbe, a French soldier and demanded an interruption and the critical reflection of the colonial past (Ndiaye 2020). In the Sudanese revolution, the notin "Must Fall" was used to draw attention to the need for radical change and thus a break with the authoritarian regime of Omar Basir (Bishai/Elshami 2019). The term "Must Fall" was used in order to express the need for a radical and structural change, for a radical change in political culture that overcomes structural violence. Therefore, the notion "Must Fall" expresses the urgency of action to overcome structures of oppression. In this sense, the Must Fall protests can be interpreted as another wave of decolonial protests, in line with other liberation movements in Africa since the 1940s (Lamer 2020, Okech 2020). Decolonial movements are not unique to Africa. All over the globe, such movements highlight structures of oppression, as in the case of the Black Lives Matter movement. They reveal the importance of dismantling structures of oppression and the ongoing legacies of colonialism.

However, in this paper I have shown how important it is for decolonial movements to be critically examined in terms of how they assert their interests and whether they trigger hierarchies and processes of exclusion in the process.

RMF can be differentiated according to various social categories such as class or *race*, and these have repeatedly played a role in interactions between the students. However, gender, and thus non-heteronormative positions, became the most challenging point of conflict. RMF shows that an intersectional perspective makes it possible to demystify the cohesion within a movement, and reveals the power dynamics and processes of inclusion and exclusion. Dominant identities marked the contestation of intersectionality and the increasing acceptance of a heteronormative position, that went along with the emergence of a male, *black* and heteronormative leadership. In this process, *blackness* became the most important identity marker, which overshadowed gender. Non-binary gender identities and thus the intersectional collective action frame were contested. The reaction of queer students and feminists was ambivalent: some stayed in the movement, others tried to re-anchor intersectionality in the movement, and others left the movement or created counter-movements to draw attention to the importance of gender and intersectionality.

Intersectionality as an analytical lens describes alliances and cleavages in the movement. Intersectionality helps to understand the multivocality in the movement, dynamics of power and processes of exclusion. However, the particularity of this movement is that intersectionality was also a collective action frame and was performed as intersectional activism. Therefore, intersectionality and decolonisation were two sides of the same coin. If you want to understand the role of intersectionality in RMF, it is important to consider these different layers of intersectionality. Intersectionality is an important analytical lens, but also a collective action frame and a movement practice. Intersectionality describes the goal and the course of the process by

including a power-critical lens. Consequently, considering intersectionality within movement dynamics enriches social movement research, as it enables us to understand manifold dynamics in protests.

An intersectional lens also allows us to see the ambivalences in the practice of the movement, between inclusion and exclusion. This means that an intersectional perspective is linked to questions activists have in the course of mobilisation. For instance, how inclusive should a movement be in order to legitimise demands? Does inclusivity mean a specific group of people? Is it legitimate to exclude activists in order to defend the overarching goal? Does a movement always have to be measured by being as inclusive and diverse as possible? In the pursuit of inclusiveness, can a movement even destroy its goals by trying to make it inclusive for everyone? An intersectional approach addresses questions regarding mobilisation and creates self-reflexivity, as it shows unconscious or conscious demarcations from other social actors. Thus, intersectionality can be a tool for reflection. Questions can be addressed such as: Whom do you want to mobilise? Who should remain excluded? This reflection is important for demarcation and for creating belonging. Intersectionality thus has another layer: it can be used by activists as a tool for self-reflection, helping the movement to clarify its mobilisation strategy and reveal alliances and exclusions at the same time.

References

Alexander, Peter 2010. "Rebellion of the poor: South Africa's service delivery protests - A preliminary analysis." *Review of African Political Economy* 37 (123): 25-40.

Biko, Steve 1979. *Black Consciousness in South Africa*. New York: Vintage Books.

Bernardo, Carla 2015 (November 19.). "#RapeAtAzania accused in court." *IOL News*. https://www.iol.co.za/news/rapeatazania-accused-in-court-1947968 [Accessed: 02.04.2021]

Beinart, W. and Marcelle Dawson. 2010. *Popular politics and resistance movements in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Bishai Linda and Azaz Elshami 2019 (January 29). "We are all Darfur!" – Sudan's Unity Protests Stand a Real Chance. Time for the West to Step Up. http://arabcenterdc.org/policy_analyses/we-are-all-darfur-sudans-unity-protests-stand-a-real-chance-time-for-the-west-to-step-up/ [Accessed: 02.04.2021]

Booysen, Susan 2016a. Introduction. In *Fees Must Fall. Student Revolt, Decolonisation and Governance in South Africa*. Edited by Booysen, Susan. Johannesburg: Wits University: 1-21.

Booysen, Susan 2016b. "Two weeks in October. Changing governance in South Africa." Pp. 22-52. In *Fees Must Fall. Student Revolt, Decolonisation and Governance in South Africa,* edited by Susan Booysen. Johannesburg: Wits University.

Booysen, Susan Ed. 2016c. *Fees Must Fall. Student Revolt, Decolonisation and Governance in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University.

Carbado, Devon, Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, Vickie M. Mays and Barbara Tomlinson 2013. "Intersectionality: Mapping the Movements of a Theory". *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 10 (2): 303–12.

Chikane, Rekgotsofetse 2018. *Breaking a Rainbow, building a Nation: The politics behind #MustFall movements*. Johannesburg: Picador Africa.

Chun, Jennifer Jihye, George Lipsitz and Young Shin 2013. "Intersectionality as a Social Movement Strategy: Asian Immigrant Women Advocates". *Signs* 38 (4): 917–40.

Council on Higher Education 2016. *South African Higher Education Reviewed: Two Decades of Democracy*. Pretoria: Council on Higher Education.

Cock, Jacklyn 2003. "Engendering gay and lesbian rights: the equality clause in the South African constitution." *Women's Studies International Forum* 26(1): 35–45.

Cornell, Josephine and Shose Kessi 2017. "Black students' experiences of transformation at a previously 'white only' South African university: a photo voice study." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40(11): 1882-99.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé Williams 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: 139-167.

Croucher, Sheila 2002. "South Africa's Democratisation and the Politics of Gay Liberation." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28(2): 315-30.

Daniel, Antje 2019. "Ambivalenzen des Forschens unter Bedingungen post-dekolonialer Praxis." *Forschungsjournal Soziale Bewegungen* 311: 40-9.

Daniel, Antje 2020. "Brüchige Allianzen: LGBTQI* Aktivismen im Kontext der intersektionalen und dekolonialen Praxis der Studierendenbewegung der University of Cape Town". *Peripherie. Dekolonialität von Geschlecht*: 102-24.

Daniel, Antje 2021a. "Dekolonial und intersektional? Ambivalenzen der Herrschaftskritik in der südafrikanischen Studierendenbewegung." Pp. 203-224. *Intersektionale und postkolonial-feministische Perspektiven als Mittel politikwissenschaftlicher Macht- und Herrschaftskritik,* ed. Heike Maurer Heike and Johanna Leinius. Opladen: Verlag Barbara Burdrich.

Daniel, Antje 2021b. "Must Decolonisation Occur on an Island? The Role of Occupation in Developing Future Visions within the #Rhodes Must Fall

Movement.” Pp. 193-212. *Indigenous Knowledges and Decolonisation in Higher Education*, edited by Irina Turner, Emnet Woldegiorgis and Abraham Brahima. Current Discourses, Pertinence and Prospects. London: Routledge.

Davis, Kathy 2008. “Intersectionality as buzzword: A sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful.” *Feminist Theory* 9(1): 67-85.

Eggers, Mauren, Grada Kilomba, Peggy Piesche and Susan Arndt Eds. 2005. : Mythen, Masken und Subjekte: Kritische Weißseinsforschung in Deutschland. Münster: Unrast.

Fisher, Dana, Dawn M. Dow and Rashawn Ray 2017. “Intersectionality takes it to the streets: Mobilizing across diverse interests for the Women’s March”. *Science Advances* 3 (9): eaao1390.

Fanon, Frantz 1968. The Wretched of the Earth. NY: Grove Press.

Garuba, Harry 2015. What is an African curriculum? https://mg.co.za/article/2015-04-17-what-is-an-african-curriculum/ [Accessed: 02.04.2021].

Godsell, Gillian and Rekgotsofetse Chikane 2016. “The roots of revolution.” Pp. 54-73 in *Fees Must Fall. Student Revolt, Decolonisation and Governance in South Africa,* edited by Susan Booysen. Johannesburg: Wits University.

Godsell, Gillian, Refiloe Lepere, Swankie Mafoko, Ayabonga Nase 2016. “Documenting the revolution.” Pp. 191–224. *Fees Must Fall. Student Revolt, Decolonisation and Governance in South Africa,* edited by Susan Booysen. Johannesburg: Wits University.

Gouws, Amanda 2016 (June 15). How South Africa's young women activists are rewriting the script. https://theconversation.com/how-south-africas-young-women-activists-are-rewriting-the-script-60980 [Accessed 12.03.2021].

Gwisai, Munyaradzi 2017 (May 25). “Zuma Must Fall” and the Left: Lessons from Zimbabwe. Review of African political economy. https://roape.net/2017/05/25/zuma-must-fall-left-lessons-zimbabwe/ [Accessed: 02.04.2021].

Hall, Stuart 2016. “Rassismus als ideologische Kritik”. Pp. 172–188, in Was ist Rassismus? edited by Dorothee Kimmerich, Stephanie Lavorano and Franziska Bergmann. Stuttgart: Reclam.

Hancock, Ange-Marie 2007. “When Multiplication Doesn’t Equal Quick Addition: Examining Intersectionality as a Research Paradigm”. *Perspectives on Politics* 5(1): 63–79.

Heaney, Michael T. 2019. “Intersectionality at the grassroots”. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*: 1–21.

Hendricks, Ashraf 2016 (March 10). Rhodes Must Fall exhibition vandalised in UCT protest https://www.groundup.org.za/article/rhodes-must-fall-exhibition-vandalised-uct-protest/ [Accessed: 02.04.2021].

Hill Collins, Patricia 2014. *Black feminist thought: knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. London, New York: Routledge.

Hilton, John Laurence 1992. "Azania – some ethymological consideration". *Acta Classica* 35: 151-9.

Ishkanian, Armine and Anita Peña Saavedra 2019. "The politics and practices of intersectional prefiguration in social movements: The case of Sisters Uncut". *The Sociological Review* 67 (5): 985–1001.

Jansen, Jonathan 2017. *As by Fire. The End of the South African University*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.

Kasibe, Wandile2015 (March 17). No middle ground on genocidal Rhodes. Cape Times. https://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/opinion/no-middle-ground-on-genocidal-rhodes-1833325 [Accessed: 02.04.2021]

Kessi, Shose and Josephine Cornell 2015. "Coming to UCT. Black students, transformation and discourses of race". *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa*, 3/2: 1-16.

Khan, Khadija 2017. "Intersectionality in student movements. Black queer womxn and non-binary activists in South Africa's 2015-2016 protests." *Agenda* 3-4: 110-21.

Lamola, John M. 2016. "Biko, Hegel and the End of Black Conscioussness. A Historico-Philosophical Discourse on South African Racism." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 42:2: 183-94.

Lamer, M. 2010. "Social movement struggle in Africa". *Review of African Political Economy* 37(125): 151-62.

Langa, Malose Ed. 2017. *#Hashtag. An analysis of the #FeesMustFall Movement at South African universities*. Johannesburg, Cape Town: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.

Laperrière, Marie and Eléonore Lépinard 2016. "Intersectionality as a tool for social movements: Strategies of inclusion and representation in the Québécois women's movement". *Politics* 36 (4): 374–82.

Lenz, Ilse 2010. "Intersektionalität: Zum Wechselverhältnis von Geschlecht und sozialer Ungleichheit". Pp. 158-165. *Handbuch Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung: Theorie, Methoden, Empirie,* edited by Ruth Becker and Beate Kortendiek. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Leinius, Johanna, Judith Vey and Ingmar Hagemann 2017. "Poststrukturalistische Perspektive auf soziale Bewegungen. Plädoyer für eine notwendige Blickverschiebung". *Forschungsjournal Soziale Bewegungen* 30(4): 6–20.

Matandela, Mbalenhle 2015. *Rhodes Must Fall. How black women claimed their place*. https://mg.co.za/article/2015-03-30-rhodes-must-fall-how-black-women-claimed-their-place/ [Accessed: 02.04.2021]

Matandela, Mbalenhle 2017. "Redefining Black Consciousness and resistance. The intersection of Black Conciousness and Black feminist thought." *Agenda* 3-4: 10-28.

Miller, Darlene 2016. "Excavating the vernacular: Ugly feminists, generational blues and matriarchal leadership." Pp. 270-292, *Fees must Fall. Student revolt, decolonialisation and governance in South Africa,* edited by Susan Booysen. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

More, Mabogo P. 2009. "Black Solidarity. A philosophical defense." Theorie: 20-43.

Ndaba, Baldwin, Therese Owen, Masego Panyane, Rabbie Serumula and Janet Smith 2017. *The black consciousness reader*. Auckland Park: Jacana Media.

Ndelu, Sandile 2017. "Liberation is a Falsehood. Fallism at the University of Cape Town". Pp. 58-82, *#Hashtag. An Analysis of the #FeesMustFall Movement at South African Universities,* edited by Malosa Langa. Johannesburg, Cape Town: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.

Ndiaye, Khadim 2020 (July 7). In Senegal and France, Faidherbe Must Fall. Review of African Political Economy. https://roape.net/2020/07/07/in-senegal-and-france-faidherbe-must-fall/ [Accessed: 02.04.2021]

Nieftagodien, Noor 2016. "Outsourcing is falling but aluta continua". *Amandla. South Africas's new progressive magazine standing for social justice*. 43/44, 10-1.

Ndlovu, Hlengiwe 2017. "Womxn's bodies reclaiming the picket line. The 'nude' protests during #FeesMustFall". *Agenda* 3-4: 68-77.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Sabello 2018. *Epistemic freedom in Africa*. London, New York: Routledge.

Ngcaweni, Wandile and Busani Ngcawni 2018. *We are no longer at ease. The struggles for #Fees Must Fall*. Cape Town: Janana Media Ltd.

Nyamnjoh, Anye 2017. "The Phenomenology of Rhodes Must Fall. Student Activism and the Experience of Alienation at the University of Cape Town". *Strategic Review for Southern Africa* 39/1. Pp. 256-277.

Nyamnjoh, Ftancis B. 2016. *#RhodesMustFall. Nibbling at Resilient Colonialism in South Africa*. Mankon, Bamenda: Langaa Research & Publishing CIG.

Okech, Awino 2020. "African Feminist Epistemic Communities and Decoloniality." *Critical African Studies* 12(3): 313-29.

Omar, Yusuf 2016. Trans Collective stops RMF exhibition. https://www.news.uct.ac.za/article/-2016-03-10-trans-collective-stops-rmf-exhibition [Accessed: 02.04.2020].

Platzky Miller, Josh 2019. Politics, Education and the Imagination in South African and Brazilian student-led mobilisations (2015-16). Cambridge: PhD Thesis. https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.51079 [Accessed: 02.04.2021]

Rhodes Must Fall 2015. Mission Statement. https.//jwtc.org.za/resources/docs/salon-volume-9/RMF_Combined.pdf [Accessed. 12.10.2019].

Rhodes Must Fall Oxford 2018. *Rhodes Must Fall. The Struggle to Decolonise the Racist Heart of Empire*. London: Zed Books

Ramaru, Kealeboga 2017. “Feminist Reflections on the Rhodes Must Fall Movement”. *Feminist Africa* (22): 89–97.

Ranuga, Thomas 1986. “Frantz Fanon and Black Consciousness in Azania (South Africa)”. *Phylon* 47(3): 182-91.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai 2012. *Decolonizing Methodologies. Research and Indigenous People*. London; New York: Zed Books Ltd.

Swartz, Sharlene, Mahali, Moletsane, Arogundade, Khalema, Cooper and Groenewald. 2018. *Studying while black. Race, education and emancipation in South African Universities*. Cape Town: Human Science Research Council Press.

Swatz, Sharlene, Alude Mahali, Relebohile Moletsane, Emma Arogundade, Nene Khalema, Adam Cooper and Candice Groenewald 2018. *Studying while black. Race, education and emancipation in South African Universities*. Cape Town: Human Science Research Council Press.

Trans Collective 2016. Tokenistic, objectifying, voyeuristic inclusion is at least as disempowering as complete exclusion. https://www.facebook.com/search/str/UCT+trans+collective/keywords_search [Accessed 12.08.2019].

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty 1988. “Subaltern Studies. Deconstructing Historiography.” Pp. 3–32, Selected Subaltern studies, edited by Ranajit Guha Spivak and Gayatri Chakravorty. New York: Oxford University Press.

Turner, Irina 2019. “Axing the Rainbow.” *Modern Africa. Politics, History and* Society 1: 81-110.

Vally, Salim and Ever Motala 2018. “Troubling ‘race’ as a category of explanation in social science research and analysis.” *Southern African Review of Education* 24(1): 25-42.

Xaba, Wanelisa 2017. “Challenging Fanon. A Black Radical Feminist Perspective on violence and the Fees Must Fall Movement”. *Agenda* 3-4, 96-104.

Zajak, Sabrina and Sebastian Haunss Ed. 2020. *Social Stratification and Social Movements Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives on an Ambivalent Relationship*. London: Routlege.

About the author

Antje Daniel is researcher in Development Studies at the University of Vienna. Her research focus is on social movements, environmental activism, gender and intersectionality and future/utopia. She mainly works in East and Southern Africa but also on social movements in Austria (Europe) or Brazil (Latin America).

Email: antje.daniel AT univie.ac.at