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However, Costandius and Bitzer's *Engaging Higher Education Curricula: a critical citizenship education perspective*[2] shows that the execution of processes and policies towards anti-racism, equality and citizenship in South Africa has been slow, complex and ambiguous. Nyamnjoh also indicates that it is not easy to achieve Ubuntu and trust considering the deep wounds and traumatic experiences that are still causing division in post-apartheid South Africa. Therefore, the book left me questioning South Africa's current position after six years of the RMF movement. For example, in 2019, we witnessed another xenophobic attack in Johannesburg, which raises concerns about the direction and implications of citizenship in South Africa. Is it evident then that the execution of equality or citizenship is ambiguous, as Costandius and Bitzer indicate? What is to be done within these complexities to achieve a broader understanding of citizenship and humanity? In *#RhodesMustFall*, Nyamnjoh also shows that xenophobic attacks usually begin in black South African informal settlements. Still, one might ask how do we – or should we – disseminate knowledge and understanding of togetherness to these masses in the townships? These are some of the questions that left me puzzled.

Overall, for a foreigner in South Africa like myself, this book offered an excellent introduction to the contemporary history of the country. I was particularly fascinated by how Nyamnjoh made his argument, drawing from various sources such as oral statements, novels, films and academic works. His primary argument on conviviality and humanity in defining citizenship in Africa reminds me of Julius Nyerere's education philosophy, which called for mass mobilization, total liberation, freedom, equality, and building a human-centred socialist society. Nyamnjoh, therefore, reminds us that we can all choose a better future by including 'a fellow', 'sisters', 'brothers' or 'one of us' in our shopping basket as Africans.

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Nyamnjoh's book *#RhodesMustFall: nibbling at resilient colonialism in South Africa* has at its centre a man and his symbolism: Cecil John Rhodes, his statue that previously stood in the grounds of the University of Cape Town (UCT), and what he most recently came to represent during the nationwide student protests of 2015 and 2016. Even while '[a] monument, however imbued with symbolism, cannot capture everything wrong with a country' (p. 197), using the statue and its subject as a core theme allows Nyamnjoh an historically informed commentary on contemporary South Africa and its (lack of) relationality to the wider African region. One finishes the book with a deep understanding of the discourses that organize daily life and public culture in contemporary post-apartheid South Africa.

One of the most powerful points of this book is its detailed documentation of what it means in practice to emerge from the trauma of apartheid. Nyamnjoh draws on Ben Okri to highlight the urgent temporality that characterizes postcolonial nation building, such that 'we go from tearing down the unacceptable

[2]E. Costandius and E. Bitzer (2015) *Engaging Higher Education Curricula: a critical citizenship education perspective*. Stellenbosch: SUN MeDIA.

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to building the desirable without a break in the dance' (Okri quoted on p. 207). The 1994 settlement and the ensuing Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Nyamnjoh reminds us, were not intended as an end point but as a starting point, as enabling the beginning of a tentative new mutuality in the country. The student protests around which this book emerged show us the failures of ensuing processes of restitution.

To read Nyamnjoh's book is to take a break in Okri's postcolonial dance. Nyamnjoh gives us a moment in which to ask hard (sometimes almost unthinkable) questions of contemporary South Africa, questions that are deeply informed by Nyamnjoh's knowledge of wider African struggles for decolonization. Take race – in South Africa, race matters, and it is inextricably enfolded in social class, so that 'the intersection of class and race in South Africa seldom hides for long. Thought and action are instinctively black and white' (p. 201). But Nyamnjoh reminds us of other milieus, where we can think about race as one attribute among many; where identity and citizenship are never complete but always becoming, in relation to those around us. To rethink that which we have inherited, he reminds us, takes humility as well as courage and creativity. These are messages that matter within the smaller-scale collegiality of UCT, and out into wider society as a whole.

In earlier work, Nyamnjoh has argued that whiteness in South Africa has tended to be under-researched and under-articulated.[1] This book takes on the challenge and opens with a deep dive into whiteness. Nyamnjoh's opening historical chapter is on Rhodes himself, and how the hierarchies of and within whiteness and blackness that we live with in South Africa today emerged at that moment in history. The chapter is a powerful reminder of why we need to dig deep into our histories to change the present. For the last few years, I have been recommending this book to white colleagues and friends, as I think it provides an essential interrogation of whiteness that serves as an entry point into some of the hard conversations that we do not often have. UCT has now taken formal steps towards articulating whiteness, asking through its Transformation Office that white colleagues do the work of decentring whiteness at the institution, rather than leaving it to black colleagues alone.[2] This is a welcome move; nonetheless, there is much work left to do at an institutional and national level if we wish to move towards mutuality rather than difference in South Africa. Nyamnjoh reminds us: 'It may be up to every South African to be the change to which they aspire. However, that change can only come about if whites and whiteness as epitomes of privilege and supremacy in South Africa move from quibbles and rhetoric to substantive gestures of inclusivity through significant recirculation of wealth' (p. 207).

Five years on from the publication of this book, in the midst of a global pandemic, I am left wondering if the pandemic has given any impetus to such necessary economic inclusivity, or if it has driven South Africans even more deeply into the 'ever diminishing circles of inclusion' (p. 32) that form part of our colonial heritage. It seems clear that the work of decolonizing the country – both in terms of the hierarchies that exist inside our heads and in terms of the concomitant

[1]F. Nyamnjoh (2012) 'Blinded by sight: divining the future of anthropology in Africa', *Africa Spectrum* 47 (2–3): 63–92.

[2]J. McMillan (2020) 'Decentring whiteness: (un)learning and working to dismantle institutional racism – a concept note'. Unpublished concept note for work contributing to UCT's Dismantling Institutional Racism Strategy.

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social realities – cannot be done without significant economic redress, such as the introduction of a universal basic income grant that affords a dignified life to all.[3] Has the urgency created by the pandemic got South Africa any closer towards this goal? And who would be encompassed within its so-called universality: would even a basic income grant be enough, if South Africa maintains its narrow notions of citizenship that Nyamnjoh so eloquently critiques, such that the basic humanity of migrants is not recognized?

Nyamnjoh's book reminds us that the categories we live by and with need not be real, if we have the courage to think and act past them, and that any rhetoric of decolonization needs to widen beyond zero-sum binaries of whiteness versus blackness and citizens versus *makwerekwere* if it is to succeed.

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Response by the author

I am grateful to Bertha Kibona and Shannon Morreira for taking time to read and engage with #*RhodesMustFall*, and for their generous comments. They are right to suggest that, despite the heroic student protests of 2015 and 2016, many of the issues discussed in the book are still with us. The resilient colonialism at which the students nibbled is truly resilient. It continues to dictate the nature and practice of statecraft, providing the parameters of stricture within which citizenship and belonging are understood and experienced. It privileges particular forms of identity and the politics of belonging, and it sustains hierarchies of humanity that contradict its language of rights, freedoms and entitlements. Much of what the students protested against were the inequalities and poverty that colonialism and apartheid had built into being and becoming human in a racialized context. Many of the students protesting belonged to the category of 'born-free' South Africans, who, according to the logic and magic of such a label, having had no first-hand experience of colonialism and apartheid, were more likely to blame post-apartheid leaders and failures for persistent inequalities, poverty and epistemic injustices. Resilient colonialism privileges micro-sociologization and the ethnographic present and frowns on those who flash their torchlights of enquiry into the past for the structural roots of present-day predicaments.

Yet, bringing history and the ethnographic present or sociology into conversation could be a very useful approach to knowledge production of the order that contributes to redressing some of the inadequacies highlighted by the student protests. A non-linear future is much indebted to the rear-view mirror. Thus, in answer to Morreira's question on the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, one could argue that, due to structural inequalities inherited from the apartheid era and compounded by corruption and lip service to transformation under the ruling African National Congress (ANC) government, in South Africa, despite timely national state of disaster and prolonged lockdown measures taken to mitigate

[3]See 'Basic income support fact sheet', Black Sash, 2010 <http://www.blacksash.org.za/index.php/basic-income-support-fact-sheets>, accessed 20 May 2021.

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