


Work in Progress

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Why a study on restitution?



1. Huge inequalities in South Africa – All capitals
2. Transformation slow: ‘You can’t eat freedom’
3. ‘Forget the past and move on’ discourse prevalent
4. Recognition absent (of progenetic effects)
5. Privilege maintained
6. Social solidarity low
7. Corruption as an excuse for personal and group action
8. An apocalyptic future likely

An African Proverb



When is the best time to plant a tree?

Twenty years ago.

When is the second best time?

TODAY.



Theoretical foundations



1. Eleazar **Barkan** – The Guilt of Nations
2. Steve **Biko** – Black consciousness and Xolela Mangcu – ‘Consciousness of blackness’
3. Nancy **Fraser** – recognition and redistribution
4. Iris Marion **Young** - Social connection and solidarity
5. Peggy **McIntosh** – Disrupting privilege
6. Pierre **Bourdieu** - Redistributing capitals
7. Todd **Calder** - Forward looking restitution
8. Troyna and Soudien - Antiracist, human rights education

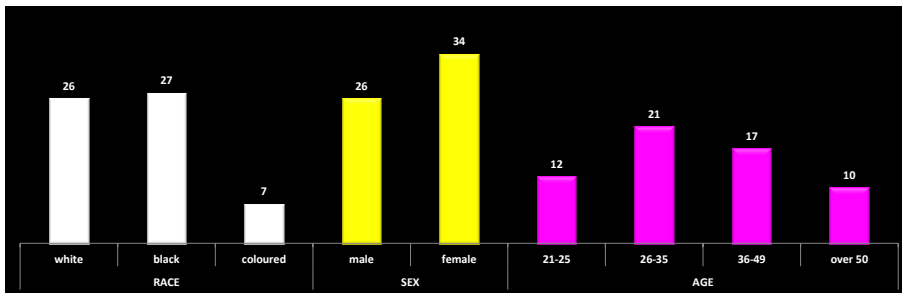
Social restitution
Restitution of Personhood

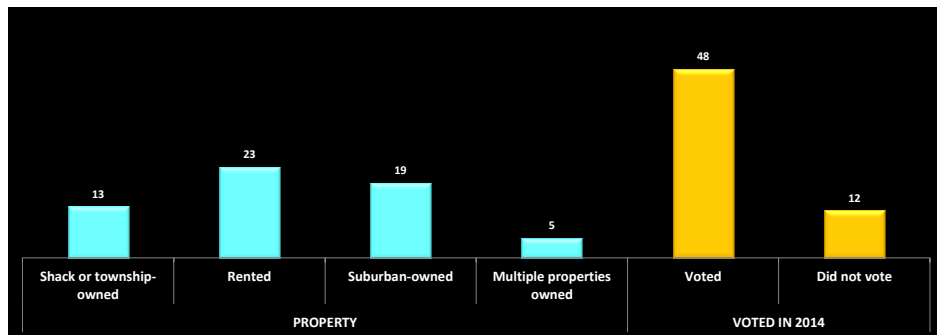
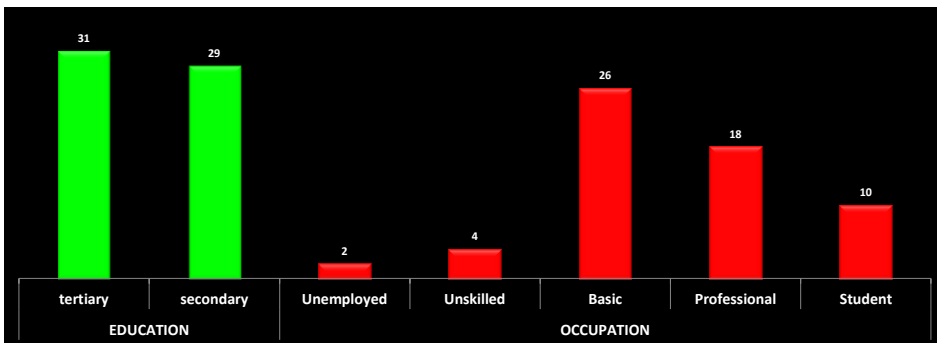


The study



1. Started off with a few conceptual ideas:
 - The restitution of personhood
 - Action at multiple levels
 - New locations of actors
2. 60 interviews – 60-90 minutes; people well known to researchers
3. Demographically but not statistically representative
4. Across 'races' – 'Black', 'White' and 'Coloured'
5. Generations – 21-25, 26-35, 36-49, and over 50
6. Class – education, suburbs/townships/rural, property ownership





Interview questions



1. What are the things in our country that bring you hope/despair?
2. How were/are you affected by our country's past history?
3. In what ways does the past still affect people today?
4. What does the term 'restitution' mean to you?
5. How do you respond to these two stories?
6. How would you label yourself with regards to the past?
7. What has been done so far to make things right?
8. When will we know when we've done enough?
9. What gets in the way of people making restitution?
10. What do you think will happen if nothing more is done?
11. What ideas do you have for making things right?

Labels Activity



When thinking about the past, what labels would you give yourself? Choose from the list or add your own.

❖ Architect of injustice	❖ Implementer of resistance to injustice
❖ Architect of resistance to injustice	❖ Informer
❖ Beneficiary of injustice	❖ Inheritor of benefit
❖ Beneficiary of resistance to injustice	❖ Inheritor of dishonour
❖ Bystander	❖ Ostrich – someone who put their head in the ground and avoided things
❖ Collaborator	❖ Perpetrator
❖ Dishonoured by injustice	❖ Rescuer
❖ Dishonoured by resistance to injustice	❖ Victim
❖ Implementer of injustice	

- How easy or difficult is it for you to choose a label?
- Which labels do you like/dislike? Why?



Story-Response



'A Stolen Bicycle'

Jabu and Johnny are two boys who live next door to each other. Both have bicycles. One day Johnny steals Jabu's bicycle. Jabu tries hard to get it back but can't. Of course they stop being friends. A year passes and they do not talk or even look at each other. But Johnny misses his friend and goes over to Jabu's house one day and says 'Jabu lets be friends again'. Jabu agrees and so they shake hands and make up. A few days later Jabu says to Johnny, 'Johnny, what about my bicycle?' to which Johnny replies 'Look Jabu, this is about becoming friends again, not about bicycles'.

- How does this story relate to your own country?
- What could the bicycle be?
- How useful is this story when speaking about helping people come to see their role in injustice?



Story-Response



'Unlevel playing fields'

Imagine two teams are playing a soccer match, but the pitch is tilted at a 45-degree angle. The side playing downhill is unfairly advantaged and is able to run up a score of 19-2. At a certain point during the match the advantaged team is helped to realise that the match is not fair and that the playing field must be levelled before the game can continue. Some want the score to remain in place and think it's fair merely to carry on playing on a level field. Others want to level the scores as well as the pitch and start again. Yet others do not want to continue the game but want new rules and time to let the team who have been playing uphill recover from their exhaustion, injuries and sense of hopelessness, before replaying the match.

- How does this story relate to your own country?
- What should happen next?
- How useful is this story when speaking about helping people come to see their role in injustice?



Six big ideas for 'making things right'



1. A new discussion – social restitution
2. Disrupting the 'move on' discourse - the past in the present
3. (Re)locating actors beyond victim, perpetrator, bystander
4. Restoring personhood by 'redistributing' capitals
5. Individual/community level action - systemic impact
6. Interviews as intervention - dialogical ways of seeing (and acting)



Social restitution

1



1. Restitution as 'Making things right' for unjust gain; restoring humanity
2. Social – since not institutional (legal or government)
3. A groundswell of individual and community action with potential systemic outcomes
4. Forward-looking, restorative rather than punitive
5. Motivated understanding – Past in Present
6. Forward-looking critical active social restitution: Redistributing all forms of capital through collective agency



REBUILDING INSTITUTIONS

- Constitution and functioning judiciary
- Equality court
- Black economic empowerment
- Affirmative action
- Truth Commission
- Land restitution

SOCIAL RESTITUTION

- Removing rubble - blindness about past in present
- Encouraging communities of action
- Anticipating a 'tipping point'



The effects of the past on the present



1. The past is everything, the past is nothing but an excuse
2. Conflicted about the past
3. The positive effects of the past
4. Black South Africans understand the deep effects of the past on their lives
5. Do white South Africans recognise these effects?



PRESENT

PAST

BLACK RESPONSES



Racism: The unending story of being demeaned, excluded and dehumanised

- *Vukani* – excluded from restaurants as a bank director
- *Luxolo* and *Donovan* – an absence of confidence
- *Siziwe* – church says poverty is okay, fear of white people
- *Mayaya* – anger, defensive, trust, demeaned, patronised
- *Sibu* – judged for being black
- *Evelyn* – inferiority, shaking in a room of white people
- *Lyanda* – not human
- *Sipho* – wounds that have not healed
- *Zethu* – my son is called a baboon, violence



Lyanda, 48, Black, Female



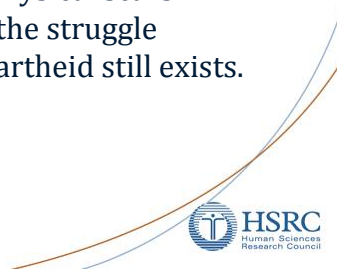
The past still affects my life even now because unemployment is very high and I still don't have a house. If I was white I would have had a house by now. ... **Apartheid made me feel like I was not a human being.**



Sipho, 56, Black, Male



It's very difficult to talk about the apartheid era because it brings so much pain and I might even go to bed without eating because I just lost my appetite talking about the past. ... [But] **I don't mind even though you have opened old wounds that haven't properly healed....** Our past left us with so many emotional scars as well as physical scars ... I just wish that no person who was part of the struggle would live in poverty. ... I still feel that apartheid still exists.



Mayaya, 34, Black, Female



This traffic officer stopped my dad and **my father's demeanour - and just how he became this nobody** - and he was using language like: 'Yes, yes, *baas*' [boss]. ... how this man that I respected and possibly feared just came across like this little mouse against this man - this young white man. ...It made me angry.

...

I've gone to **business meetings** where I've had someone who works with me, but junior to me and they're a white person, and ...[the people I'm meeting with] will address this white person and proceed **to give me the files to hold** and carry. And I'll just smile and I'll take them, and then I'll hand them over to my assistant and say: 'Here you go. So, if we can just start the meeting.' **But it's psychological.**



PRESENT

PAST

BLACK RESPONSES



Results of an intentionally unequal and inferior education

- Working twice as hard – *Welile*
- The shame of limited prospects and shattered dreams – *Fundiswa*
- Frustration of job reservation and economic effects of the opportunity ceiling *Ricky's*

Alienation when you do make it

- *Olivia* – 'I feel like an alien - I don't fit in'
- *Thamsanqa* – 'I'm forced to live in a world not my own'

Physical effects of poverty and inequality

- *Evelyn's* story of land, property, dyslexia, participation



Welile, 24, Black, Male



I went to [township schools] ... then after CPUT. It's not the best education. **You start to see that when you get to varsity - that the education that you had is not the same education that other people had.** When I got to varsity **I had to work twice as hard** as another person that went to a suburban school. I didn't have any **computer** knowledge when I got to varsity. The **language** barrier was another obstacle. All of those things. The level of the education that we had. Things that other people told me that they learnt in grade 10 I didn't know. ...It was sad, but one thing that I told myself - I was already in varsity - it's either do or die. **So when other people were out partying I had to study.** I had to put in that extra effort because I knew other people know exactly what they're going to be writing and I don't.



Jack, Mark, etc



people know exactly what they're going to be writing and I don't.



PRESENT ~~PAST~~

WHITE RESPONSES



Coming to see

Distorted seeing

Jonathan - 'If only the government weren't corrupt'

Not caring to see

Seeing clearly



PRESENT ~~PAST~~



Geographical separation

- 'I don't have black friends' - Mark - Awareness of benefit and privilege

Power and privilege

- Robyn - Shame and guilt about deference, power, complicity
- Mark - I am so privileged I believe myself to be without colour

Racism

- Mandy - 'People assume I'm racist'

Affirmative action

- Adam - 'no room for me in govt. or public sector'
- Jack - 'I thought they were going to throw us away'

Strong emotions





people know exactly what they're going to be writing and I don't.

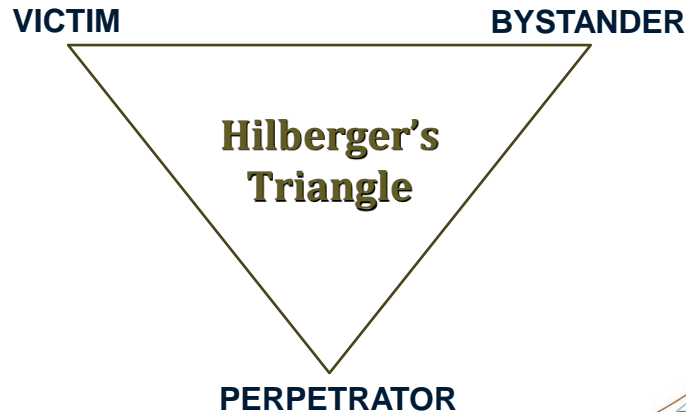


people know exactly what they're going to be writing and I don't.



[Re]locating actors

3



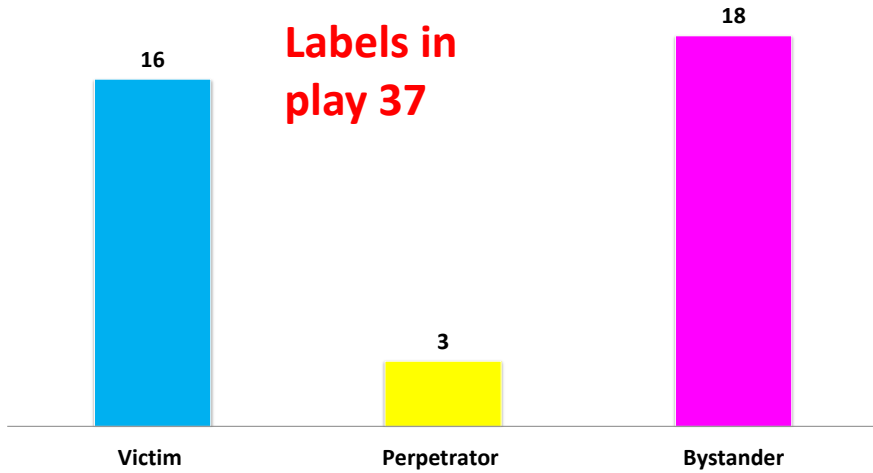
Adding descriptions and NEW categories ...



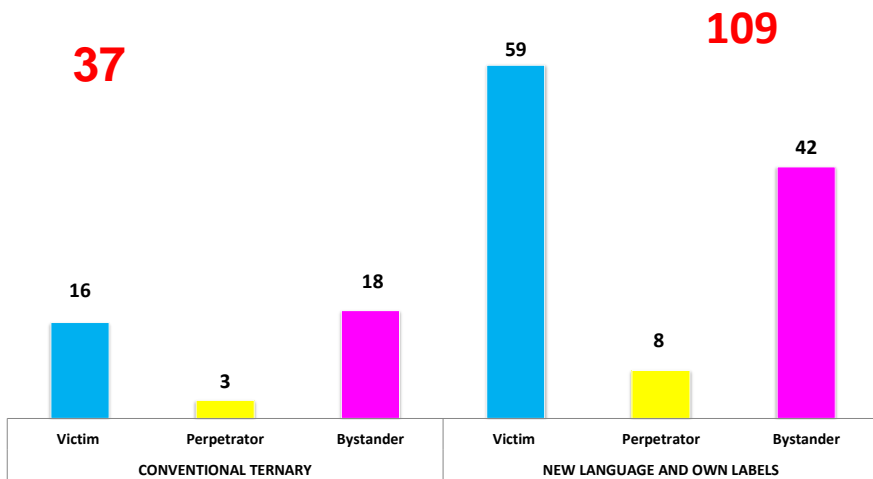
1. Adding 'architects' and 'implementers' to PERPETRATORS
2. Adding 'ostrich', 'silent' and 'avoider' to BYSTANDER
3. Adding 'dishonoured', 'harmed' and 'damaged' to VICTIM
4. NEW: Adding 'RESISTER' ('resistance to injustice' – architect and implementer)
5. NEW: Adding 'beneficiary' ('privilege', 'inheritor' – both unjust gain and gain as a result of a successful opposition)



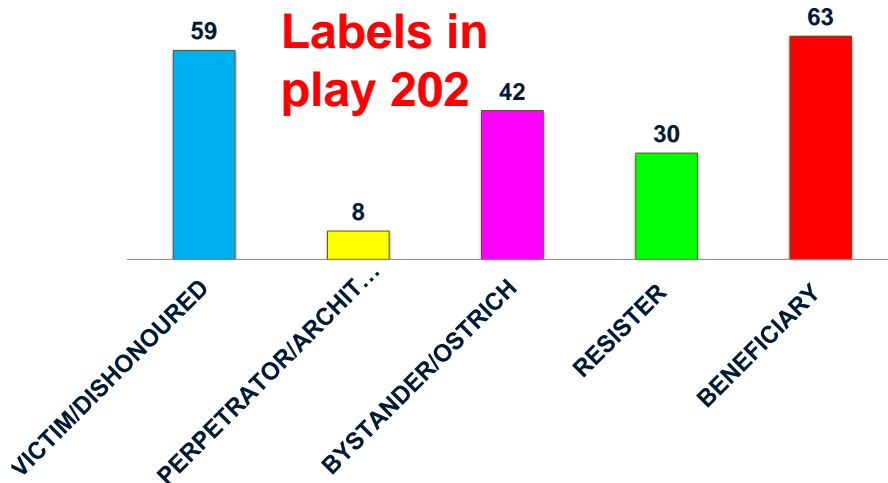
Conventional 'Victim-Perpetrator-Bystander



Changing language and add own labels



Adding 'Resister' and 'Beneficiary'



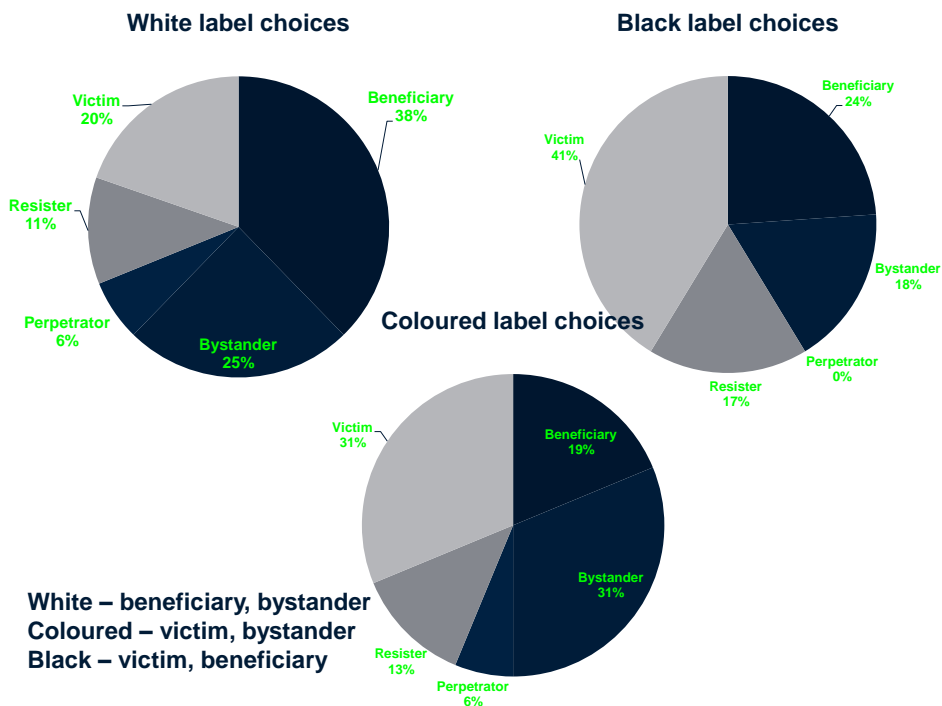
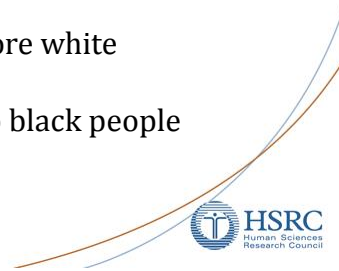
What changing language achieved

1. More recognition (37 Hilberger; 202 in Swartz Qunitet)
2. Discussion becomes nuanced
3. Debate, reflection and (possibility of) movement ensues
4. Categories are no longer only racialised
5. VICTIM category is destigmatised; 'damage' controversial
6. A new discussion about BENEFIT begins – as beneficiary of injustice and resistance to justice
7. Opportunities for current RESISTING come to the fore
8. PERPETRATOR category remains unpopular - even with architect and implementer distinguished
9. BYSTANDING /silence/avoiding - no longer neutral – ostrich both funny and awkward

Race differences



1. **Victim** labels were chosen by twice as many black people as white people
2. **Resister** labels were chosen by more blacks than whites or coloureds
3. **Bystander** labels were chosen by less black people than coloured or white people
4. **Beneficiary** labels were chosen by more white people than black or coloured people
5. **Perpetrator** labels were chosen by no black people



Race and Generational Differences



Race

White – predominantly beneficiary, bystander

Coloured – predominantly victim, bystander labels

Black – predominantly victim, beneficiary labels

Generation:

Over 50 predominantly **bystanders** and beneficiaries

21-25 and 36-49 predominantly victims and beneficiaries

26-35 predominantly bystanders



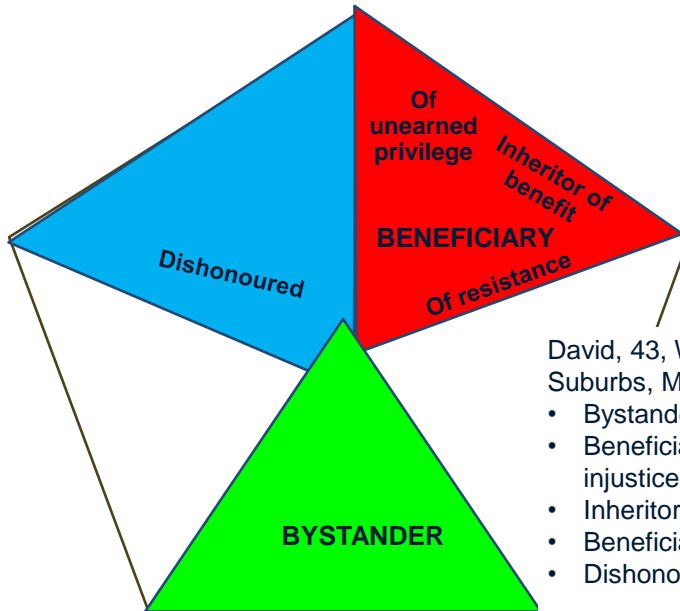
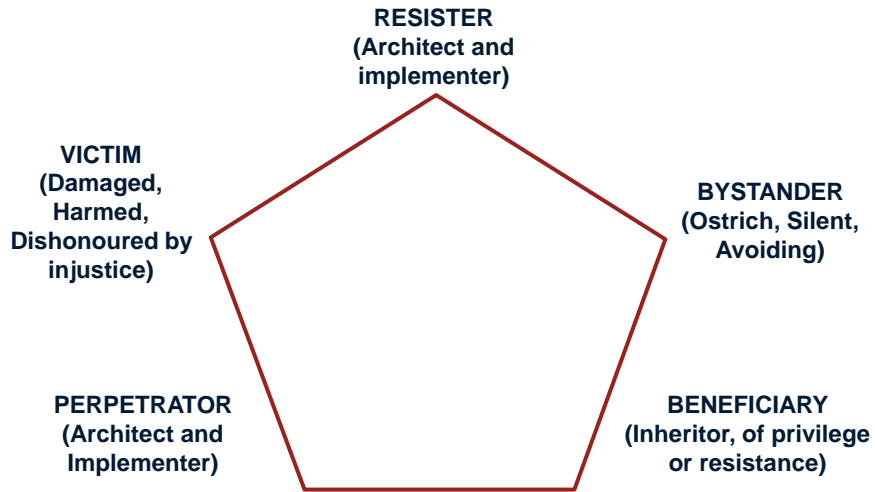
Class differences



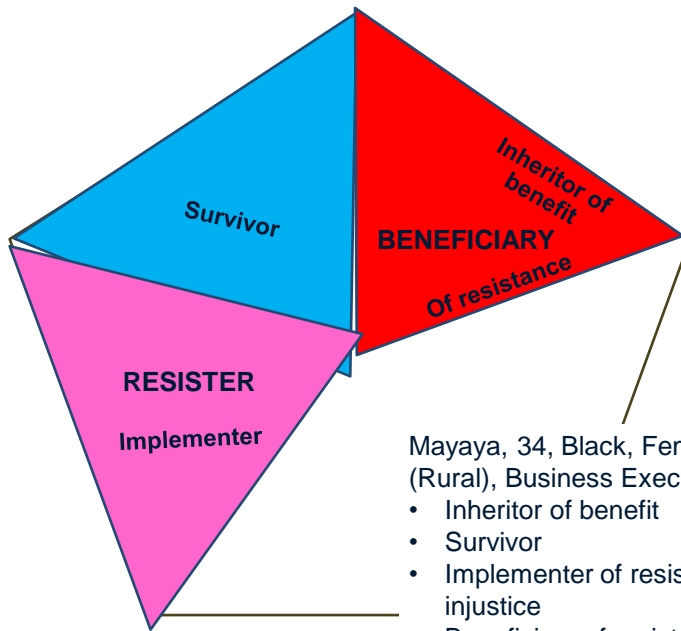
1. **White working class** twice as likely to label themselves **bystanders** than white middle class participants
2. **White middle class** twice as likely to label themselves **resisters** than white working class participants
3. **Coloured middle class** coloured twice as likely to label themselves **victims** as Coloured working class participants
4. **Black middle class** much **less** likely to call themselves **victims** than working class and precariat class black participants
5. **Black middle class** twice as likely to label themselves **beneficiaries** than working class
6. **Black precariat** class twice as likely to label themselves **beneficiaries** as **working** class black participants



Swartz's Restitution Quintet

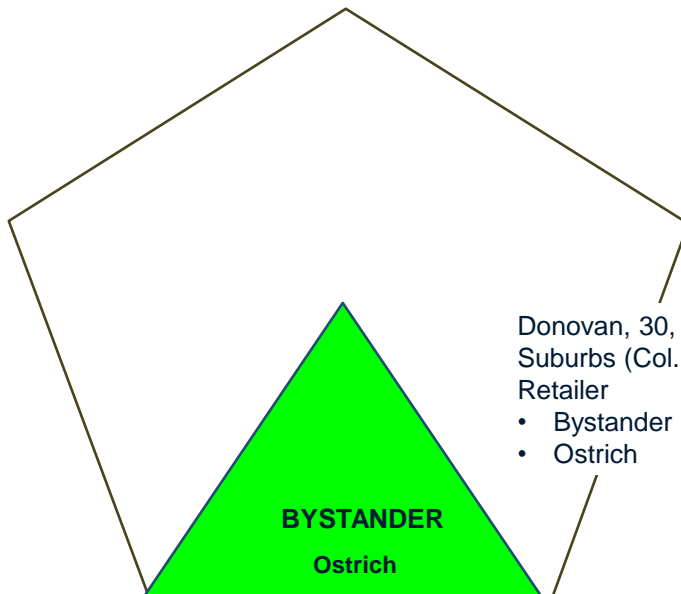


- David, 43, White, Male, Suburbs, Medical Specialist
- Bystander
 - Beneficiary of resistance to injustice
 - Inheritor of benefit
 - Beneficiary of injustice
 - Dishonoured by injustice



Mayaya, 34, Black, Female, Suburbs (Rural), Business Executive

- Inheritor of benefit
- Survivor
- Implementer of resistance to injustice
- Beneficiary of resistance to injustice



Donovan, 30, Coloured, Male, Suburbs (Col. Area), Cycle Retailer

- Bystander
- Ostrich

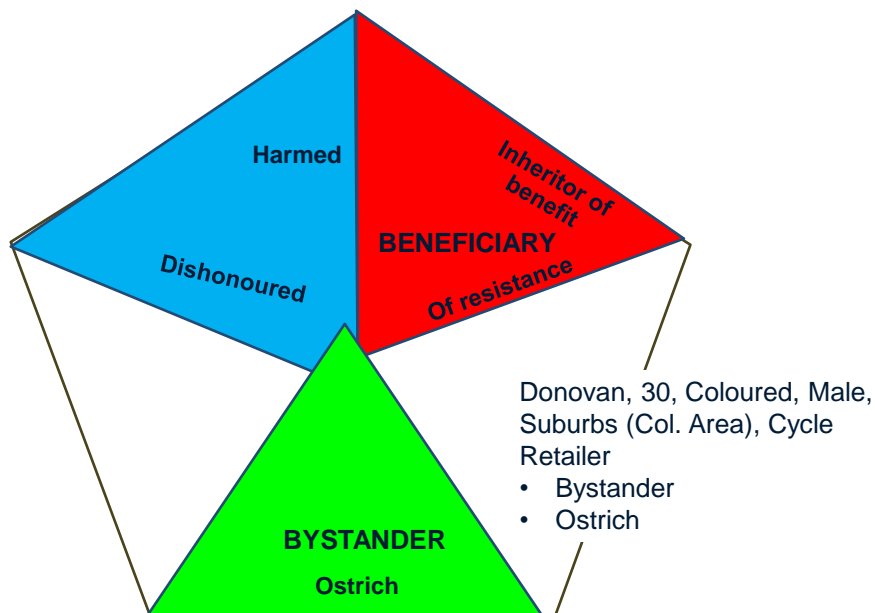
Donovan, 30, CM



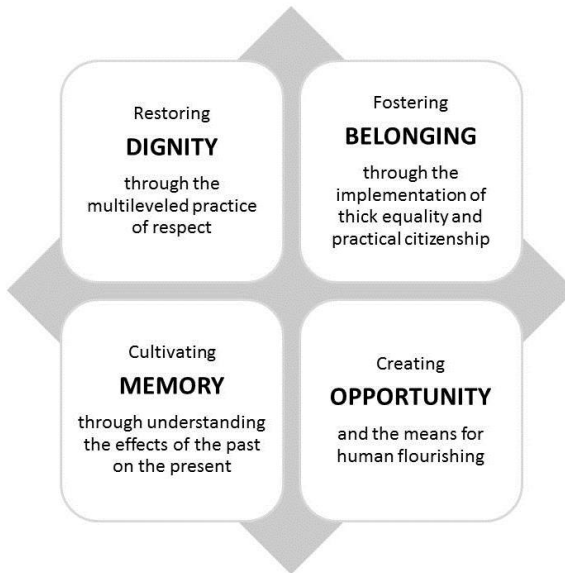
[The past] affects your mindset to some degree - your confidence, to some degree. Because if you meet someone of a different colour - and I'm referring to the lighter colour - you automatically think they're looking down on you ...So that messes with your head a little bit. Especially when I started working. ... a lot of the customers are white, more well off people. So I get a lot of that ... the way someone will talk to me.

...

I'm the only coloured rider that rides downhill. ... A lot of the guys that race are Afrikaans...So I'll see a bit of cockiness, maybe, from them looking at me, but to me I've got to prove it in my riding.



Restoring Personhood



Based on principles of:

- Recognition
- Connection
- Solidarity
- Critical Race Consciousness
- Dialogue
- Redistribution of Capitals



Operating in multiple domains



SOCIAL		
Individual	Community	STRUCTURAL
Commemorating public holidays [dignity, belonging]	• Commemorating the 1913 Land Act - SA [memory]	• Housing subsidy [opportunity, dignity]
• Apologies between individuals [dignity]	• Community partnerships [dignity, opportunity]	• Youth employment subsidy [opportunity, means]
• Reading to children in impoverished communities [opportunity]	• Physically reintegrating racially divided churches [belonging]	• Broad-based black economic empowerment [opportunity, belonging]
• Mentoring [opportunity, belonging]	• National centres of remembrance [memory]	• National Health Insurance – SA [opportunity, dignity]

Ideas for Individual Action



1. Pay for a black child's education from primary to university
2. Offer work experience and support for small businesses
3. Salary increase holiday for high earners
4. Pay/receive restitution wealth tax
5. Pay/expect restitutionary wages for domestic workers.
6. Contribute skills and finance to local CBOs
7. Inheritances need to be shared
8. Formal and informal mentoring
9. Learn/help someone learn an indigenous language
10. Provide leadership to ensure restitution



Ideas for Community Action



1. Start a national dialogue on social restitution
2. Start community dialogues in churches, schools, workplace
3. Debt forgiveness for those affected by SA's past
4. Start a new political party that's not racialised
5. Develop a common purpose based on 'being for others'
6. 'Model C' the townships i.e. wealthy to pay for add. services
7. Change social perceptions through the media
8. A campaign for improved dinner party conversation
9. Community service for school leavers across social boundaries
10. Cluster development NGOs for impact at scale



Interviews as Intervention



1. Dialogical Interviewing
 - Past in present
 - Response vignettes
 - Labels activity
2. Way of seeing
 - Not caring to see
 - Distorted seeing
 - Coming to see
 - Seeing clearly
3. Creating communities of action
 - Ideas for change
 - Catalyst for discussion groups

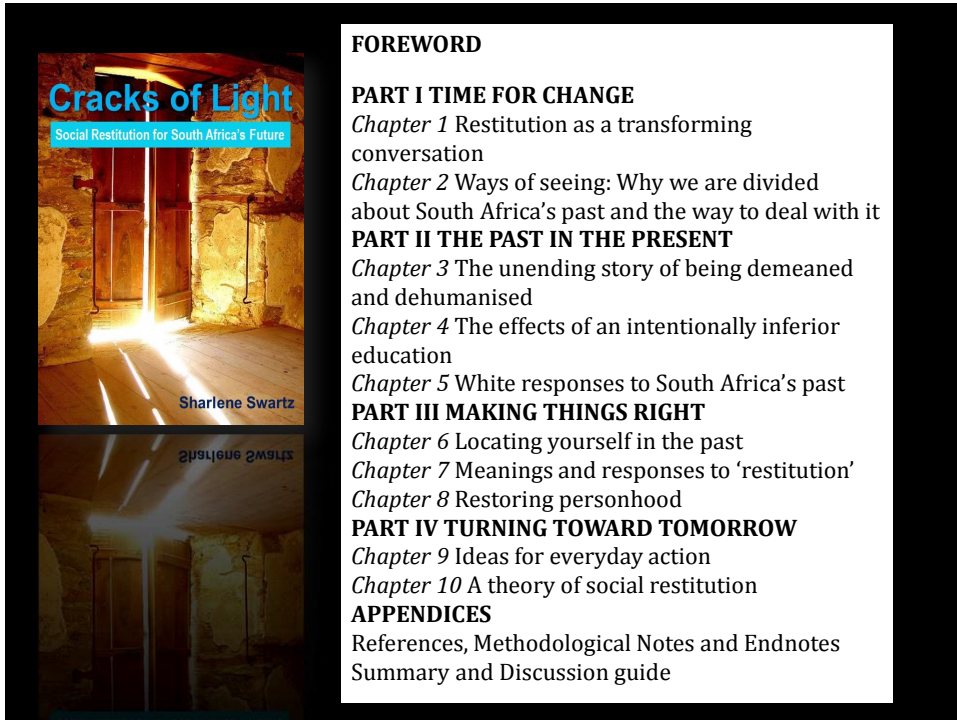


The [anticipated] programme of research



1. Study deepened, extended in South Africa
2. Expanded to other contexts e.g. Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Romania, Iraq...
3. Supplemented by a quantitative study – esp. ‘Labels’; ‘Past in Present’
4. Human rights education outcomes – school, university, civil society e.g. Privilege exercise, Labels exercise, Stories, Discussion/Contact groups
5. Open Society, European Research Commission and Leverhulme applications





FOREWORD

PART I TIME FOR CHANGE

Chapter 1 Restitution as a transforming conversation

Chapter 2 Ways of seeing: Why we are divided about South Africa's past and the way to deal with it

PART II THE PAST IN THE PRESENT

Chapter 3 The unending story of being demeaned and dehumanised

Chapter 4 The effects of an intentionally inferior education

Chapter 5 White responses to South Africa's past

PART III MAKING THINGS RIGHT

Chapter 6 Locating yourself in the past

Chapter 7 Meanings and responses to 'restitution'

Chapter 8 Restoring personhood

PART IV TURNING TOWARD TOMORROW

Chapter 9 Ideas for everyday action

Chapter 10 A theory of social restitution

APPENDICES

References, Methodological Notes and Endnotes

Summary and Discussion guide