

SOCIAL RESTITUTION: A renewed conversation

**CMEI – Harvard Graduate
School of Education**

6 December 2016



WHY RESTITUTION?

INEQUALITY
(STATS)

THE PAST IN THE
PRESENT
(STORIES)

WAYS OF SEEING

WHAT IS RESTITUTION?

LEGAL AND SOCIAL

OBSTACLES

LOCATING
OURSELVES

HOW TO DO RESTITUTION?

RESTORING
PERSONHOOD

PRACTICAL IDEAS
FOR ACTION

A PROCESS

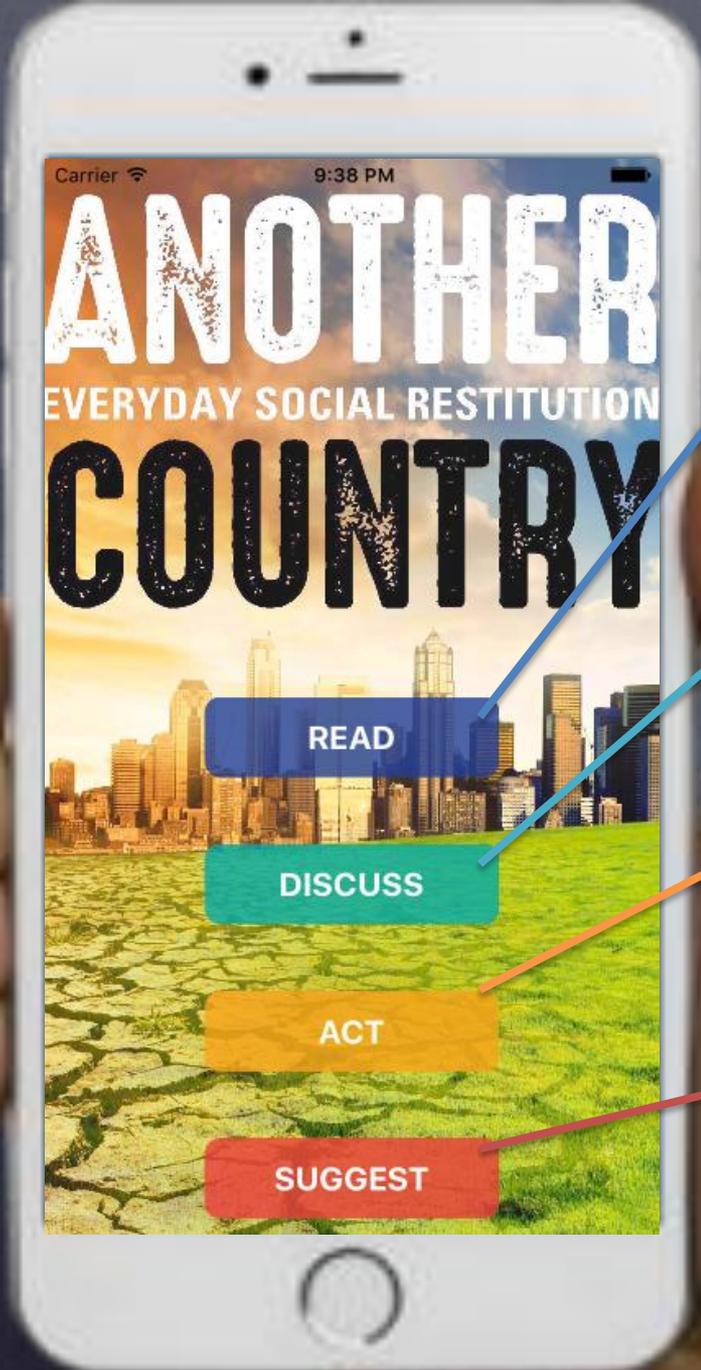




10-10-10 Restitution Dialogues

1. 10 people, 10 weeks, 10 conversations
2. Vision of SA
3. Past in present
4. Meaning of restitution
5. Charity & restitution
6. Locating everyone
7. Ideas to restore our humanity
8. Plans for implementing
9. Attitudes and obstacles
10. Ongoing project





READ About the book and author of *Another Country*, what people are saying about the book, restitution, and the dialogues

DISCUSS Questions to guide dialogues, with space to comment on the process

ACT Ideas for restitution scaled by time, money, effort needed, and number of people required

SUGGEST Ideas for everyday social restitution; added to scaled ideas under 'act'

Why Restitution?

THE UNEQUAL UNRAVELLING
RAINBOW NATION

POVERTY

60% vs 4%

UNEMPLOYMENT

34% vs 8%

LIFE EXPECTANCY

20 YR

OPTIMISM



2x

REDISTRIBUTION



2x

MOVING ON



66%

LAND

8% own 47%

UNIVERSITY

7x

Gini
0.65

HDI

15TH vs 116TH

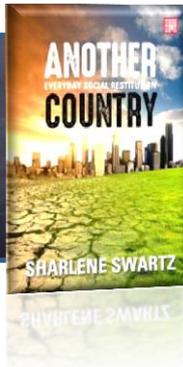
INCOME

R36k vs R6k PM









A Common Vision for South Africa

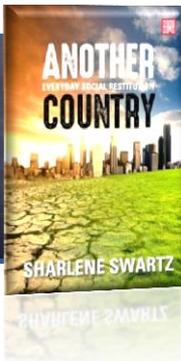
1. Where **race** no longer dominates
2. Where there is equal access to **opportunities**
3. Where we **know** people who are different to us and have them as neighbours
4. A country in which **poverty** and **inequality** are a dim memory of the past.

“YOU WILL NO LONGER BE ABLE TO SAY A BLACK PERSON WILL BE A CLEANER AND A WHITE PERSON WILL BE THE CEO...WHEN THERE ARE BLACK AND WHITE PEOPLE WHO ARE POOR, AND BLACK AND WHITE PEOPLE WHO ARE RICH”

Mbali, 28, Black woman, financial administrator

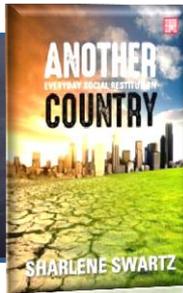
“WHEN FOR THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE ... POVERTY IS NOT DUE TO APARTHEID ... (WHEN A PERSON IS ABLE TO) RISE OUT OF POVERTY THROUGH HARD WORK AND TALENT... (NOT CONNECTIONS OR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION)”

Palesa, 22, Black woman, financial administrator



What is *Another Country* about?

1. Restitution addresses our current inequality
2. Should become a part of every conversation about injustice
3. Addresses the past that remains present
4. Helps us achieve the future we want
5. Social restitution is a do-able place to begin

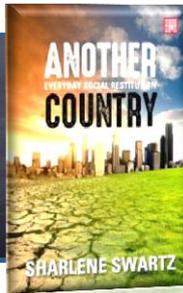


Research methodology

1. Started off with conceptual ideas
2. Invited responses using stories and a labels activity
3. 60 in depth interviews - 90 minutes
4. “Researching intimates”
5. Ages 21-72, across class
6. Demographically representative

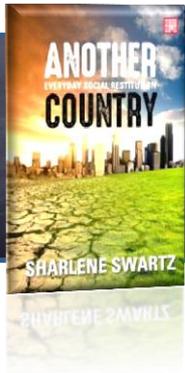
Cycles of consciousness (p. 93-7)





What restitution has begun?

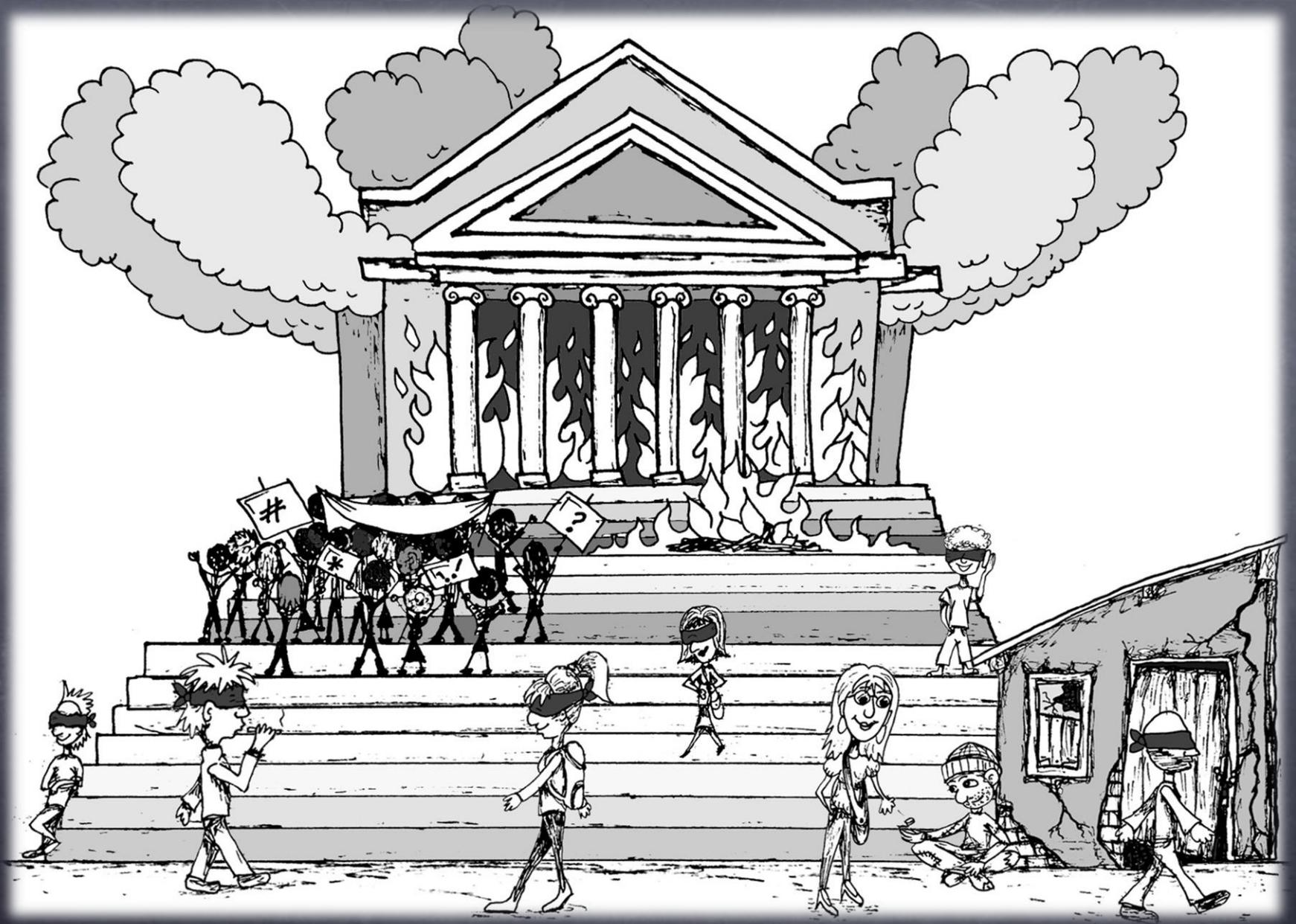
1. Land restitution
 - Good legislation, poor implementation; ignores some
2. Employment equity and Black economic empowerment
 - Enriched a few; open to fronting and corruption
3. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission
 - Recommendations not implemented



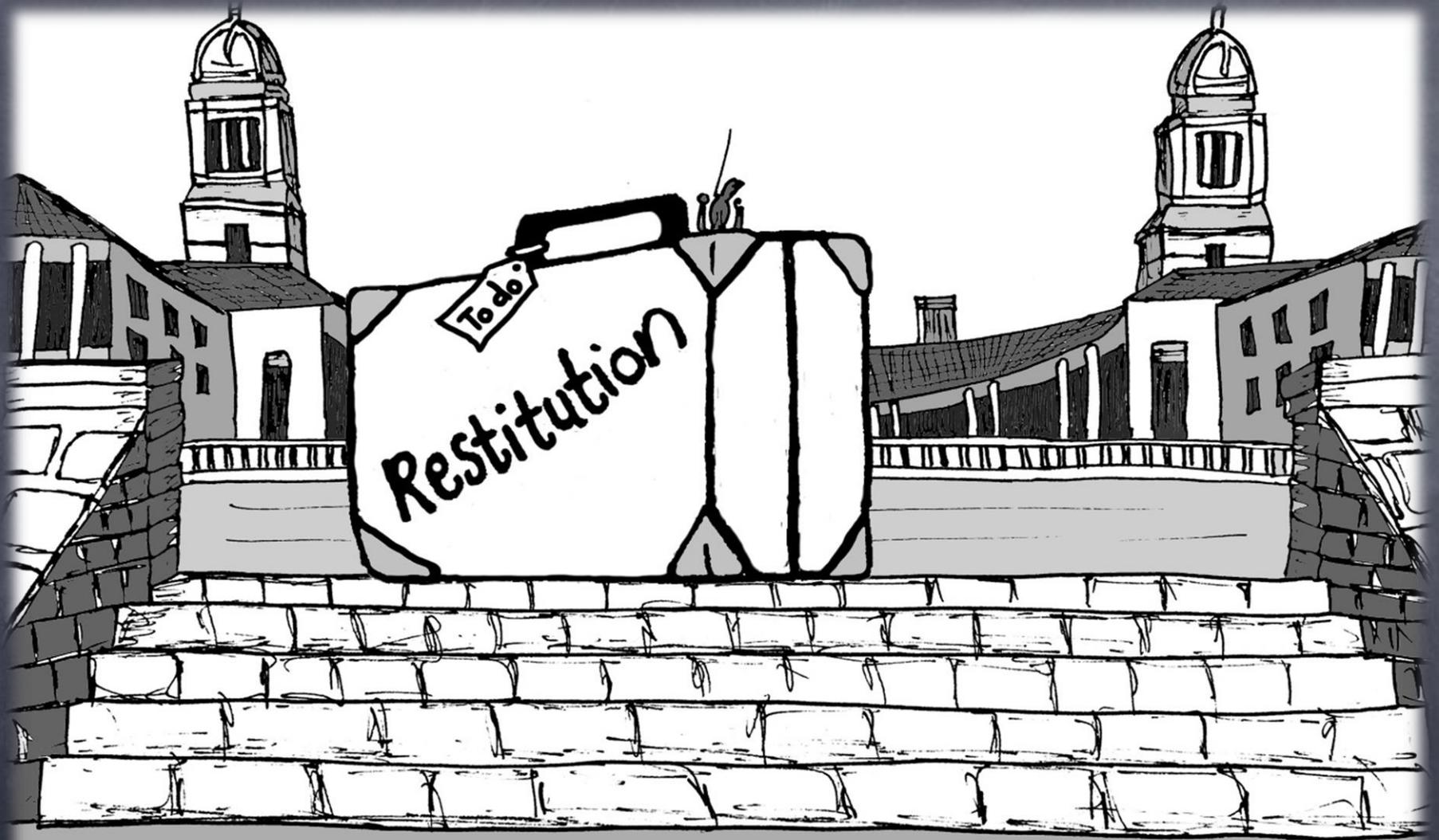
Obstacles to restitution



OBSTACLE 1: BELIEVING THE TRC AND 'RECONCILIATION' WAS ENOUGH



OBSTACLE 2: A CHRONIC CASE OF 'MOVING-ON-ITIS'



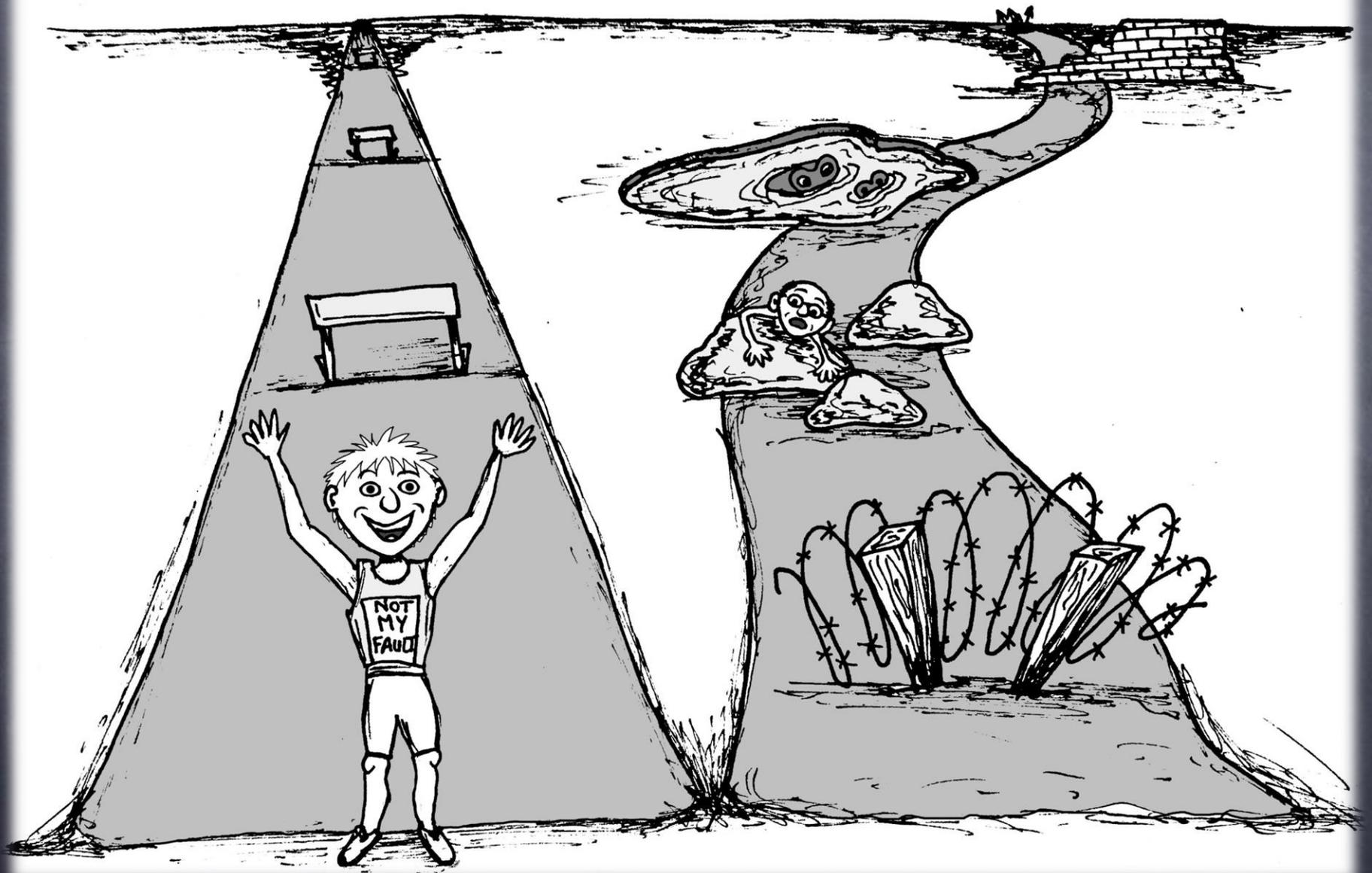
OBSTACLE 3: LEAVING IT TO GOVERNMENT (AND CORRUPTION)



OBSTACLE 4: FEARING THE 'CAMEL-IN-THE-TENT' SYNDROME



OBSTACLE 5: TAKING CHARITY FOR RESTITUTION



OBSTACLE 8: A DENIAL OF BENEFIT AND RESPONSIBILITY

WAYS OF SEEING



DISTORTED SEEING

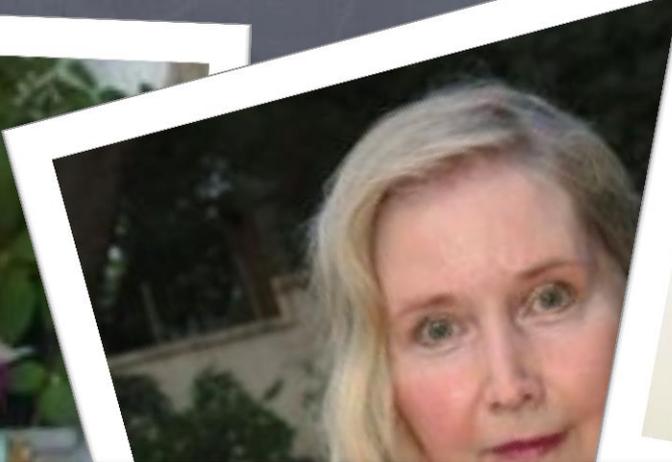


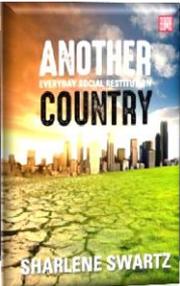
COMING TO SEE

SEEING CLEARLY



REFUSING TO SEE





The outrage of racism (p. 180-1)

[Read p. 180-1]

1. Demeaned and dehumanised
2. The outrage of entrenched racial inequality
3. Well-being (mental health)
4. Pervasive racism regardless of class
5. Issues of inferiority and superiority
6. Forget and bury the past
7. Lack of white consciousness

“ I’VE GONE TO BUSINESS MEETINGS WHERE I’VE HAD SOMEONE WHO WORK WITH ME, BUT JUNIOR TO ME AND THEY’RE A WHITE PERSON AND THE PEOPLE I’M MEETING 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 I’LL HAND THEM OVER TO MY WHITE ASSISTANT ”

Mayaya, 34, Black woman, business executive

“ MY SON IS BIG, HE’S HUGE... HE PLAYS RUGBY. I SAID: PUNCH THEM AND I AM HAPPY TO GO TO THE OFFICE TO HAVE A CHAT ABOUT THAT. THAT’S WHEN IT STOPPED. I REFLECTED ON THAT AND THOUGHT: ‘GEE, UNTIL TODAY THE ONLY LANGUAGE RACISM UNDERSTANDS IS VIOLENCE’. REALLY? (BUT) I’VE NEVER BEEN CALLED IN... ANYONE WHO CALLS HIM A BABOON OR WHATEVER, ANYTHING RACIST YOU KNOW, HE SMACKS THEM NOW ”

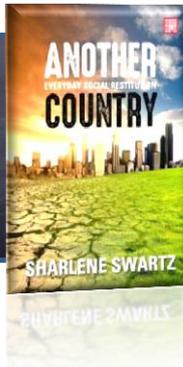
Zethu, 40, Black woman, business executive

“BEING AN OUTSIDER IN BOTH WORLDS... WE ARE NOT EQUAL.
EVEN THOUGH IT LOOKS LIKE WE ARE, WE'RE NOT”

Olivia, 41, coloured woman, Educational Non-profit

“WE HAVE TO, AS BLACK STUDENTS, WORK TWICE AS HARD TO
GAIN HALF AS MUCH”

Thamsanqa, 32, Black man, Masters student



Apartheid's Cost in \$\$\$



1. Group Areas act
2. Land claims
3. Soldiers' rewards

HALEY & THE GROUP AREAS ACT

WITHOUT APARTHEID

1976

Suburbs house R5,000

1997

Suburbs house R400,000

Savings R260,000

(no bond)

R660,000

2015

Suburbs' house R1,300,000

Savings R2,800,000

R4.100,000

WITH APARTHEID

1976

Cape flats house -R7,000
(R12,000)

1997

Cape flats house R90,000

New suburbs flat -R60,000

(R150,000)

R90,000

2015

Suburbs flat R1,115,000

Savings R0

R1,150,000

HALEY & THE LAND CLAIMS ACT

Landclaim 2003/2010

Farm 1 & 2 E Cape
'Mistake' – refund

R17,622

R 9,048

Total paid

R 8,573

Haley's share

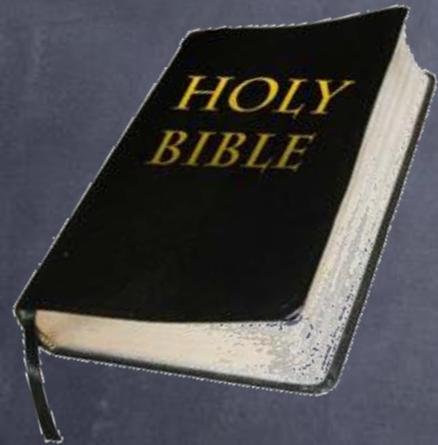
R 2,858

The value of 2 farms in Eastern Cape in 2015 –
most conservative estimate: R4,000,000

Haley's loss

R983,666 + R1,330,475 =
R2,314,141 (see p. 86)

HALEY AND A SOLDIER'S REWARD



BLACK

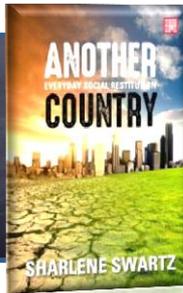


COLOURED AND
INDIAN/ASIAN



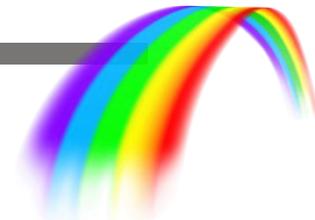
WHITE

WHERE HAVE HOLIDAY HOMES COME FROM?



Findings: White privilege

1. Awareness of privilege
2. Historical amnesia
3. Slipping in and out of consciousness.
4. Reluctance to take responsibility
5. Issues of deference and complicity
6. Anger and shame
7. Racism
8. Response to affirmative action



“ A GAP YEAR AFTER SCHOOL... UNIVERSITY FEES WERE PAID FOR...
A FLAT TO LIVE IN... MY ACCESS TO KNOWLEDGE, WAYS OF BEING IN
THE WORLD... NEVER QUESTIONING ABOUT WHETHER IT'S
APPROPRIATE FOR ME TO OCCUPY ANY PUBLIC SPACE... THERE ARE
VERY FEW PLACES WHERE I KNOW MY VOICE DOES NOT MATTER,
WHERE I AM NOT VALUED. AND THAT'S A LEGACY OF OUR PAST ”

Angela, 37, White woman, PHD student

“ THEORETICALLY, THERE ARE EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES, BUT NOT
REALLY ... I'M ABLE TO FULFIL MY POTENTIAL IN A WAY THAT OTHER
PEOPLE CAN'T ... LET'S BE HONEST, THE WHITE BASE HAS MAINTAINED
ITS ECONOMIC STRENGTH ”

Thomas, 23, White man, Recent graduate

“ I ENJOY THE SECURITY OF AN INHERITANCE THAT SHOULD KEEP ME COMFORTABLE THROUGHOUT MY LIFE ... I WILL NEVER KNOW WHAT IT WAS LIKE TO GROW UP WITHOUT THE SUBTLE MESSAGE ALWAYS GIVEN; THAT I WAS TOP OF THE PILE ... ONE OF THE MASTERS ”

Heather, 38, White woman, Non-profit

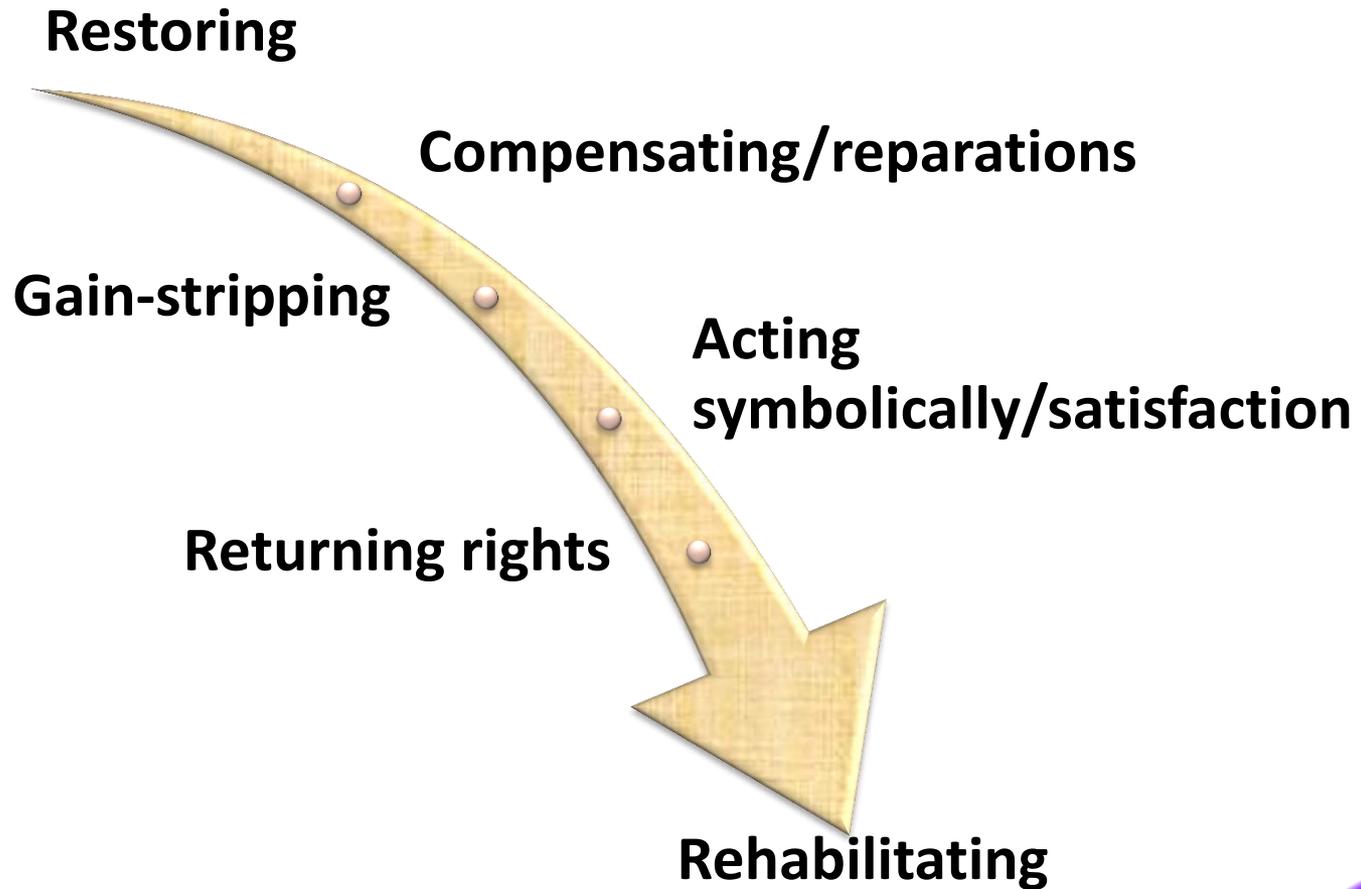
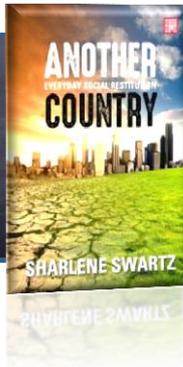
“ I FEEL GUILTY AND VERY ASHAMED AS WELL, BECAUSE I FEEL I AM MADE COMPLICIT IN THE INJUSTICES OF THE PAST BECAUSE OF DEFERENCE...DEFERENCE IS ABOUT POWER. THE GIVING AND NOT OWNING OF POWER. SO IF SOMEONE IS BEING DEFERENTIAL TOWARDS YOU, THEN THEY GIVE YOU ALL THE POWER AND THEN THEY BECOME POWERLESS...THERE CAN'T BE EQUALITY IN A RELATIONSHIP IF THERE'S DEFERENCE ”

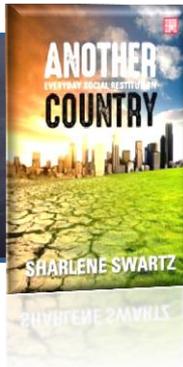
Rose, 36, White woman, Part-time lecture

“PEOPLE ARE HAPPY, EVEN SACRIFICIALLY KEEN, TO ACT CHARITABLY IN ADDRESSING POVERTY IN SOUTH AFRICA. BUT TURN THE CONVERSATION INTO ONE ABOUT RELATIONSHIP AND ABOUT TAKING COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY ... AND PEOPLE'S DEFENCES GO UP AND THEIR HACKLES ARE RAISED ... THIS ISN'T FROM CRAZY RIGHT-WING RACISTS; THIS IS FROM LARGELY PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE”

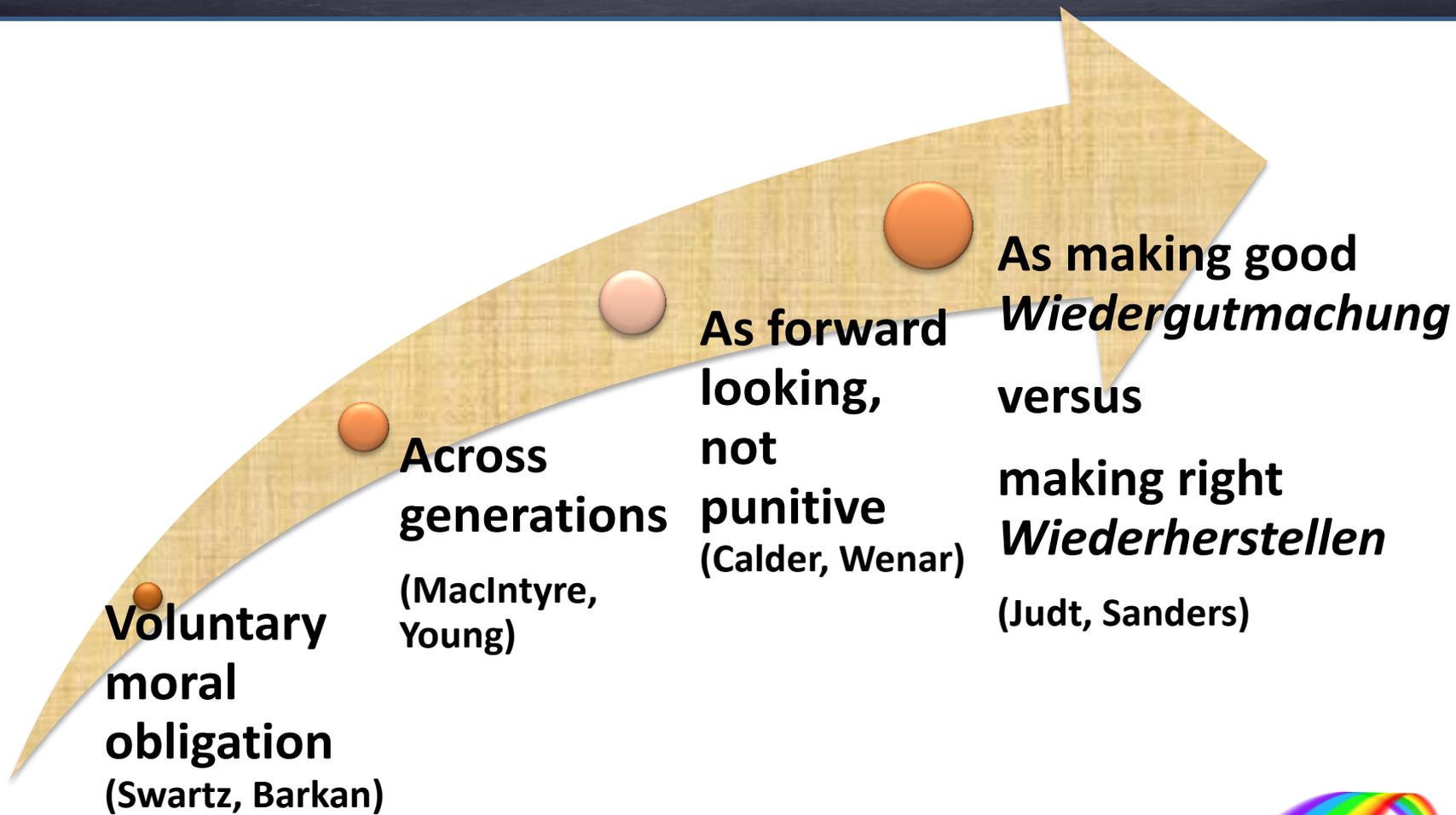
Leo, 46, White man, Non-profit director

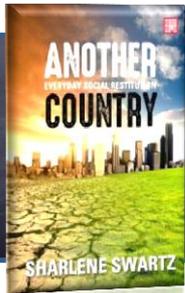
Legal and historical restitution





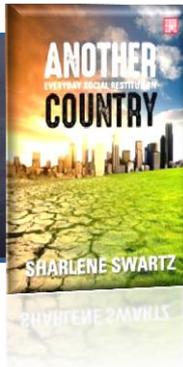
Everyday SOCIAL restitution





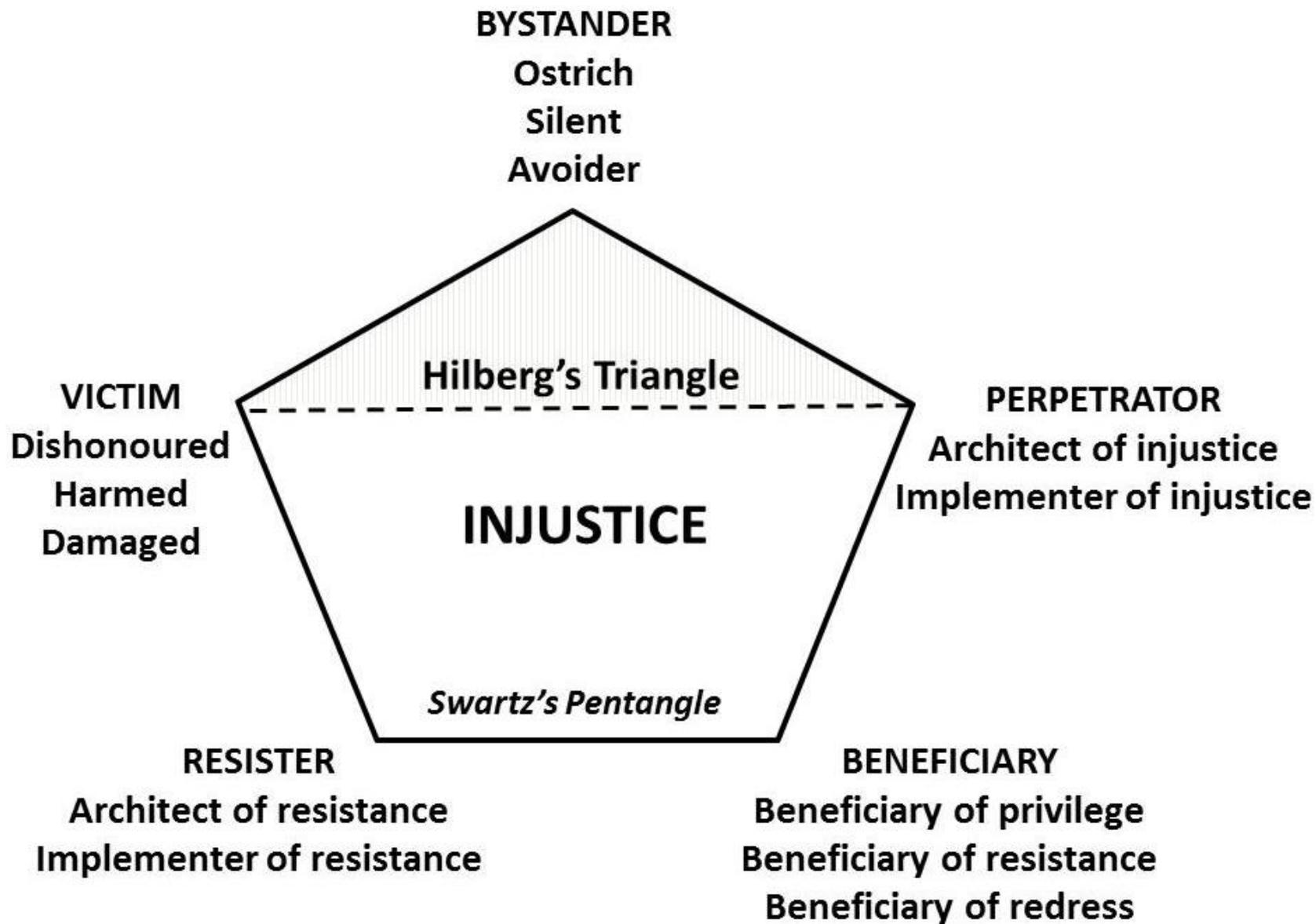
Social restitution definition

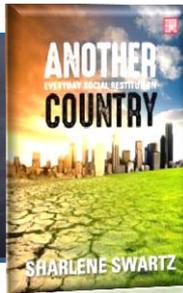
Social restitution are **voluntary acts and attitudes** towards **making good** what our past history of injustice has damaged. It is **forward-looking restitution**, for individuals and communities to pursue as a **moral responsibility** rather than as a legal liability. It invites all parties to **acknowledge the past**, and to **work together** to repair it through **symbolic and material** actions. The motive is our **shared humanity**, and the goal is a **restored personhood** of all involved.



Joining the conversation

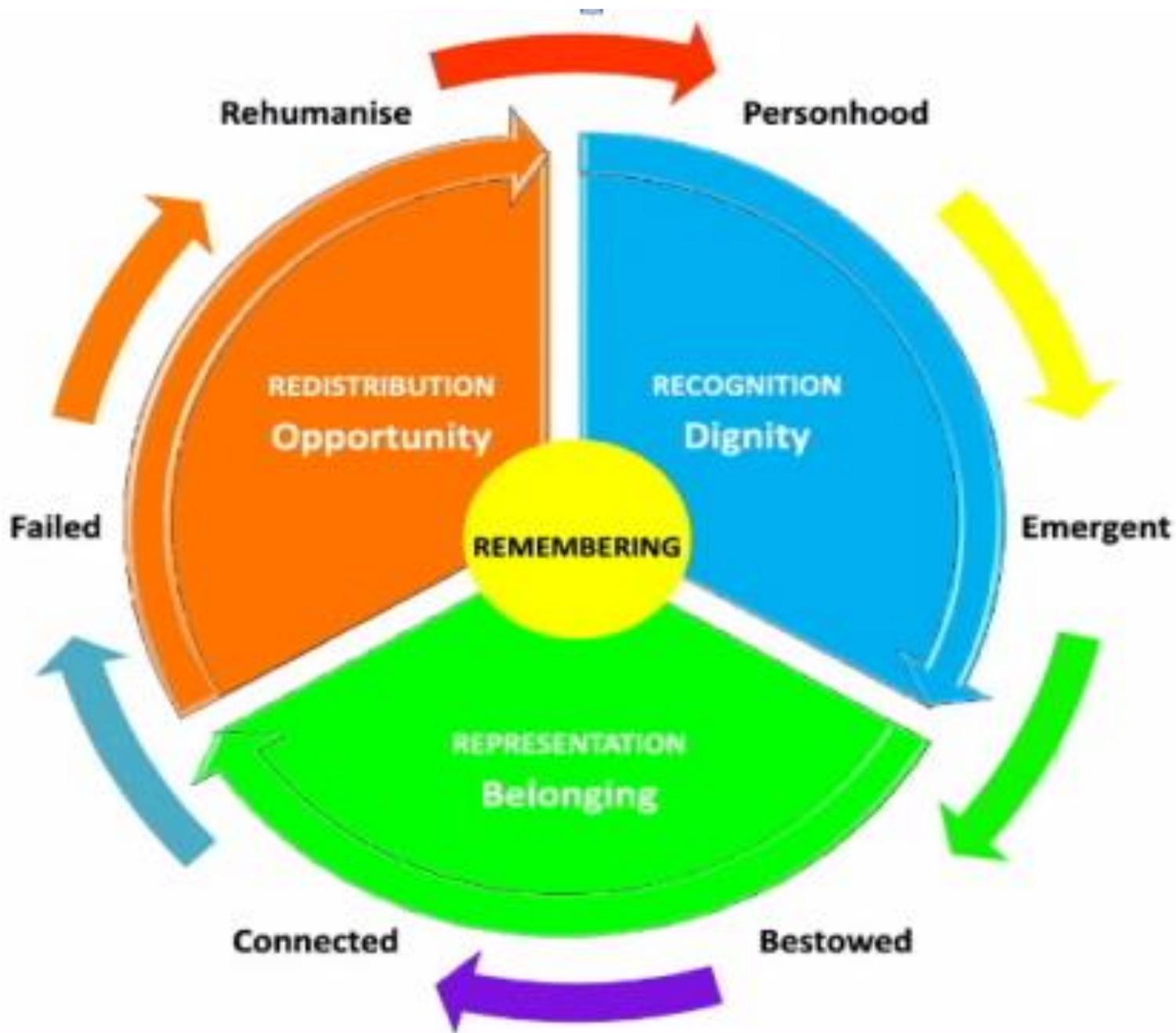
PLAY EXPLAINER VIDEO





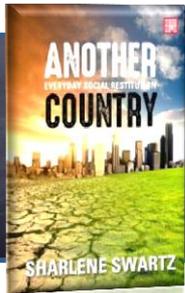
Personhood

1. Recognition, symbolic violence, critical consciousness (Fraser, Biko, Bourdieu, Freire)
2. Redistribution and opportunity (Fanon, Fraser, Bourdieu)
3. Belonging, representation, rehumanising (Gyeke, Nyamnjoh and Smith, Fraser)
4. McIntosh, Essed, Hilberg – actors, privilege, inaction



“IF IT MEANS THIS PERPETRATOR, THIS MAN WHO HAS KILLED CHRISTOPHER PIET, IF IT MEANS HE BECOMES HUMAN AGAIN ... SO THAT I, SO THAT ALL OF US, GET OUR HUMANITY BACK ... THEN I AGREE, THEN I SUPPORT IT ALL... WE DO NOT WANT TO RETURN THE EVIL THAT PERPETRATORS COMMITTED ... WE WANT TO DEMONSTRATE HUMANENESS TOWARDS THEM, SO THAT THEY IN TURN MAY RESTORE THEIR OWN HUMANITY... WHAT I WOULD ASK IS FOR SOMETHING - A MEMORY THAT WILL BE HELD FOR THEM, EVEN IF IT'S JUST A CRÈCHE OR A ... SCHOOL THAT COULD BE NAMED AFTER - AFTER OUR CHILDREN”

Nomvuyo Cynthia Ngewu, 25-year-old son shot by security police



Ideas for social restitution

1. Acting alongside government and other institutions

- ❑ Infrastructure and services
- ❑ Education
- ❑ Land and wealth redistribution
- ❑ Employment

2. Opportunities for groups and individual initiatives

- ❑ Common purpose
- ❑ Engage in dialogue
- ❑ Uplift communities
- ❑ Dissolve social boundaries
- ❑ Use faith spaces better
- ❑ Mentoring

Ideas for social restitution

ALONGSIDE GOVERNMENT

1. A TAX/SUPERTAX - BUCKET TOILETS/FREE EDUCATION
2. PAYING FOR SUBURBAN UPKEEP & CROSS-SUBSIDING TOWNSHIPS
3. A SALARY-INCREASE MORATORIUM FOR HIGH EARNERS
4. ...

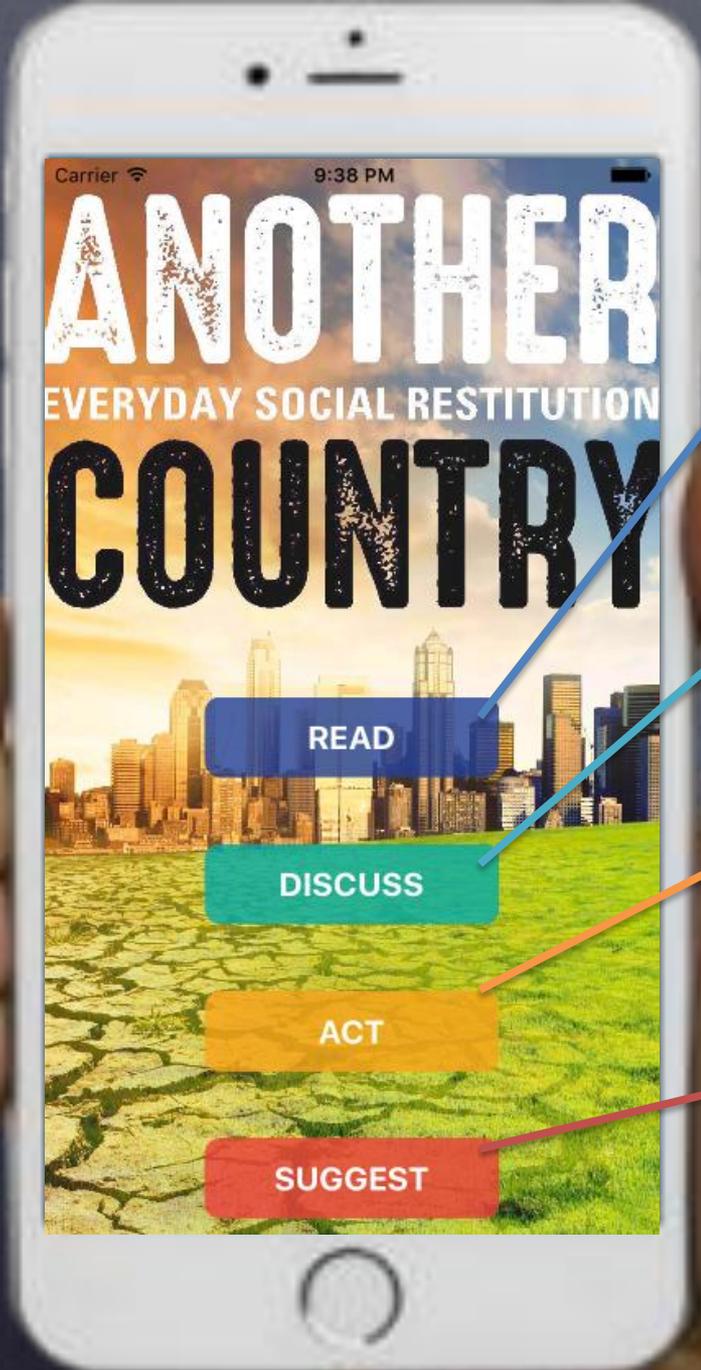
CIVIL-SOCIETY INITIATIVES

1. CHALLENGE 'WHINGERS'
2. LEARN LANGUAGE
3. DIALOGUES ABOUT PRIVILEGE
4. CHILDREN'S STORIES
5. MENTOR YOUTH AND PROFESSIONALS
6. SHARE INHERITANCES
7. ...

10-10-10 Restitution Dialogues

1. 10 people, 10 weeks, 10 conversations
2. Vision of SA
3. Past in present
4. Meaning of restitution
5. Charity & restitution
6. Locating everyone
7. Ideas to restore our humanity
8. Plans for implementing
9. Attitudes and obstacles
10. Ongoing project





READ About the book and author of *Another Country*, what people are saying about the book, restitution, and the dialogues

DISCUSS Questions to guide dialogues, with space to comment on the process

ACT Ideas for restitution scaled by time, money, effort needed, and number of people required

SUGGEST Ideas for everyday social restitution; added to scaled ideas under 'act'