

# Locating the self and complicating the victim perpetrator bystander triangle in anti-racist education in South Africa

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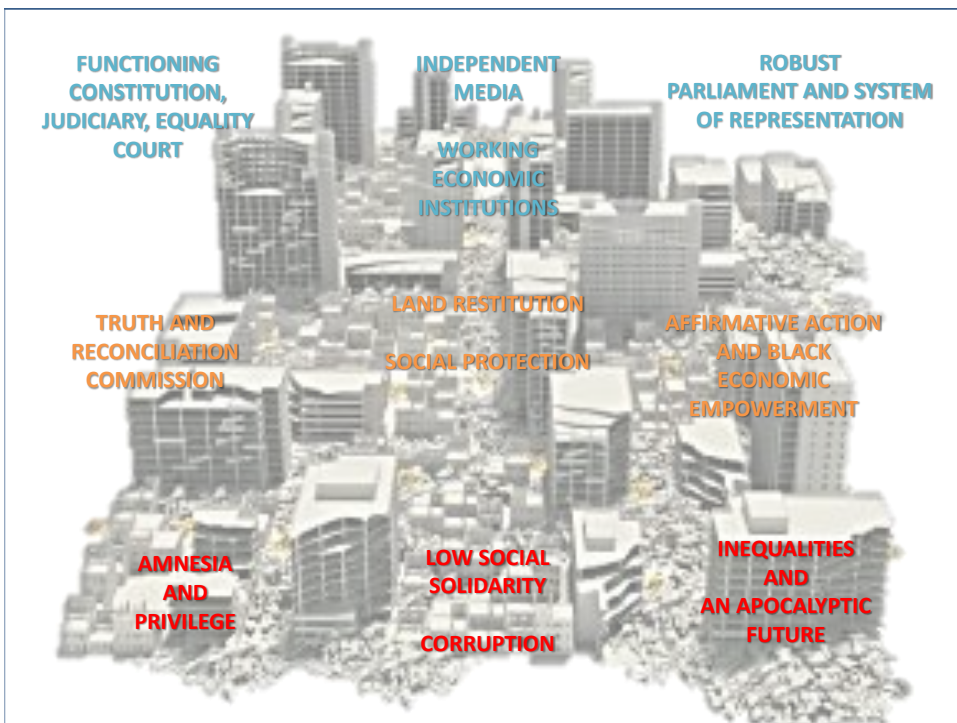
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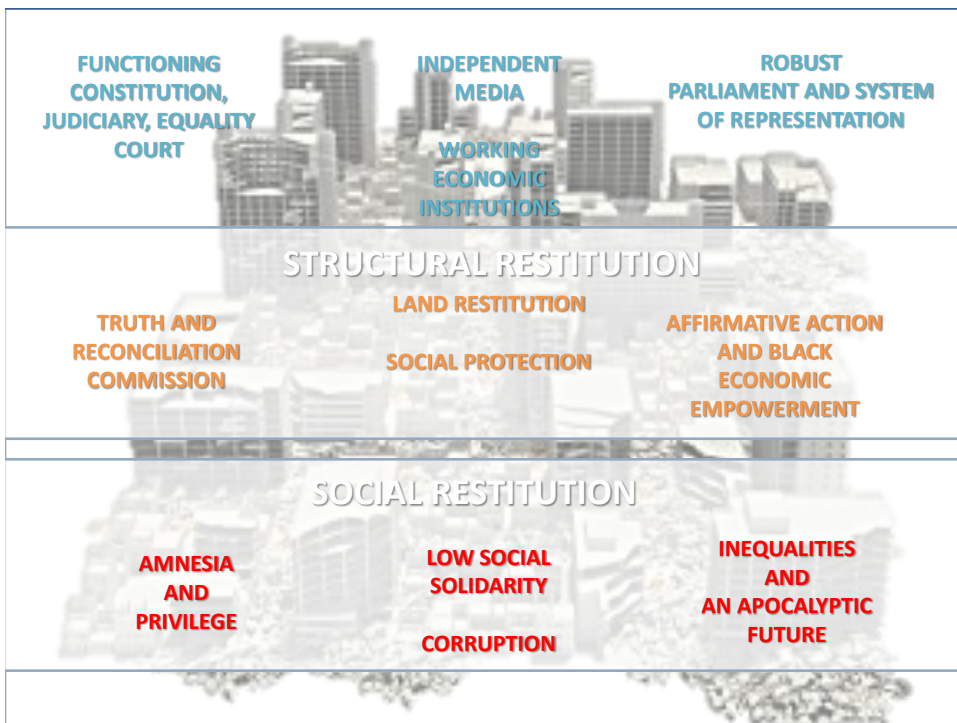
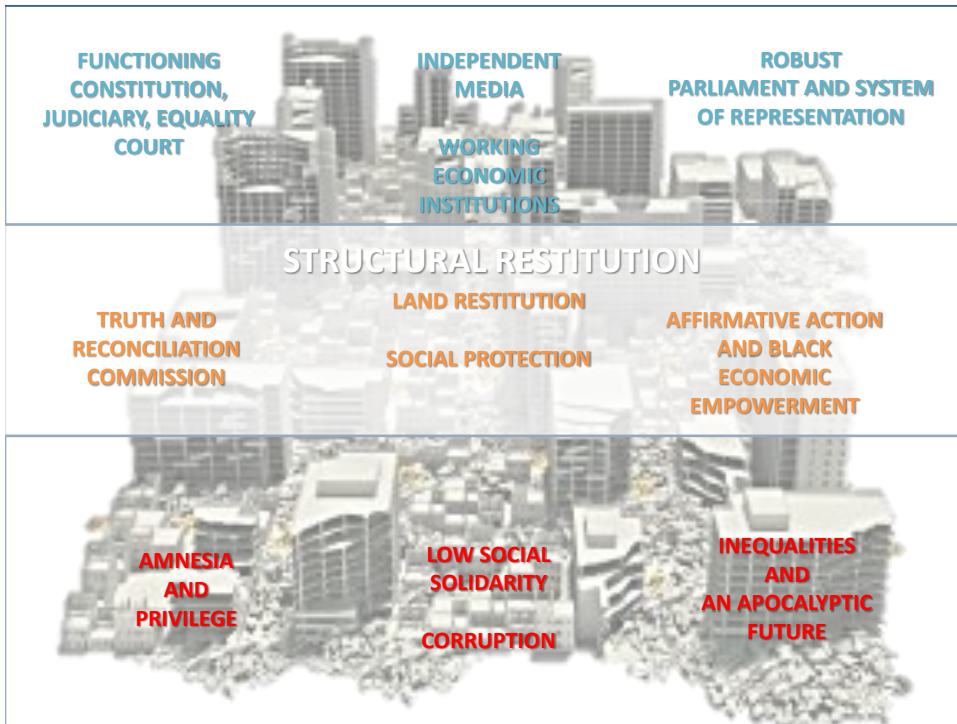


## Outline

1. The South African context and the larger project
2. The study context
3. The conventional victim perpetrator bystander triangle
4. Findings
  - Changing language
  - Enlarging the conversation
5. Conclusions for moral education



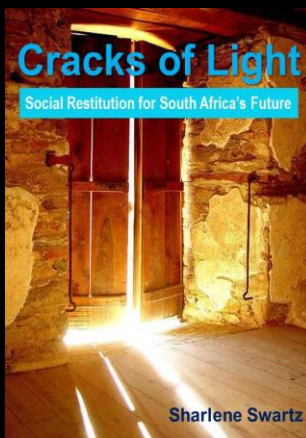




# The conceptual framing



1. "Restitution" as 'making things right' for the past; redress for unjust gain
2. "The restitution of personhood" aimed at 'restoring humanity'; redistributing all forms of capital through collective agency and in dialogue/partnership
3. "Social" restitution: not institutional (legal or government-led); individual and community action with potential systemic outcomes
4. "Critical and active" restitution: forward-looking, restorative rather than punitive; motivated by understanding the 'past in the present'



## 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 how to deal with it

## PART II THE PAST IN THE PRESENT

*Chapter 3* Racism: The unending story of being demeaned and dehumanised

*Chapter 4* Opportunity denied: 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

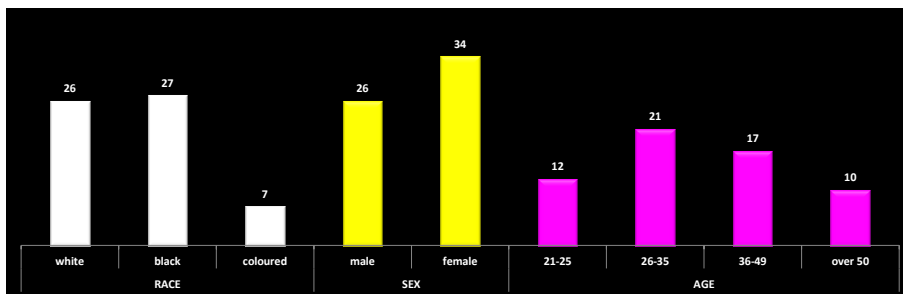
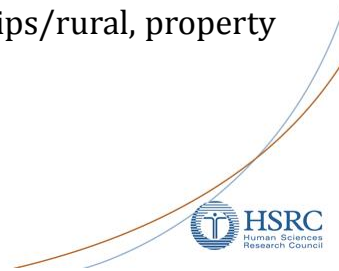
*Chapter 10* A theory of social restitution



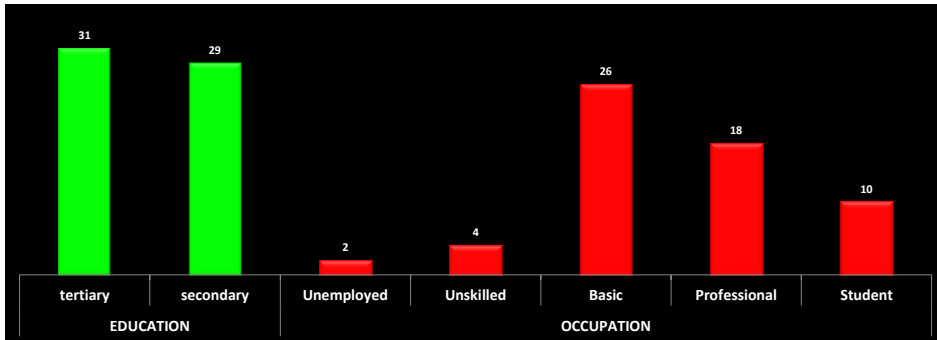
# The study



1. 60 interviews – 60-90 minutes; people well known to researchers
2. Demographically but not statistically representative
3. Across 'races' – 'Black', 'White' and 'Coloured'
4. Generations – 21-25, 26-35, 36-49, and over 50
5. Class – education, suburbs/townships/rural, property ownership



\* South Africa's racial taxonomy



\* Guy Standing's notion of the precariat

## (Some) 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. **How would you label yourself with regards to South Africa's history of past injustice/Apartheid?**
  - a. **How easy or difficult is it for you to choose a label?**
  - b. **Which labels do you like/dislike? Why?**
5. What has been done so far to make things right?
6. What ideas do you have for making things right?



# The research question (for this presentation)



- How do we ensure that more people engage with the task of restitution “making things right for the past”?
- How do we relocate actors for the purposes of antiracist and moral education?



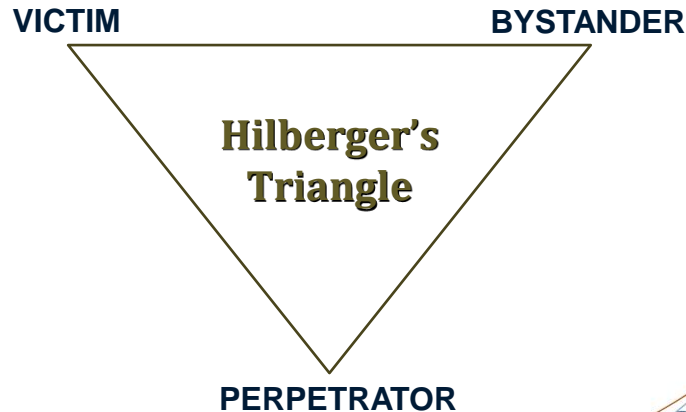
# Labels Activity



- |  |  |
|--|--|
| ■ Architect of injustice                 | ■ Implementer of injustice               |
| ■ Architect of resistance to injustice   | ■ Implementer of resistance to injustice |
| ■ Beneficiary of injustice               | ■ Informer                               |
| ■ Beneficiary of resistance to injustice | ■ Inheritor of benefit                   |
| ■ Collaborator                           | ■ Inheritor of dishonour                 |
| ■ Dishonoured by injustice               | ■ Ostrich                                |
| ■ Dishonoured by resistance to injustice | ■ Bystander                              |
|  | ■ Perpetrator                            |
|  | ■ Rescuer                                |
|  | ■ Victim                                 |



# Hilberger's Triangle



## Adding descriptions and NEW categories ...

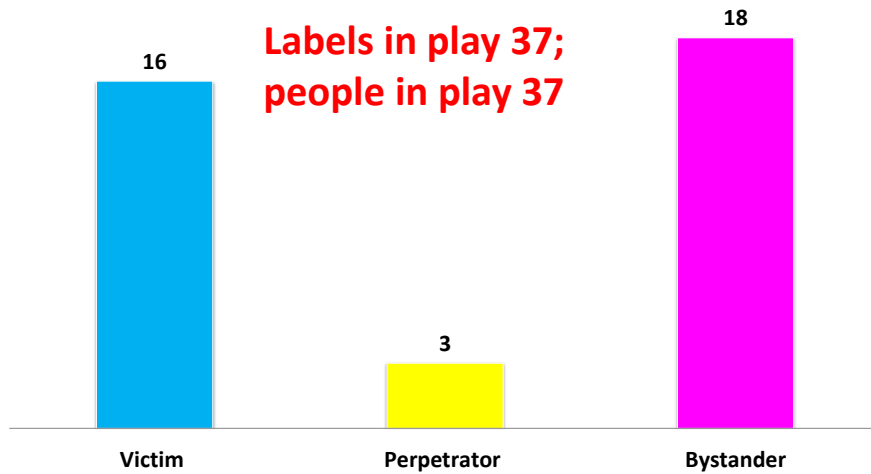


1. Adding 'architects' and 'implementers' to PERPETRATORS
2. Adding 'ostrich', 'silent' and 'avoider' to BYSTANDER
3. Adding 'dishonoured', 'harmed' and 'damaged' to VICTIM
4. NEW: Adding 'RESISTER' ('resistance to injustice' – architect and implementer)
5. NEW: Adding 'beneficiary' ('privilege', 'inheritor'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

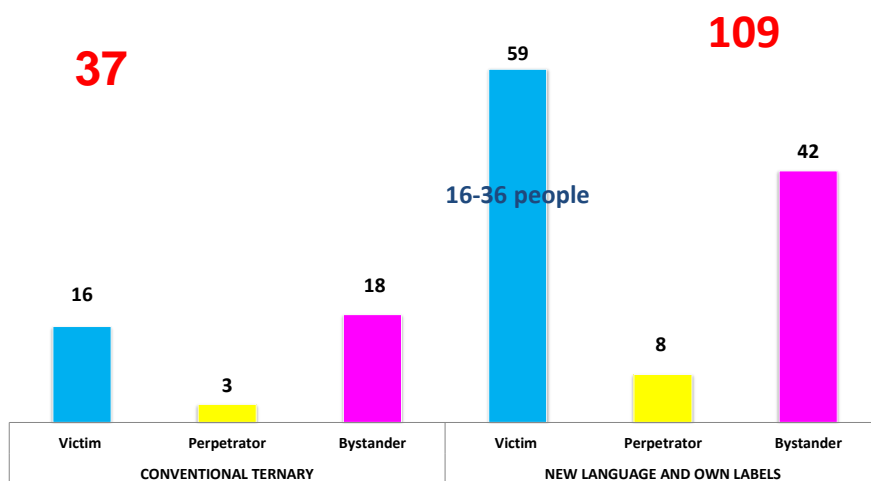




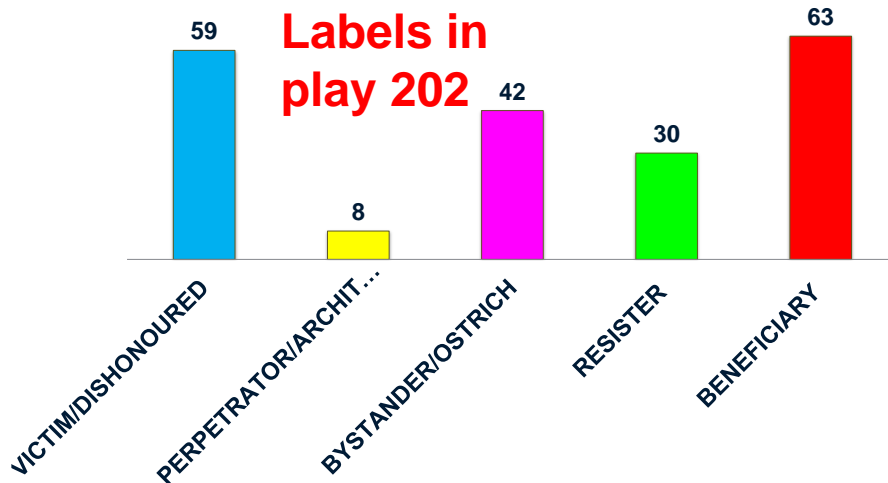
## Conventional 'Victim-Perpetrator-Bystander'



## Changing language and add own labels



## Adding 'Resister' and 'Beneficiary'



## Expanding the 'Victim' category

VICTIM/DISHONOURED	59 Labels/36 People
Victim	16
Dishonoured by acts and structures of injustice	18
Inheritor of the ongoing dishonour (victimhood) of injustice from previous generation(s)	12
Dishonoured by acts of resistance to injustice	2
Recipient (negative beneficiary) of injustice	6
Can't get over it, unsatisfied, survivor of injustice	4
Forgiver of injustice	1

## Expanding 'Perpetrator' and 'Bystander'

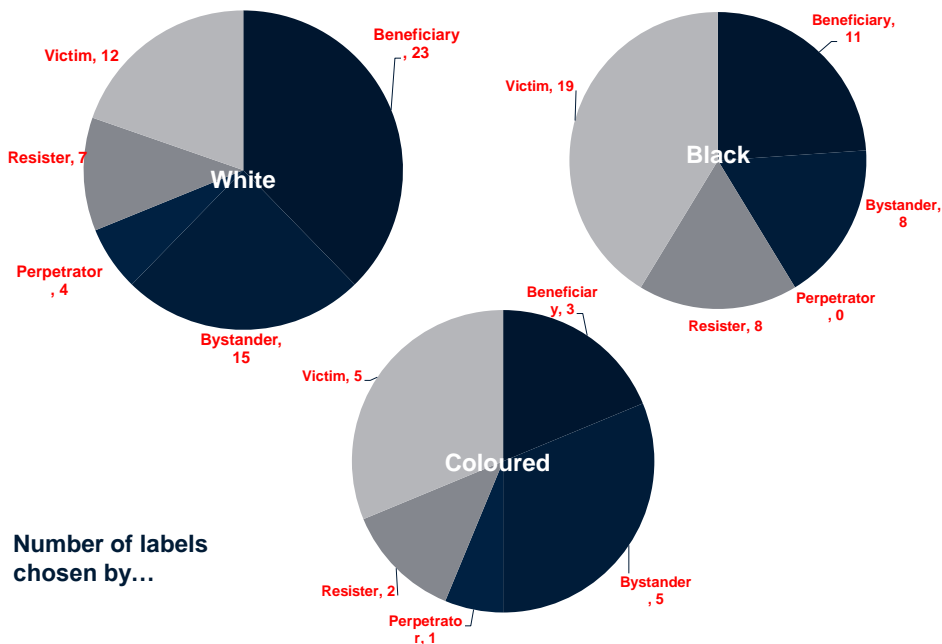
<b>PERPETRATOR/ARCHITECT/IMPLEMENTER</b>	<b>8L/5P</b>
Perpetrator	3
<u>Architect</u> of injustice	1
<u>Implementer</u> of acts of injustice	1
Collaborator with injustice	1
Informer	0
Culpable, recovering racist	2
<b>BYSTANDER/OSTRICH</b>	<b>42L/26P</b>
Bystander	18
Ostrich – someone who put their head in the ground and avoided things	14
Silent, Disengaged, Ignorant, Self-pitying, self-interested, Just a South African	8
Alien - stuck between multiple identities	1
Acknowledger of the past	1

## Adding 'Resister' and 'Beneficiary' categories

<b>RESISTER</b>	<b>30L/16P</b>
Architect of resistance to injustice	4
Implementer of acts of resistance to injustice	15
Rescuer of victims	5
Indirect resistance (Informer of others, Teacher, Peacemaker, Conscientiser about injustices, Didn't vote for Nat. Party, Thorn)	6
<b>BENEFICIARY</b>	<b>63L/36P</b>
Beneficiary of acts and structures of injustice (directly)	19
Inheritor of the benefits of injustice from previous generation(s)	24
Beneficiary of resistance from actions of others	20

# How are actors relocated?

1. Victim 16 people → 36 people
2. Perpetrator 3 → 5
3. Bystander 18 → 26
4. Resister 0 → 16
5. Beneficiary 0 → 36



# 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



# Generational differences



1. **Resister** labels - similar numbers across all ages (15%)
2. **Beneficiary** labels - similar across all generations (30%)
3. **Perpetrator** labels - only over 36
4. **Bystander** labels - twice as many older people than younger people
5. **Victim** labels - twice as many under 50 as older



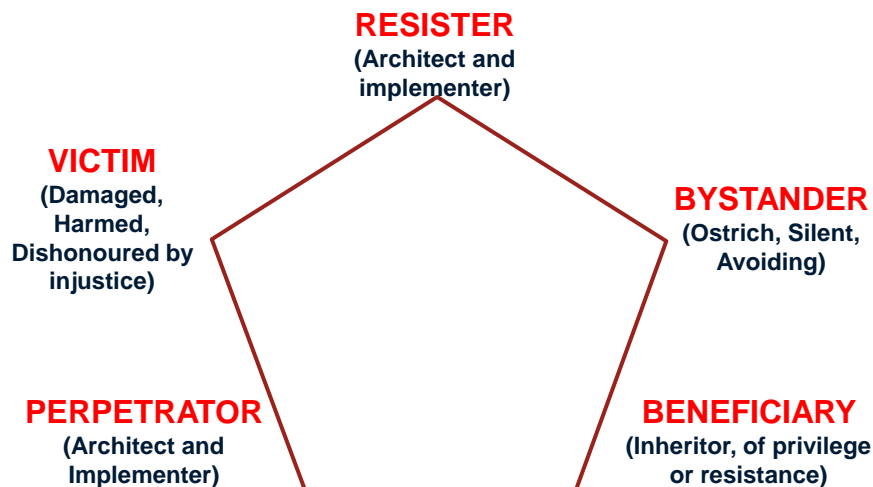
# Class differences



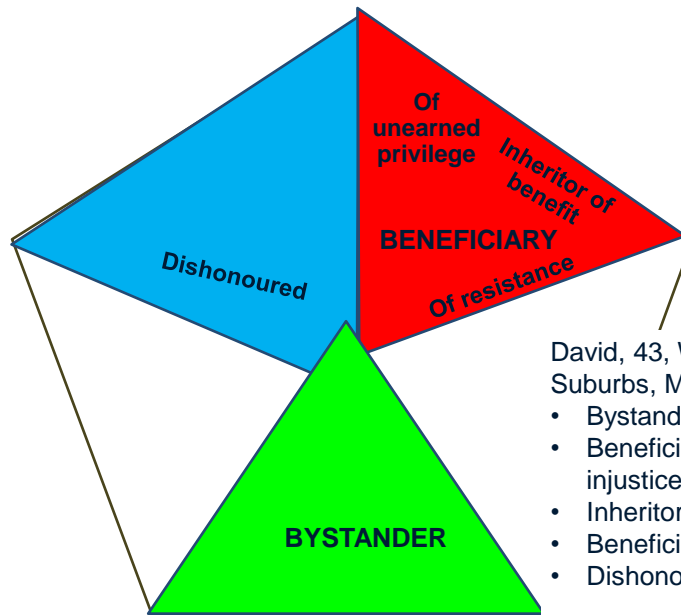
1. **White working class** twice as likely to label themselves **bystanders** than *white middle class* participants (**resisters**)
2. **Coloured middle class** coloured twice as likely to label themselves **victims** as *Coloured working class* participants
3. **Black middle class** much **less** likely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



## Restitution Pentagon

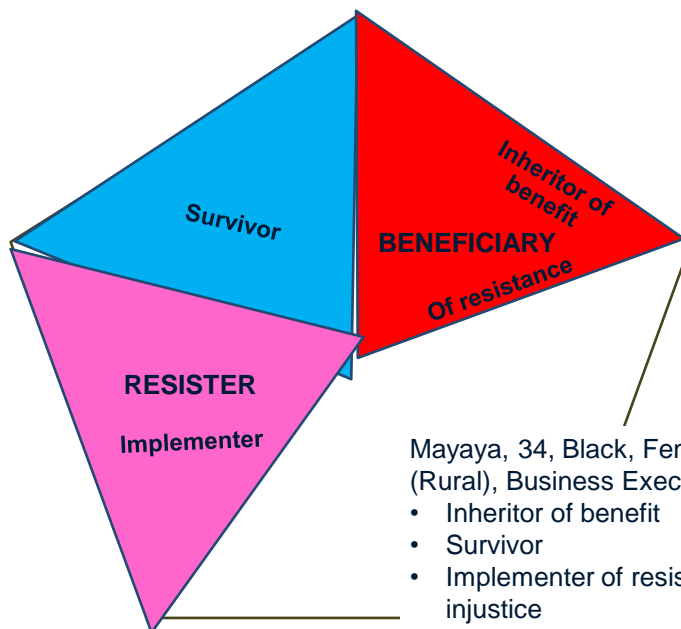






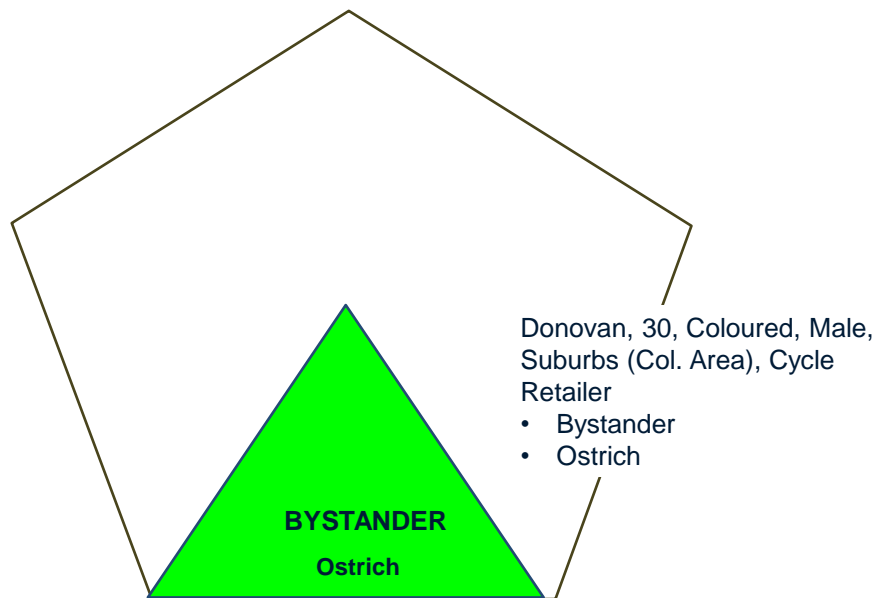
David, 43, White, Male,  
Suburbs, Medical Specialist

- Bystander
- Beneficiary of resistance to injustice
- Inheritor of benefit
- Beneficiary of injustice
- Dishonoured by injustice



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

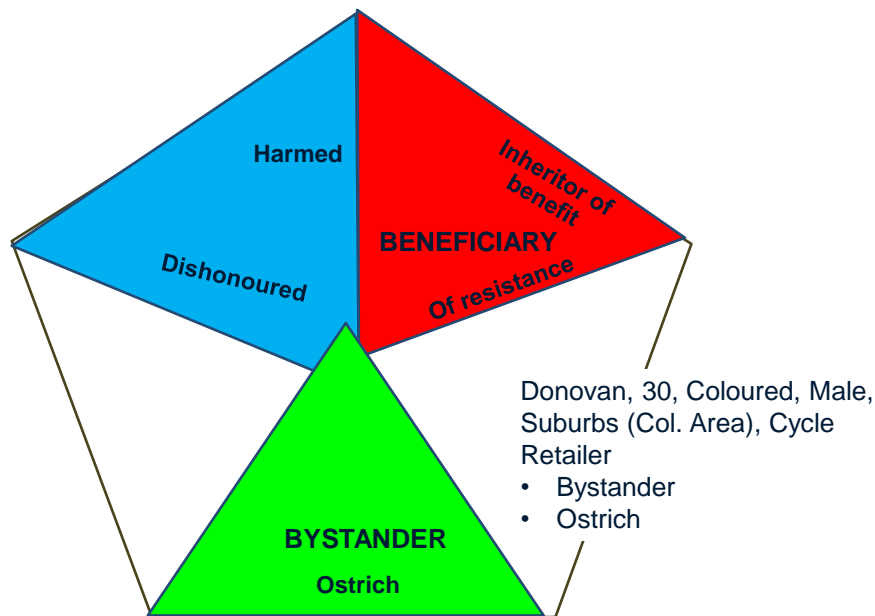
- Inheritor of benefit
- Survivor
- Implementer of resistance to injustice
- Beneficiary of resistance to injustice



## Donovan, 30, Coloured male, bicycle technician



[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.



## Who are victims?



C41T Olivia: My father was dishonoured and as a result I inherited or have lived under that dishonour. And the ripple effect of that into our family, which continues now... my siblings and I are still having to carry him financially. ....I've moved out of Retreat into Rondebosch and have friends now in Mickelfield, but they go to their inherited family homes in Plett. Ya, we don't go there cos we don't have an inheritance. In that regard I feel like a victim ...and you're just reminded that actually your parents didn't have the opportunities that others have had. ... Ya, so "Inheritor of dishonour" and then also "Victim", but an "Inheritor of victimhood", cos I never felt victimised as a kid. And that's probably how most young people grow up. They don't know that they're victimised. They just think that this is what life is, and it's only when you leave and you see how the other folk live that you start going: "Wait a minute, that wasn't right. I was supposed to be given more opportunity than that."

## Who are victims?



B26SFundiswa: I will choose *Inheritor of Dishonour* because I was affected because of my parents. They cannot afford to give me proper things like education. We're not living in proper houses because of that apartheid. And then I can say we have freedom but that doesn't change anything. I'm having a chance to go back to school, but my parents will never go back. ... I can call myself a Victim because I know I wasn't there but still it affects me.

W34SChris: I think *Victim* and unfortunately I say in part because it's more like a sort of reverse racism...I have become a victim of current day circumstances of people of colour being favoured in certain posts.

## What's wrong with 'victim'?



Sharlene: Why were you so uncomfortable circling that one called victim?

B29SLuxolo: It's the word. It's kind of, I don't know. It puts me down so I hate that feeling. I don't like to feel like a victim.

Sharlene: So if we took that word off the page and maybe used some of the other words - the

Luxolo: *Dishonoured by injustice* - It's better.

Sharlene: Why?

Luxolo: It's better than victim. I don't know, I have a problem with the word. It [dishonoured by injustice] is the truth whereas victim puts you down.

## Why are perpetrators so hard to find?



C41TOlivia: The word *Perpetrator*... it's a 'blood on your hands' kind of word... But it is what it is. So you can't really use a different word.

W34TDylan: I think that I am probably a perpetrator of injustice, but unintentionally. ...the term *Perpetrator* has some intentional element to it so I wouldn't include myself in that.... A term like Perpetrator does raise kind of emotional red flags to me that some people might read that and become very defensive.

W78TMichael: Perpetrator of what? Atrocities? Certainly I can say no, then. ...[but I circled] collaborator. I did live according to a whole lot of apartheid laws because it was the line of least resistance. It was also a reality of life. And that's not an excuse, you know.

## Two kinds of beneficiaries



W29TGraham: *Inheritor of benefit*. To inherit something means you are given something from which you generally had no control or input. So to put into context, I had no involvement or input or control over apartheid. The repercussions of Apartheid was that my parents and grandparents had greater opportunities to education and jobs which allowed me to stay in a good suburb, go to school, have medical aid and come out as an educated individual with now greater opportunities to live well in South Africa.

B34TMayaya: I chose *Inheritor of Benefit* because I do believe that I've had the benefit of access to positions that I know my father would never have had access to. So I've inherited what they fought for without really being involved because I was never there, I was a child.

## Current resisters

### *Implementer of Resistance to Injustice*



B24SSiziwe: I am a victim, but I'm a victim who fights back... telling those people. .... [I am a ]Conscientiser About Injustices.

B34TMayaya: In my small way, I think sometimes by speaking up at work... huge disparity between the pays ...You could see that it was along racial lines.

W39TPeter: I think in terms of the way that I go about my business. I run it really well. I don't do anything that's corrupt or unjust. I pay my taxes. I feel like I'm setting a good example ... showing that I'm resisting some of the current injustices.

## Insights and dislikes



W29TGraham: I dislike the labels which accuse me of creating the injustice and unfairly benefiting from the situation as the prior history of the country was out of my control.

B25TSindiswa: I would say I liked the '*Beneficiary of injustice*' and the '*Dishonoured by injustice*' labels and that's because those two labels communicate that you don't have to have been living in that particular time to suffer the consequences of what was going on so those ones I think, would be the ones I like.



# What changing/adding language achieves

1. More recognition (37 Hilberger  $\triangle$ ; 202 in Swartz  $\square$ )
2. Discussion becomes nuanced
3. Debate, reflection and (possibility of) movement ensues
4. Categories no longer racialised
5. **VICTIM** category is destigmatised
6. A new discussion about **BENEFIT** begins – as *beneficiary* of injustice and *beneficiary* of 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



# Implications for moral education



1. Pedagogy of discomfort
2. The labels themselves are less important than the process of choosing and discussing
3. If people don't understand the language they will create their own
4. A process of 'coming to see'
5. The past in the present – current resisters, two kinds of beneficiaries...
6. Almost no-one will check out!