

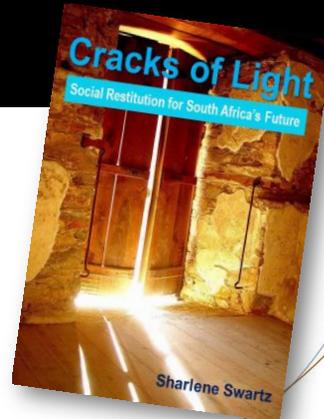
“COMING TO SEE”: Strategies for social restitution education in universities and communities

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20 October 2014

Harvard Graduate School of Education



A South African case study



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



Research/Educational Activities



1. Undergraduate class on Race class and Gender
 - a) Black consciousness
 - b) Examining Privilege

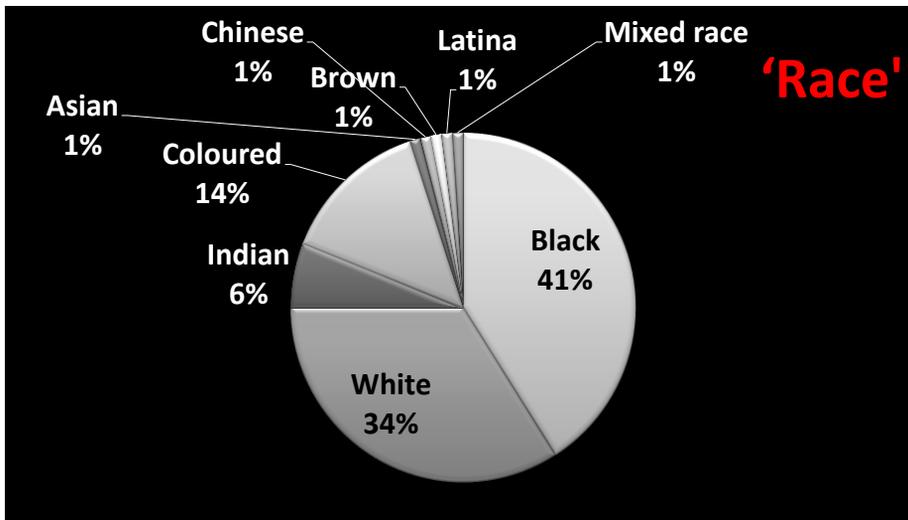
2. Cracks of Light
 - a) Restitution interview
 - b) The Past in the Present
 - c) Labelling



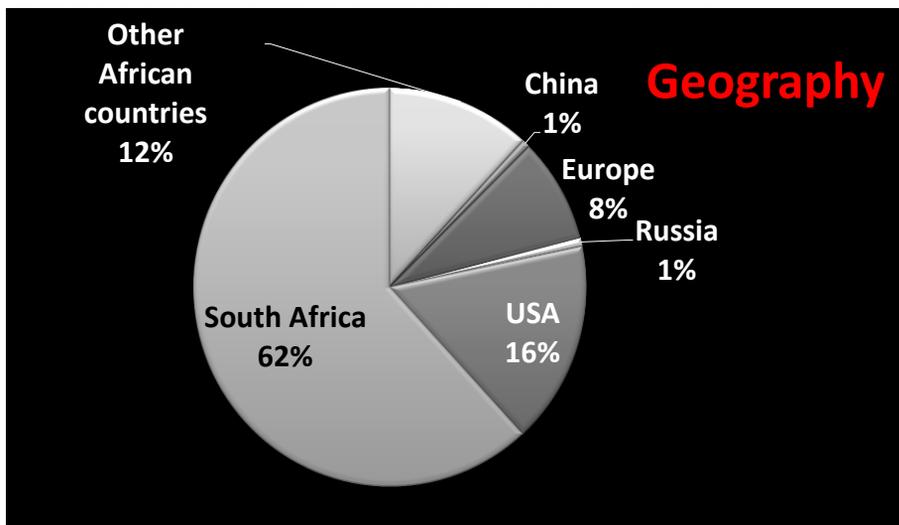
The Class

1. Sociology class on 'Race, Class and Gender'
2. University of Cape Town
3. 2nd and 3rd year undergraduate level
4. 2/3 South African students (equal nos. of black, coloured and white)
5. 1/6 'semester abroad' students from Global North
6. 1/6 other African students students
7. Assignment as a course requirement
8. Ethics – opt out clause; confidentiality

Demographics of class (n=152)



Demographics of class (n=152)



The Black Consciousness Activity

Please divide yourself into two groups: 'Black' and 'not Black'.
Appoint a scribe, and discuss the following two questions:

1. What are the effects of racism?
2. What should be done about it?



Black Consciousness



**Stephen Bantu
Biko
(1946-1977)**

1. Grass roots anti-Apartheid movement
2. ≡ Liberation Theology and Black Theology - Camara, Freire, Cone
3. ≡ Civil rights - King and Malcolm X
4. ≡ Black nationalism in US - Delany, Garvey, Harlem Renaissance, Black Panthers (Black Power)
5. Inspired by WEB Du Bois's 'double consciousness'
6. Post colonialist writers - Fanon, Senghor, Césaire



Biko Quotes “I write what I like” (1)

“The thesis is ... a strong white racism and therefore, the antithesis to this must... be **a strong solidarity amongst the blacks** on whom this white racism seeks to prey. ...[Then] we can therefore hope to reach **some kind of balance - a true humanity where power politics will have no place**” (p. 90)

“Black Consciousness **is an attitude of mind and a way of life...** the realisation by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression - the blackness of their skin - and to operate as a group to **rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude**. It is based on a **self-examination**” (p. 91-2)



Biko Quotes 2

“Though whites are our problem, it is still other **whites who want to tell us how to deal with that problem**” (p. 89)

“Black Consciousness makes the black man see himself as a being **complete in himself**” (p. 92)

“We must learn to accept that no group, however benevolent, can ever hand power to the vanquished on a plate. ... As long as we go to Whitey begging cap in hand for our own emancipation, we are giving him further sanction **to continue with his racist and oppressive system**” (p. 90-1)



Black Consciousness



**Stephen Bantu
Biko
(1946-1977)**

1. Who is black?
2. Effects on racism on blacks not on whites
3. Distorted seeing



Privilege The Assignment

1. Biographical paragraph – ‘how society identifies you’
2. List five privileges of race, class, gender or sexuality you have in relation to another group
3. Reflections on exercise – ‘how did it feel listing your privileges?’



Encountering Peggy



- 1989 article traces her own coming to realize her unexamined, unearned, invisible knapsack of privilege conferred on her by her (white) race in relation to her African American colleagues in a women's study department at a US college
- She writes how privilege is denied, protected and unexamined. She lists 42 instances she discovered in her own life



1. I can go shopping alone most of the time pretty well assured that I will not be followed or harassed
2. When I am told about our national heritage or 'civilisation' I am shown that people of my color made it what it is"
3. Whether I use checks, credit cards or cash, I can count on my skin color not to work against the appearance of financial reliability
4. Never called 'a credit' to my 'race'
5. Never speak for all my 'race'
6. "Person in charge" is of my 'race'
7. Cards, toys, plasters, educational materials and publications - in my skin colour
8. Never accused of having a 'soft job'
9. Bad day never race-related
10. Ensured civility of neighbours
11. Music, food and haircuts
12. Swear or dress scruffily never disparaged for my 'race'



Feeling discomfort

“Writing this paper has been quite difficult as **I did not realise how much unearned privilege I have acquired, even though it seems that I use them to my advantage on a daily basis.** Lately, I have felt like **South Africa has entered a period of reverse racism** due to the fact that black people receive preferential treatment through Affirmative Action and BEE. **However**, looking at my life critically, it seems that **I have so many unearned privileges that I was not fully aware of.** I took for granted that I have received an **internationally recognized high school education, that I live in a safe suburban area and that I have grown up with economic stability** with my parents. It seems like reading an article and really applying it to your own life seems essential in really understanding how unearned privilege has really not been beneficial for human development”
(White female student, South Africa)



Cracks of Light: Theoretical foundations



1. Eleazar **Barkan** – The Guilt of Nations
2. Steve **Biko** – Black consciousness, self authorship 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** – Redistrib. capitals, symbolic violence
7. **Troyna and Soudien** - Antiracist, human rights education
8. **Social restitution** - Swartz (2012, 2015)



Social restitution



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

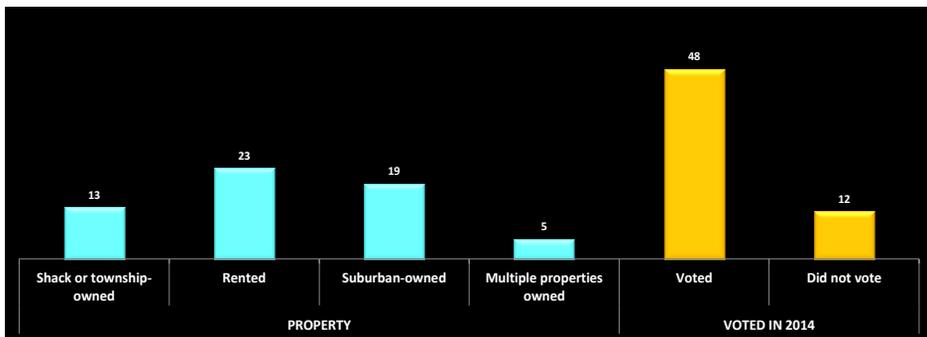
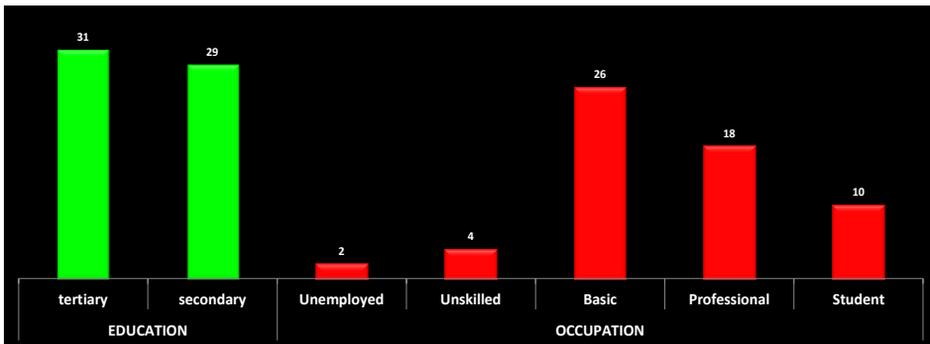
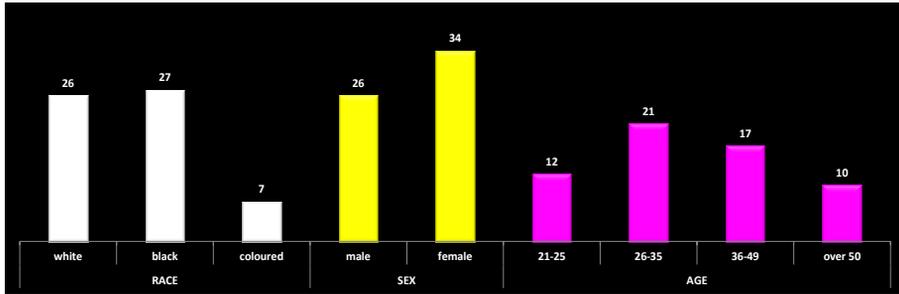


The study



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





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



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?



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



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

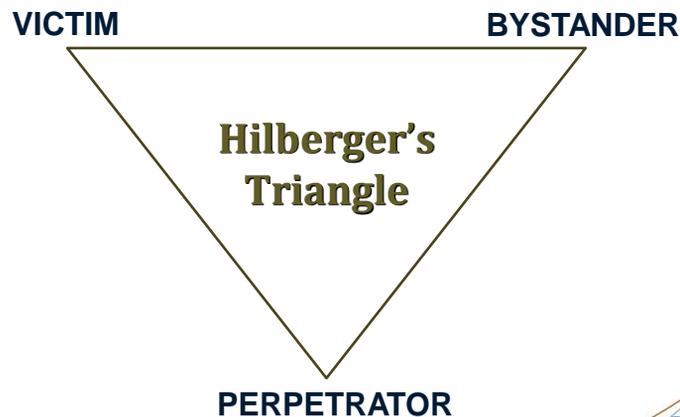


I went to [township schools] ... then after CPUT. It's not the best education. **You start to see that when you get to varsity - that the education that you had is not the same education that other people had.** When I got to varsity **I had to work twice as hard** as another person that went to a suburban 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.



[Re]locating actors

3



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?



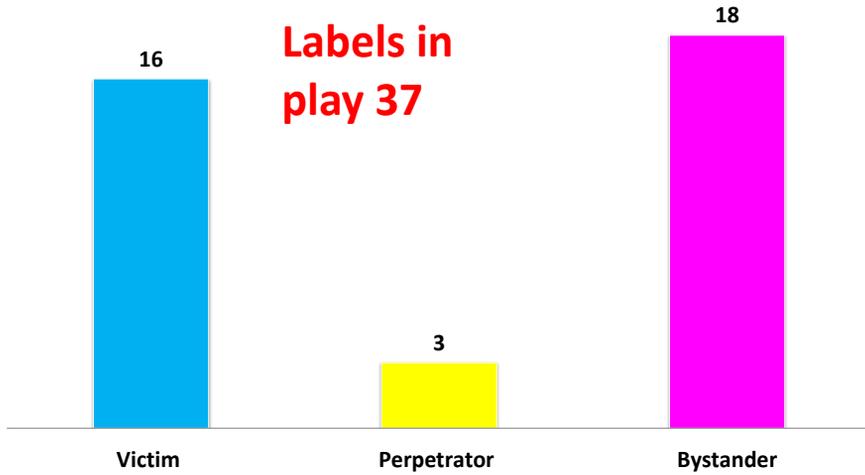
Adding descriptions and NEW categories ...



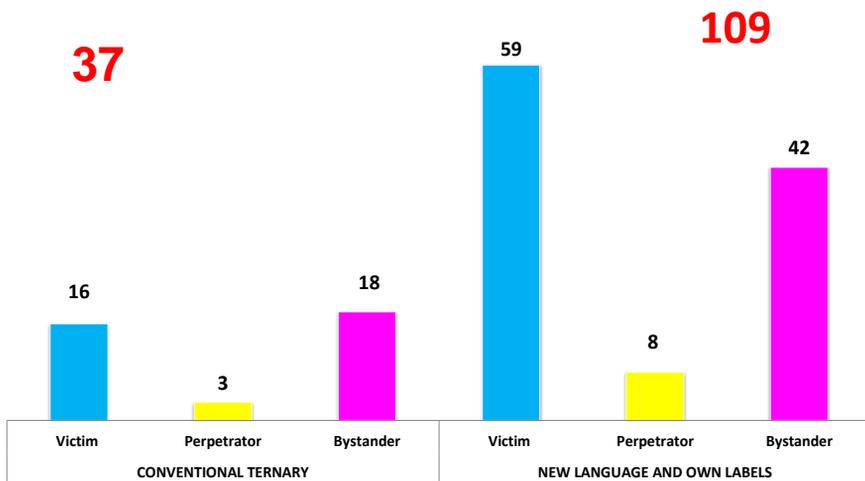
1. Adding 'architects' and 'implementers' to PERPETRATORS
2. Adding 'ostrich', 'silent' and 'avoider' to BYSTANDER
3. Adding 'dishonoured', 'harmed' and 'damaged' to VICTIM
4. NEW: Adding 'RESISTER' ('resistance to injustice' – architect and implementer)
5. NEW: Adding 'beneficiary' ('privilege', 'inheritor'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



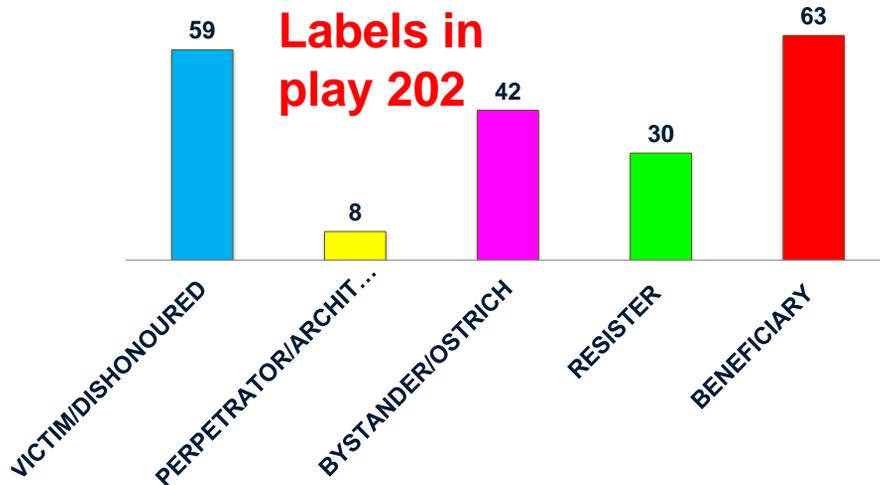
Conventional 'Victim-Perpetrator-Bystander



Changing language and add own labels



Adding 'Resister' and 'Beneficiary'



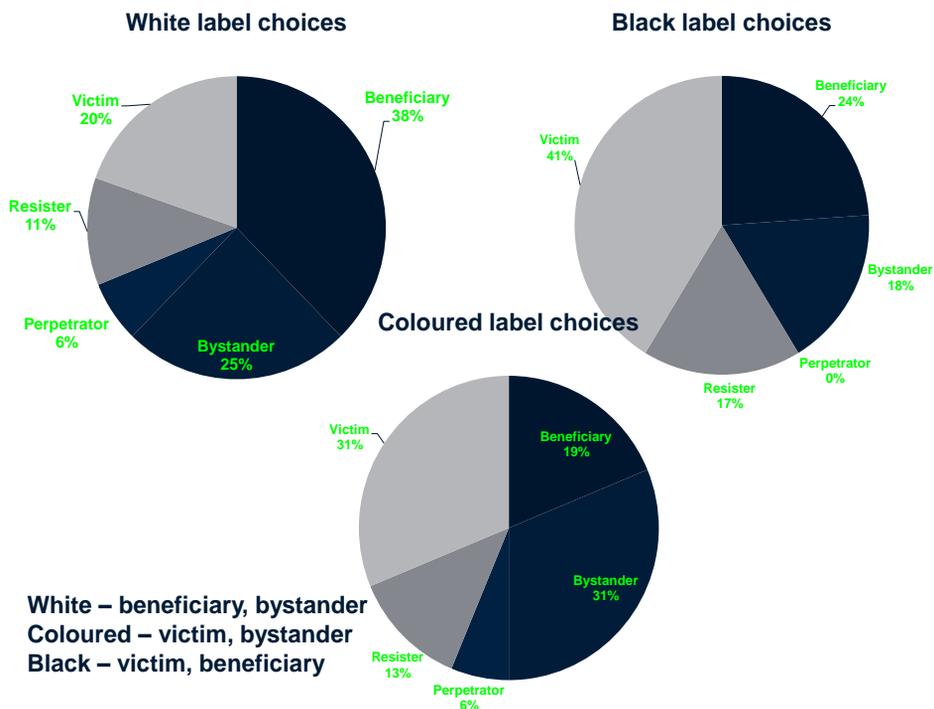
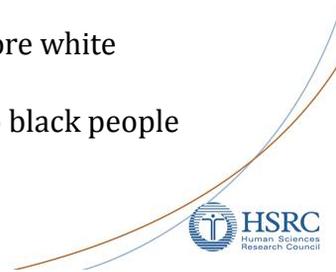
What changing language achieved

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



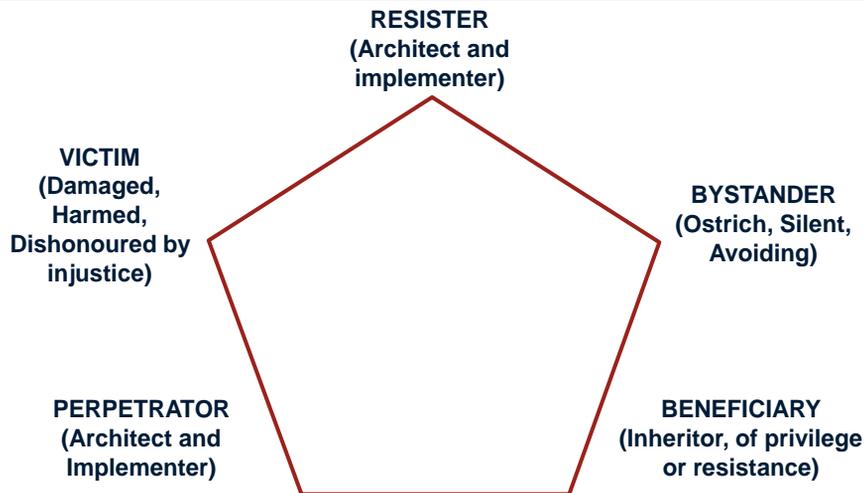
Class differences

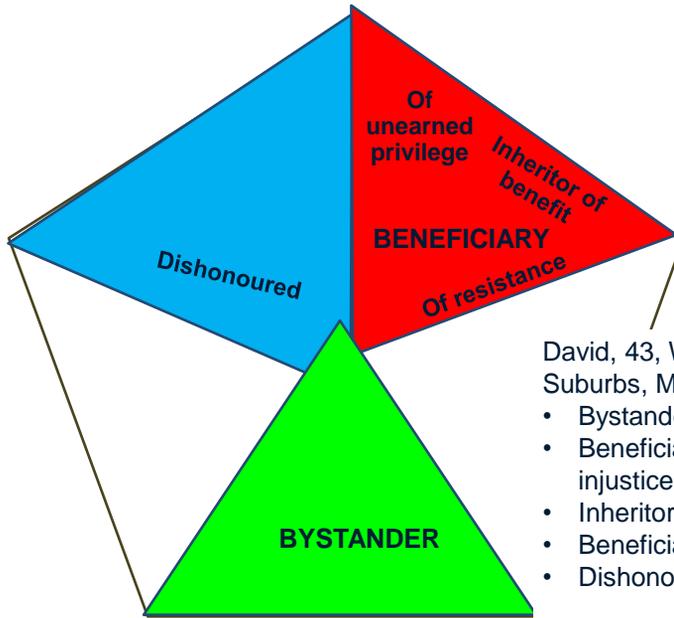


1. **White working class** twice as likely to label themselves **bystanders** than white middle class participants
2. **White middle class** twice as likely to label themselves **resisters** than white working class participants
3. **Coloured middle class** coloured twice as likely to label themselves **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



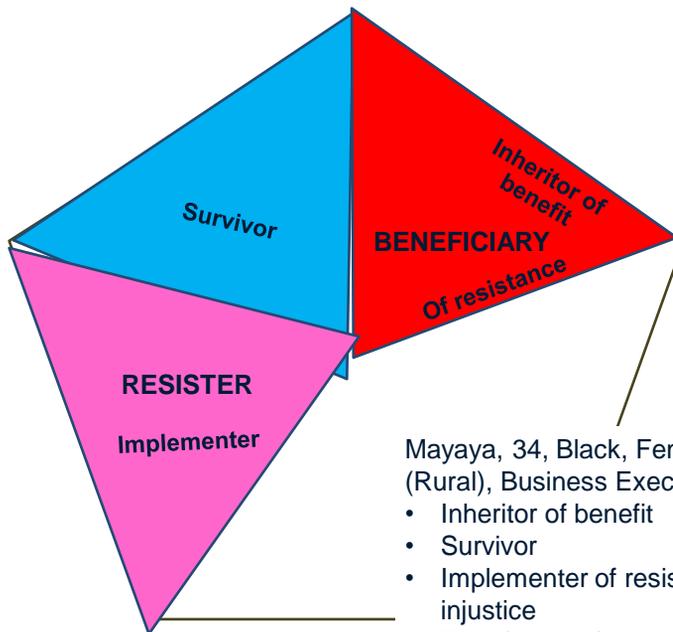
Swartz's Restitution Quintet





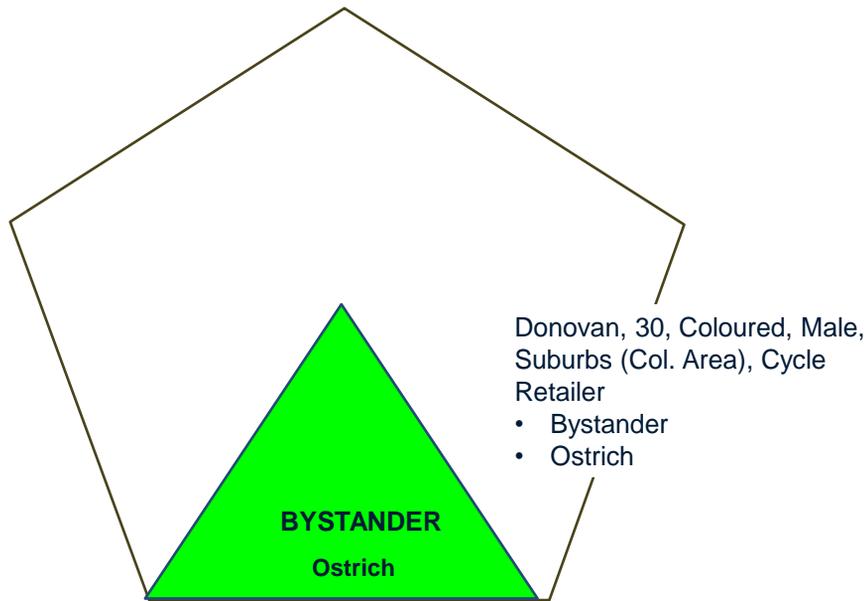
David, 43, White, Male, Suburbs, Medical Specialist

- 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



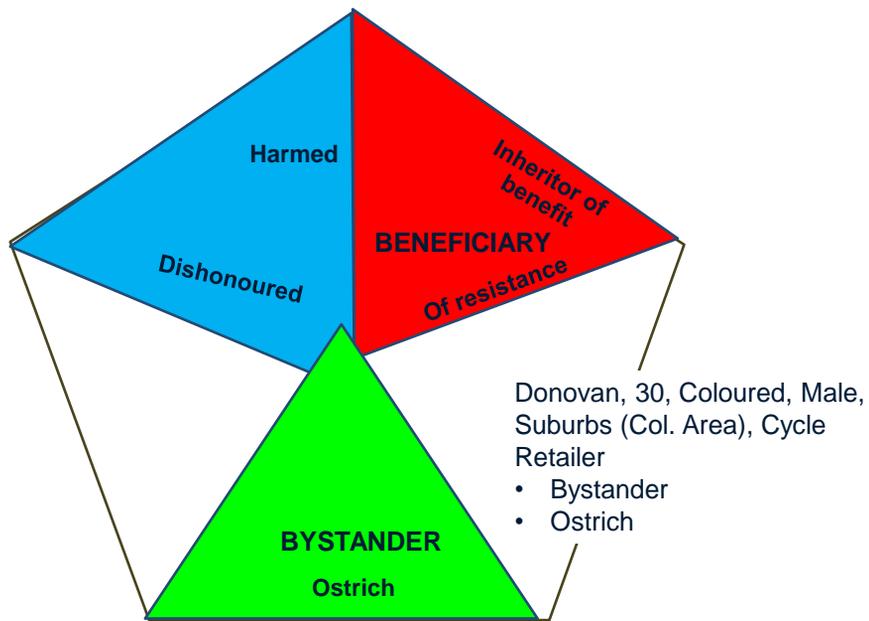
Donovan, 30, CM



[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.



Cracks of Light
Social Restitution for South Africa's Future

Sharlene Swartz

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