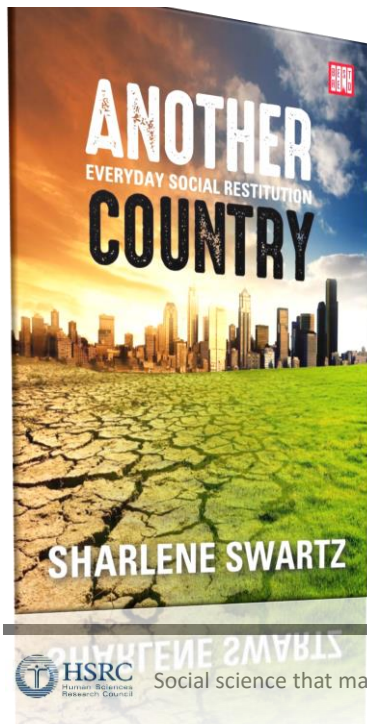




[SOCIAL] RESTITUTION: A renewed conversation

African Studies Department
University of Oxford

24 January 2017



Social science that makes a difference



What is *Another Country* about?

1. **Restitution** addresses our current inequality
2. **Restitution** should become a part of every conversation about injustice
3. **Restitution** addresses the past that remains present
4. **Restitution** helps us achieve the future we want
5. Social **restitution** is a strategic place to begin



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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 researchers
4. "Researching intimates"
5. Ages 21-72, across class
6. Demographically representative



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Two stories – 'The 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, 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'.



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Two stories - 'The Unlevel Soccer Field'

Imagine two teams are playing a soccer match, but the pitch is tilted at a 30-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.



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WAYS OF SEEING

DISTORTED SEEING



SEEING CLEARLY



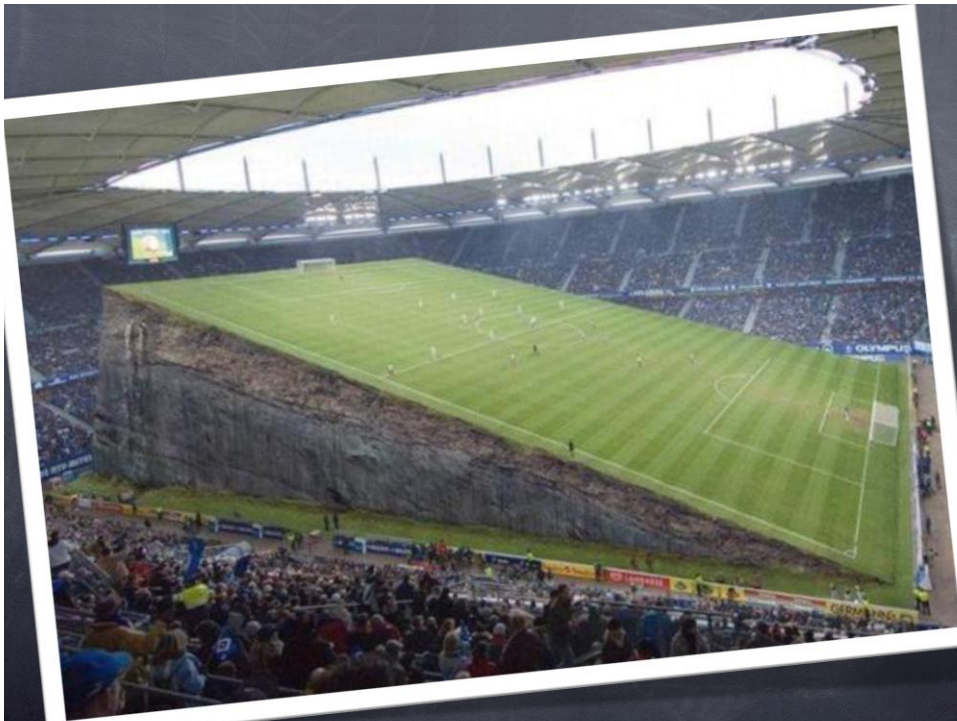
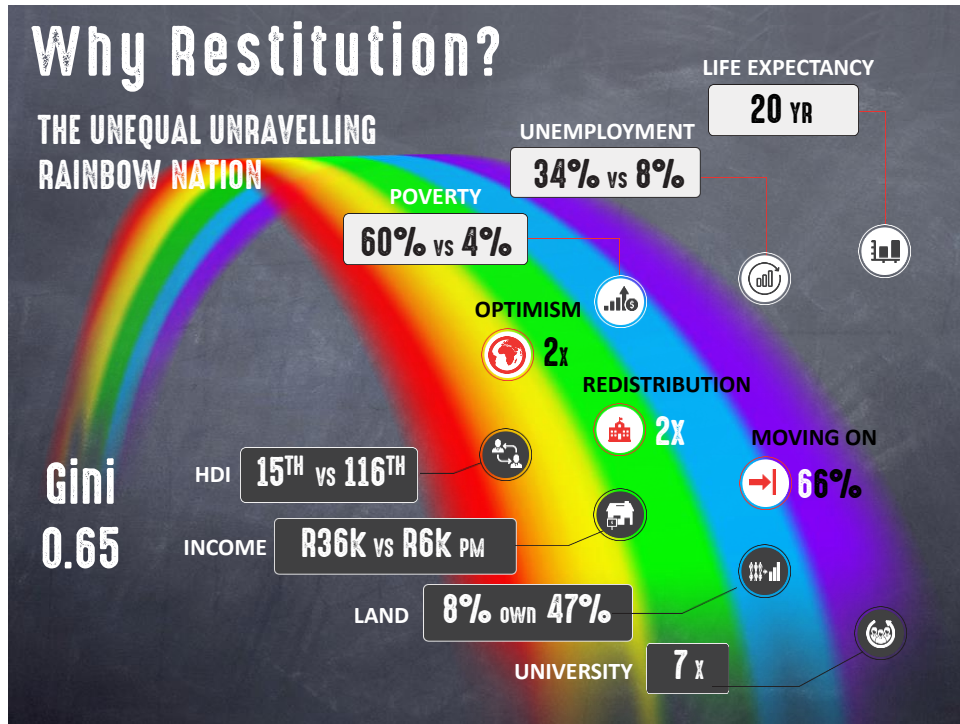
COMING TO SEE



REFUSING TO SEE

- I. INEQUALITY
- II. RESTORED PERSONHOOD
- III. LOCATION OF SELVES
- IV. SOCIAL RESTITUTION
- V. ACTIVE DIALOGUES

- I. INEQUALITY
- II. RESTORED PERSONHOOD
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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.



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“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



The outrage of racism

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



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“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

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

THAMSANQA, 32, BLACK MAN, MASTERS STUDENT

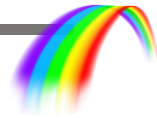


The arrogance of White privilege

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



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“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

Cycles of consciousness (p. 93-7)







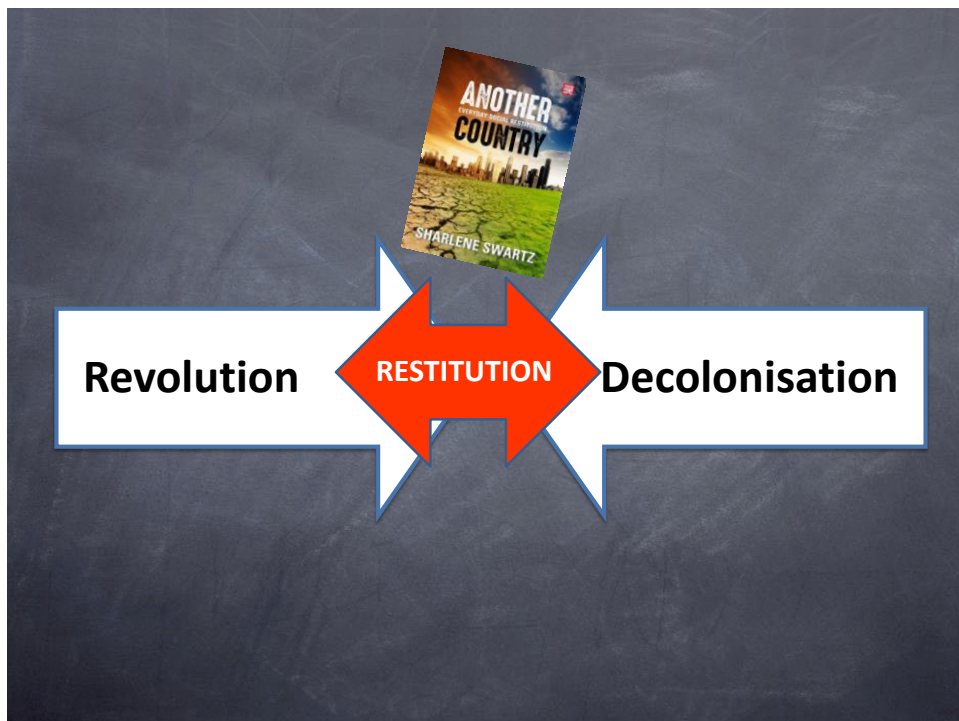
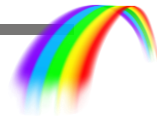
Decolonisation's struggles

According to Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015), it is against:

1. Epistemicide
2. Linguicide
3. Obliterated histories
4. Dismemberment - colonialism, enslavement and empire
5. Racial and cultural alienation



Social science that makes a difference



- I. INEQUALITY
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- V. ACTIVE DIALOGUES

“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 CRÛCHE OR A ... SCHOOL THAT COULD BE NAMED AFTER - AFTER OUR CHILDREN”

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

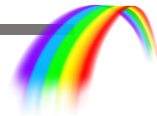


Theory of personhood

1. Chris Smith – emergent, connected, conducive environment
2. Francis Nymanjoh – self fulfilment within a collective framework
3. Kwame Gyeke – acquired, failure possible, responsibility towards others
4. Nancy Fraser - recognition, representation, redistribution
5. Frantz Fanon – dignity, sovereignty, wealth



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Franz Fanon (1925 – 1961)

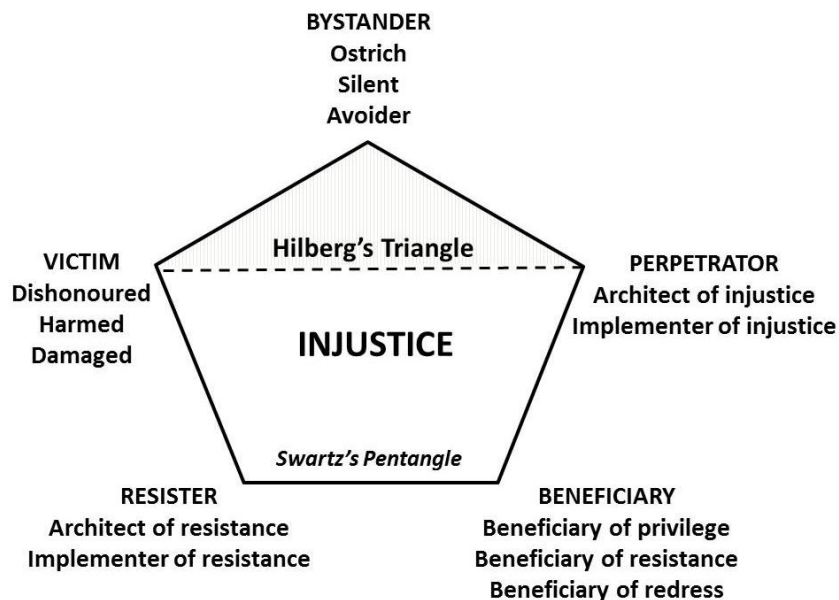
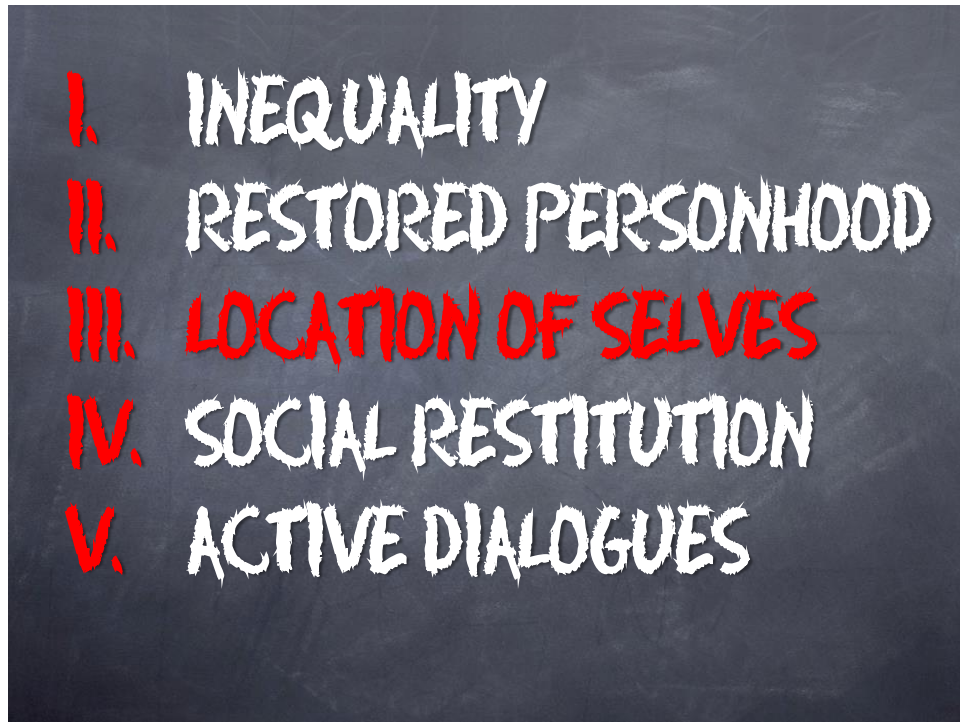


*Black skins,
white masks*

*Wretched of
the Earth*

1. “Human encounters that are non-oppressive, reciprocally beneficial, and mutually nurturing of human development”
2. Restoring humanity and regaining personhood - not by aspiring to captors’ ways of life, but in maintaining ‘collective rhythms’
3. Violence as structural, symbolic and physical
4. Revolution for equality, dignity, and a ‘redistribution of wealth’, a question to which “humanity must reply... or be shaken to pieces by it”
5. “Hunger with dignity is preferable to bread eaten in slavery”





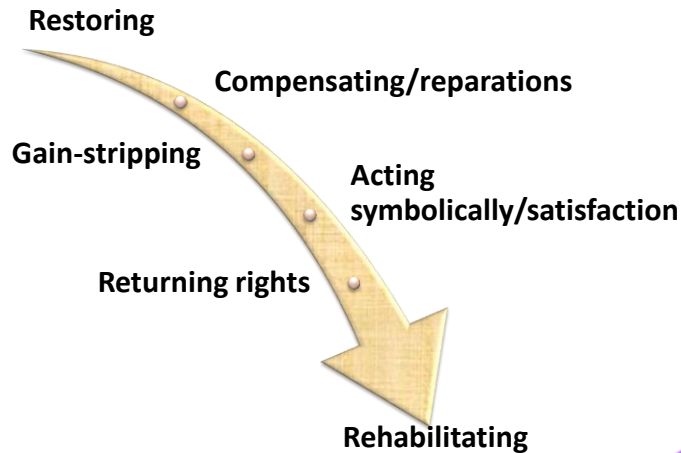
“It's just I'm an ostrich - sticking my head in the ground ... I don't get too involved, except with the things that matter ... like Rebecca and my cycling. Because ... racism won't be abolished in our lifetime ... there are enough people trying to do something about it. I'll rather just live my life ... The past affects your mind-set ... 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 ... I get a lot of that (racism) ... the way someone will talk to me ... I'm the only coloured rider that rides downhill ... 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. I've been able to vote in the last three elections ... I went to primary school in [a coloured area] ... then I went to a former white high school with Rebecca ... You chose a very difficult topic to talk about!”

Donovan, 30, Coloured man, retail manger

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Legal and historical restitution



Social science that makes a difference



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



Social science that makes a difference





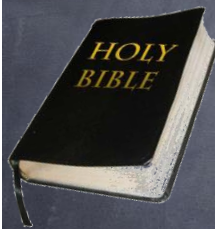
HALEY & THE GROUP AREAS ACT

WITHOUT APARTHEID		WITH APARTHEID	
<u>1976</u>		<u>1976</u>	
Suburbs house	R5,000	Cape flats house (R12,000)	-R7,000
<u>1997</u>		<u>1997</u>	
Suburbs house	R400,000	Cape flats house	R90,000
Savings	R260,000	New suburbs flat	-R60,000
(no bond)		(R150,000)	
	<u>R660,000</u>		<u>R90,000</u>
<u>2015</u>		<u>2015</u>	
Suburbs' house	R1,300,000	Suburbs flat	R1,115,000
Savings	R2,800,000	Savings	R0
	<u>R4.100,000</u>		<u>R1,150,000</u>

HALEY & THE LAND CLAIMS ACT

<u>Landclaim 2003/2010</u>	
Farm 1 & 2 E Cape	R17,622
'Mistake' – refund	R 9,048
Total paid	<u>R 8,573</u>
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	<u>R983,666 + R1,330,475 =</u> <u>R2,314,141 (see p. 86)</u>

HALEY AND A SOLDIER'S REWARD



BLACK



COLOURED AND
INDIAN/ASIAN



WHITE

WHERE HAVE HOLIDAY HOMES COME FROM?



Everyday SOCIAL restitution

**Voluntary
moral
obligation**
(Swartz, Barkan)

**Across
generations**
(MacIntyre,
Young)

**As forward
looking,
not
punitive**
(Calder, Wenar)

**As making good
Wiedergutmachung
versus
making right
*Wiederherstellen***
(Judt, Sanders)



Social science that makes a difference



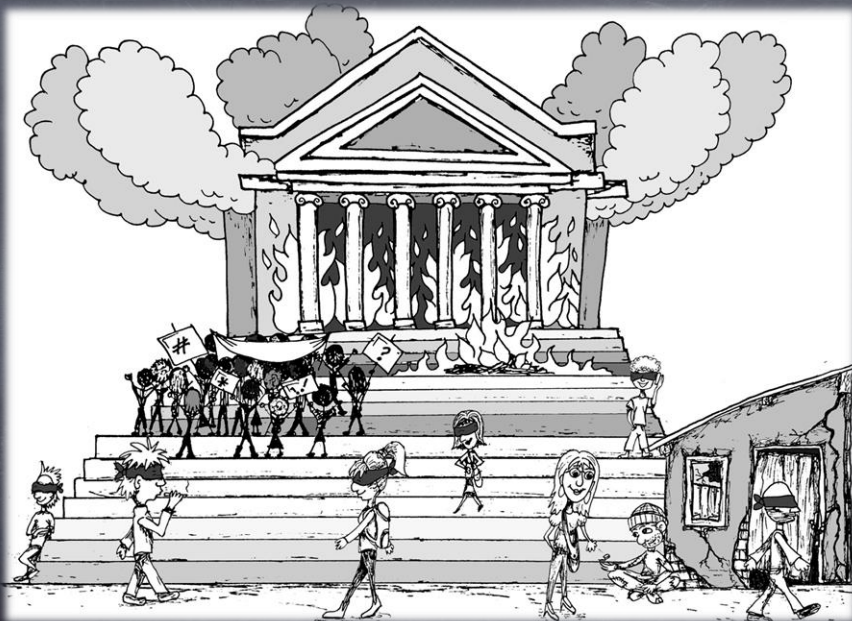


Social restitution definition

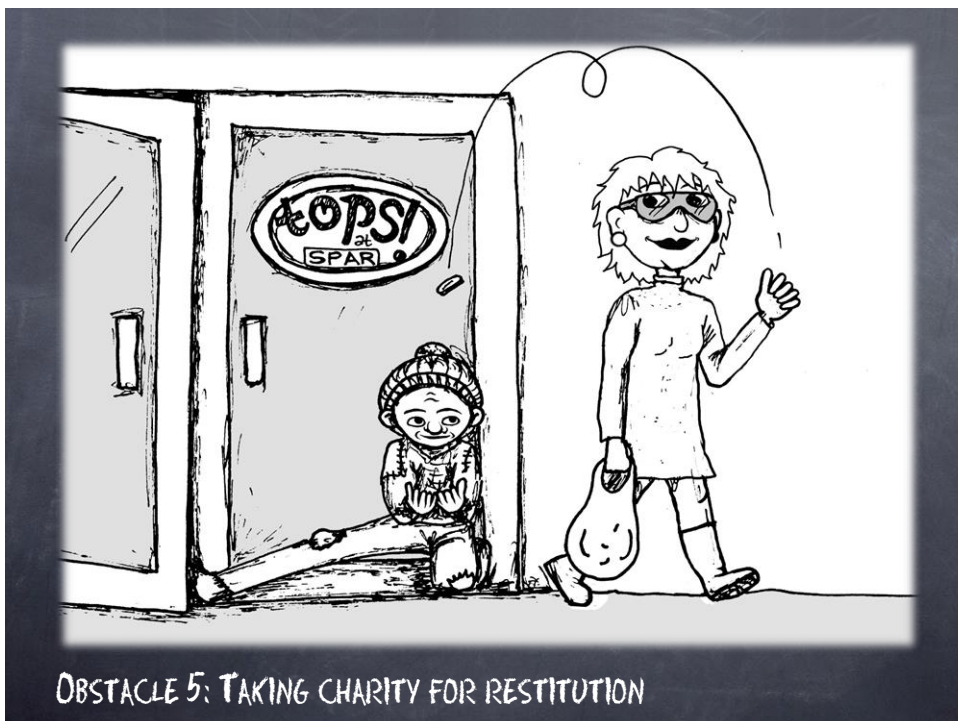
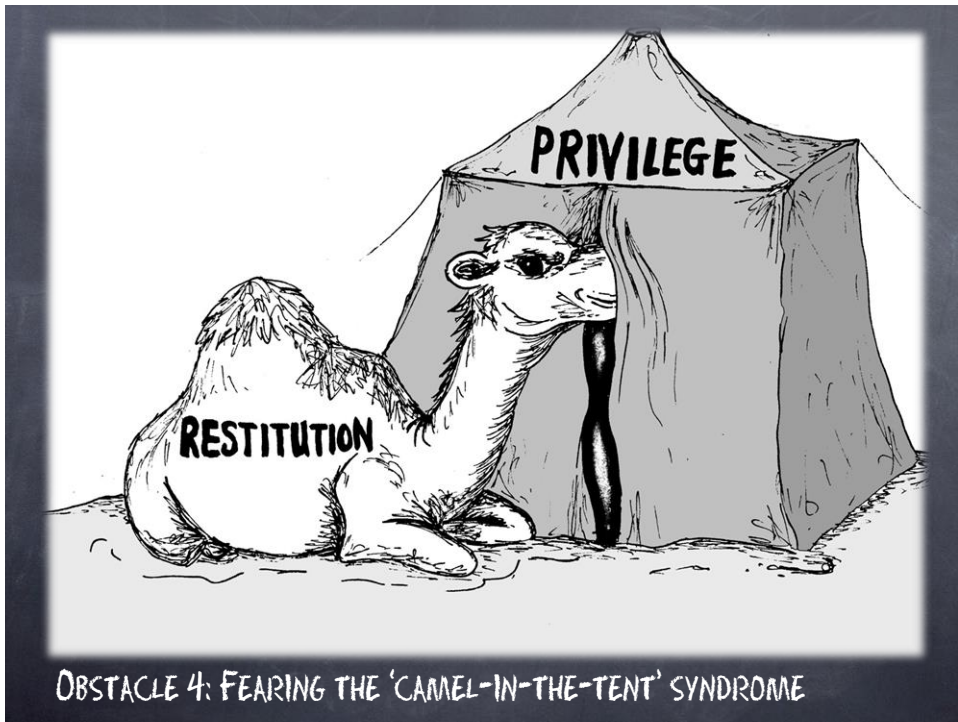
Social restitution are **voluntary acts and attitudes** towards **making good** what our past history of injustice has damaged. It is **forward-looking restitution**, for individuals and communities to pursue as a **moral responsibility** rather than as a legal liability. It invites all parties to **acknowledge 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.



Social science that makes a difference



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



- I. INEQUALITY
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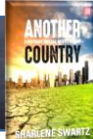


Steve Biko (1946 – 1977)



*I write what
I like*

1. "We have defined blacks as those who are by law or tradition **politically, economically and socially discriminated** against ... [Who] identify... themselves **as a unit in the struggle towards the realization of their aspirations**".
2. "Black Consciousness... in essence the realization by the black man of the need to **rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression.**"
3. **White people should conscientise** other white people to inequalities' effects, and strategise to **eliminate** them - allyship



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



Social science that makes a difference



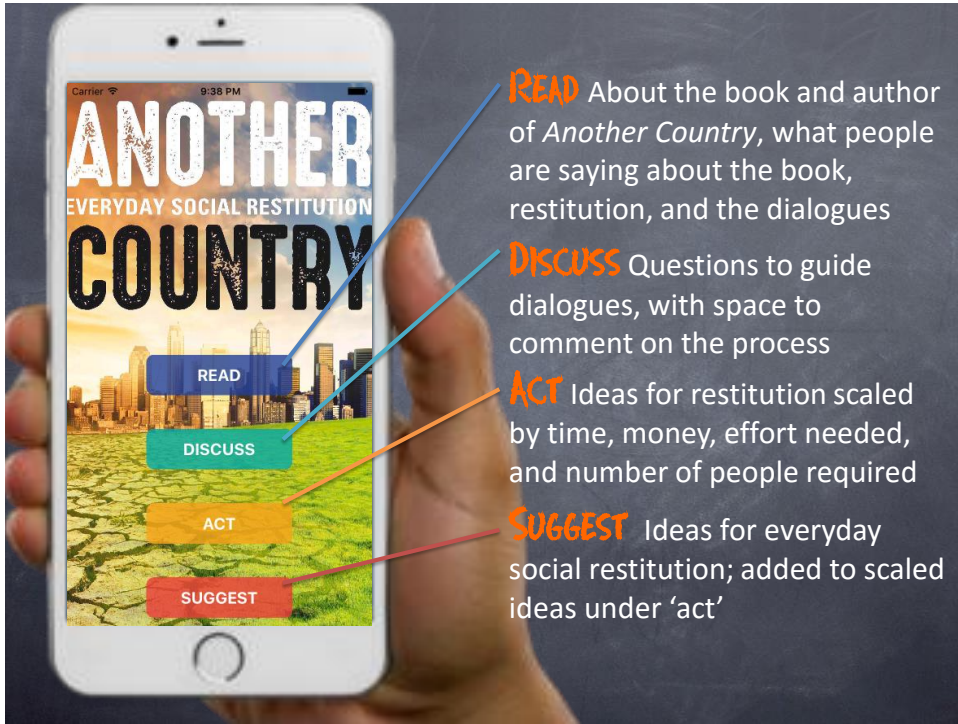
Ideas for social restitution

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. ...



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'



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

