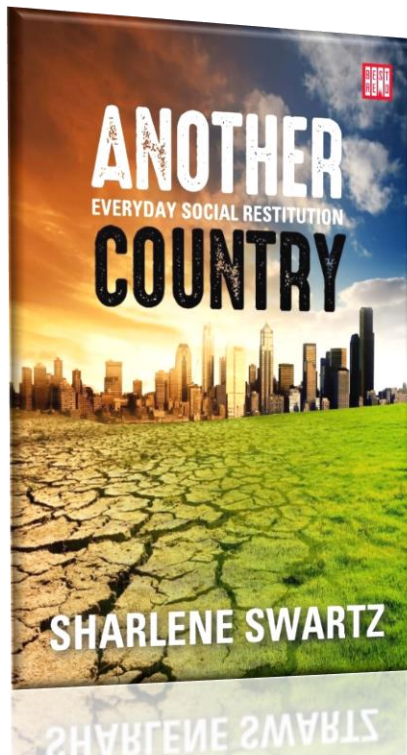
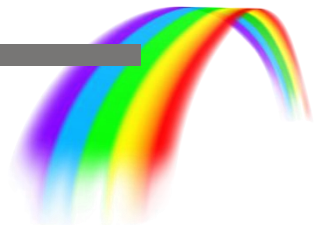
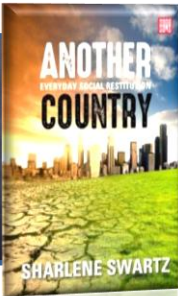


Revolution, restitution, redress and reconciliation: Obligations towards restoring our humanity



Centre for Critical Research on Race and Identity
University of Kwazulu Natal
23 March 2017

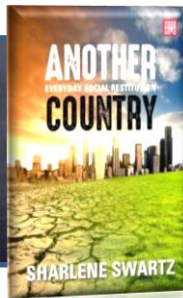




Another Country tells 5 stories

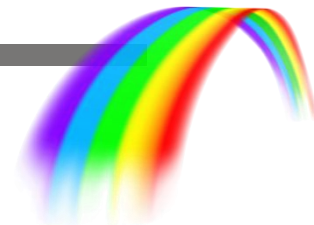
- 1. OUR STORY:** Our country and how it came to be so unequal and unjust
- 2. THEIR STORY:** The story of 60 Black and White South Africans and the effects of the past in the present
- 3. TWO FICTITIOUS STORIES:** To help us think about restitution (personhood, locating selves, dialogues)
- 4. MY STORY:** With cycles of consciousness
- 5. OUR POTENTIAL NEW STORY:** Based on dialogues and acts of social restitution by individuals and communities

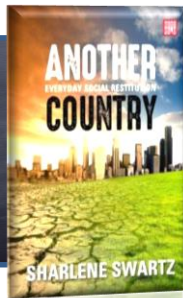




Its about Restitution

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

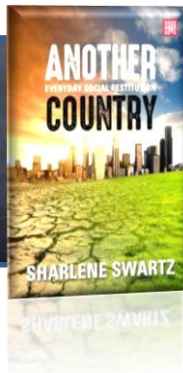




Research methodology

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

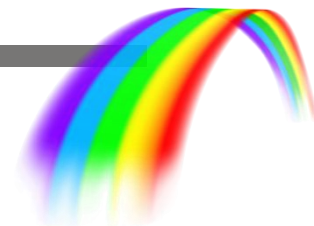




Two fictitious stories

The Stolen Bicycle' – two children, one steals the other one's bicycle, they reconcile, what about the bicycle?
about bicycles'

The Unlevel Soccer Field – *is it enough to level the field, start over, level the scores, recover from playing uphill?*



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

I. INEQUALITY

II. RESTORED PERSONHOOD

III. LOCATION OF SELVES

IV. SOCIAL RESTITUTION

V. ACTIVE DIALOGUES

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

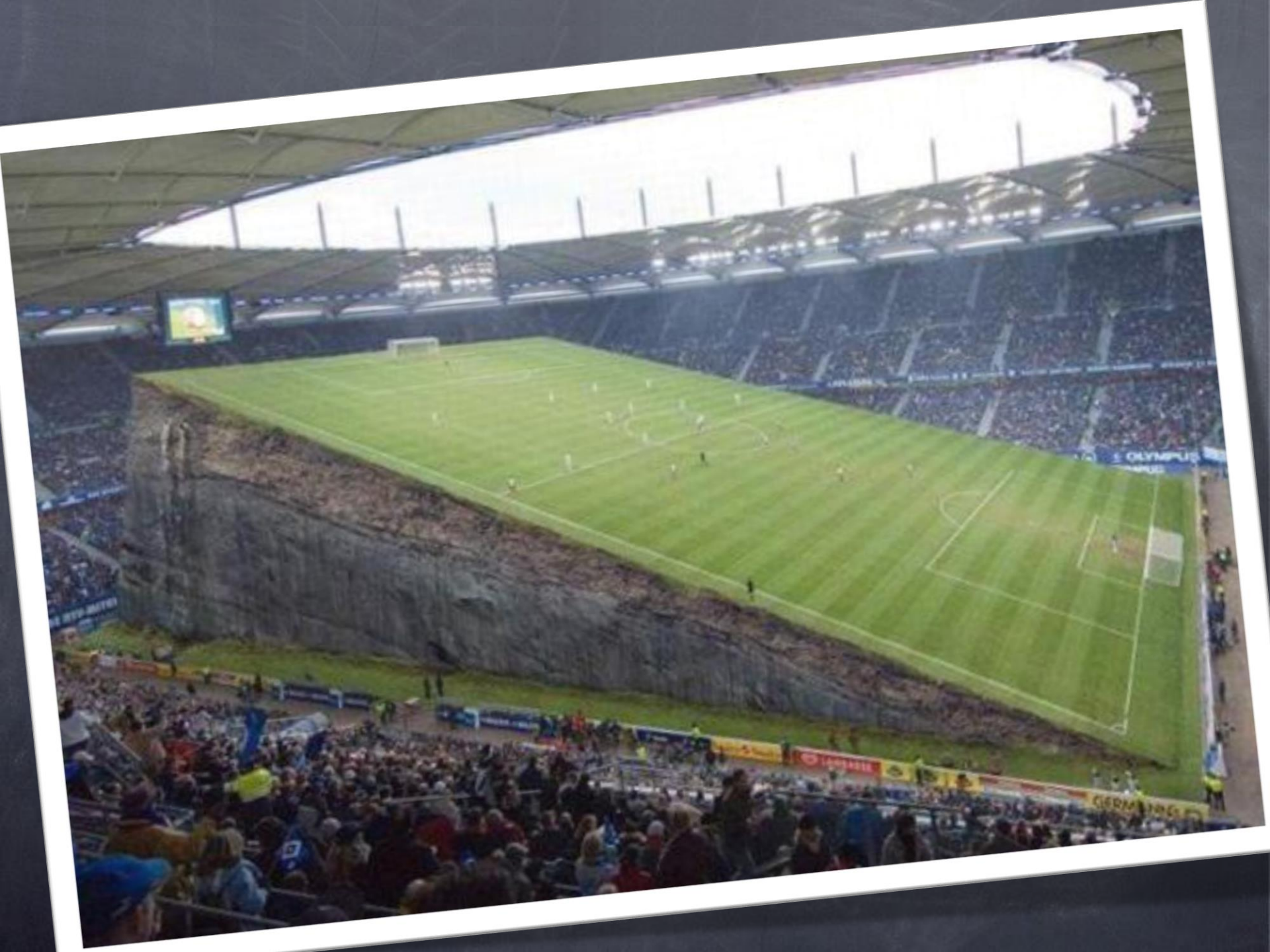
HDI

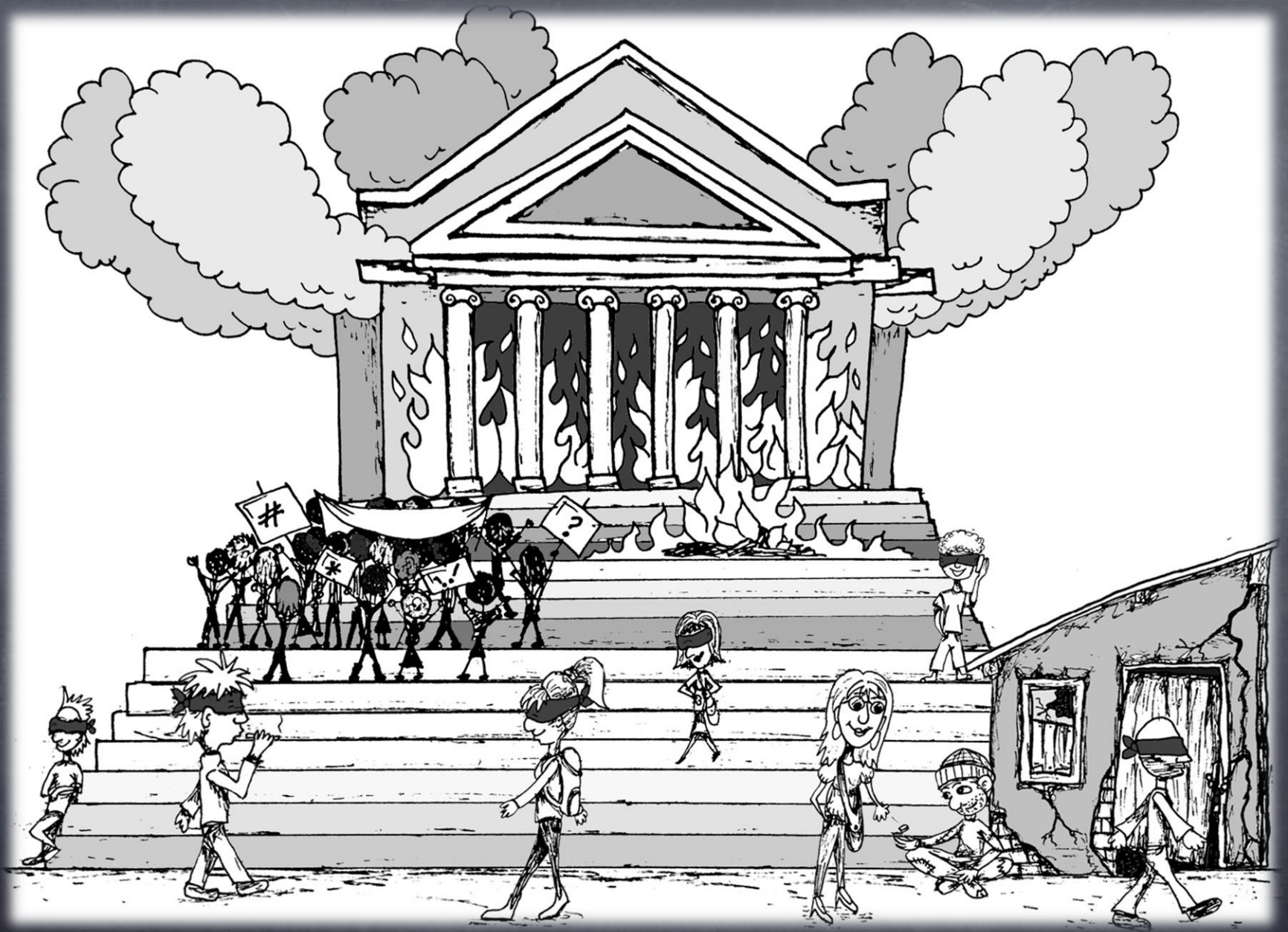
15TH vs 116TH

INCOME

R36k vs R6k PM





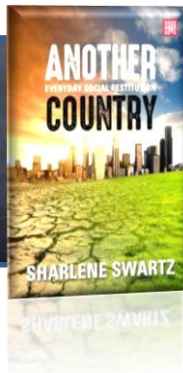


OBSTACLES TO RESTITUTION: A CHRONIC CASE OF 'MOVING-ON-ITIS'

Cycles of consciousness (p. 93-7)

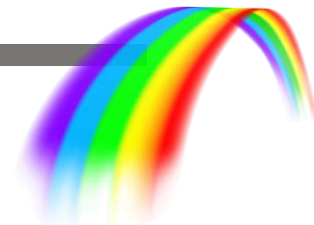






A Common Vision for South Africa

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.

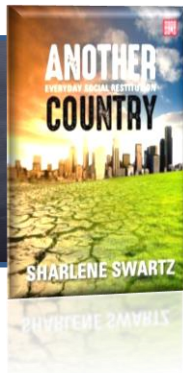


“YOU WILL NO LONGER BE ABLE TO SAY A BLACK PERSON WILL BE A CLEANER AND A WHITE PERSON WILL BE THE CEO...WHEN THERE ARE BLACK AND WHITE PEOPLE WHO ARE POOR, AND BLACK AND WHITE PEOPLE WHO ARE RICH”

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



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

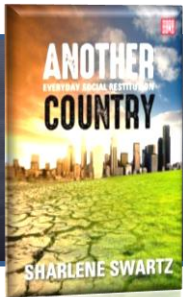


“MY SON IS BIG, HE'S HUGE...HE PLAYS RUGBY. I SAID: PUNCH THEM AND I AM HAPPY TO GO TO THE OFFICE TO HAVE A CHAT ABOUT THAT. THAT'S WHEN IT STOPPED. I REFLECTED ON THAT AND THOUGHT: 'GEE, UNTIL TODAY THE ONLY LANGUAGE RACISM UNDERSTANDS IS VIOLENCE'. REALLY? (BUT) I'VE NEVER BEEN CALLED IN... ANYONE 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
9. The past was not all bad



“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

HALEY'S MOM & 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

HALEY'S MOM & 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 -R12,000
Deposit R5,000

Bond

-R7,000

1997

Cape flats house R90,000
New suburbs flat R150,000

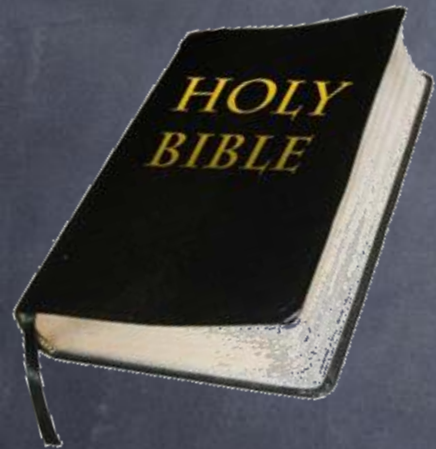
-R60,000

2015

Suburbs flat R1,115,000
Savings R0

R1,150,000

HALEY AND A SOLDIER'S REWARD



BLACK



COLOURED AND
INDIAN/ASIAN



WHITE

WHERE HAVE HOLIDAY HOMES COME FROM?

I. INEQUALITY

II. RESTORED PERSONHOOD

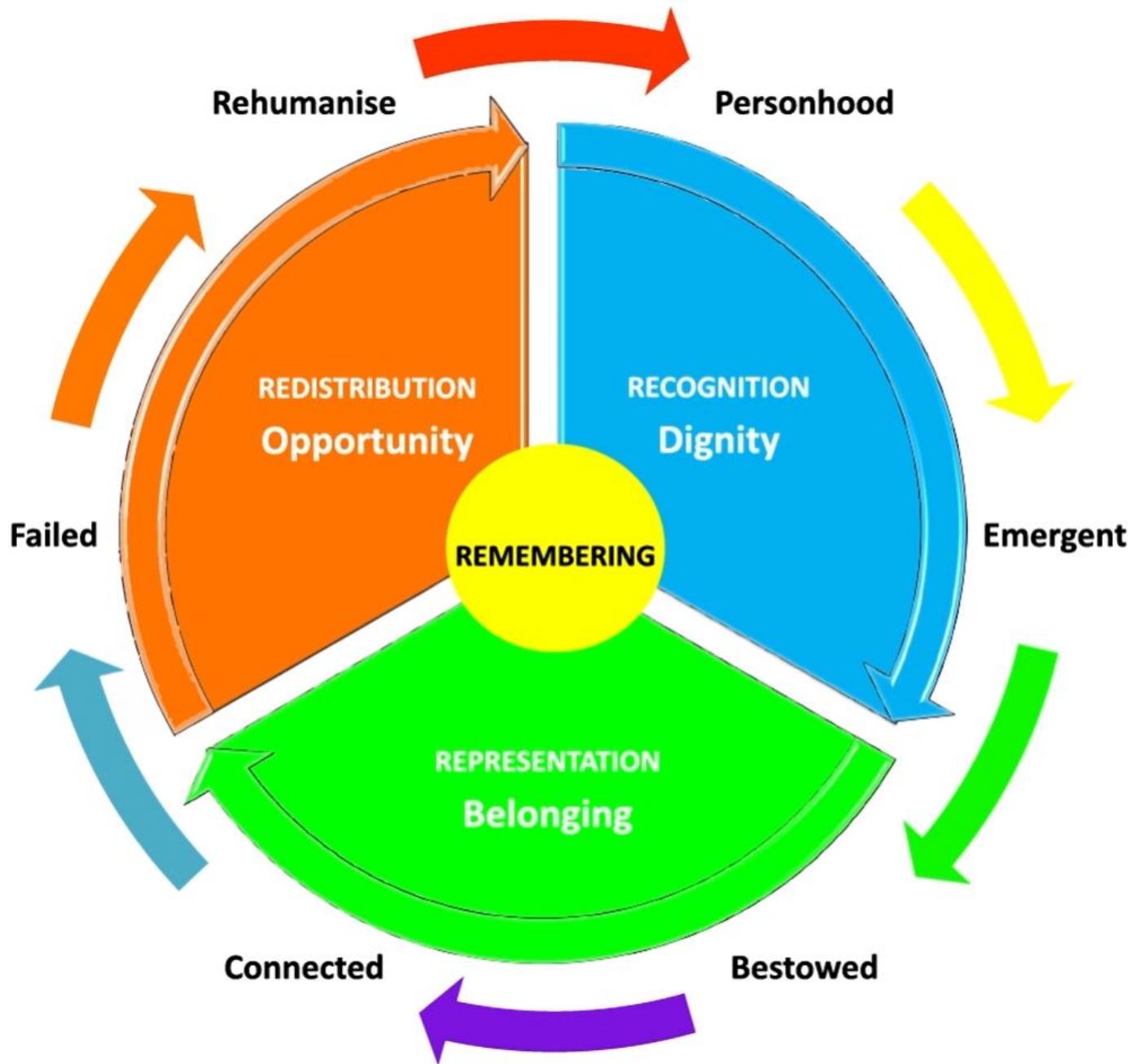
III. LOCATION OF SELVES

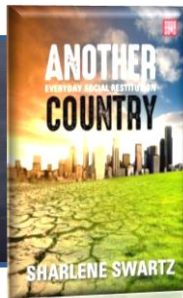
IV. SOCIAL RESTITUTION

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 CRÈCHE 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



- I. INEQUALITY
- II. RESTORED PERSONHOOD
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- IV. SOCIAL RESTITUTION
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WAYS OF SEEING



DISTORTED SEEING

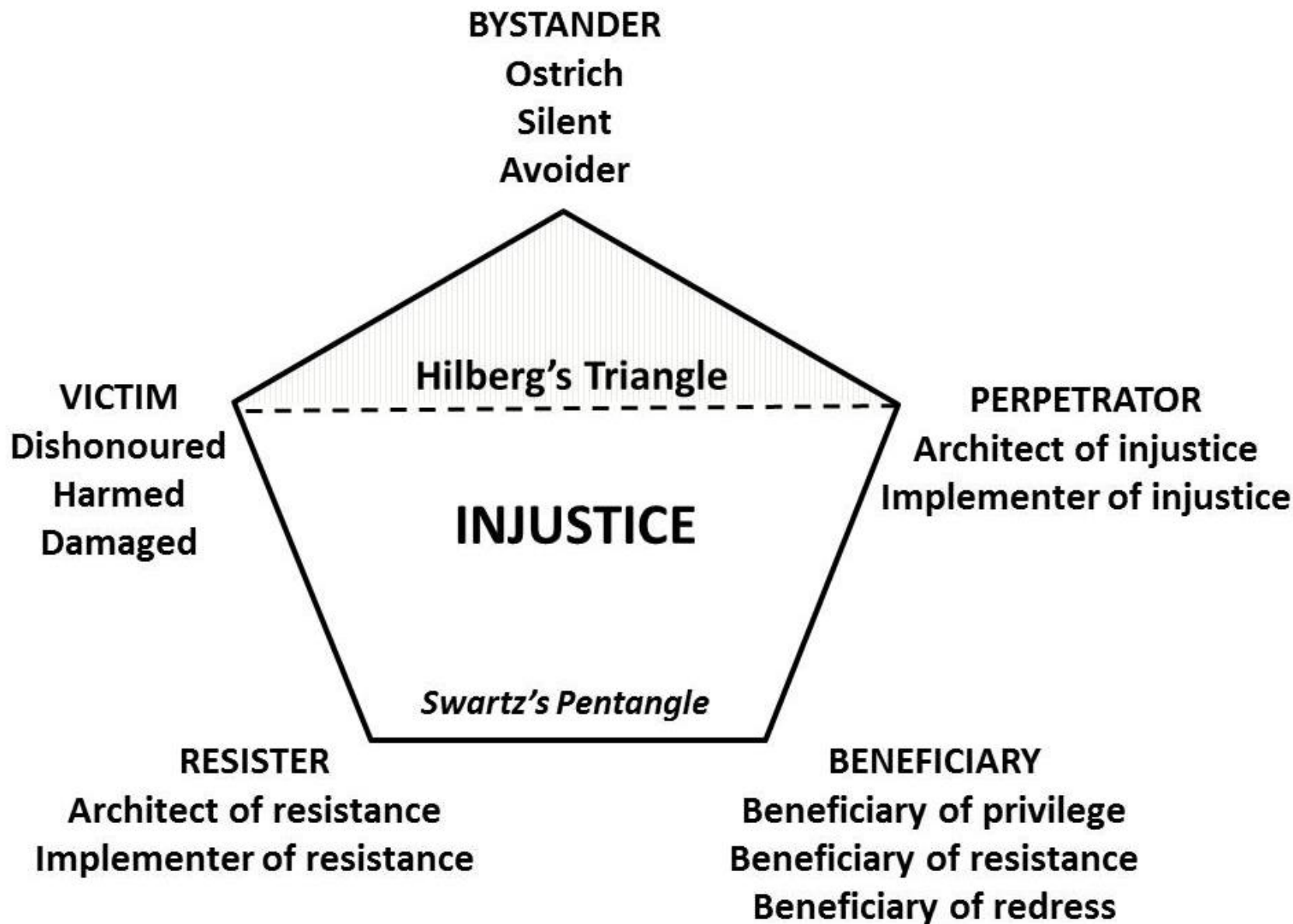


COMING TO SEE

SEEING CLEARLY

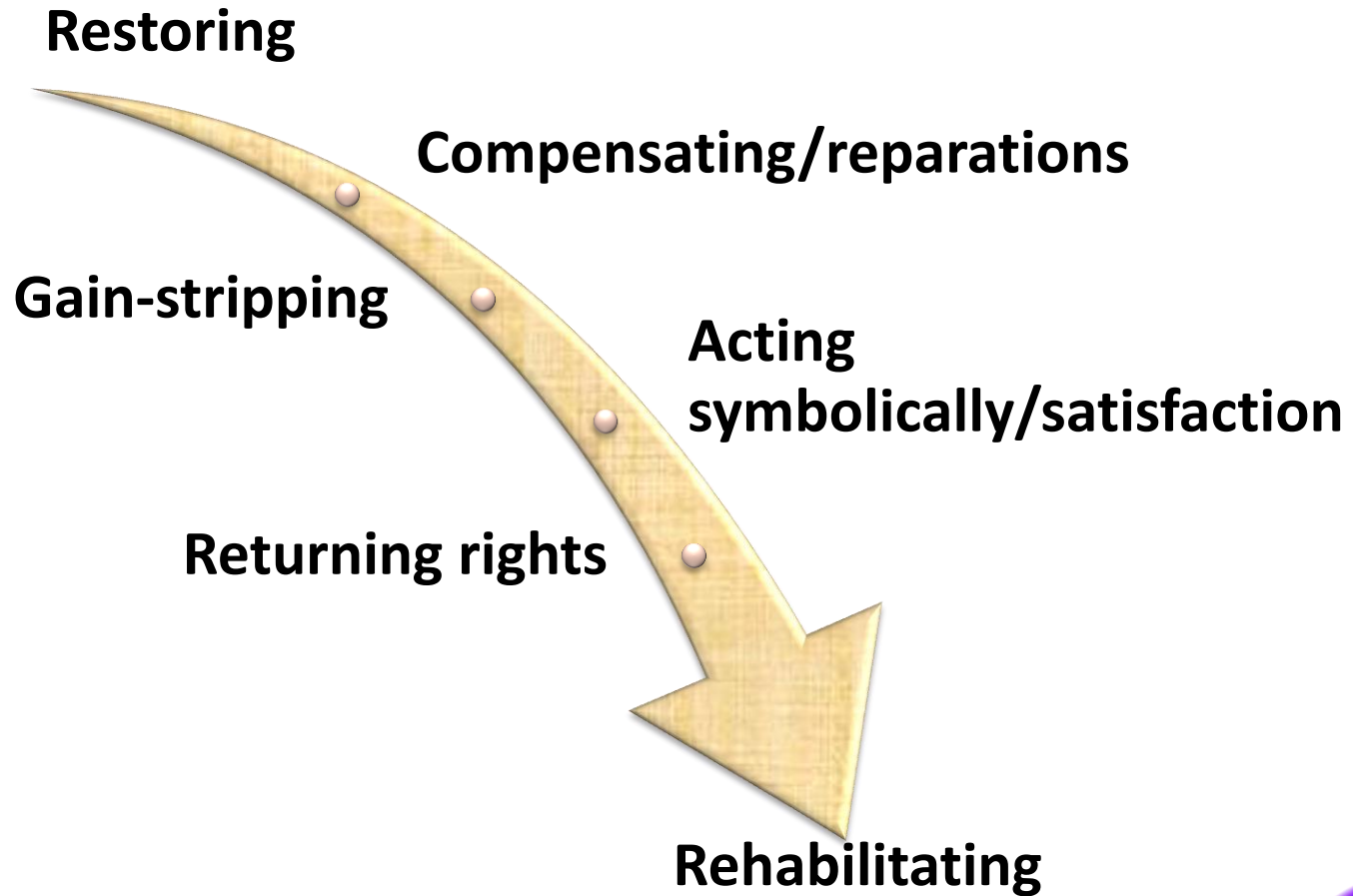
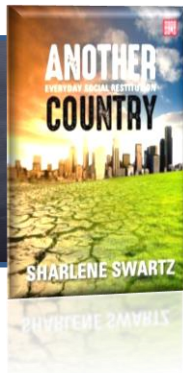


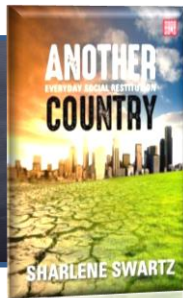
REFUSING TO SEE



- I. INEQUALITY
- II. RESTORED PERSONHOOD
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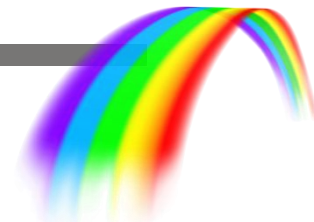
Legal and historical restitution





What restitution has begun?

1. Land restitution
 - Good legislation (being modified); 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



HALEY & THE LAND CLAIMS ACT

Landclaim 2003/2010

Farm 1 & 2 E Cape	R17,622
'Mistake' – refund	R 9,048

Total paid	R 8,573
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Haley's share	R 2,858
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The value of 2 farms in Eastern Cape in 2015 – most conservative estimate: R4,000,000

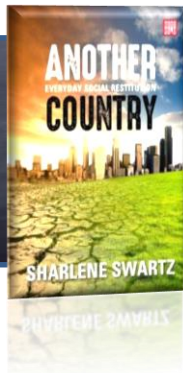
Haley's loss	<u>R983,666 + R1,330,475 =</u> <u>R2,314,141 (see p. 86)</u>
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OBSTACLES: BELIEVING THE TRC AND 'RECONCILIATION' WAS ENOUGH



OBSTACLES: LEAVING IT TO GOVERNMENT (BEMOANING CORRUPTION)



Everyday SOCIAL restitution

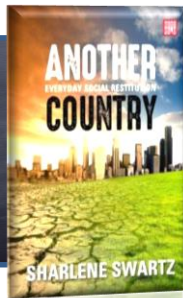
**Voluntary
moral
obligation**
(Swartz, Barkan)

**Across
generations**
(MacIntyre,
Young)

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

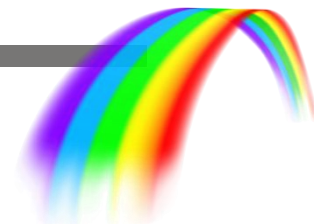
**As making good
Wiedergutmachung
versus
making right
*Wiederherstellen***
(Judt, Sanders)

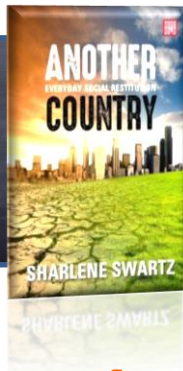




Social restitution definition

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.

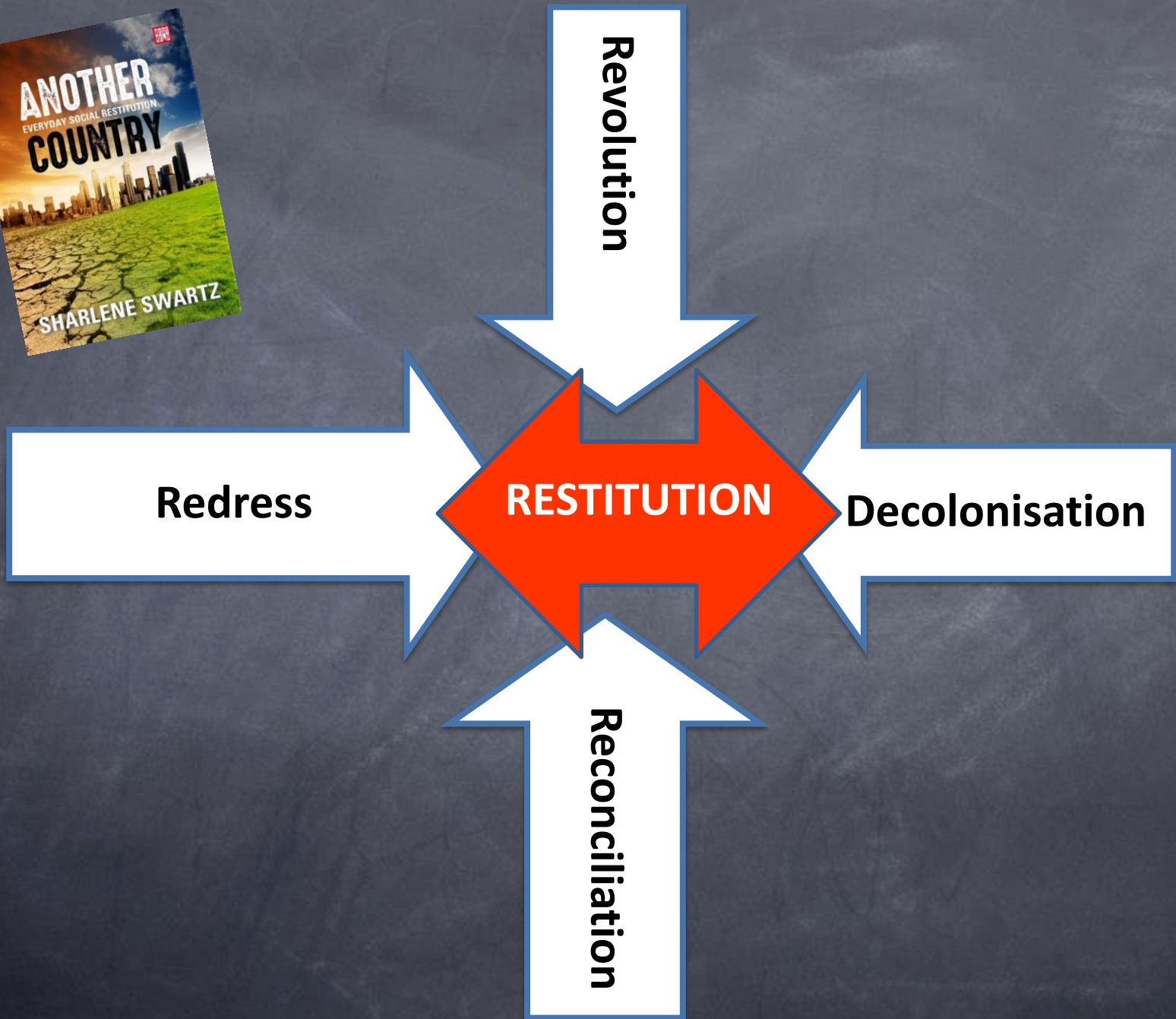
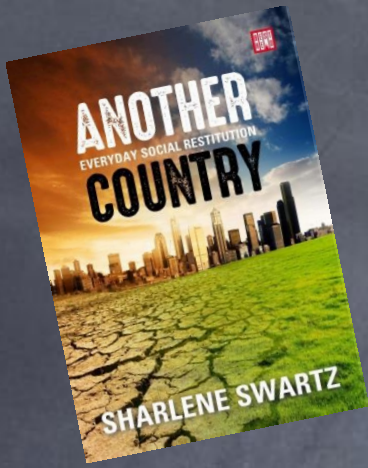




Social Restitution

1. Not as the only answer
2. But as one part of the answer
 - Government's redress
 - People's agitation (protests, revolution, decolonisation)
 - Business's strategies (redress, BEEE)
 - *Communities' and individuals' acts and attitudes*





- I. INEQUALITY
- II. RESTORED PERSONHOOD
- III. LOCATION OF SELVES
- IV. SOCIAL RESTITUTION
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Ideas for social restitution

ALONGSIDE GOVERNMENT

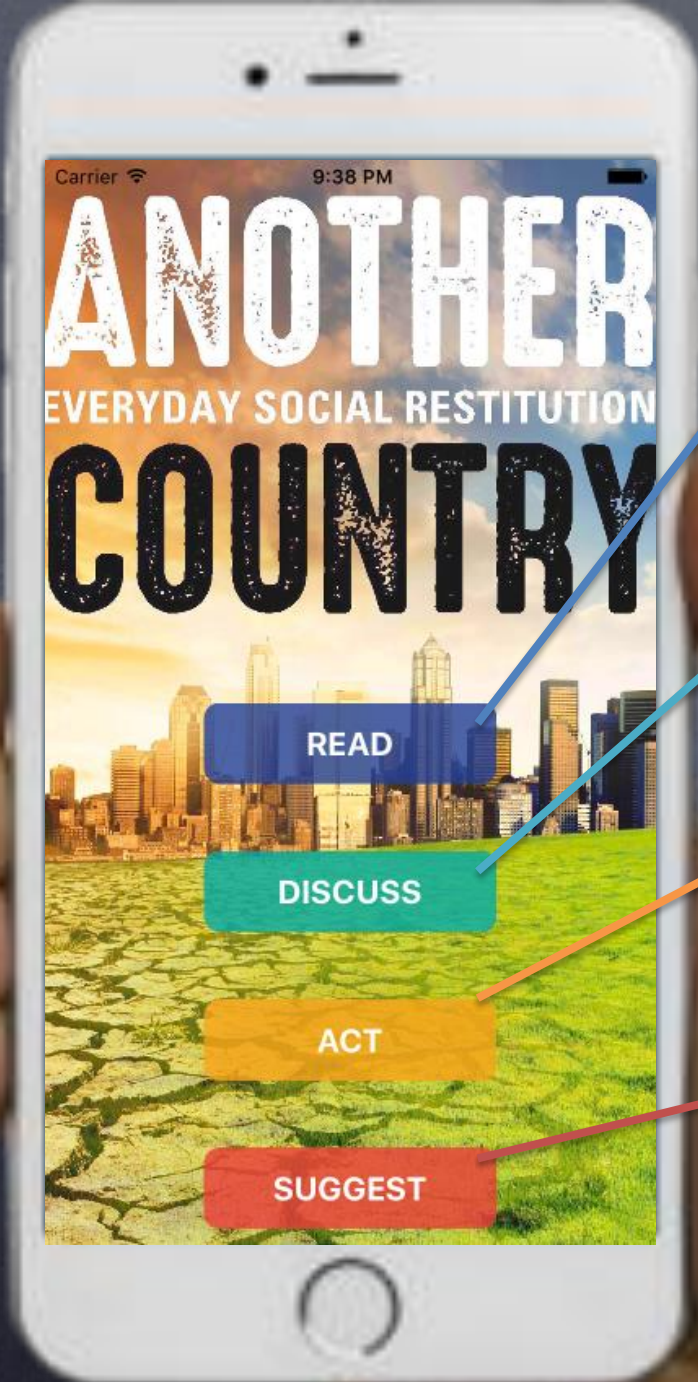
1. A TAX/SUPERTAX - BUCKET TOILETS/FREE EDUCATION
2. PAYING FOR SUBURBAN UPKEEP & CROSS-SUBSIDING TOWNSHIPS
3. A SALARY-INCREASE MORATORIUM FOR HIGH EARNERS
4. ...

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. ...



OBSTACLES: TAKING CHARITY FOR RESTITUTION



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

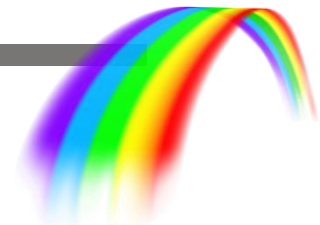
DISCUSS Questions to guide dialogues, with space to comment on the process

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





OBSTACLES: FEARING THE 'CAMEL-IN-THE-TENT' SYNDROME