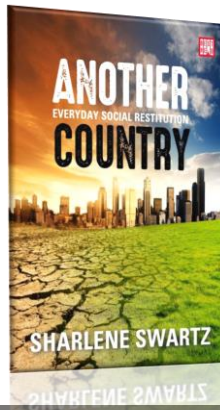


Freedom's Shame: Social restitution and the restoring of personhood

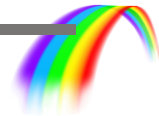


Sharlene Swartz

25 April 2017



Social science that makes a difference

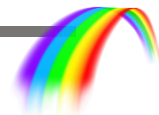


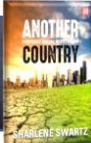
Another Country tells 5 stories

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



Social science that makes a difference



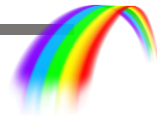


Its about Restitution

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



Social science that makes a difference

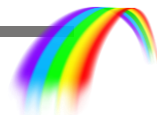


Research methodology

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



Social science that makes a difference





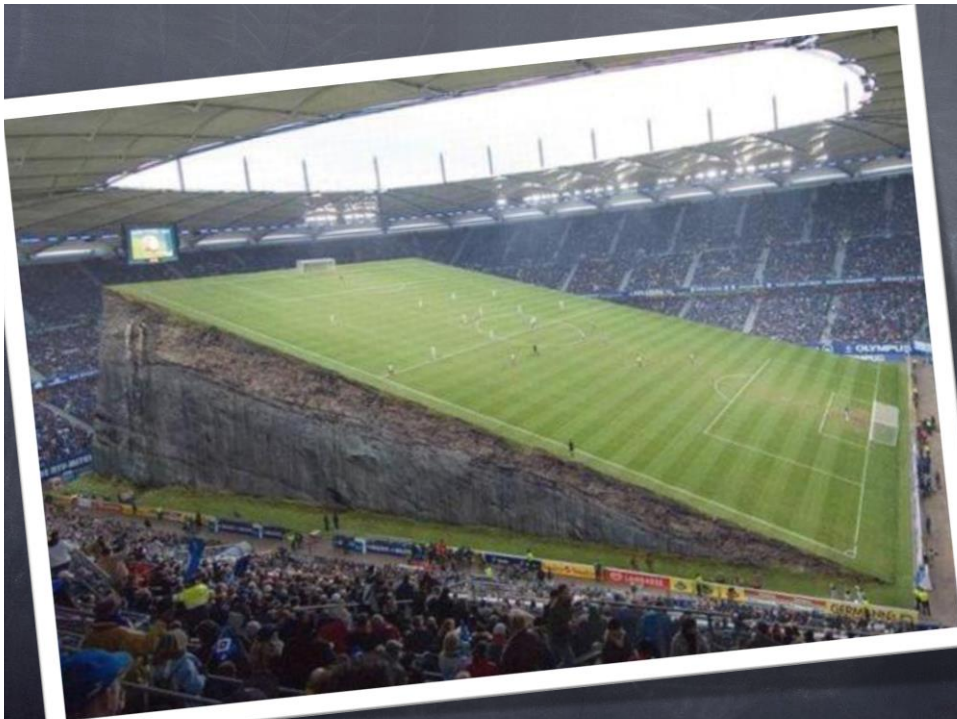
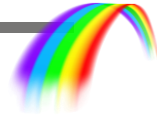
Two fictitious stories

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

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

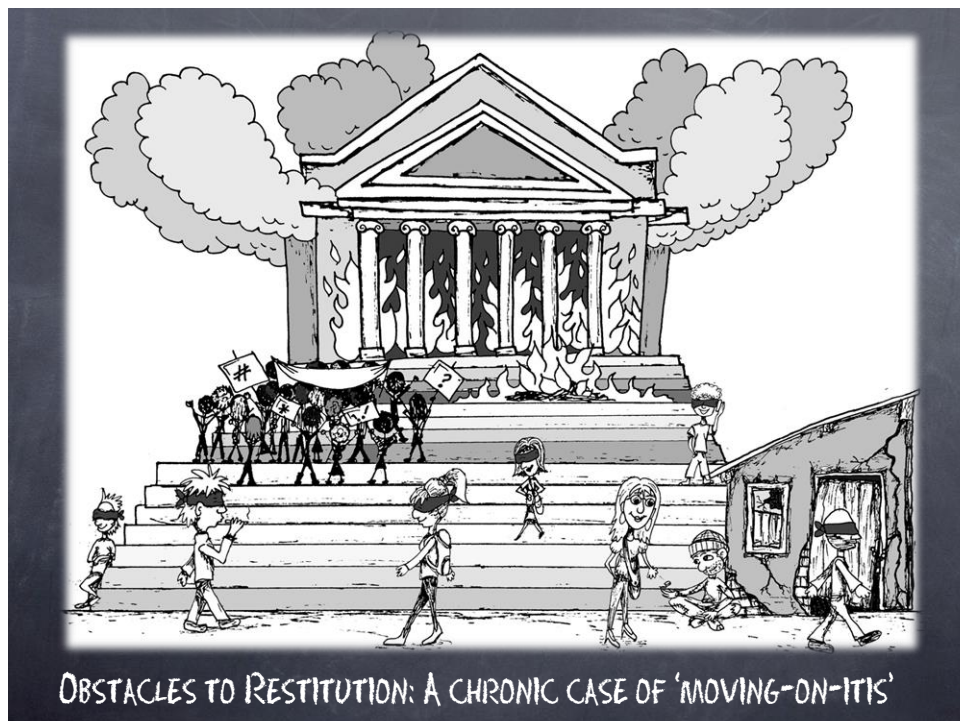
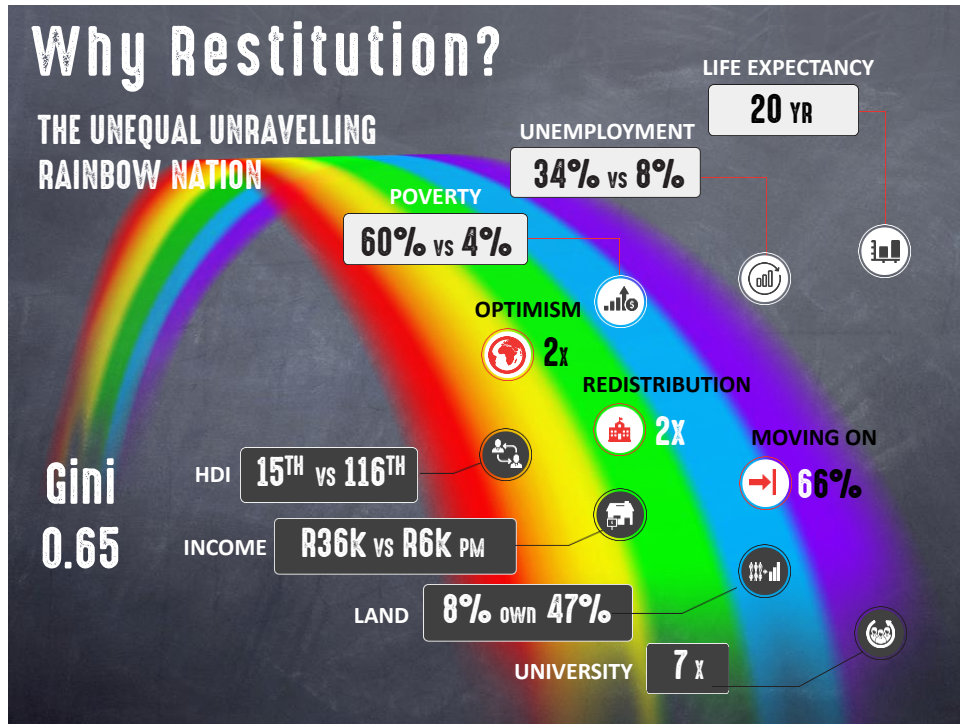


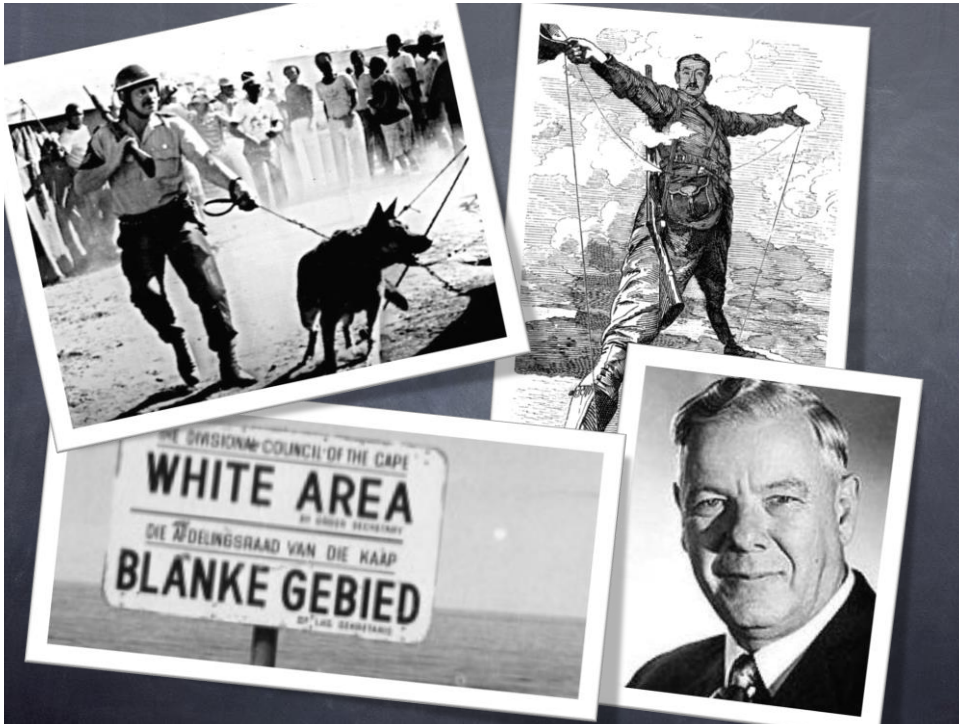
Social science that makes a difference



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

- I. INEQUALITY
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Cycles of consciousness (p. 93-7)



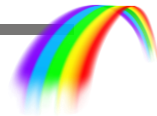


A Common Vision for South Africa

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.



Social science that makes a difference



“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

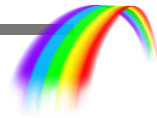


The outrage of racism

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



Social science that makes a difference



“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

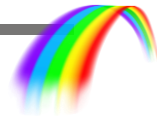


The arrogance of White privilege

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



Social science that makes a difference



“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

<u>1976</u>	
Suburbs house	R5,000
<u>1997</u>	
Suburbs house	R400,000
Savings (no bond)	R260,000

	R660,000
<u>2015</u>	
Suburbs' house	R1,300,000
Savings	R2,800,000

	R4,100,000

HALEY'S MOM & THE GROUP AREAS ACT

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Suburbs house	R5,000
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WITH APARTHEID

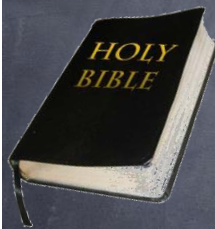
<u>1976</u>	
Cape flats house	-R12,000
Deposit	R5,000

Bond	-R7,000
<u>1997</u>	
Cape flats house	R90,000
New suburbs flat	R150,000

	-R60,000
<u>2015</u>	
Suburbs flat	R1,115,000
Savings	R0

	R1,150,000

HALEY AND A SOLDIER'S REWARD



BLACK



COLOURED AND
INDIAN/ASIAN



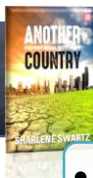
WHITE

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 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

• Kwame Gyeke

acquired, failure possible, responsibility towards others



• Christian Smith

emergent, connected, conducive environment



• Francis Nyamnjoh

self-fulfilment within a collective framework



• Nancy Fraser

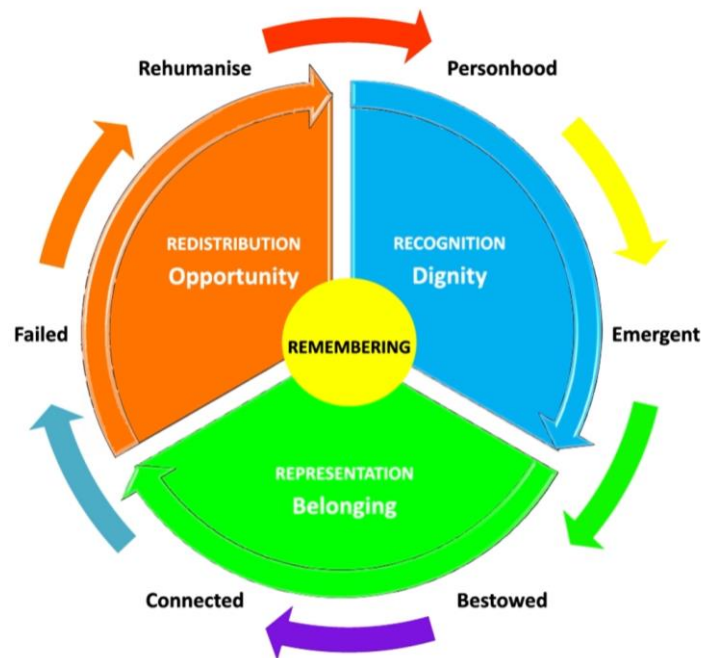
recognition, representation, redistribution



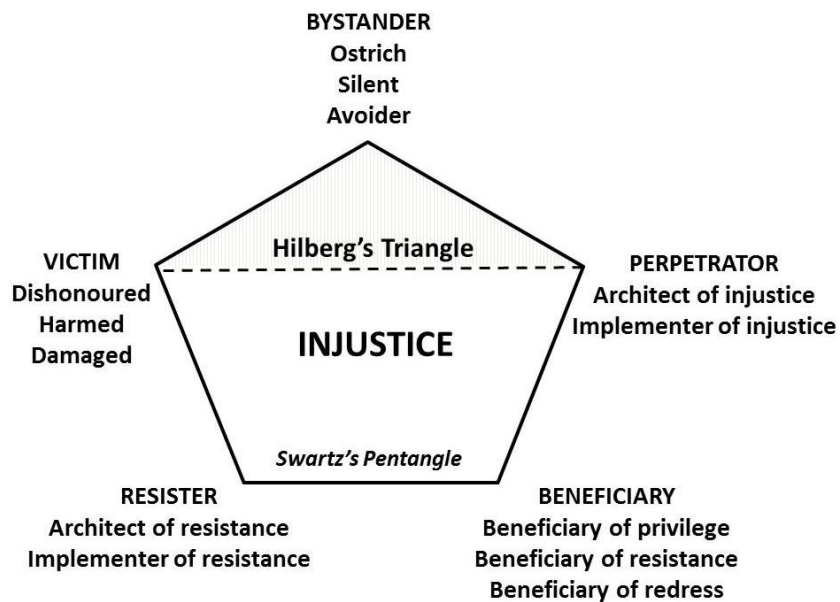
• Frantz Fanon

dignity, sovereignty, wealth





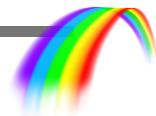
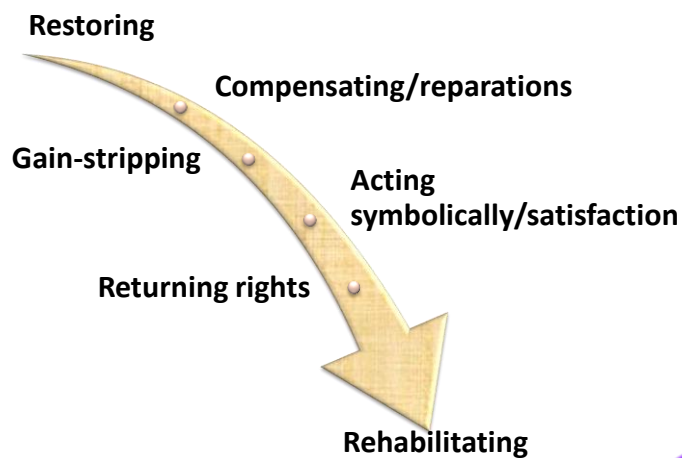
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Legal and historical restitution



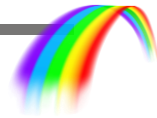


What restitution has begun?

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



Social science that makes a difference



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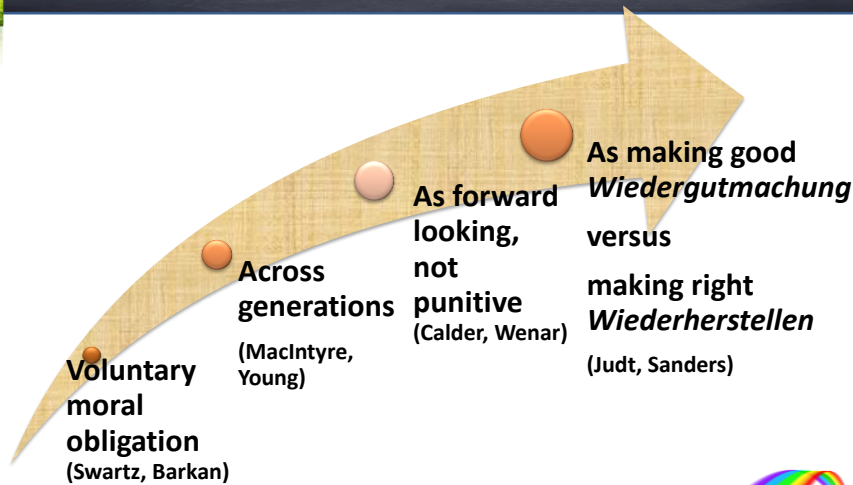
The value of 2 farms in Eastern Cape in 2015 -most conservative estimate: R4,000,000

Haley's loss $R983,666 + R1,330,475 =$
R2,314,141 (see p. 86)

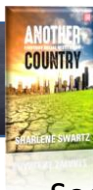
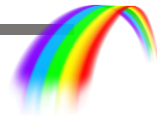




Everyday SOCIAL restitution



Social science that makes a difference

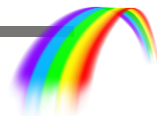


Social restitution definition

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



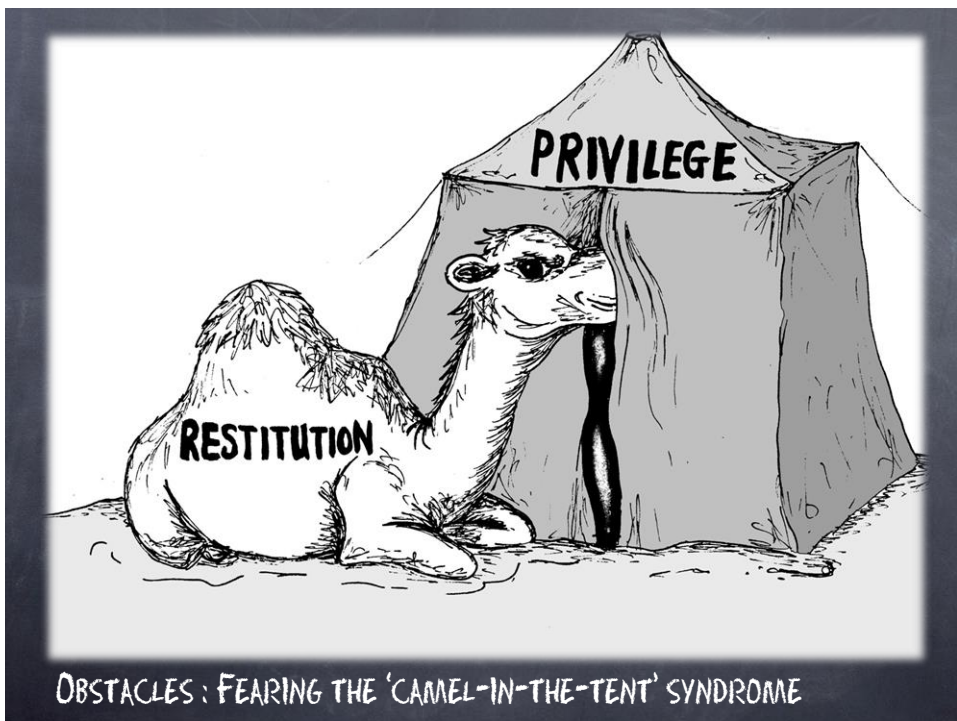
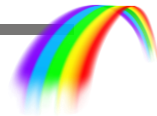


Social Restitution

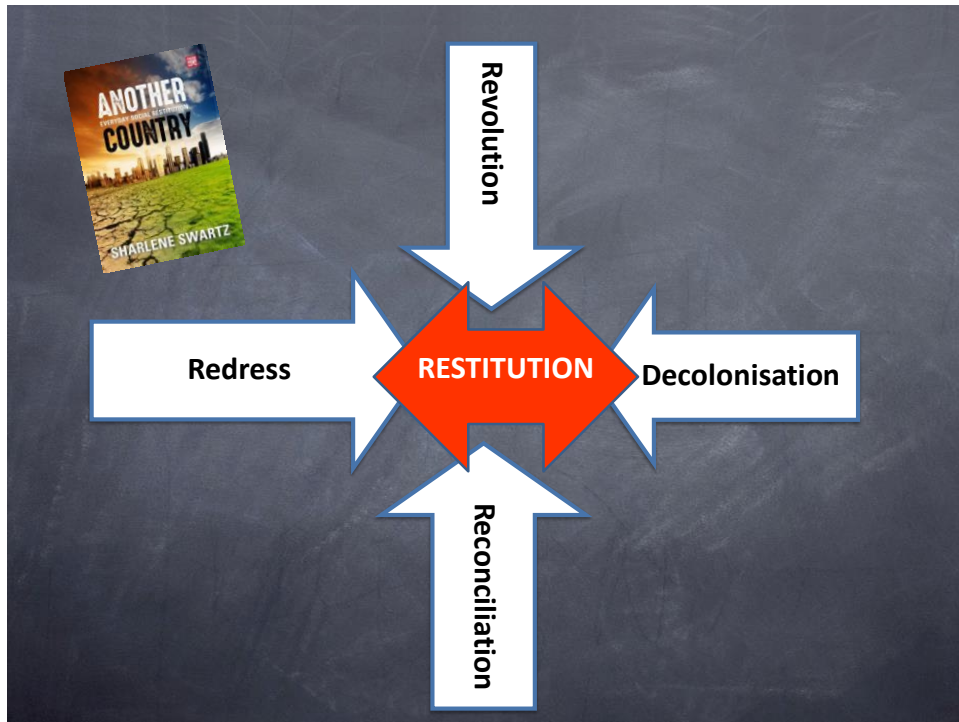
1. Not as the only answer
2. But as one part of the answer
 - Government's redress
 - People's agitation (protests, revolution, decolonisation)
 - Business's strategies (redress, BEEE)
 - *Communities' and individuals' acts and attitudes*



Social science that makes a difference



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



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



Ideas for social restitution

ALONGSIDE GOVERNMENT

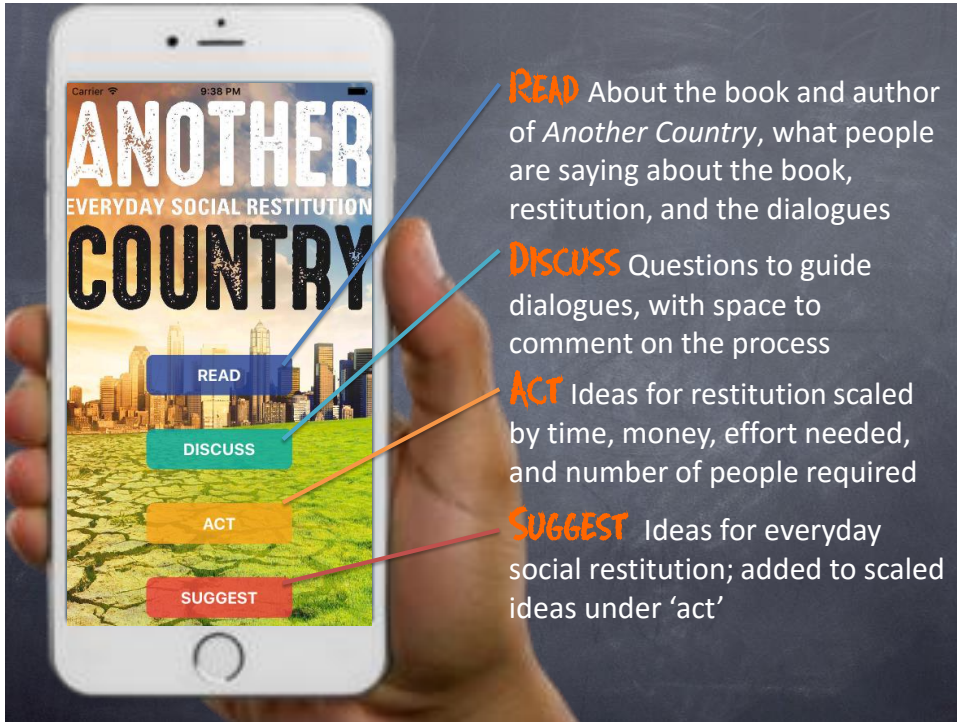
1. A TAX/SUPERTAX - BUCKET TOILETS/FREE EDUCATION
2. PAYING FOR SUBURBAN UPKEEP & CROSS-SUBSIDING TOWNSHIPS
3. A SALARY-INCREASE MORATORIUM FOR HIGH EARNERS
4. ...

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

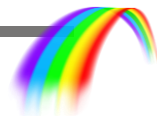
ACT Ideas for restitution scaled by time, money, effort needed, and number of people required

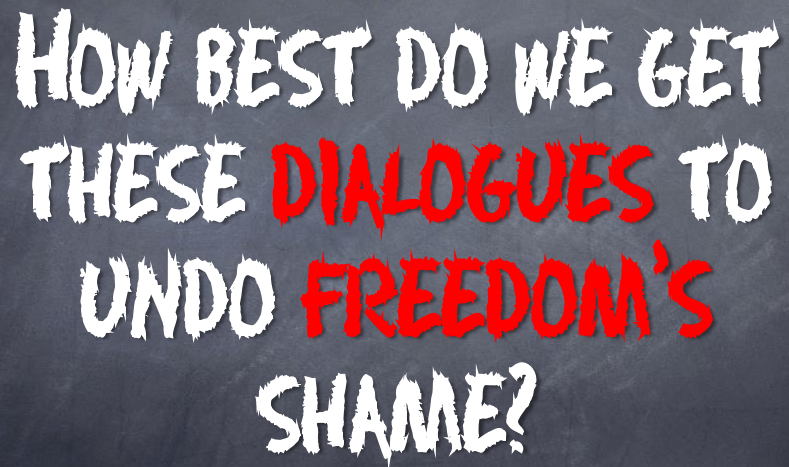
SUGGEST Ideas for everyday social restitution; added to scaled ideas under 'act'



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





HOW BEST DO WE GET
THESE **DIALOGUES** TO
UNDO **FREEDOM'S**
SHAME?