



Movements and Moments

Shifting theoretical paradigms through
youth-led justice struggles in the Global South

■ Sharlene Swartz, PhD



Neil Turok

“The next Einstein will come from Africa... Africans come from cultures that have been excluded ...like Einstein whose oppressed Jewish heritage involved the exclusion of earlier generations from university ...

When Africans start becoming frontline scientists in large numbers they’ll do it ... with a new cultural perspective ... The entry of new cultures in science always renews it - the greatest advances come from revolutionary leaps”



Challenge

To develop **a future sociology** in which space is made at the table for **Southern theory** and **Southern solutions** to global problems, especially those of **race and inequality**, and in which **youth social activism** in Southern contexts become a major **site of learning** – for a world without **racial domination** and **knowledge hegemony**, and where a sociology of **restitution and reparations** becomes part of every conversation about **a future that must address the past.**



Outline

1. South Africa's youth-led struggles
2. Three 'paradigmatic' shifts
 - Dismantling privilege
 - Decolonising knowledge
 - Delivering restitution
3. Practical challenges to ISA





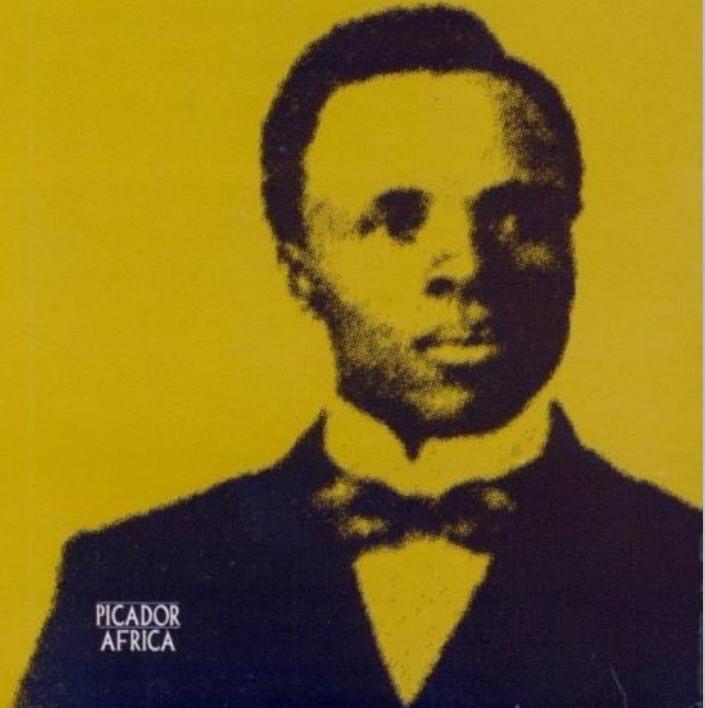
SOUTH AFRICA: A BRIEF HISTORY OF YOUTH ACTIVISM

Dispossession war and appeal (1642-1913)



SOL NATIVE LIFE IN SOUTH AFRICA PLAATJE

New foreword by Professor Kader Asmal



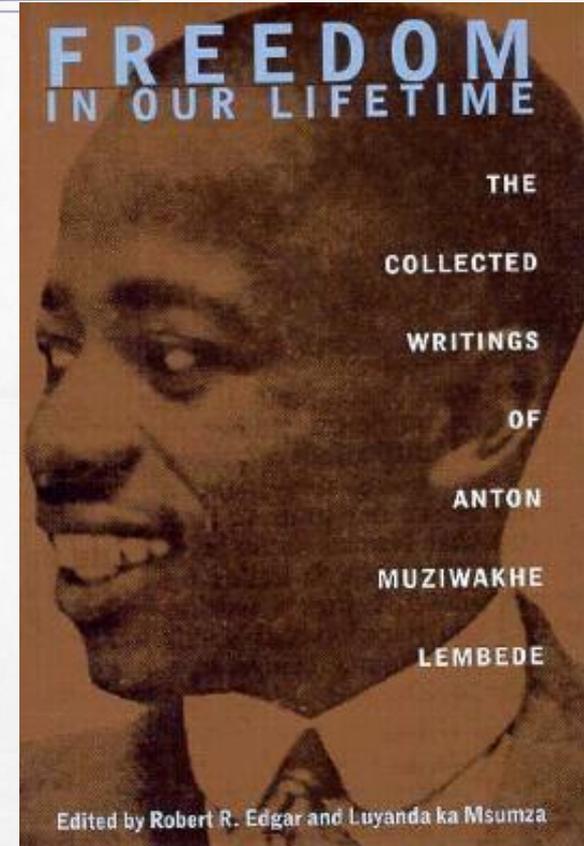
Organisation and Idealisation (1913-1959)



Non-racialism v. African nationalism

(Robert Sobukwe,
25, 1949)

“A struggle between Africa and Europe... between a 20th century desire for self realisation and a feudal conception of authority”
“Africa for Africans... An African is someone who makes their home in Africa”



Repression, entrenchment, enforcement (1960-1990)



Mobilisation, Sharpeville, Soweto, Mass action, Biko (1960-1990)

STUDENT
THE OFFICIAL STUDENT NEWSPAPER

**SHARPEVILLE:
25 YEARS
ON...**

Sharpeville: 69 killed in peaceful protest

ON 21 MARCH 1960, 69 people were killed and 180 wounded by police bullets outside Sharpeville police station, near Verwoerd. This massacre proved to be a watershed in the struggle for democracy in South Africa, coming as it did after 12 years of concerted, popular opposition to the Apartheid policies...

...cent of the defiance campaign illegal. The state also arrested, banned and banished to remote rural areas, nearly all the leadership of popular organisation.

Congress
In the city...



**WE DEMAND:
THE PEOPLE
SHALL GOVERN**

**WE SUPPORT THE
D CONSUMER
F BOYCOTT!**

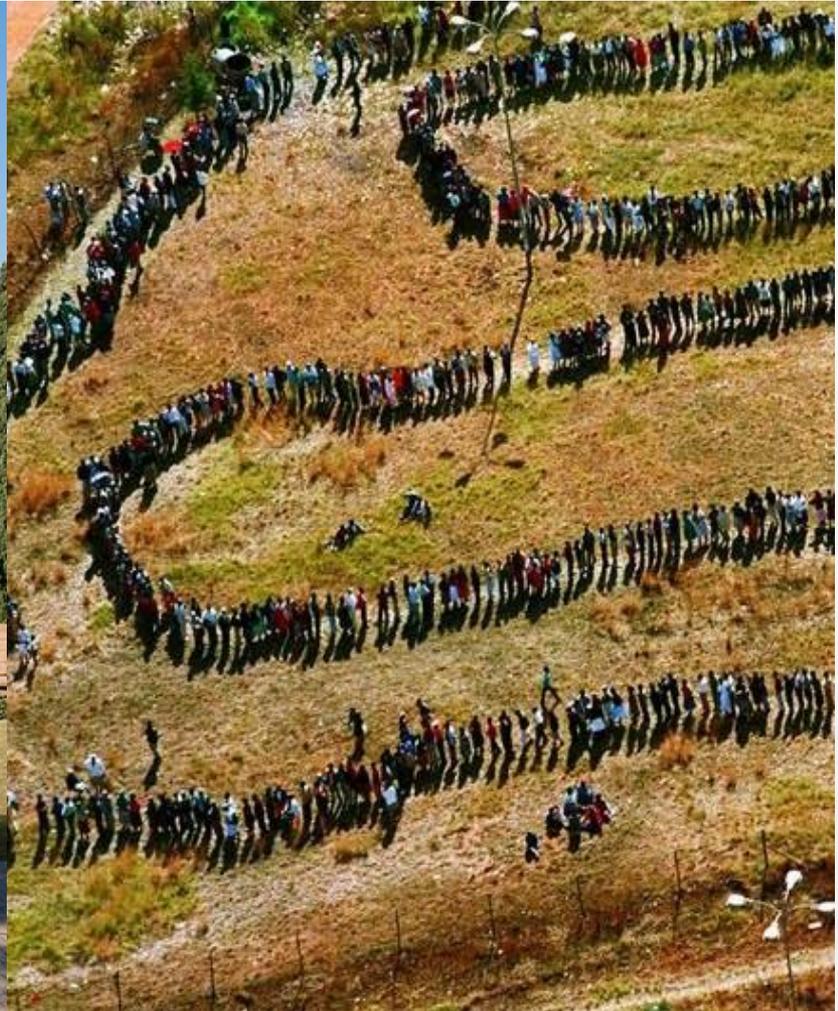
South African history website
SAHA

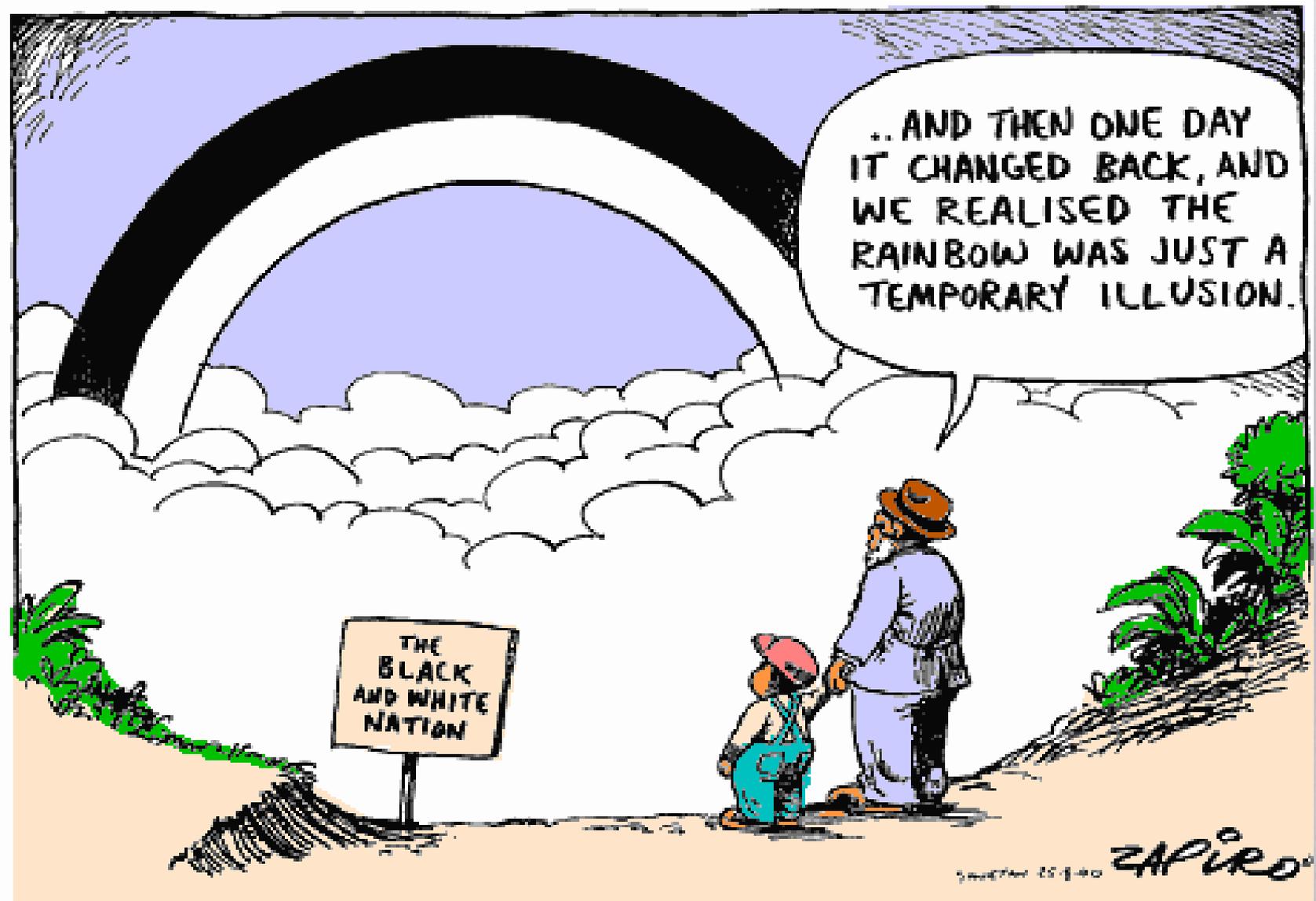


Steve Biko

- “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**. ... committed to fight against all forces that seek to use your blackness as a stamp that marks you out as a subservient being”.
- “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.**”
- **White people should conscientise** other white people to inequalities’ effects, and strategise to **eliminate** them

Negotiation, freedom, Rainbow Nation (1990-2011)





Inequality, Marikana, Fallism (2012 - ???)



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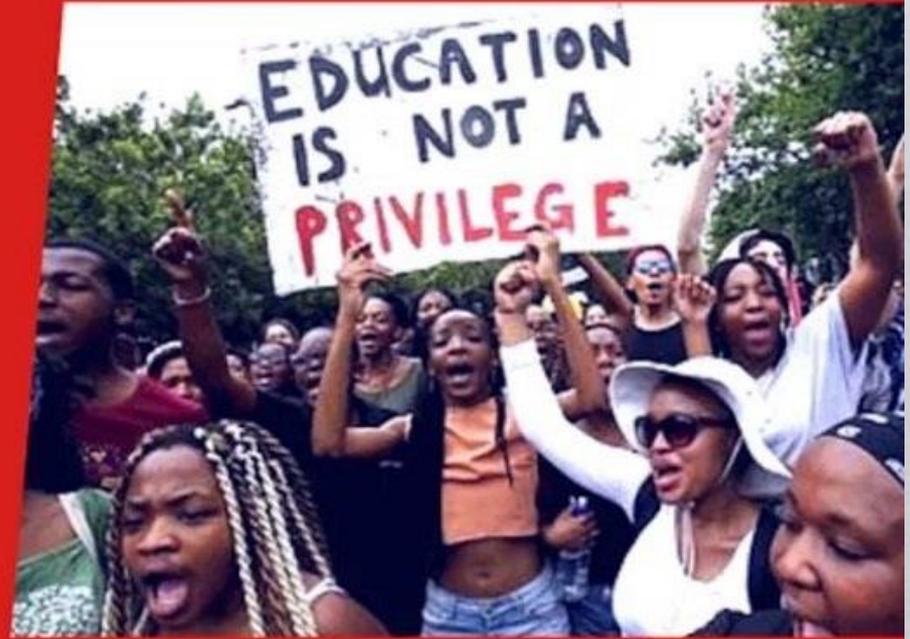








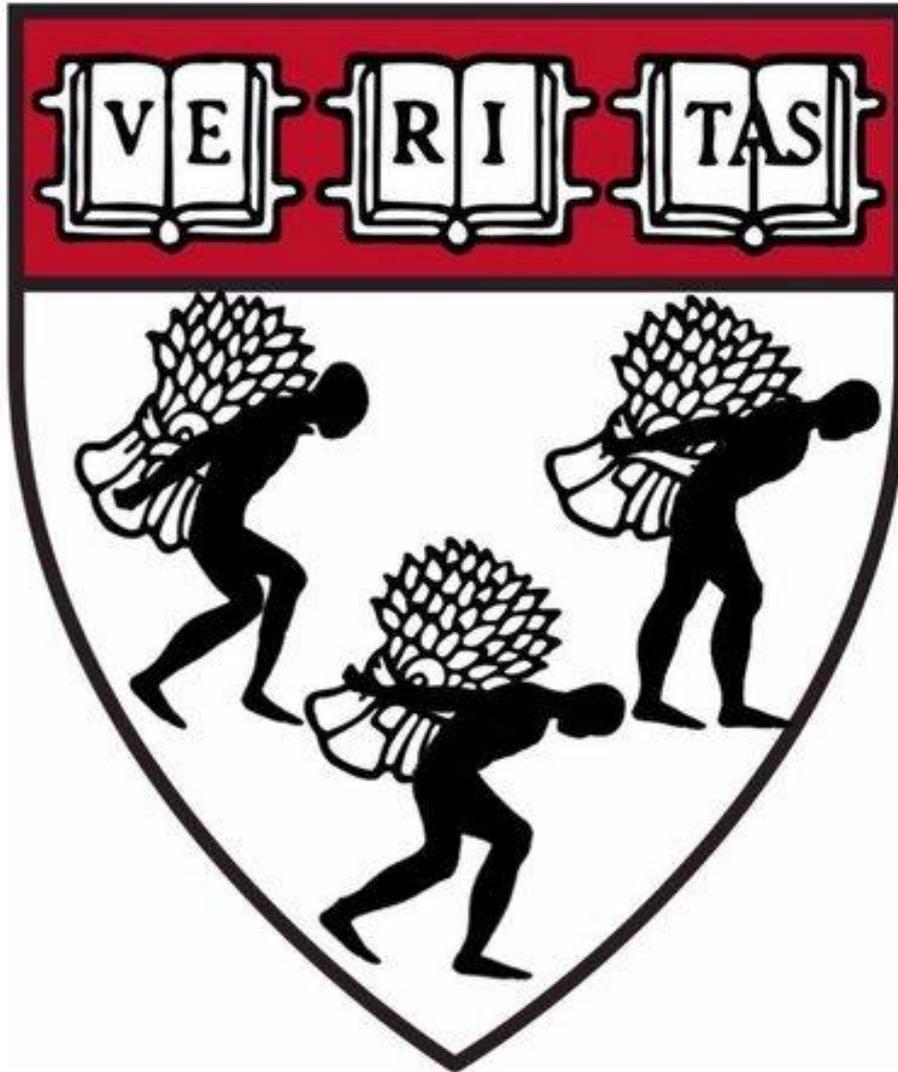
A Luta Continua!











#BlackLivesMatter



YES, ALL LIVES
MATTER

BUT WE'RE FOCUSED ON THE
BLACK ONES RIGHT NOW, OK?

— BECAUSE IT IS VERY —

APPARENT

THAT OUR JUDICIAL SYSTEM
DOESN'T KNOW THAT.

PLUS, IF YOU CAN'T SEE WHY WE'RE EXCLAIMING

#BLACKLIVESMATTER

YOU ARE PART OF THE PROBLEM.



White Protesters Form Human Shield To Protect Black Protesters From Police

October 21, 2015 2:32 pm ·





ANOTHER
UNIVERSITY
IS POSSIBLE









Similarities 1976 and 2015

1. Education as catalyst
2. Non-partisan
3. Silent leadership, and leadership 'struggles within struggles'
4. Ending racism, domination and oppression
5. Tensions between violence and non-violence
6. Tensions between African Nationalism and non-racialism
7. Alliances welcome – but “This is our struggle”
8. Strong theoretical ideology – Black consciousness
9. 'Teach ins'
10. Solidarity with other global (South) struggles
11. Police brutality



Differences

1976

1. Single issue – political emancipation
2. Single enemy – the state
3. ‘Liberation before education’
4. Right to education
5. “Slow” organising
6. *Little class distinction*

2015

1. Multiple issues – social, political, economic liberation – intersectional issues (gender, patriarchy)
2. Multiple enemies – state, capital, global hegemonies
3. ‘Protest and pass’
4. Right to decolonised education – epistemic justice
5. “Fast” organising - social media
6. *Led by middle class students*



Franz Fanon



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

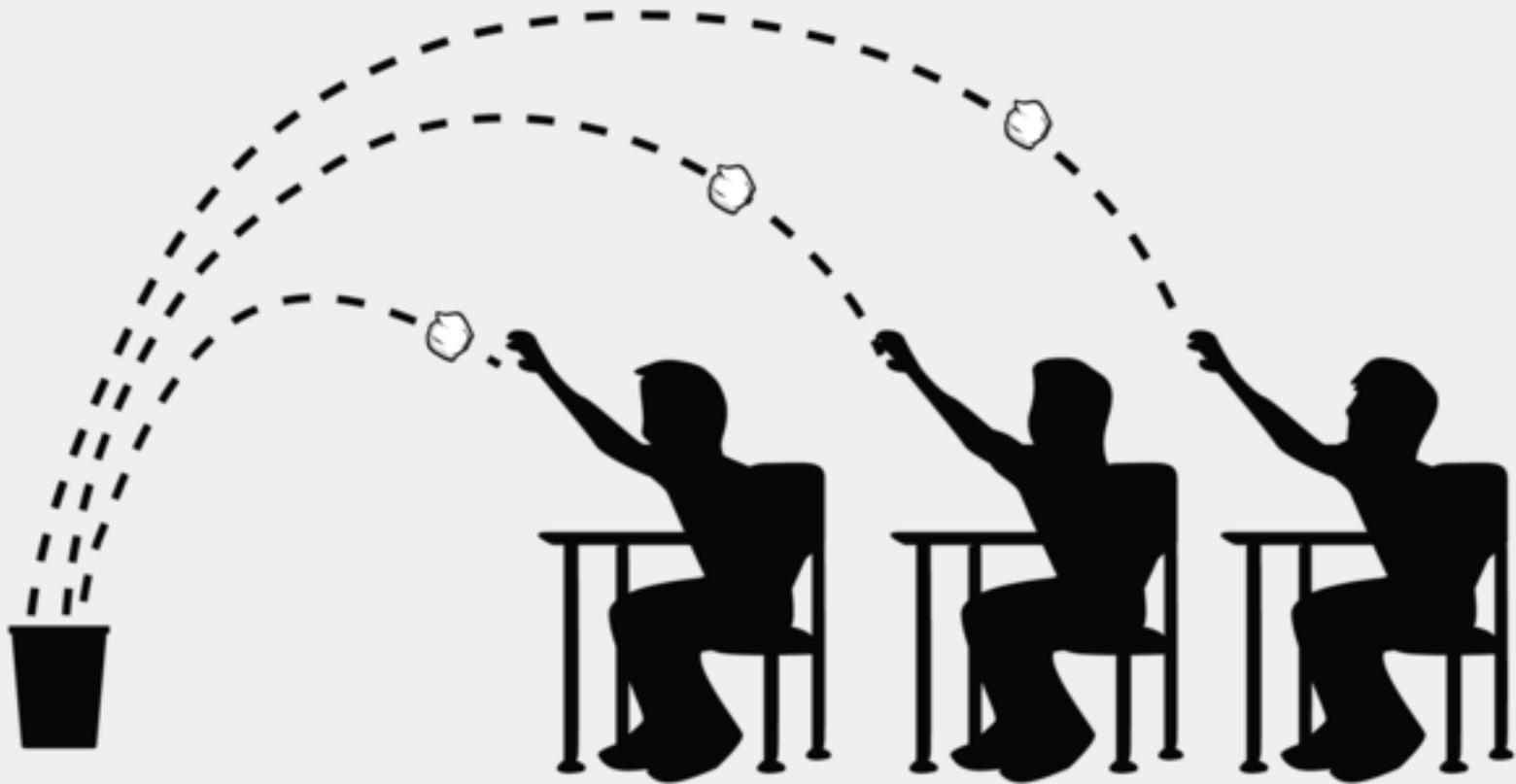


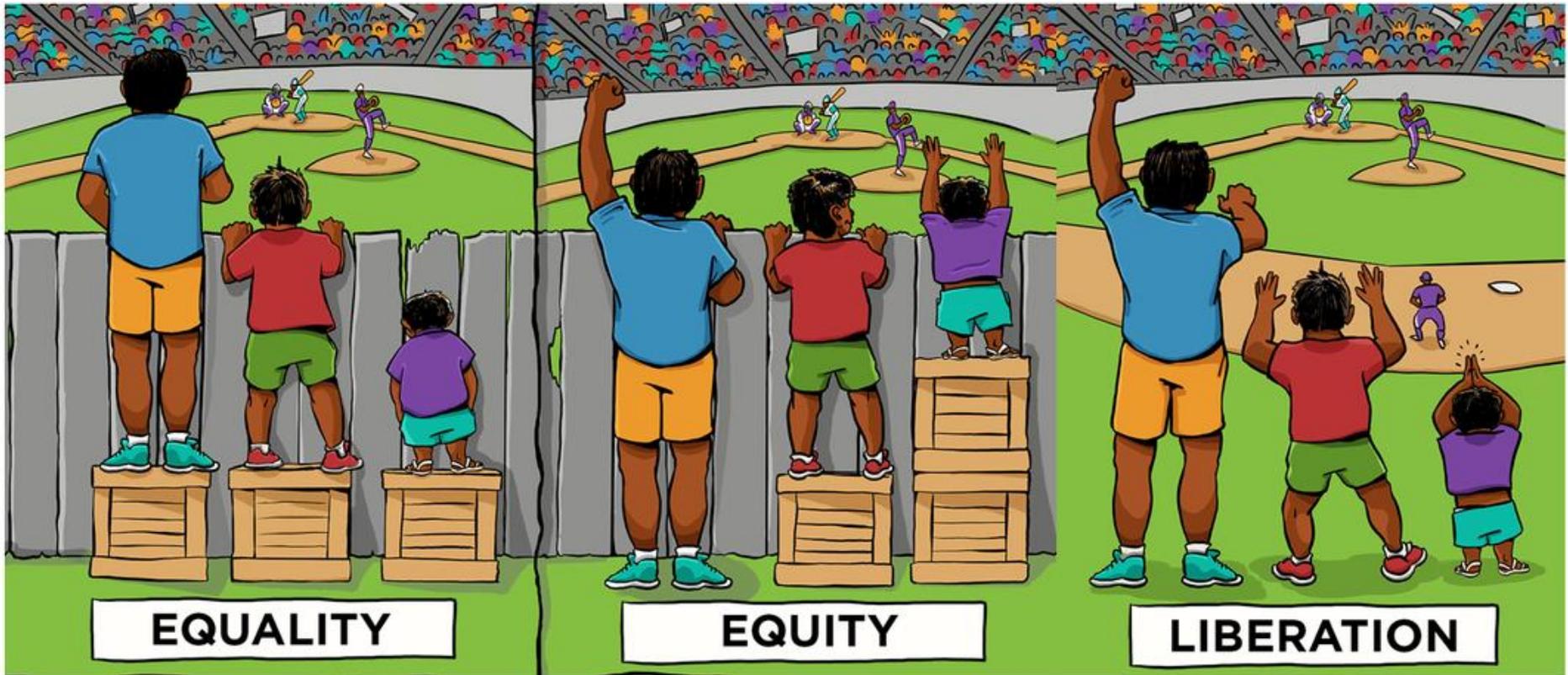
THREE 'PARADIGMATIC' SHIFTS

DISMANTLING PRIVILEGE

1. Becoming “WOKE” - conscious of privilege
2. From Black Consciousness to Consciousness of Blackness, of Southernness (Mangcu)
3. Of how we have arrived at this place (Europe, knowledge, inequality, domination)
4. Checking ‘privilege’
5. #BlackLivesMatter v. #AllLivesMatter
6. Ending racism, domination and oppression







Centre for Story-based strategy. Retrieved April 17, 2016 from http://www.storybasedstrategy.org/uploads/4/5/4/4/45442925/1193727_orig.png?653



DECOLONISING KNOWLEDGE

1. Epistemic justice
2. Mainstreaming indigenous knowledges
3. New feminisms
4. Southern histories
5. Challenging assumptions of globality
6. Language hegemonies
7. Who teaches
8. Imperialisation of research– Global South case studies, Global north theories



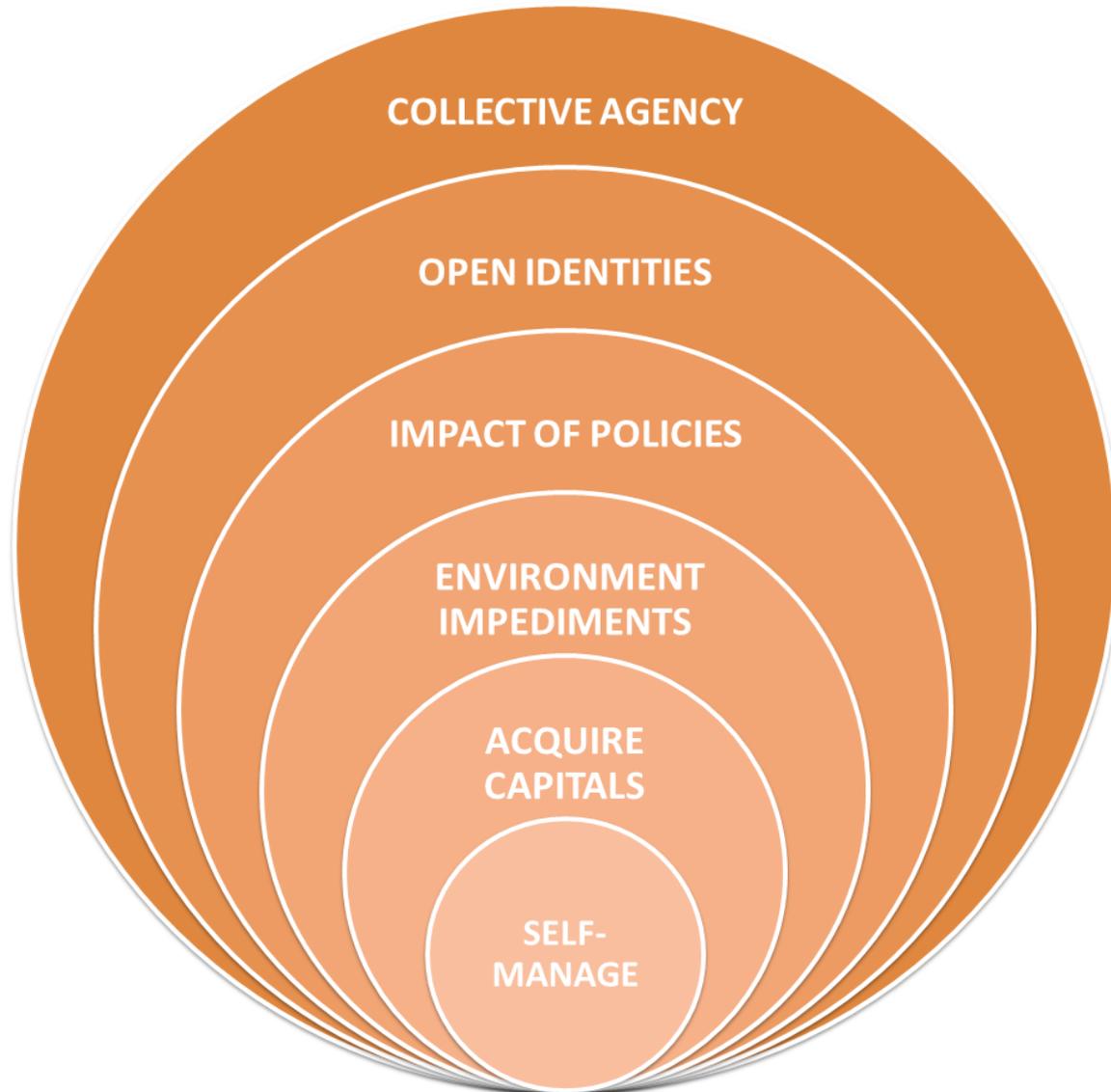
The Global South is 'Black'

1. Shorthand for the world of non-European, postcolonial peoples.
2. Synonymous with uncertain development, unorthodox economies, failed states, and nations fraught with corruption, poverty, incivility, and strife
3. That part of the world about which the “Global North” spins theories (60-75% of the word).
4. Rarely seen as a source of theory and explanation for world historical events.

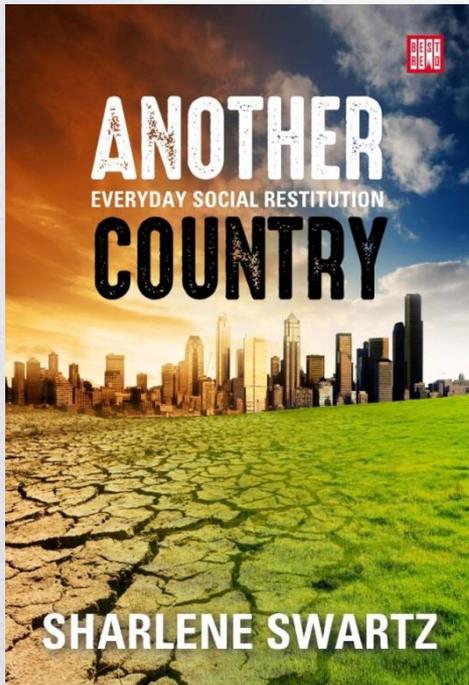
(John and Jean Comaroff, *Theory from the South*, 2012)



Navigational capacities



DELIVERING RESTITUTION



1. A new conversation – social v. legal
2. Forward-looking
3. A voluntary moral obligation
4. Restoring damaged humanity
5. Avoiding identity politics
6. Understanding the intergenerational transmission of benefit
7. Wiedergutmachung v. Wiederherstellen





IMPLICATIONS FOR ISA



The futures we want

1. Non-domination - internationalisation is not justice
 - Before we have a Global Sociology – do we not need a strong Southern Sociology?
 - A Southern - not Global - mapping?
2. Decolonised knowledge
 - Intentional and conscious epistemic justice
3. Restitutionary future
 - Making/taking space at the table
 - A reparations fund to allow Southern scholars to meet on their own terms?
 - Next Forum in Ghana, India, Costa Rica?