

Old scars, new wounds: Youth, inequality and restitution in South Africa

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Old Scars or New wounds?

Poverty and the breakdown of family life have secondary effects. Children wander about the streets of the townships because they have no schools to go to, or no money to enable them to go to school, or no parents at home to see that they go to school... This leads to a breakdown in moral standards, to an alarming rise in illegitimacy, and to growing violence which erupts not only politically, but everywhere.

(Nelson Mandela, *Long walk to freedom*, 1994, p. 437)

Since democracy



- Democracy!
- Education!
- Freedom!
- Equality!
- Growth!
- World Cup!
- Gold medals!

But also...

1. A Truth commission that never transferred ownership of resources
2. Enormous and growing inequality
3. A growing rage amongst the 'lumpen proletariat'
4. Burning school, libraries and violent wage strikes and labour protests
5. Increasing corruption – 'Its our turn to eat'





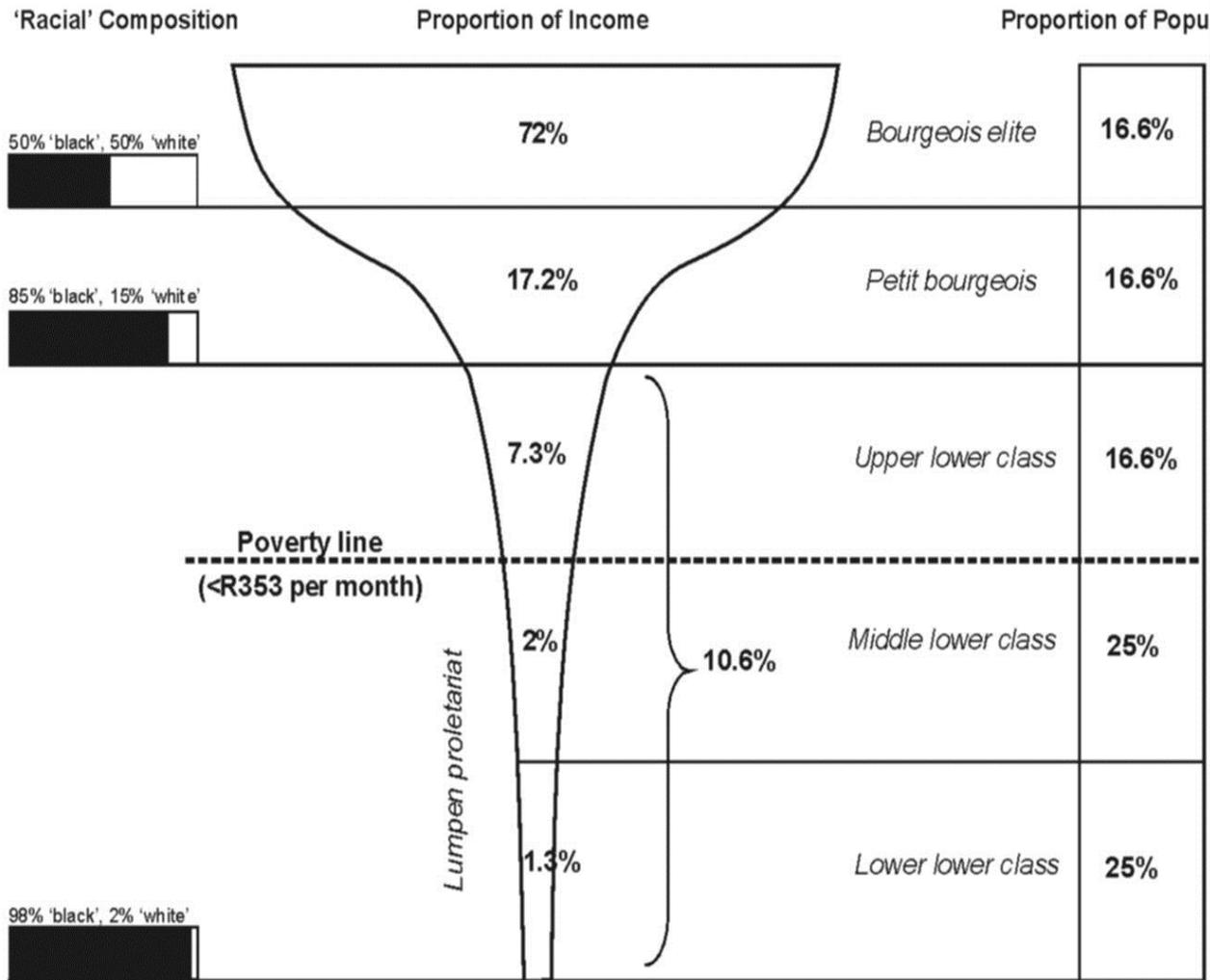


Fundiswa: Oh this is a bad influence - people are living in this - in this bad condition ... like ants. I took this picture from the train - ... sometimes these shacks are burning here – and we are getting wet cos ... the water can come through the zinc (Young woman, township-schooled, aged 16)



Fundiswa: Ah - this is a beautiful place - I think it a good influence - I wish I could stay in this beautiful houses - it's in the way go to Mandalay...I wish the people are living in bad conditions can live in these houses. (Young woman, township-schooled, aged 16)

Inequality in South Africa



Source: Terreblanche, 2002, p. 36

Quintile*	Share of income		
	1993	2000	2008
20 R69K+	71.6	73.6	74.6
20 R30-69K	15.8	14.4	13.9
20 R19-30K	7.5	6.9	6.4
20 R11-19K	3.9	3.7	3.6
20 -R11K	1.3	1.51	1.41

Source: Leibbrandt et al 2010
*StatsSA 2005

Poverty by race and gender

(Poverty line R515 per household per month)

	Poverty share		
	1993	2000	2008
African female	0.51	0.50	0.52
African male	0.42	0.43	0.41
Coloured female	0.02	0.03	0.03
Coloured male	0.02	0.02	0.03
Indian/Asian female	0.00	0.00	0.00
Indian/Asian male	0.00	0.00	0.00
White female	0.01	0.01	0.00
White male	0.01	0.01	0.00

Source: Leibbrandt et al (2010) [Saldru 1993, IES 2000 and NIDS 2008]

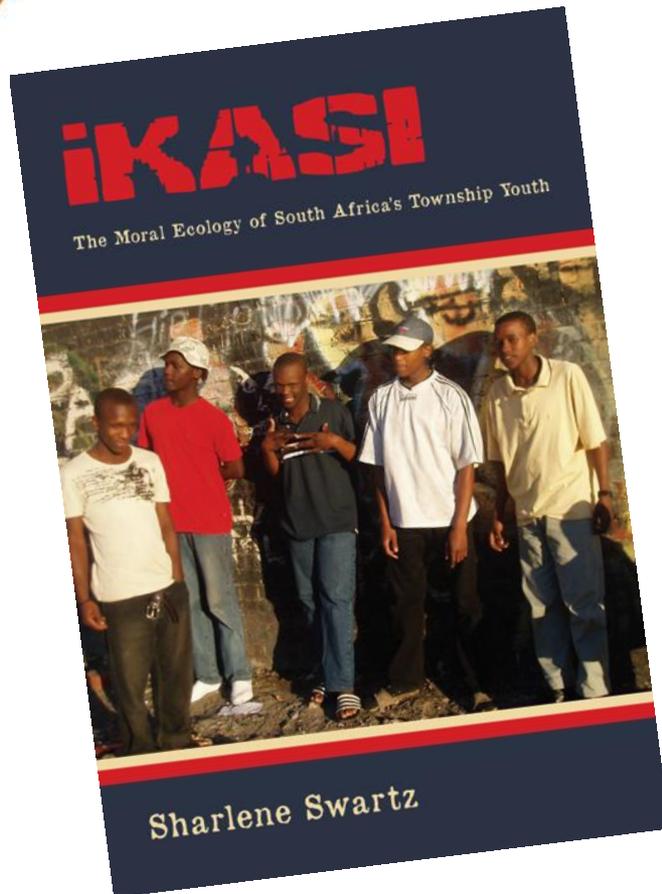
Measurements of inequality

Table 1: Gini coefficients of per capita income, aggregate and by race

	Aggregate	African	Coloured	Indian	White
1993	0.67	0.55	0.43	0.46	0.42
2000	0.67	0.61	0.53	0.50	0.47
2005	0.72	0.62	0.60	0.58	0.51
2008	0.70	0.62	0.54	0.61	0.50
Change 1993-2008 (in %)	4.5	12.7	25.6	32.6	19.1

Source: PSLSD (1993), IES (2000, 2005) and NIDS (2008)

The biggest issues for youth

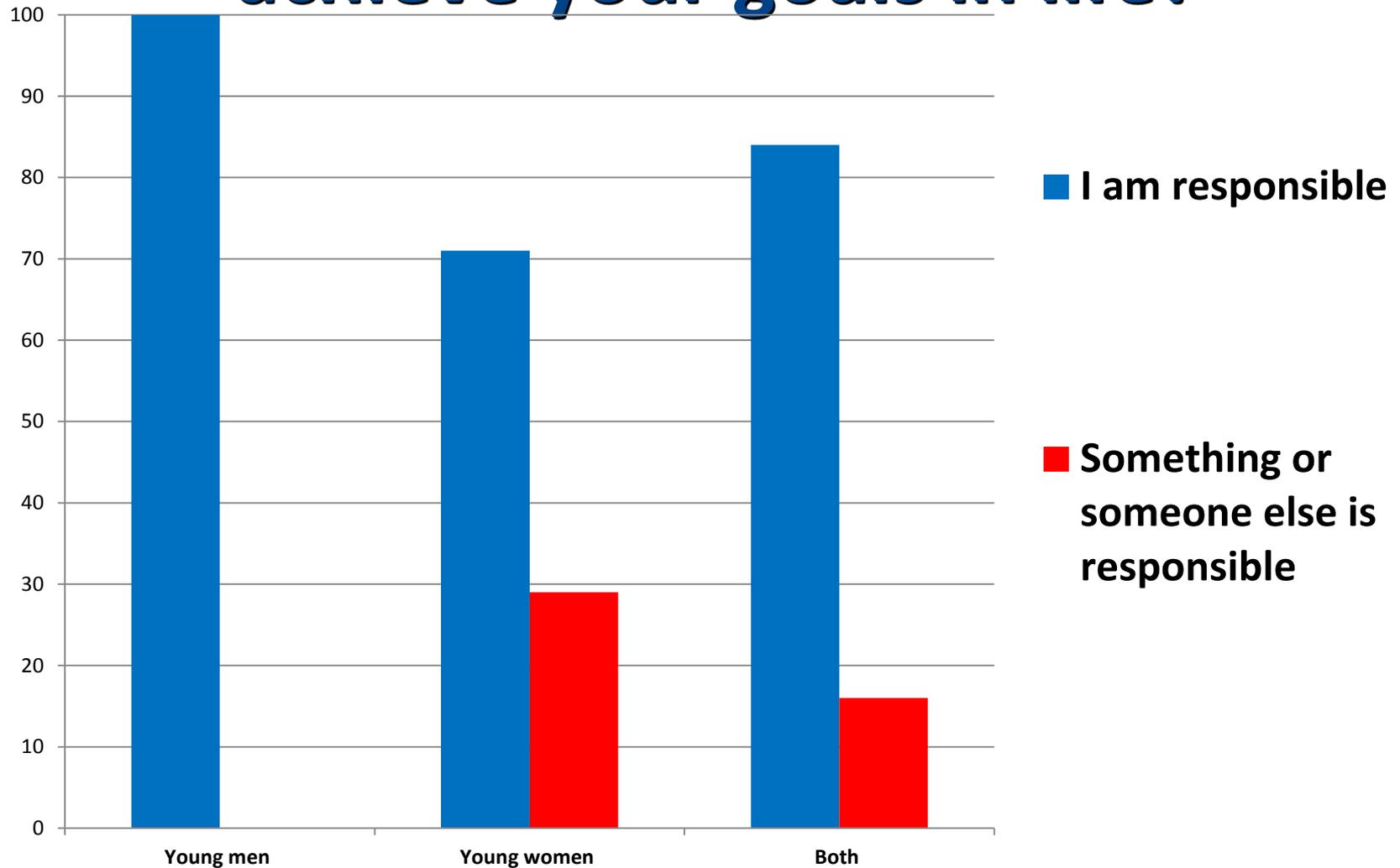


1. Partial-parenting
2. Partial-schooling
3. Historical blindness/racial subjugation
4. Normalisation of violence
5. Debilitating substance use
6. Huge aspirations

The study

- Ethnographic study
- Participant observation
- Two years plus
- With 37 'Black' youth – 18 men, 19 women
- Aged 14 - 20
- Most in Grade 9
- Cape Town townships (*ikasi*)
- 3 interviews
- Digital photo voice
- Questionnaire
- Decision making mind maps
- Free lists
- Rank ordering
- Hanging out!

Who is responsible if you don't achieve your goals in life?



Poverty – how does it affect you?

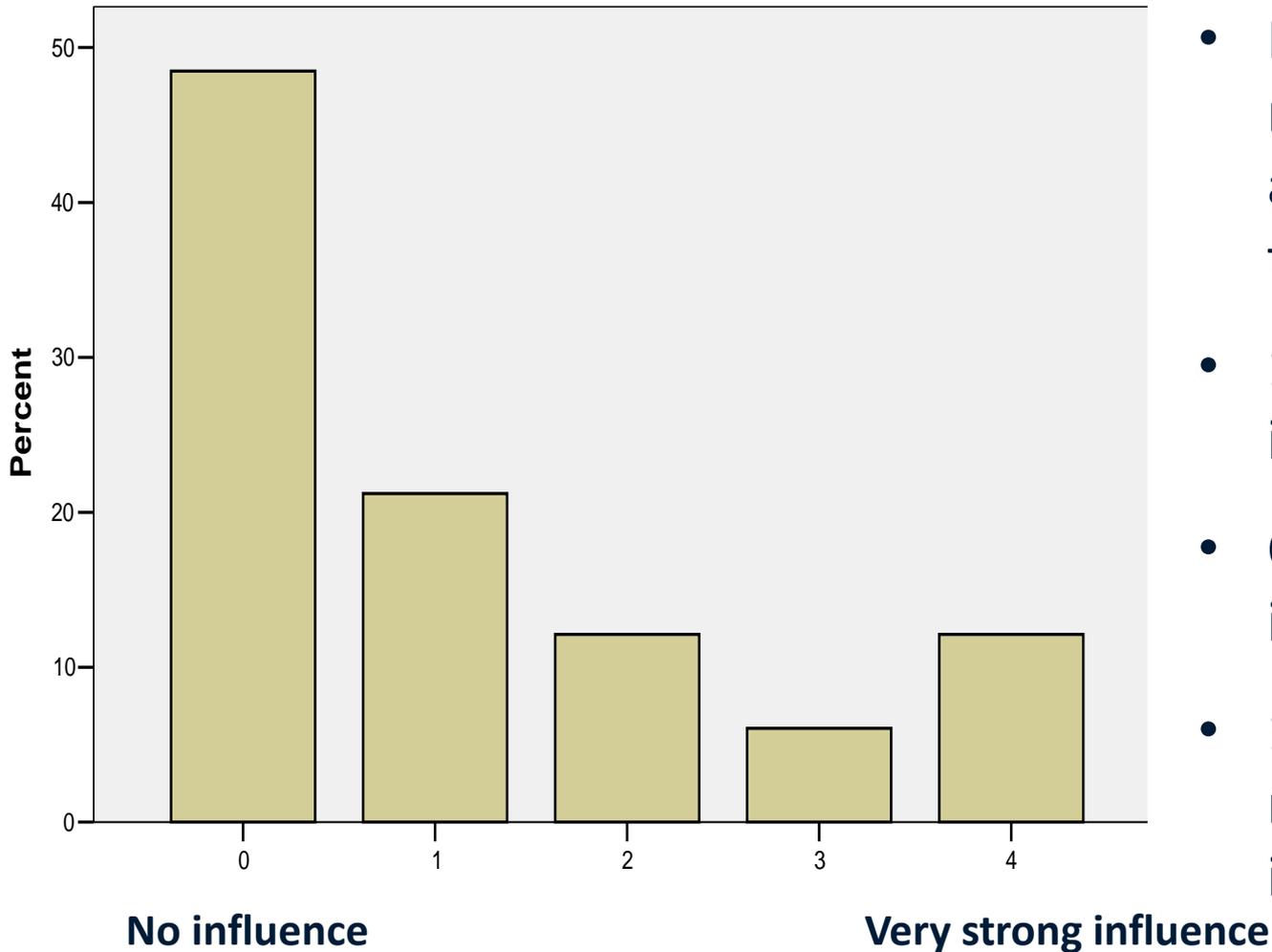
Andiswa: Sjoe, very much. It's actually putting an end stop in most of the things that I want to do because, yeah, I like [township school] but it was not my dream school, you know. I wanted to go to, um, [suburbs] school.

Thando: No, I've learnt, I've learnt to live with it - ... I've learnt to accept it in different ways, like... I know how to, to, to help myself, but in the positive way, not in a bad way like robbing and doing drugs and going to, to break in people's houses and all that, those things. ... Mmm, I just, I just forget about it [being poor], because it, it will, at the time it will lower my self-esteem. It will make me, yah, sadness and you know, so I just keep myself listen to music, and dancing - just to forget about all these things.

Apartheid

- Nonkiza: Apartheid hasn't affected my life. I live in a freedom world now. I will have a house like yours if I work hard.
- Luxolo: When I was born there was no Apartheid.
- Mhoza: It affected our grannies cos they are all domestic workers and we don't live in the suburbs... Coloured people's dogs chase us.
- Amande: It affects me because it affected my parents, who couldn't be what they wanted to be
- Dipuo: There's no apartheid. It doesn't affect me

Apartheid



- Nearly half did not rate Apartheid as an influence in their life at all (0)
- 1/3 as a weak influence (1)
- 0 as a very strong influence (5)
- 15% as a strong to moderate influence (3 & 4)

Vathiswa: Making the connections

Vathiswa: My mother have no money - to buy and live in the other house... She's not working... Because she didn't get the job.

Sharlene: Why do you live in a shack and I live in a house?

Vathiswa: Because you have money... Because my mother is not working –

Sharlene: You think it's got nothing to do with Apartheid that I have money and you don't?

Vathiswa: Yes... Yes - apartheid - because [for] the black people is not easy to find a job. White people - is easy to find a job. Because [pause] other whites ... learn - so black people not learn... Because in long ago - they - the black people is not getting better education - so white people have a better education - and - the - black people - their parents have no money ... to go to school.

Mandisa: Making the connections

Mandisa: If I'm starving and there's no food, there is nothing I can do [shrugs shoulders]. I go to sleep... Education is the one that is going to help me to do what I want to do - because I want to learn and get - when I finish to learning and better job and do what I want to do for my mother... [be an] accountant.

Sharlene: And if somebody offers you a job as a domestic worker?

Mandisa: I will take it

Sharlene: You will? Even if you are only 19 years old?

Mandisa: I will take it - because - like my mother - where she live in Thembisa - I don't like that house... I want to help her. It's not right that house - it's too small because it's two rooms.

Vuma: Making the connections

- Vuma: I blame no one because I am myself. No one pushes me to do anything - if I say no I say no. So like I blame no one. Not my friends Sharlene not them - cos **they didn't force me** to smoke [dagga] you know Sharlene. When I don't want to do something I don't want to.
- Sharlene: And not ikasi - it doesn't push you - living in ikasi?
- Vuma: Yah, Sharlene I can say that! Cos if I were not living there - like maybe I was behaving in an another place, being an other person – maybe I was not behaving like I am now.
- ...
- Sharlene: And apartheid? How has it affected you?

Cont...

Vuma: [long pause] Like Sharlene - it has affect my parents - and when it affect my parent it affect me you know cos like if apartheid didn't affect them they maybe would be staying in the suburbs you know Sharlene - like me I won't get corrupt - like I will be still at school.

Sharlene: Because why Vuma why wouldn't you be corrupt if there was no apartheid - because you said it is only you - you make the decision?

Vuma: Yah Sharlene - at the same time like where I stay in the township you know Sharlene - you see everything there you know - so maybe if my parents are staying in the suburbs I wouldn't know about those things and I didn't see so many people smoking ganja you know. So maybe my parents will give me everything and make sure I go to school and then I have the things that I want to get you know - but now -.

Poseletso: Making the connections

Poseletso: I think education should be free. Some... [young people] want to be good people but they don't have money to go to university so that they can study and then become good people when they have got their own jobs. So they don't have money, so they end up staying in the street—doing all those [wrong] things.

The effects of poverty and inequality

1. **Structural violence: Institutionalising social processes that differentially cause suffering through unequal access to social resources (rights, security, capital and bodily and mental integrity), based on markers of difference (Farmer, 1996)**
2. Systematic exclusion [**Old Scars**]
3. Inequality and limited redress results in poor education, high unemployment, insufficient health care, insecurity and no property ownership rights [**New wounds**]
3. This dearth of capitals **accumulate over generations**
4. Bourdieu (1965) speaks of **the emotional consequences of poverty** (loss of dignity, autonomy, purpose, security, coherent life-structure and feelings of hopelessness).
5. There is a **progenetic** action of inequality



Ikasi style and the quiet violence of dreams

“Despite the repeal of Apartheid laws, poverty and inequality persist in part because of the **internalisation of inequalities** which still **structure social behaviours**. This perception of the **internal coherence of differential privilege, produced by the exclusive experience of a world marked in this way, is reproduced** throughout South Africa **across all lines of race, class and gender**. In the context of such structural and symbolic violence, South Africans’ **assumption of coherence** within social, political and economic systems in effect enables the perpetuation of inequality” (Swartz, et al, 2012, p. 30).

“Wounded Attachments” (Wendy Brown, 1993)

1. Citizenship as including both rights and access
2. *Ikasi* style – anti-social behaviours, work entitlements and service protests
3. Dreams of access and aspiration
4. How dreams become a ‘quiet violence’ of disillusionment
5. Youth, through *ikasi* style (‘I am of the township’) embrace the hurt status quo
6. They attempt to heal themselves through hope and dreams (‘I want something better’).
7. They are not ‘wounded’ citizens but active participants (with injured attachments)

Mamphela Ramphele and Desmond Tutu

The persistent “wound of racism”... “a wounded people” ...“in denial about [their] wounds” (Ramphele 2008). A “scarring of the black psyche” (Ramphele, 2009, 74). The effects of which are “a socially induced inferiority complex, self-hatred, low self-esteem, jealousy of those seen to be progressing (both black and white), suppressed aggression, anxiety” (Ramphele 2009, 16).

““[Only if the] emerging truth unleashes a social dynamic that includes redressing the suffering of victims... will it meet the ideal of restorative justice” (Tutu, TRC, 1998, Volume 1, p. 131).

Addressing 'woundedness'

1. Legal and historical uses of restitution
2. Recent interdisciplinary alternatives
3. Proposing “the restitution of personhood” as the ‘missing piece’ in the transformation puzzle



JUSTICE

Healing, wholeness

RECONCILIATION

TRANSFORMATION

PEACE
PROCESSES



Restitution to move forward

Why restitution?

1. To address 'woundedness' (Ramphela) with 'healing'
2. To answer the call for a 'social dynamic' (Tutu) of 'justice'
3. To showcase theorised models for just action
4. To address injustice, poverty and inequality – systematically, at multiple levels
5. To align peace processes (TRC), reconciliation, justice, and transformation

Restitution in historical and legal context

1. Rectify unjust enrichment; restore to prior state
2. Both compensation, and gain-stripping
3. Reparations and apologies \neq restitution
4. Incl. psychological harm e.g. child pornography
5. Punish offender, compensate victim
6. Restorative justice, rehabilitate offender
7. Individual and state-level (International Law Commission: Articles on Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful Acts)
6. Focus on legislated restitution, esp. property

Contemporary & interdisciplinary scholarship on restitution

1. Voluntary not legislative, creative not punitive (Eglish)
2. “International morality... encompassing the spectrum of attempts to rectify historical injustices” (Barkan)
3. Emphasises continuum of community, responsibility across generations and rectifying structural injustice (Young, Calder, McIntyre, Mamdani)
4. Not just backward-looking (liability from the past) but also forward-looking (change in the future) (Calder)
5. Restoring victims, offenders, communities, nations (Braithwaite)
6. “We are our past as well as our future” (Booth)

(Re)Defining restitution

FROM

“Restoring things to how they were before the injustice was perpetrated”

TO

The act of ‘paying back’ for wrongs previously committed

AND

The act of ‘making right’ symbolically or materially

INCLUDES

Philosophical, emotional, theological, psychological, physical and economic elements.

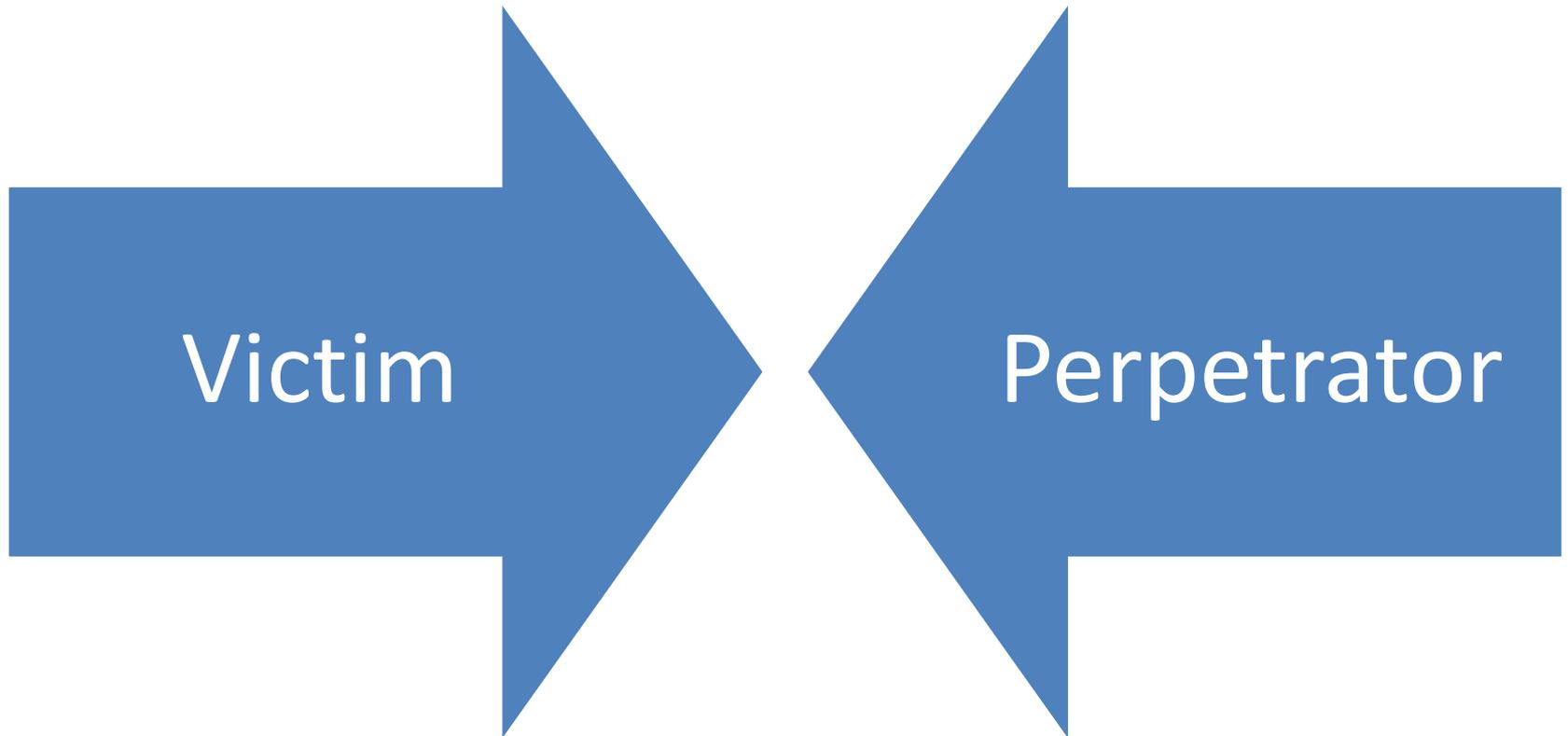
INTRODUCES

The notion of ‘personhood’

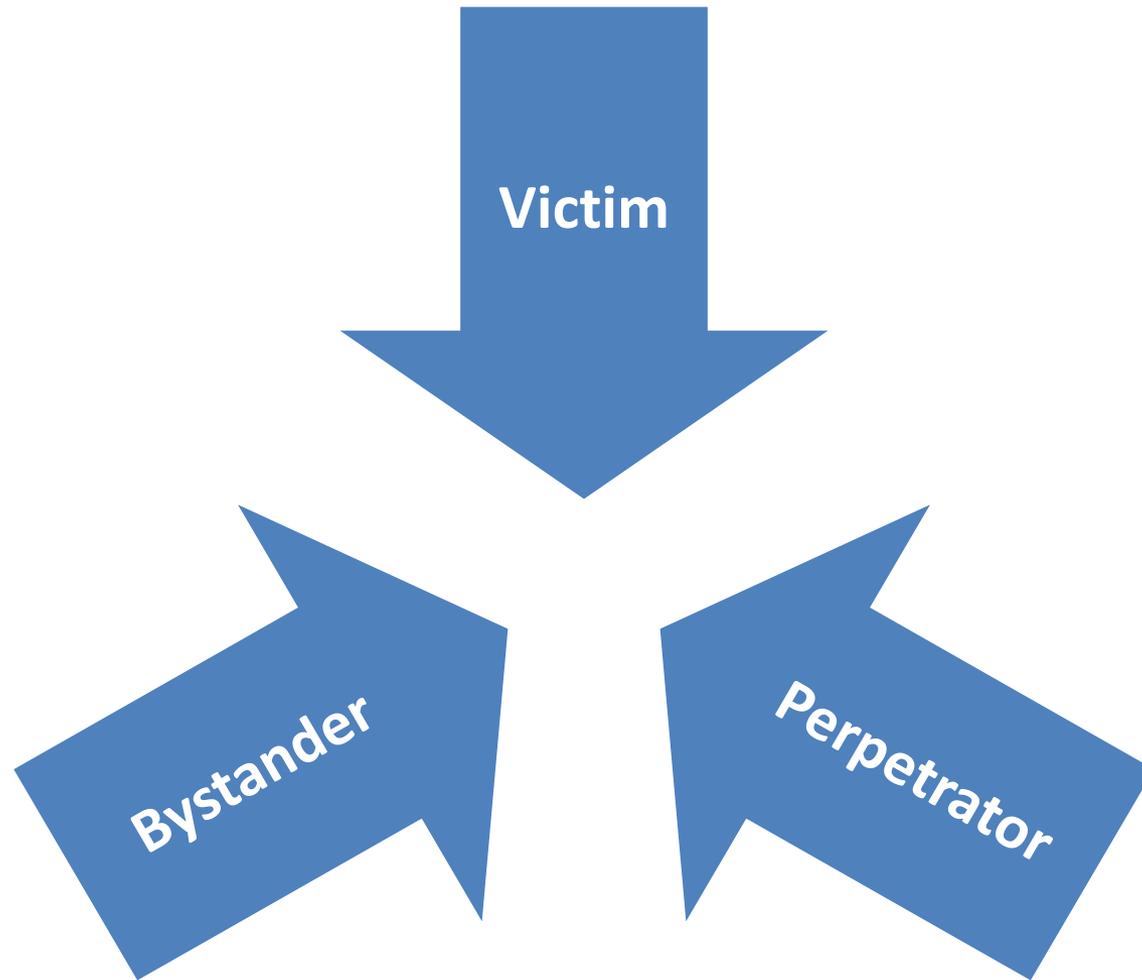
The restitution of personhood: An expanded conceptualisation

1. Elements of personhood
2. Domains of agency **IN THE RESTITUTION OF PERSONHOOD**
3. Positionalities of actors **IN THE RESTITUTION OF PERSONHOOD**

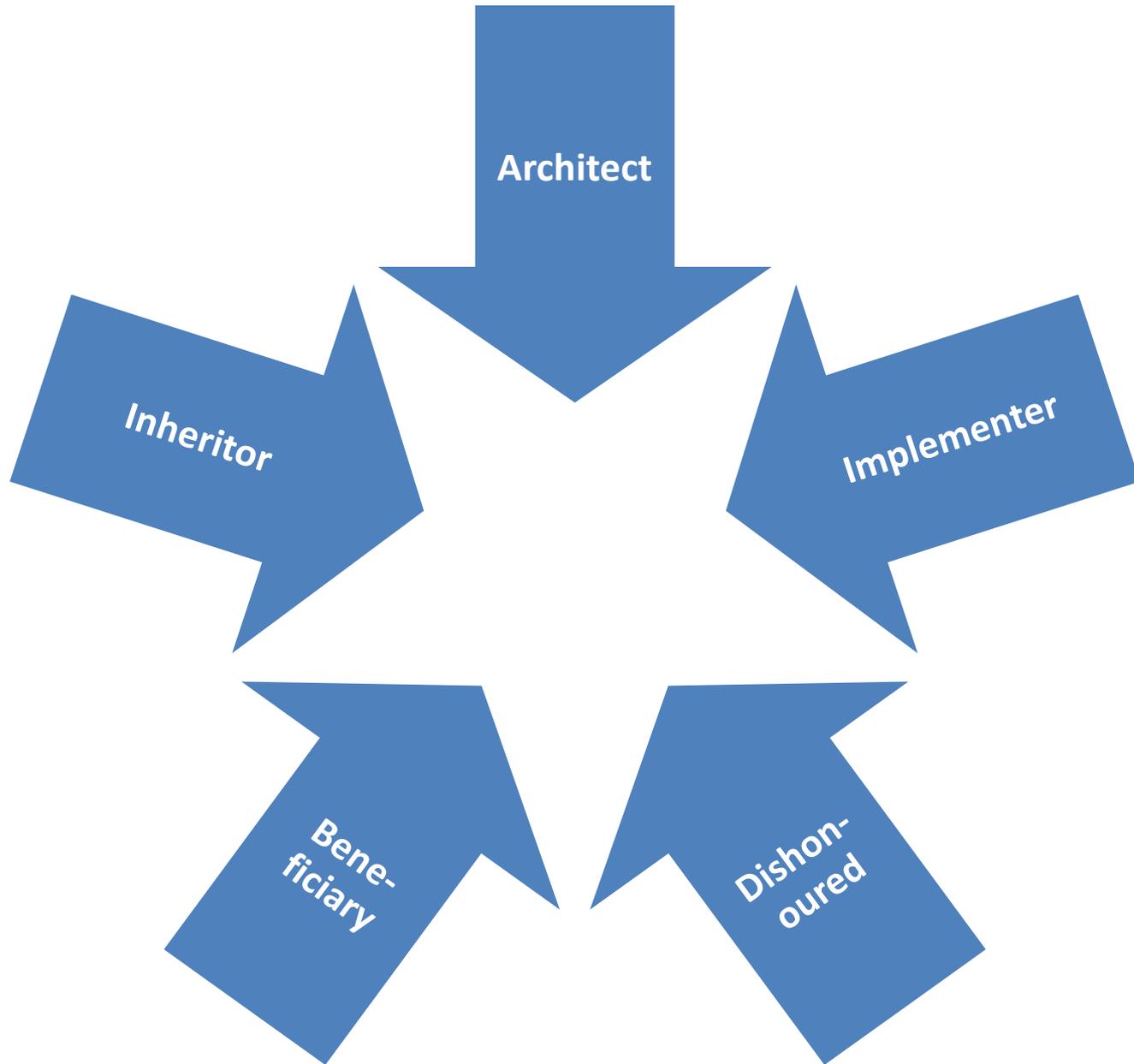
Positionalities of actors



Positionalities of actors



Positionalities of actors



Positionalities of actors

Injustice, e.g. Verwoerd, Vorster, Vlok	Architect	Resistance to injustice, e.g. Mandela, Casrils, Sisulu, Zuma
Injustice, e.g. apartheid foot soldier, security police, 'madams'	Implementer	Resistance to injustice, e.g. MK foot soldier, Mass action participant, civic committees
Dishonoured by complicity, e.g. white worker, Apartheid informer	Dishonoured	Dishonoured by systems, structures and actions, e.g. most 'black', 'coloured', 'Indian' people
Injustice, e.g. white people, Bantustan leaders	Beneficiary	Resistance e.g. Black consciousness, children of activists, BBBEEE beneficiaries
Inheritor of benefit, e.g. white youth, financial, social and cultural capital	Inheritor	Inheritor of dishonour, e.g. impoverishment, poor quality education

Miller (1976) Principles of Social Justice

1. Equal citizenship and ability to exercise rights
2. Social minimum of resources to meet need and offer security and dignity
3. Equality of opportunity – life chances depends on aptitude and effort not on accidents of birth
4. Fair distribution – of resources that reflect desire and choice



Elements of personhood



Personhood

1. **Dignity** → ‘Scarred psyche’, self determination, symbolic violence
2. **Memory** → Chronic amnesia, no first hand experience
3. **Equality** → In law and in lived experience
4. **Means** → Decent life, wealth, property, National Development Plan 2030 focuses here (housing, nutrition, safety, health care, employment, recreation, environment, transport)
5. **Opportunity** → skills, access, possibilities
6. **Citizenship** → not the ‘wounded excluded’, realised rights



Domains of agency

EXAMPLES OF RESTITUTION

	Structural
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Housing subsidy for those earning under R13,000pa [means, dignity]
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Youth employment subsidy [opportunity, means]
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Broad-based black economic empowerment [opportunity, equality, means]
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• National Health Insurance - SA [means, dignity]
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Solidarity tax at reunification - Germany, 1992 [means, opportunity]
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Law of Historical Memory – Spain, 1997 [memory]



Domains of agency

EXAMPLES OF RESTITUTION

	Civic	Structural
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Commemorating the 1913 Land Act - SA [memory]	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Housing subsidy for those earning under R13,000pa [means, dignity]
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Community partnerships, e.g. Solms-Delta Project [dignity, means]	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Youth employment subsidy [opportunity, means]
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Physically reintegrating racially divided churches [equality, citizenship]	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Broad-based black economic empowerment [opportunity, equality, means]
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Teaching about Black Consciousness [equality, dignity]	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• National Health Insurance - SA [means, dignity]
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Corporate social responsibility/investment [dignity, opportunity]	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Solidarity tax at reunification - Germany, 1992 [means, opportunity]
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• National museums/centres of remembrance [memory]	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Law of Historical Memory – Spain, 1997 [memory]



Domains of agency

EXAMPLES OF RESTITUTION

Individual	Civic	Structural
Commemorating public holidays [dignity, citizenship]	• Commemorating the 1913 Land Act - SA [memory]	• Housing subsidy for those earning under R13,000pa [means, dignity]
• Apologies between individuals [dignity]	• Community partnerships, e.g. Solms-Delta Project [dignity, means]	• Youth employment subsidy [opportunity, means]
• Voluntary limitation to children's inheritance [means]	• Physically reintegrating racially divided churches [equality, citizenship]	• Broad-based black economic empowerment [opportunity, equality, means]
• Reading to children in impoverished communities [opportunity]	• Teaching about Black Consciousness [equality, dignity]	• National Health Insurance - SA [means, dignity]
• Learn at least one indigenous language [citizenship]	• Corporate social responsibility/investment [dignity, opportunity]	• Solidarity tax at reunification - Germany, 1992 [means, opportunity]
• Cross-racial adoption [opportunity]	• National museums/centres of remembrance [memory]	• Law of Historical Memory – Spain, 1997 [memory]

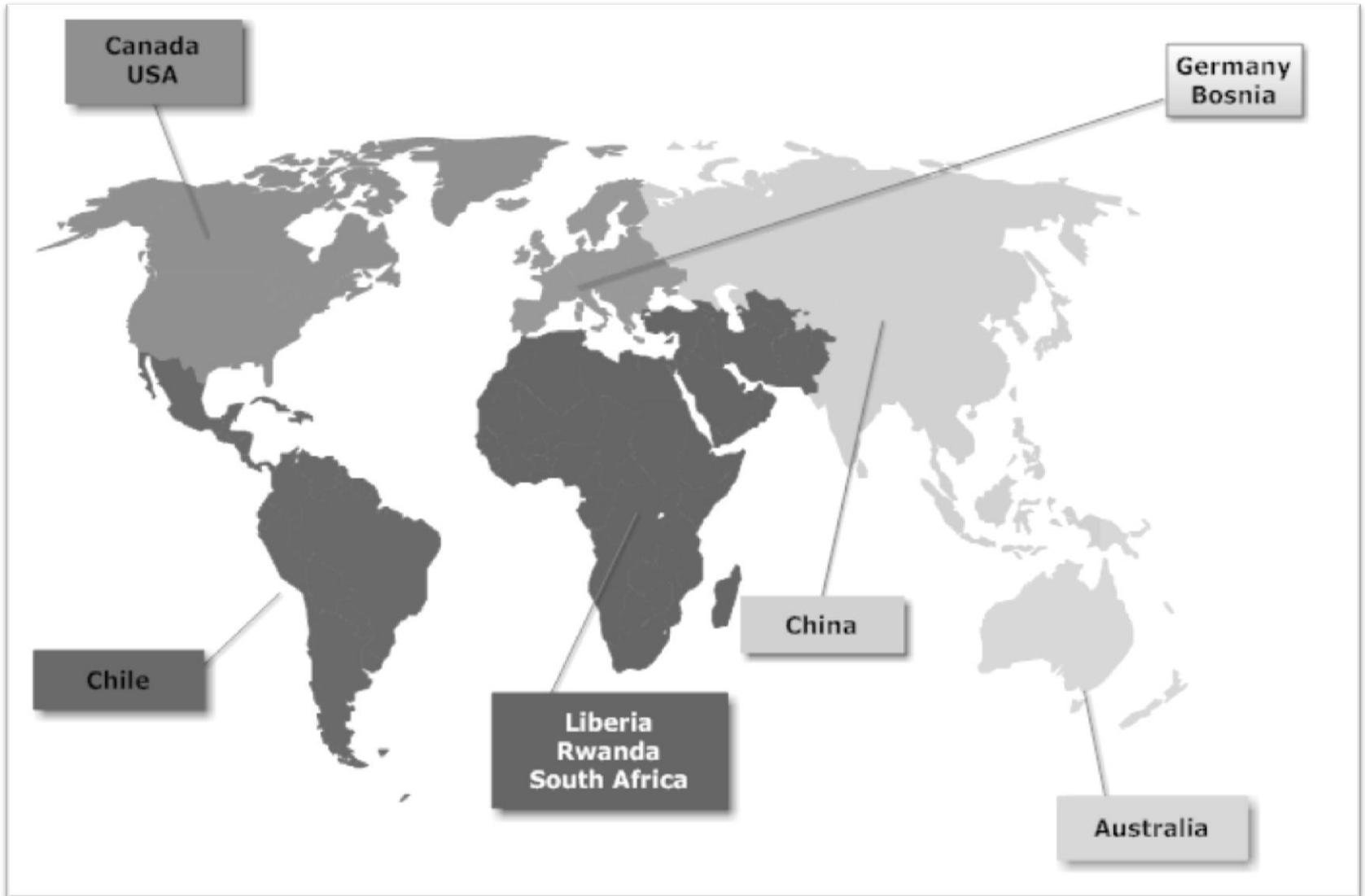
A multi-year programme of research

To investigate how the notion of restitution may be usefully and theoretically employed as an organizing framework and programmatic principle for social justice and transformation through investigating:

- (1) attitudes towards and narratives of restitution
- (2) Restitution theories, policies and legislation, and
- (3) models and social movements of restitution.

In ten countries with Global South-North partnerships

Ten Countries



- Dignity
- Memory
- Equality

- Opportunity
- Means
- Citizenship

Healing, wholeness

JUSTICE

RESTITUTION OF PERSONHOOD

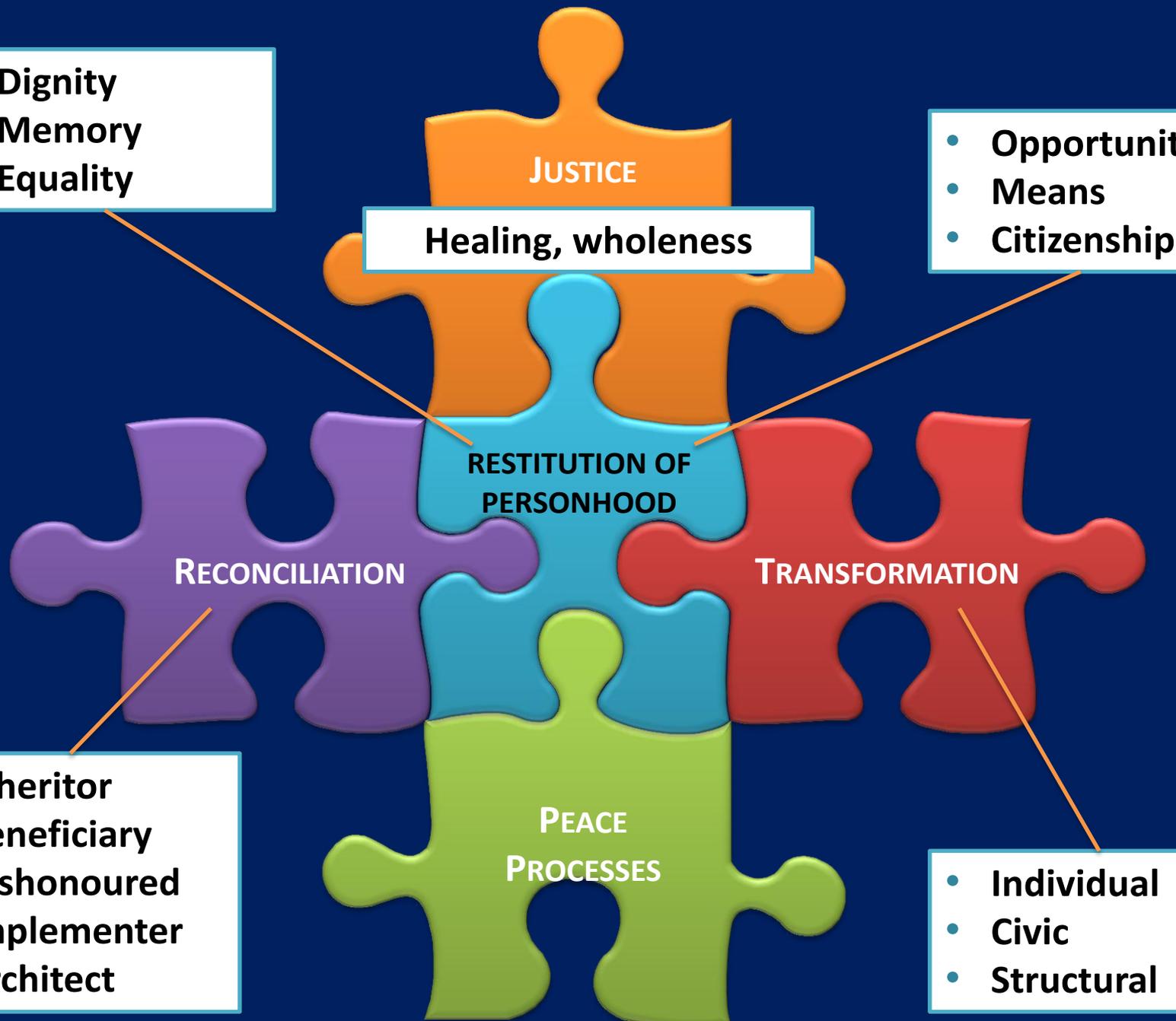
RECONCILIATION

TRANSFORMATION

PEACE PROCESSES

- Inheritor
- Beneficiary
- Dishonoured
- Implementer
- Architect

- Individual
- Civic
- Structural



Selected Author's Works

Swartz, S., Hamilton Harding, J., & De Lannoy, A. (2012): Ikasi style and the quiet violence of dreams: A critique of youth belonging in post-Apartheid South Africa, *Comparative Education*, 48(1), 27-40

Swartz, S. (2009) *Ikasi: The moral ecology of South Africa's township youth*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan and Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Swartz, S., & Scott, D. (2012, September). *Restitution: A revised paradigm for the transformation of poverty and inequality in South Africa*. Paper presented at the Strategies to Overcome Poverty and Inequality: Towards Carnegie 3 Conference, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa.