

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

Achieving Sustainable Peace in Worcester

Deon Snyman SNYDEO001

A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy in Political Studies

Faculty of the Humanities

University of Cape Town

2013

COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature:

Signed by candidate

 _____ Date: _____

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	5
THE SECOND LEVEL OF APARTHEID	7
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	8
1.1 Focus of Research	11
1.2 Relevance of Research	12
1.3 Methodology	14
CHAPTER 2: BUILDING BLOCKS FOR SUSTAINABLE PEACE	17
2.1 Transitional Justice	17
2.1.1 Institutional Reforms	18
2.1.2 Criminal Prosecutions	18
2.1.3 Truth Seeking	19
2.1.4 Restitution	19
2.2 Trauma Recovery	21
2.2.1 Safety	22
2.2.2 Remembrance and Mourning	23
2.2.3 Reconnection	23
2.3 Socio-economic Justice	24
CHAPTER 3: SUSTAINABLE PEACE IN WORCESTER	26
3.1 Defining Sustainable Peace	26
3.2 Requirements for Sustainable Peace in Worcester	28
3.2.1 Institutional Reform	29
3.2.1.1 Effective Governance	29
3.2.1.2 Poverty Eradication	30
3.2.1.3 Equality	31
3.2.1.4 Eradication of Hunger	32
3.2.1.5 Decent Housing	32
3.2.1.6 Quality Education	34

3.2.2	Criminal Prosecutions	38
3.2.2.1	Prosecution of Apartheid Leadership	40
3.2.2.2	Absence of Crime	41
3.2.3	Truth Seeking	42
3.2.3.1	Recovering from Apartheid Traumatic Memories	45
3.2.3.2	Acknowledgement of White People's Complicity to and Benefit from Apartheid	47
3.2.4	Restitution	48
3.2.4.1	White People's Sincere Remorse about the Harm Caused by Apartheid	50
3.2.4.2	White People's Sincere Apology about the Harm Caused by Apartheid	51
3.2.4.3	Restitution of Means	52
3.2.4.4	Memorialisation of the Worcester Struggle against Apartheid	55
3.2.4.5	Reconciliation between Black and White Worcesterians	57
3.2.5	Socio-economic Justice	60
3.2.5.1	The Sharing of the Wealth of Worcester	62
3.2.5.2	Decent Employment	63
3.2.6	The Possibility of Sustainable Peace in Worcester	64
CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH RESULTS		67
4.1	The Trauma of Apartheid	68
4.1.1	Understanding the Apartheid Trauma Responses	70
4.1.2	Responsibility for the Apartheid Trauma	70
4.1.3	Recovery from the Apartheid Trauma	71
4.2	Economic Justice after Apartheid	73
4.2.1	Economic Transformation	74
4.2.2	Restitution as Redress	75
4.3	In Closing	76
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION		77

APPENDIX 1: BIOGRAPHIES OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS	79
APPENDIX 2: WORCESTER PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION RESULTS, 1948-1989	82
APPENDIX 3: IDENTIFIED REQUIREMENTS FOR SUSTAINABLE PEACE IN WORCESTER	84
BIBLIOGRAPHY	85

ABSTRACT

The current strike and protest actions accompanied by police brutality and reminders of right wing extremism in Worcester are reminiscent of the state of affairs during the last phase of Apartheid rule within the town. The re-emergence of these dynamics suggests that the conditions for sustainable peace are not present. The literature indicates that transitional justice, trauma recovery and socio-economic justice form the core building blocks for sustainable peace. This study focuses on what is required for the community of Worcester to live in peace with each other – now and in the future.

Nine residents from the three dominant racial groups in Worcester were selected to participate in the research. The respondents identified the following requirements for sustainable peace in Worcester: effective governance; poverty eradication; equality; eradication of hunger; decent housing; quality education; prosecution of apartheid leadership; absence of crime; recovering from apartheid traumatic memories; acknowledgement of white people's complicity to and benefit from apartheid; white people's sincere remorse about the harm caused by apartheid; white people's sincere apology about the harm caused by apartheid; memorialisation of the Worcester struggle against apartheid; reconciliation between black and white Worcesterians; restitution of means; the sharing of the wealth of Worcester and decent employment.

Research participants indicate that most of the identified requirements are not in place which confirms the concern that the prospects for sustainable peace in Worcester are under threat.

The results of the research show that the ongoing effects of the psychological and structural violence of Apartheid are key obstructions for sustainable peace in Worcester. The psychological violence of Apartheid has traumatised some black Worcesterians and the structural violence of Apartheid has led to the socio-economic deprivation of most black Worcesterians. The white community in Worcester can assist with the trauma recovery process through a full acknowledgement of being

complicit to and benefitting from Apartheid. The South African government may address the structural violence of Apartheid by restructuring the South African economy to ensure that all South Africans benefit from the economic wealth of the country and by holding white people accountable for their unjust wealth accumulation through Apartheid. Without such a concerted effort from both white Worcesterians and the South African government the prospects for sustainable peace in Worcester will remain bleak.

THE SECOND LEVEL OF APARTHEID

How do we crush the second level of Apartheid
with its big smiles within an arm length's distance

How do we destroy the second level of Apartheid
farm workers chased straight into squatter camps

How do we extinguish the second level of Apartheid
when the dop system is still alive and in place

How do we freeze the second level of Apartheid
Education becomes right of admission reserved

How do we guillotine the second level of Apartheid
When asked what are your people doing in our neighbourhood

How do we handcuff the second level of Apartheid
When frontcovers, festivals remain 99% white and 1% coloured and black

How do we stop this inhumane second level of Apartheid:
reach out, touch somebody's heart stop the heart ache

Floris Brown

Worcester Poet

Member of the Worcester Hope and Reconciliation Process

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Although Apartheid ended eighteen years ago in South Africa, the Western Cape town of Worcester is still displaying evidence of a town in conflict with itself. Many residents are dissatisfied with their general living and employment conditions and resort to protest action to give voice to their grievances, sometimes violently. The racism of the past continues to arise and the levels of crime remain unacceptably high. There is an uneasy peace in Worcester.

In November 2012 and January 2013 hundreds of farm workers in the Worcester area embarked on mass strike action in protest of the minimum wage of R69.00 per day paid to some farm workers. Unemployed youth in the area also joined the strike. The protesters blocked the N1 highway near Worcester, looted shops, high jacked vehicles, and set vineyards and vehicles alight, some were even stoned (September & Raubenheimer, 2012). Police used rubber bullets, stun grenades and water cannons in response to the violent actions and tens of people were arrested on charges of public violence (Vecchiatto, 2013). At least one person died after being shot with a rubber bullet and some protesters complained about police brutality (Fogel, 2013).

These events again polarised South Africans with some black African and coloured people angrily supporting the strikers, as the working conditions of the farm workers reminded them of living conditions in Apartheid South Africa, while some white people defended the white farmers pointing out that farm workers were intimidated by criminal elements to join in the strike action (Koyana & Felix, 2013). The strike took place within a context where most agricultural land in South Africa is still owned by white people and the government's land reform programme is in stalemate.

In the midst of the farm worker strike seven members of the white supremacist organisation the *Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging* (AWB) were arrested on the 4th of December 2012 in Worcester (SABC, 4 December 2012). They were in possession of unlicensed firearms and sixty rounds of ammunition. There was speculation that their arrest was linked to the farm worker strike action. The threat of the AWB

members evoked memories of Worcester's racist past linked particularly to the 1996 Christmas Eve bomb blast which killed four and injured sixty nine black African and coloured people in the town. The bomb blast was planned and executed by four AWB members who believed black African and coloured people were not part of the human race (Fuller, 2010). Their specific intention was to kill as many black African and coloured people as possible to demonstrate their rejection of the democratically elected South African government.

In the recent past, Worcester also experienced protest actions communicating a build up of frustration with the government's slow pace of service delivery to the most marginalised people within the town. On the 30th of May 2012 approximately 1000 residents of Avian Park, a traditionally coloured suburb in Worcester, handed a memorandum to the municipality in which they complained about the lack of decent housing and poor service delivery. Later on the same day about 500 residents of Zwelethemba, the black African township outside Worcester, handed over a memorandum to the municipality in which they complained about the lack of decent housing, high electricity costs and the bad state of the roads in the township (Barnes, 2012; Mackay, 2012). On the 6th of June 2012 dozens of black African and coloured residents of informal settlements in Avian Park burned tyres in the streets and threw stones at passing cars in frustration with the slow pace of change to their lives (Raubenheimer, 2012).

The poverty and inequality that was so characteristic of the Apartheid era is still very evident in Worcester. In 2011, there were 8341 households that were either living in shacks in the back yard of other people's houses, or in shacks within a squatter camp or farm in the local municipality (Statistics South Africa, 2012b). Less than 0.5% of these shack dwellers are white people. White residents in Worcester still earn a much higher monthly income than their black African and coloured compatriots. According to the 2011 National Census of Statistics South Africa 55.9% of white residents in Worcester earn a salary of R3201 or more per month while the majority of black African (63.6%) and coloured (55.1%) Worcesterians earn less than R800 per month or less than \$3 a day (Statistics South Africa, 2012b).

The current crime rate in Worcester is remains very high. During the period of April 2011 to March 2012, 45 people in Worcester were murdered, there were 1220 house burglaries, 84 cars were reported stolen and 921 cars were broken into (South African Police Service, 2012).

The strike actions of the farm workers, service delivery protests, perceptions of white racism, poverty, socio-economic inequality and the high crime rate in Worcester are indications that there are serious social fractures within the town.

The current context must be understood within Worcester's turbulent and violent past. Worcester experienced a high degree of violence during the Apartheid era with many of the black African and coloured people in Worcester resisting the Apartheid policies of the previous government. Their protest actions were violently suppressed by the Apartheid security forces. The police frequently used rubber bullets, tear gas, *sjamboks* (whips) and water cannons to disperse protesting crowds. When these police actions did not deliver the necessary results protesters were detained without trial, tortured in prisons and sometimes killed (Kariem, 2012) The year of 1986 was a particularly violent period in the history of Worcester. At least four people in Zwelethemba were shot and killed by the police while the community used the necklace method of a burning tyre to kill people who were suspected of being police informants within the township (Reynolds, 2013b; Ross, 2003).

The effects of this period of violence still haunt the memories of many Worcester residents (Skinner, 1998; 2000; Reynolds, 2013b). A further escalation of violence in Worcester would not only threaten the lives of ordinary people but would also create more traumatic memories which will affect the security of future generations. The root causes for the conflict situations in Worcester must be addressed urgently to prevent the likelihood of any further violence.

1.1 Focus of Research

The focus of this research is “what is required for the community of Worcester to live in peace with each other, now and in the future?”

Johan Galtung, a well known theorist of peace and conflict introduced the concepts of negative peace and positive peace in his seminal *Editorial to the Journal of Peace Research* (Galtung, 1964:1-4). The two concepts represent two different dimensions of peace.

Negative peace describes the absence of violence and war, and is usually reached through the agreement to a ceasefire. It is considered negative peace because something undesirable such as violence and oppression has stopped happening (Galtung, 1964).

Positive peace or sustainable peace is based on solving the underlying causes of a conflict to ensure that the conflict does not recur in the future. It develops from the premise that the cessation of direct physical or structural violence (negative peace) is only the start of the process in ending a conflict situation. To reach conditions for sustainable peace the systems that led to the original disagreement have to be transformed in order to be fair to everyone and to allow for the repair of the harm caused. Sustainable peace is therefore peace that is able to last now and in the future (Galtung, 1964:1-4).

The end of the Apartheid era and the establishment of a democratic South Africa led to the emergence of negative peace in Worcester. The protest and strike actions accompanied by the perceived racism from the white community in Worcester are indications that the town has not yet moved beyond negative peace. Worcester requires sustainable peace which will enable residents to live in lasting peace with each other.

Literature on peace building defines the concept of sustainable peace as a situation characterized by the absence of physical, psychological and structural violence

within a society (Rage, 2010:12; Christie and Noor, 2012:153) where the diverse communities strive together to meet the macro and micro level needs of all of its members (Peck, 1998) through the promotion of social justice, the resolving of traumatic memories caused by the conflict (Skinner, 1998), the addressing of the root causes of the past conflict (Solomon in Lederach, 1997:ix) and having conflict resolution mechanisms in place to ensure that new conflict situations are resolved in a peaceful manner (Haugerudbraaten, 1998:18; Peck, 1998:15).

For the purposes of this study sustainable peace is broadly defined as the conditions that need to be in place for a community to peacefully co-exist next to each other - now and in the future (Hoex, 2009:14; Borer, 2006:2).

Swartz and Scott (2012) suggest that sustainable peace requires both a backward-looking and a forward-looking approach. The backward-looking approach assists in the identification of the underlying causes of a conflict while the forward-looking approach focuses on the development of strategies to ensure that the root causes for the violence are addressed. This research project draws on this backward and forward-looking research approach in order to identify the requirements for sustainable peace in Worcester that would address both the underlying causes of the current social fractures as well as the strategies required to rectify the roots of the conflict.

1.2 Relevance of Research

Worcester offers a microcosm of the challenges facing post-apartheid South Africa. The South Africans who were previously disadvantaged and are currently impoverished are losing patience with the slow pace of change in their lives. Service delivery protests are held daily in towns across South Africa. During the first five months of 2012 alone there were 372 protest actions related to service delivery, most were related to lack of water, electricity and the bad state of public roads (City Press, 15 June 2012).

The year 2012 was characterised by wide-spread strike action particularly in the mining sector. Mine workers protested against the huge pay disparities between the salaries of mining bosses and ordinary workers. In August miners at the Lonmin Platinum mine near Rustenburg in the North-West province demanded significant salary increases and embarked on a strike action. The strike action became violent and the police shot and killed 34 mine workers (De Wet, 2012). The outcry following the shootings highlighted general frustration amongst black South Africans that many of the root causes of the Apartheid-era unrest in South Africa have yet to be addressed and that the current South African Police Service is re-enacting the violence used during the Apartheid era to suppress protest action (Kariem, 2012)

Although the democratically elected African National Congress (ANC)-led South African government has done much to address the legacy of Apartheid through the building and electrification of houses, the provision of piped water and proper sanitation, much more is required. All South Africans must experience that they benefit from the wealth of the country and have the means to afford a decent standard of living (Terreblanche, 2012a).

Currently the skewed racially based socio-economic inequality amongst Worcester residents is representative of conditions in the rest of South Africa. South Africa is currently, according to the gini-coefficient index of the World Bank, rated as the most unequal country in the world (World Bank, 2012). The latest survey of Statistics South Africa confirmed this reality. The country has a housing crisis with 16.4% black African and 8% coloured people living in informal settlements, while the figure amongst white South Africans is only 0.4%. The official unemployment rate amongst black African and coloured people is respectively 35.9% and 22%, while the figure among white South Africans is 6%. The education level of a significant portion of the South African population is very low. Among South Africans over 20 years of age 10.5% of black Africans and 4.2% of coloured people did not have any school education, and the standard of current education is a source of much concern (Statistics South Africa, 2012a).

South Africa is at a crossroads. The black majority is losing patience with the slow pace of transformation in their lives and the white population are perceived as unaware and lacking real commitment to justice as part of the reconciliation process in the country (Matthews, 2010). The conditions for sustainable peace in South Africa are under serious threat. This reality is confirmed by the 2012 Global Peace Index (GPI). The GPI gauges the level of safety and security in different countries in the world. According to the GPI South Africa currently rate as the 127th peaceful country in the world out of 158 countries rated (Global Peace Index, 2012).

As the residents of Worcester are in need of measures to peacefully co-exist with one another – now and in the future - the rest of South Africa is also in need of such strategies. This research is focussing specifically on what is required for sustainable peace in Worcester but the findings of the study may be of value in highlighting potential issues to other communities in South Africa on their journey towards peaceful co-existence.

1.3 Methodology

The research question “what are the requirements for sustainable peace in Worcester?” was approached by conducting semi structured interviews with an identified group of nine Worcester residents. This method was chosen to ensure participant responses have a specific focus on the research question. It was also intended to allow answers to be contextualised within the rich personal life experiences of the individual research participants. Interviews started from the premise that the legacy of Apartheid rule is the primary source of conflict in Worcester (Skinner, 1998; Reynolds, 2013b). Three research questions were incorporated in the semi-structured interviews: (i) In what ways did Apartheid rule harm prospects for sustainable peace in Worcester? (ii) What harm has been repaired since the democratisation of South Africa in 1994? (iii) What harm still need to be addressed to enable the Worcester community to live in peace with each other, now and in the future?

During the research process members of the Worcester Hope and Reconciliation Process (WHRP) were invited to participate in the research. The WHRP is a local initiative consisting of more than 150 volunteers representing all sectors within the town. The aim of the WHRP is to promote justice, peace and reconciliation within Worcester. It was established in 2010 in response to the 2009 visit of Olga Macingwane, one of the survivors of the 1996 Christmas Eve Worcester bomb blast to one of the perpetrators Stephanus Coetzee in the Pretoria Central Prison. The outcome of this meeting was remarkably positive for both parties with Macingwane and Coetzee making peace with each other. This is offered as an important metaphor for the community of Worcester: If it is possible for Olga Macingwane and Stefaans Coetzee to make peace with each other it is also possible for the rest of the town to do the same (Fuller, 2010).

The membership of WHRP is representative of the different racial groups in town with a good balance between professional people, general workers and unemployed people. The WHRP arranges a range of activities which enables the different communities in the town to interact with each other such as an annual peace table and reconciliation day events, "Healing of Memories" workshops, pilgrimages to Robben Island, public debates as well as opportunities for people of different races to share meals in each other's homes. The organisation enjoys significant support and legitimacy within Worcester with the active participation of the Mayor, the Worcester Business Chamber, the Khulumani Support Group who represent victims of Apartheid related human rights abuse, the religious sector and veterans of the various liberation organisations.

At a general meeting of the WHRP members of the process were invited to participate in the research project. Of those members who indicated an interest in participation, nine people were selected as research participants: five men (one black African, two coloured and two white) and four women (two black African, one coloured and one white). The main criteria in the selection process were racial and gender representivity and the number was limited to nine given the limited scope of a minor-dissertation. The research participants were all older than forty years of age. The following pseudonyms are used to present their views in the study: Mandla (65

year old black African male); Zanele (60 year old black African women); Phumeza (45 year old black African women); Lindii-Jain (40 year old coloured woman); Cedrick (64 year old coloured male); Fransman (45 year old coloured male); Koos (63 year old white male); Hannelie (66 year old white woman); Johan (60 year old white male). See appendix 1 for more details.

The interviews were digitally recorded and once transcribed, analysed through thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis is a method that identifies, organise, analyse and report on patterns or themes within data. A theme represents important concepts within the data related to the research question and captures patterned responses or meaning within the data set (the importance of a theme within the data is not dependant on quantifiable measures but rather if a theme captures something important in relation to the research question) (Braun & Clarke, 2006:77-78). Different sub themes were identified and clustered according to similarity of meaning. A theme was allocated to each cluster and these themes were then identified as requirements for sustainable peace in Worcester. After the identification of the different themes, the transcribed interviews were further analysed to determine participants' understanding of sustainable peace.

The study is presented in five chapters. Chapter 1 focuses on the research question and the methodology followed to integrate the question. Chapter 2 provides an overview to the three central building blocks of sustainable peace: transitional justice, trauma recovery and socio-economic justice as discussed in the literature. The results of the analysis of the interviews are presented in Chapter 3. This chapter starts by focussing on the respondents' understanding of sustainable peace. The identified requirements for sustainable peace are then presented and discussed within the framework of the respective elements of the relevant building blocks for sustainable peace. Chapter 4 discusses the research results and provides guidelines to assist the peace process in Worcester. Chapter 5 presents final concluding remarks on the results of the research.

CHAPTER 2: BUILDING BLOCKS FOR SUSTAINABLE PEACE

The policies of Apartheid orchestrated physical, psychological and structural violence against the lives of black South Africans over a forty year period. This legislated forms of violence ended with the demise of Apartheid in 1994. The establishment of democracy led to the beginning of negative peace in Worcester and the rest of South Africa. As noted in chapter 1, sustainable peace in Worcester requires that the harm caused by the physical, psychological and structural violence of Apartheid are addressed (backward-looking approach) and that measures are set in place to ensure that such violence does not recur (forward-looking approach) (Rage, 2010:12; Christie & Noor, 2012:153; Swartz & Scott, 2012).

Transitional justice provides mechanisms to address the physical, psychological and structural violence of Apartheid during the transition period after democratisation (Kritz, 2002:21-45). Psychological theories of trauma provide specific strategies to assist with the recovery from the psychological violence of Apartheid that reduce the ongoing re-emergence of memories and emotions related to traumatic experiences in the past (Kaminer & Eagle, 2010; Hamber, 2009). The principles of socio-economic justice offer direction to address the structural violence caused by Apartheid to create real opportunities for those excluded from the economy of the country (Sen, 1992). Transitional justice, trauma recovery and socio-economic justice jointly form the building blocks for sustainable peace in the aftermath of the violence of Apartheid rule (Boraine, 2004). In this chapter these strategies will be discussed in more detail.

2.1 Transitional Justice

During the past few decades the field of transitional justice has developed as a discipline to assist societies or communities that have experienced periods of violent conflict, human rights abuse and social trauma to acquire redress for the legacies of the human rights abuse. The International Centre for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) (2013) defines transitional justice as “The set of judicial and non judicial measures

that have been implemented by different countries in order to redress the legacies of massive human rights abuses”.

According to Boraine (2004:67-72) transitional justice is usually implemented by means of four primary mechanisms: institutional reforms, criminal prosecutions, truth seeking and restitution, which will be discussed in turn.

2.1.1 Institutional Reforms

Institutional reforms focus on the transformation of repressive and corrupt government institutions into democratic institutions that respect the human rights and equality of all the citizens. This reform guarantees the safety of citizens and insures that the best interest of all citizens is served through effective and clean governance. The influence of public officials responsible for historical abuse is reduced through vetting and the security sector becomes responsible for protecting all citizens rather than being a source of fear (ICTJ, 2013; Boraine, 2004:70-71).

2.1.2 Criminal Prosecutions

Criminal prosecutions focus on holding those responsible for human rights abuses or other forms of crime legally accountable for their actions. The investigation and trials of the perpetrators of the abuse strengthens the conditions for the rule of law within the society in transition and sends out clear signals that impunity will not be tolerated. The victims expect their perpetrators to be punished. When trials are conducted in a way that reflects the victims' needs and expectations it can assist in the restoration of their sense of dignity (ICTJ, 2013; Boraine, 2004:68).

Amnesty for perpetrators of human rights abuse is a tool that may assist with the facilitation of the peace process within a society in transition after a period of conflict. Doxtader (2004) points out that former enemies will be very reluctant to agree to the signing of a peace treaty without some measure in place to guarantee that they will not be held legally accountable for their conflict-related actions. An agreement to amnesty might then convince them to end the conflict and enter into a peace

agreement. Amnesties are controversial and should only be considered as an option when the demand for peace outweighs the demand for justice.

2.1.3 Truth Seeking

International law recognises that victims of human rights violation have a right to the acknowledgement of their abuse, to know of the circumstances surrounding the abuse and to identify those responsible for it. The establishment of truth commissions facilitate the achievement of these rights. Truth commissions are usually instituted after the official end of the conflict and are often official state bodies. The purpose of truth commissions is to investigate and report on designated periods of abuse, and on the underlying causes for the abuse. Often truth commissions have the power to make recommendations regarding remedies for abuse and strategies to prevent the abuse from reoccurring (ICTJ, 2013; Boraine, 2004:68-69).

The establishment of truth commissions has become an important peace building tool in many countries during their periods of transition. Villa-Vicencio (2004a:89) argues that many countries in transition are confronted with so many cases of human rights abuse that it becomes almost impossible and unaffordable to prosecute all the perpetrators. Truth commissions then provide an opportunity for some accountability for past injustices and create the chance for the truth about the abuse to be exposed. They also create the opportunity for the abuse to be acknowledged and provide space for the trauma recovery process of the survivors of human rights abuse (Villa-Vicencio, 2004a:89).

2.1.4 Restitution

Traditionally restitution is defined as the resolving of an unjust act where someone was enriched at the expense of another. This injustice should be rectified by the beneficiary through acts of compensation. Swartz and Scott (2012:4-5) show that with time this definition has been broadened to include restitution for the psychological harm and economic loss encountered through the unjust act. Meyer,

as quoted by Swartz and Scott (2012:4) recognises that “restitutionary” damages can be understood as underpinning the view that an individual can only rightly be said to have been fully recompensed for an illegal act against them, when he or she is as well off as he or she would be if the act had not been carried out. Psychological restitution contains the honouring of the memory of the abuse, the portraying of sincere remorse and the rendering of an apology for the abuse that have occurred (Hamber, 2009).

Sincere remorse is based on having empathy with the trauma survivor. The fundamental nature of empathy is the capacity to feel with and to participate in reflective engagement with the survivors’ inner life. Conradie (2012:14) points out that “a perpetrator develops sincere remorse when they accept guilt for the impact of the wrong doing on the lives of the victim and the rest of society”. Remorse is “associated with feelings of mourning, depression, guilt, shame, down heartedness about the wrong, sincere regret (true remorse) and heaviness of heart” (Boesak & de Young, 2012:38).

Research undertaken by Slocum, Alan and Alan (2011:2) indicates that there is no single definition of what an apology should entail. Broadly most researchers concur that an apology involves the acceptance of full responsibility for an offensive act, the expression of sincere regret and sorrow for the harm committed, and the taking of responsibility to do restitution to help undo some of the harm caused. Restitution facilitates the possibility of restoring relationships compromised by past abuse or establishing potentially new relationships across previous fault lines.. The restoring of relationships or reconciliation between erstwhile enemies is beneficial for both the trauma recovery process and the creation of sustainable peace within a society (Villa-Vicencio, 2004b:3-9).

While society can with time forget about a traumatic experience that happen to other people, survivors of human rights abuse can never fully forget what has happened to them (Brett, Bickford, Ševčenko & Rios, 2008; Huyse, 2003). Memorials, commemorations and museums may assist the rest of the society to remember the abuse, and acknowledge the reality of the events for the survivors. In this way

nobody can deny that the abuse actually happened which in turn assists trauma victims with their own recovery process. Part of the memorialisation process includes the writing of a new history. This history should be as objective as possible presentation of the period of conflict and trauma (Staub, 2012; Kelman, 2004).

The concept of reconciliation has of late become a much contested subject. During recent years significant resources have been invested to promote reconciliation within countries transitioning from authoritarian rule to democratic rule. Weinstein (2011:1) argues that “the pursuing of reconciliation within one, two or even three generations are quite naïve”. He suggests that instead of spending time and resources on achieving reconciliation after a period of physical and structural violence, communities should rather focus their energy on possible ways to co-exist through the promotion of sustainable peace (Weinstein, 2011:8). Co-existence through sustainable peace may then create opportunities for reconciliation in generations to come, if and when societies are ready to consider such action.

On a material level restitution may include financial compensation to survivors or privileged access to benefits including trauma care, health care, pensions and educational services (Swartz, 2012).

By putting the transitional measures of institutional reform, criminal prosecution, truth seeking and restitution in place, transitional justice provides some of the first building blocks for the creation of a peaceful future.

2.2 Trauma Recovery

The process of trauma recovery compliments the various transitional justice mechanisms in the peace building process.

The Apartheid system traumatised many black South Africans (Skinner, 1998; Hamber, 2009). Apart from many people being traumatised through gross human right abuse such as torture, the killings of loved ones, Apartheid era police brutality and state oppression; the daily interactions with white people often created traumatic

emotions such as fear, helplessness, shame and humiliation (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2012; Hamber, 2009). Unresolved trauma affects the normal social and psychological functioning of people. People may experience psychological and physical responses such as hyper arousal, hyper vigilance, emotional reactions and the re-emergence of distressing memories where current experiences remind people of past traumatic events (Herman, 2001). Such reactions may be conscious or just below the person's conscious awareness. These traumatic responses may have a significant impact on the lives of people as they may disrupt their identities (Sideris, 1998; Mogapi, 2012) and social relationships (Herman, 2001). Unresolved emotional trauma may also be transmitted to the next generations through parenting and belief systems, thereby affecting subsequent generational behaviour and potentially impacting sustainable peace detrimentally (Hutchison & Bleiker, 2008; Corkalo *et al.*, 2004).

Gobodo-Madikizela (2012) writes that black South Africans who suffered under Apartheid need to recover from the painful memories associated with the past, to heal from their sense of "brokenness" and to reclaim their sense of dignity and the dignity of their loved ones. This needs to happen at both individual and community levels.

Trauma recovery depends on the ability of victims to make meaning of their abuse (Krog, 2004:46-57; Van Der Kolk, 2007:3-23; Yoder, 2005; Staub, 2012:251-253; Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008:175). Herman (2001:133-154) identified three phases of the trauma recovery process where trauma survivors need to (i) feel physically and emotionally safe (ii) remember and mourn their traumatic ordeal and (iii) reconnect with people and other aspects of life.

2.2.1 Safety

Many trauma survivors experience the world as an unsafe place. When trauma survivors feel unsafe, they continue "to engage in defensive and protective strategies without which [they] would be emotionally overwhelmed and more vulnerable to further victimization" (Courtois, Ford & Cloitre, 2009:93). Such strategies include

anger and aggression, substance addictions, self harming behaviours, emotional numbing and dissociation.

Herman (2001:156-174) proposes that during the safety phase of recovery trauma survivors need to know that they are suffering from trauma so that the physical and emotional responses are experienced more predictably, develop an understanding of what trauma entails and develop a strategy for the recovery process. Trauma survivors need to practice self-care strategies by getting enough sleep, eating well, exercise regularly, and abstain from substance abuse. This phase of the trauma recovery process will benefit from trauma survivors being financially secure, having enough food to eat, having adequate shelter and survivors knowing that they are no longer in danger (Briere & Scott, 2006).

2.2.2 Remembrance and Mourning

When survivors feel safe they are then ready to review and discuss what has happened with them in order to lessen the emotional intensity, integrate these memories into their wider memory system and to revise what the traumatic experience means in their lives (Herman, 2001). They are ready to work through the grief caused by the trauma and to mourn the loss that they have experienced. The telling of the traumatic experience in depth and detail is of great value to assist victims with the integration of the trauma into their life stories and provide the opportunity to engage with feelings and emotions associated with their traumatic experiences (Herman, 2001; Villa-Vicencio, 2004a). The trauma recovery process benefits from the public acknowledgement that the trauma did indeed happen and that the survivors themselves were not responsible for their ordeal. Such acknowledgement can assist in the restoration of survivors' sense of dignity.

2.2.3 Reconnection

After remembrance and mourning has taken place the trauma survivor has regained the potential to start trusting again and is ready to reconnect with ordinary life (Herman, 2001:196-213).

Perpetrators can assist with the reconnection phase of trauma recovery by empathizing with the pain and loss through the showing of sincere remorse, the rendering of an apology and a commitment to restitution. Such assistance from perpetrators may pave the way for possible reconciliation. The recovery process of the survivor is not dependent on the behavior of the perpetrator and can proceed with or without a positive response from them. When perpetrators do not acknowledge the abuse and do not show any signs of remorse such behavior can then lead to the “retraumatisation” of trauma survivors where the traumatic reaction may be worsened (Yoder, 2005),

The slow process of trauma recovery needs to be considered when rebuilding a society after conflict. The provision of physical and emotional safety, truth telling and gradual reconnection is essential as one engages survivors of violence, with an appreciation of the likelihood of unconscious aroused offence on the occasion of the unintended evoking of traumatic memory. Drawing everyone into sustainable peace may be a slow and painstaking process (Soárez-Orozco & Robben, 2000).

2.3 Socio-economic Justice

Transitional justice and trauma recovery alone are not sufficient to ensure lasting peace after a period of violent conflict. Mani (2002) suggests that there cannot be sustainable peace without restoring the socio-economic rights and socio-economic status of those who were deprived of it. These rights are restored by addressing the structural and systemic inequalities within a society through distributive justice.

Mani (2002) argues for a new global economic paradigm which apart from focussing on growth profits and efficiency, also focuses on equity, shared dividends and compassion. Such an economic focus would make a meaningful contribution to the creation of a more equal world community. She refers to a World Bank study that provides evidence that economic growth is influenced by the levels of equity within a society. The more equal a society, the stronger the conditions for economic growth. The key requirements for a just economic policy should be growth, poverty reduction, creation of a more equal society and job creation.

Brown and Magilindane (2004) discuss that socio-economic development within a country in transition after a period of human rights abuse, requires democracy, security, stability and justice. It further requires good governance and the necessary political will to provide for sustained economic growth and the extensive redistribution of wealth in order for all citizens to experience benefit from the resources of the country. The redistribution of wealth requires the transformation of the economy which includes the transformation of the ownership, management and control of the economy (Carranza, 2008).

Sustainable peace requires transitional justice to restructure a society after violence and address the impunity of the conflict. Trauma recovery is key to assist the survivors in moving into the new society and socio-economic justice supports the restructuring of economic power relations of the future society.

CHAPTER 3: SUSTAINABLE PEACE IN WORCESTER

Given that transitional justice, trauma recovery and socio-economic justice are considered the central elements for building sustainable peace after conflict in the literature, identifying the perceptions of key people in Worcester is of interest. A cross-section of Worcesterians within the Worcester Hope and Reconciliation Process were asked about i) their understanding of sustainable peace, ii) whether the key elements of sustainable peace are currently in place and iii) what is still required to redress the harm of the past. This chapter draws together their definitions of sustainable peace and their perceptions of the state of peace within Worcester.

3.1 Defining Sustainable Peace

Respondents of the study identified a range of meanings for the concept of sustainable peace including the cessation of violence, dialogue, an absence of crime, post conflict redress and caring for the other.

Mandla outlined his understanding of sustainable peace as the secession of violence: “We have a president, the former president Mr Mandela who came from prison and saying to us [] if you are having weapons please go and throw those weapons in the sea so which means that the president was applying peace to us”.

Mandla also pointed out that sustainable peace means that opposing parties use dialogue to resolve matters of conflict: “The best thing [to deal with conflict issues within a community] is to come together [and to talk about it]”.

Koos referred to the example of the re-enactment of unresolved past trauma within the Rwandan context as an indication that sustainable peace means that past injustices have to be rectified: “In Rwanda racism and prejudice were concealed, thrown under thick cement. They thought it would never reappear but after 60, 80 years it reappeared. The same can happen in South Africa”.

Johan pointed out that sustainable peace means that the mistakes of the past are not repeated: "History is important. It will tell us this is the wrong road and that road is the right one". Johan further indicated that sustainable peace means the absence of crime: "Corruption and crime in our country is obstructing peace".

Fransman understands sustainable peace as a situation where all people accept each other as fellow human beings: "We have to see each other as fellow human beings and not focus on race and on the past. Without doing so we will not have peace with each other".

Hannelie stated that sustainable peace means that people of all backgrounds live in a mutual relationship with each other: "[Sustainable peace is] to live in friendship with each other, to celebrate the good in each other and not to only focus on the wrong things in the lives of other people. [It is about having] a positive attitude towards other people".

Zanele understands sustainable peace as a condition where all people in a community have the well being of their fellow human beings at heart: "[We] must uplift the other one; take him and her as your brother, as your sister".

Respondents broadly defined sustainable peace within a community as a condition where there is no physical violence, conflict resolution mechanisms are in place to manage future conflict situations, past injustices have been rectified and precautions have been taken for previous mistakes not to be repeated, where crime is under control and the people of the community accept each other as fellow human beings, have healthy relationships with each other and have the well being of the other at heart.

The respondents' understanding of sustainable peace corresponds broadly with scholarship on the theme. The omission of the relationship between sustainable peace and Apartheid's psychological and socio-economic or structural violence might be explained by respondents' initial understanding of the meaning of sustainable peace such as the absence of violence and people living in harmony

with each other. In further conversation during the interviews respondents from all race groups did associate sustainable peace with the recovery from psychological and socio-economic or structural violence of the Apartheid era conflict.

Phumeza highlighted the close link between trauma recovery and sustainable peace: “The first requirement for sustainable peace is the healing of [our memories]. We should be healed”.

Fransman pointed out that socio-economic justice and sustainable peace are closely related: “We cannot have peace if the big wealth gap between rich and poor are not eradicated. It is totally unacceptable that South Africa is the most unequal society in the world”.

The black African respondents all identified that sustainable peace means that wealth should be shared with poor people. Mandla highlighted that there can never be peace if some people in a society have plenty and other people have nothing: “If [people who have a lot] can share [what they have] with the lives of the people [who have little] there will be peace because [] it is a problem that these people still have everything and we don't have anything”.

Zanele emphasised that black African people would only be able to achieve their goals in life if they have a fair share of the wealth of the country: “I think we [all South Africans] should share with each other. We [must] share the wealth of this country in order to get where we [black people] want to get”.

3.2 Requirements for Sustainable Peace in Worcester

Many of the core processes of sustainable peace have been implemented within South Africa. In this section South Africa's progress regarding the core elements required for sustainable peace is considered, alongside the perceptions of participants as to what is required and the level of progress in each of these areas.

3.3.1 Institutional Reforms

Samuels (2005:728), Lambourne (2009:44-45), Swartz and Scott (2012) and Deutsch and Coleman (2012:7) discuss that sustainable peace after periods of undemocratic authoritarian rule requires the establishment of a multi-party democratic system which respects internationally recognised basic human rights. Such a political system should allow for effective governance which provides for well functioning institutions that work towards poverty eradication and the delivery of basic services such as adequate housing, health care and quality education to all people in the society. Effective governance provides for basic human needs such as safety and that some sections within society are not disproportionately poorer than other sections in the society.

Du Bois and Pedain (2008:1-8; 289-311) raise that South Africa has made much progress in addressing the political violence of the Apartheid past. Since 1994 all eligible South Africans have the right to vote for the political representatives of their choice. South Africa adopted a new constitution in 1996 which includes a bill of rights. The bill of rights provides for the respect of human dignity and the equality of all South Africans. It also provide for the right to basic education and proper housing, health care, food, water and social security, and is thus an important tool of redress. Although all Apartheid era discrimination has been removed and the democratic government is promoting a human rights culture important provisions set in the bill of rights have not yet been met as discussed in earlier chapters. Institutional reform must ensure effective governance, poverty eradication, equality within the society, eradication of hunger, decent housing and quality education in order to support peace.

3.2.1.1 Effective Governance

The respondents of the study identified an effective government that provides for the basic needs of all the people in Worcester as a requirement for sustainable peace. Phumeza highlighted that such a government should particularly address the basic human needs of black African people as they are still the most marginalised people

within Worcester: “The government must help us a lot here in Zwelethemba because the people are suffering very much here for a long time”.

The participants questioned the effectiveness of the local government in Worcester. The perceived slow pace of service delivery is testing the patience of the most disadvantaged members of the Worcester community. Phumeza raised her frustration that the politicians in Worcester are not really helping to improve the lives of particularly black African people: “[The politicians when] they come to power [] they [do] nothing [for us black people]. They do the same thing that was done before. The day we got the black people here in power [] they did nothing for the [people of] Zwelethemba”.

Phumeza also raised concern that corruption amongst politicians prevents the improvement of people’s lives: “[The politicians] just do things for their friends. Everybody [then just] knows his family, his friend”. She further indicated that she has lost all faith in politicians: “These days I am the one that is not voting”.

3.2.1.2 Poverty Eradication

Respondents of all three race groups identified the end of poverty as a requirement for sustainable peace.

Mandla emphasised that poverty is the main obstacle for sustainable peace in Worcester: “Poverty, poverty, poverty, poverty, poverty, is the main, main thing that prevents peace”.

The results of the 2011 National Census indicate that 63.6% of black African people and 55.1% of coloured people in Worcester earn less than R800 per month. The unemployment rate amongst the people in the municipality is 14.4% while the unemployment rate amongst the youth between the ages of 15 and 34 years of age is 20.2% (Statistics South Africa. 2012b).

Lindii-Jain pointed out that poverty in Worcester undermines peace: “Poverty plays a big role in destabilising peace”. Koos is aware that the scale of poverty in Worcester is a threat to sustainable peace: “The whole thing of poverty is an enormous problem that prevents conditions for sustainable peace”.

Lindii-Jain pointed out that poverty affects people’s dignity and sense of self-worth and creates a sense of hopelessness: “Poverty keeps you down there and you don’t know how to get out of it. In the poorer areas it is like you have grown up in poverty and you still live in poverty ... you have that inferiority feeling when you see a rich person. You are too afraid to talk to the rich person. The rich person is clean and you have a lot of respect for the person”.

Johan acknowledged that the poverty in Worcester is directly linked to the discriminatory measures of the Apartheid era: “Apartheid excluded people [of colour] from the economy and impoverished them”.

3.2.1.3 Equality

Black African and coloured respondents identified the equality of all Worcesterians as an important requirement for sustainable peace.

Fransman pointed out that sustainable peace in Worcester requires that something drastic needs to be done to eradicate the inequality: “The big wealth gap between rich and poor need to be eradicated. It is totally unacceptable that South Africa is the most unequal society in the world”.

The results of the 2011 National census indicate that the Apartheid era race based inequality is still very much a reality in Worcester. While 55.9% of white Worcesterians earn a salary of R3201 or more per month the overwhelming majority of black Worcesterians earn a salary of less than R800 per month (Statistics South Africa, 2012b).

Mandla experiences the inequality conditions in Worcester as white people being wealthy and black African people being poor: “It is a problem that [the white people] still have everything and we [black African people] doesn’t have anything”. Zanele expressed a sense of hopelessness for the inequality within Worcester to ever be eradicated: “[it feels like] everything is still in the white man’s [hand] because there’s nothing that is belonging to the black people. In Worcester it’s the white man [that is in charge of everything], you’re still working under [the white] person, you will work until you die”.

3.2.1.4 Eradication of Hunger

Mandla is the only respondent who identified enough food as a requirement for sustainable peace: “The granny is alone there. Who is helping this granny? These people are suffering. These people are hungry. I am going to that house. I see their children are starving. You don’t know what these people are eating”.

His reference to food security should be interpreted against the context of his personal circumstances of unemployment and poverty and his wife managing a weekly soup kitchen from their house for about 30 people with donations she receive from individual donors in town. The mentioning of the need of others without referring to his own need is a way of ensuring his need is addressed without exposing himself to the humiliation associated with such an acknowledgement.

Mandla believes food security is such an important requirement for sustainable peace that he consider the provision of food to hungry people in itself as an act of peace promotion: “Just go and give those children bread in that house. That is [making] peace”.

3.2.1.5 Decent Housing

Two black African and one coloured respondents identified “decent” housing as a requirement for sustainable peace. They defined decent housing as “brick housing” that is strong enough to provide protection from all weather conditions. This type of

housing should have access to electricity, water and ablution facilities and should be big enough to prevent overcrowding.

According to the 2011 South African census 6248 black African families, 2044 coloured families and 25 white families in Worcester are residing in informal housing. Living conditions in the informal settlements around Worcester is a direct threat to sustainable peace (Statistics South Africa, 2012b). Substance abuse in informal settlements is very high which contributes to domestic and other forms of interpersonal violence. Most of the violent service delivery protest actions in Worcester start in the informal settlements. Much of the crime committed in the town also originates from these areas.

The democratic government has built a large number of formal houses in Worcester but has as yet not been able to meet the growing need. Since the scrapping of the influx control regulations in the 1980's a large number of black African people moved to Zwelethemba from the Eastern Cape in search of work. After the establishment of democracy, Worcester also experienced an influx of economic migrants from other parts of Africa in search of employment opportunities. Many of them are living in the informal settlements. Other people who are currently living in informal settlements used to live on farms. They were evicted from the farms by the land owners, although they lived and worked on the farms for many years. It is only in recent years that the government promulgated laws to protect the rights of people living on farms, which in turn have also caused loss of tenure for some.

The respondents had different views on who should take responsibility for the provision of decent housing. Cedrick expected that farmers who had evicted farm workers from their farms needed to provide decent housing for them: "If we really want [peace] then the farmers who chased people from their farms [and caused them to live] in squatter houses [] they have to build acceptable houses and take the people out of the squatter houses".

Phumeza believes that white people who benefitted from Apartheid and live in nice houses should be held accountable and build decent housing for black African

people: “White people must build houses for the people in Zwelethemba because many people don’t have houses to live in”.

Mandla argues that black African people should have access to resources so that they could employ builders to build their own “brick houses”. From his own experience Mandla knows that the building of these houses would take time. People will be able to build their houses in phases according to the availability of money: “All people want to] have their own house like I have done here my own house. They want to put one brick there and the other month the other brick”.

It is not clear why other respondents did not mention decent housing as a requirement for sustainable peace. Perhaps this is not an urgent requirement personally and an indication of the disconnection between the different communities in Worcester. The informal settlements are far removed from the suburbs where middle class Worcesterians are living. The plight of shack dwellers in Worcester is then not that apparent to the people who live in the suburbs.

3.2.1.6 Quality Education

Most respondents identified education of good quality as a requirement for sustainable peace. Quality education may be broadly defined as the standard of education that would empower people to develop the necessary skills to become employable and earn enough money to sustain them and create a better standard of living. Quality education is also seen as a tool to assist in bridging the inequality gap between people who benefitted from Apartheid and those who were disadvantaged by Apartheid.

Black African respondents do not see themselves moving out of their disadvantaged position without good education. Mandla pointed out that education is the key to success in life: “If you are not educated nothing is going to change [in your life for the better]. It is education that will bring guaranteed employment and [a] salary to care for your family. If I want to go and find a job they want my qualifications”.

Zanele emphasised that good education ensures a better quality of life: "If someone is well educated, he's in a better position to get a good salary when he's working because then you know that he will get something".

The current state of education levels in Worcester is still very low. The 2011 census indicate that 66.9% of people of 20 years of age and older in Worcester have not completed their school career. Statistics further indicate that 1.76% of the white population in the municipality is currently studying at Higher Educational Institutions or Universities while the figures for the black African and coloured populations are only 0.9% and 0.5% respectively (Statistics South Africa, 2012b).

Historically white Worcesterians received a better education than black African and coloured residents. During the Apartheid era the South African government policy separated schooling for the different population groups. Per capita government spending on black schools in the 1970's was one tenth of the spending on white schools. White schools in Worcester had state of the art facilities like libraries, science laboratories and well developed sport facilities such as swimming pools, tennis courts, rugby, athletic and cricket fields while the facilities in black African and coloured schools could not compete with what the white schools had. Teachers at white schools were better educated and paid than black African and coloured teachers and were responsible for teaching classes rarely bigger than 30 children at a time while teachers in black African and coloured schools were responsible for the teaching of classes larger than 50 learners. The learning standards set in white schools were also much higher than black African and coloured schools. The end of the year results in white schools was always much better than the other schools which enabled many more white students to obtain university exemption.

Universities were also racialised until the 1980's. White learners in Worcester had the option of studying at well resourced universities such as the University of Cape Town or the University of Stellenbosch. Coloured students could only go to the less resourced University of the Western Cape and black African students had to settle for the University of Fort Hare. In general lecturers at these two universities were not as well qualified as their colleagues at white universities.

Since the establishment of democracy Worcester learners have the opportunity to attend any school or university of their choice. Although the government has put measures in place to promote equity amongst schools the cumulative advantage of former white schools enables them to still provide a better quality of education. Parents of coloured and black African learners want to provide the best possible education for their children and therefore consider sending them to formerly white schools. Phumeza suggested that many such parents still do not find it easy to do so: "Our children can't [easily] go to [the good white schools]. If our children go to Worcester Primary or to the [white] creche the parents get many problems, it is [] difficult for them here and there". Phumeza indicated that the schools are situated in former white areas which make travelling expensive for children living in the traditional black African and coloured areas: "The school fees are very high and the schools are far".

Black African children in particular are disadvantaged as the language of instruction at the former white schools is either Afrikaans or English.

Phumeza alluded to the fact that some black African children still experience forms of racism at the former white schools: "Some white teachers don't like the blacks". Although former white schools are obliged to abide with non-racial policies there are still very few black African and coloured teachers at these schools and no white teachers at former black African and coloured schools. None of the three former white high schools in Worcester have a black African or coloured principal even though increasingly large numbers of black African and coloured learners are attending these schools.

Zanele is of the opinion that learners of different races at the former white schools are interacting well with each other: "Like you can see even in schools nowadays, our children, I saw it from my grandchildren; they are starting to be one because they are growing up like that and for them that's not that difficult because they are altogether". Cedrick disagreed and stated that white parents still do not want their children to integrate with children from other races: "Coloured and black children

whose parents can afford it send their children to white schools. But then most white parents take their children out of the schools and send them to private schools. At school athletic competitions you only find a few white children competing [] white parents are not really interested for their children to integrate with coloured or African children”.

While Koos understands the desire of black African and coloured parents to send their children to the best schools he cautioned against all parents sending their children to the former white schools. This according to him would create an untenable situation at these schools as teachers would not be able to cope with the large number of learners. He instead suggests that all schools in Worcester should be fully equipped to provide quality education for all students. This means that all schools have to have well-trained teachers, well-equipped libraries and science laboratories, well-maintained school grounds and sport facilities and a manageable ratio of teachers and learners. Koos recognizes that for this to happen will be very costly: “We need to make funds available so that each school can provide quality education. We need to get a plan in action to assist those who don't get quality education”.

Quality education for Koos include excellent teaching in subjects like mathematics and science which would prepare learners to choose careers in later life that will enable them to better provide for themselves and their families: “People that leave matric need to have qualifications in subjects like maths and science that would enable them to enter the main stream job market. Our children need quality education so that they can reach their full potential”.

Both Koos and Cedrick noted that learners not finishing school was an obstacle for sustainable peace. Reasons for high dropout rates include teachers not having the capacity to exercise authority alongside the issues of bad parenting, socio-economic challenge at home, lack of support from teachers due to overwhelming demands, peer pressure and “gangsterism”. Koos puts the blame squarely on the education sector and argues that the whole Worcester society has a responsibility towards

these learners: “The children who left school without any positive result have been failed by the schools. We urgently need to help these children”.

Cedrick argues that one of the ways white people who have benefitted from Apartheid can assist young people who left school without completing matric is to take responsibility for training one or two young people in the skills that white people obtained as a result of their unfair advantage from the Apartheid dispensation: “People with knowledge and talents must take one or two people from the streets and mentor them for an hour or two a week in a specific skill. We as individuals cannot make big changes in the country. We have to start with one or two children from the street []. We have to uplift them so that they could do things for themselves”.

Koos indicated that people should not only be educated in order to get decent work. He stressed the need for the re-education of all Worcesterians in order to change the skewed perceptions that they have of each other: “We need to educate our communities in all of Worcester that white people are not superior and black people are not inferior. Black and white people have the same capacity. We see it where people of colour also become the best medical students within their classes at university”.

3.2.2 Criminal Prosecutions

Lambourne (2009), Staub (2012) and Mani (2002) emphasize that sustainable peace within a society requires the safe guarding and safe keeping of all the people in the society. This is done through establishing or re-establishing the rule of law.

The prosecution of perpetrators can play an important role in the trauma recovery process of the victims of human rights abuse. It may provide them a sense of safety and an acknowledgement that their sense of dignity has been violated. Prosecution of perpetrators may also lead to the retraumatization of other victims (Herman, 2001).

Doxtader (2004) points out that at the last possible moment of the South African negotiation process the political parties agreed to amnesty in order to advance the reconciliation and reconstruction process in the country. Initially the ANC as liberation movement supported the notion of amnesty as the organisation was concerned that their members would be arrested on their return to South Africa. Later in the negotiation process the National Party government realised that amnesty would be to their advantage. The new government then set in motion some guidelines for the amnesty process: Amnesty would be granted if applicants (i) could demonstrate that their acts of human rights abuse were politically motivated (ii) make a full disclosure about the act that they apply amnesty for (iii) provide evidence that the means that they used to complete the act was proportional to the ends sought (Doxtader 2004). People who did not apply or whose amnesty applications were rejected could be prosecuted for the human rights abuses they have committed.

The South African amnesty process was unique as it was the first example of a country that provided conditional amnesty. There were 7116 applications for amnesty and only 1167 of the applications were granted. Very few of the leadership of the Apartheid government and security forces applied for amnesty. Many of them claimed that they were innocent of any crime and were willing to try their chances of not being prosecuted. The South African state has as yet not embarked on a comprehensive process of holding suspects of gross human rights violations legally accountable for their actions. The granting of amnesty to some perpetrators within the South African context is seen by some as a perpetrator friendly approach of justice (Doxtader, 2004). The trauma recovery process of victims benefits from a victim friendly approach of justice.

Thobejane (2012) takes up the debate as to whether the provision of amnesty has contributed to a sense of impunity within the country. He highlights the correlation between Apartheid related physical, psychological and socio-economic violence against black African and coloured people and the high prevalence of violent crime in South Africa. The re-enactment of violence is a common response of unresolved trauma, as well as perceptions of impunity. Sustainable peace requires further that the rule of law within a society should discourage citizens to engage in any other

form of criminal activities. South Africa is currently experiencing a very high crime rate which places the general feeling of safety and the perception of the rule of law in the country under serious strain. According to the 2012 Crime Statistic released by the South African Police Service the murder rate in the country is four and a half times higher than the global average of 6.9 murders per 100 000.

Although the prosecution of the perpetrators of crime is a short term solution to prevent the continuation of violence, a long term strategy for crime prevention should focus on addressing the root causes of crime. The structural violence of Apartheid created systemic racial inequalities in South Africa. Demombynes and Özler's study *Crime and local inequality in South Africa* (2005) confirms economic theories that the economic inequality between white and black African and coloured people in South Africa is a key contributor to crime.

The requirements of sustainable peace with a rule of law character identified by the Worcester respondents include the prosecution of the Apartheid era leadership and the end of crime.

3.2.2.1 Prosecuting of Apartheid Leadership

No one applied for amnesty for Apartheid era human rights abuses that have occurred in Worcester. Many of the perpetrators of security force violence are still walking as free people within the community. A victim who testified at the TRC hearings in Worcester highlighted his frustration knowing that one of his torturers retained his job a policeman: "Today he has stars on his shoulder, and I am nothing".

Johan identified holding the political leadership of the Apartheid era legally accountable for their actions as a requirement for sustainable peace in Worcester: "The designers of Apartheid need to take more responsibility for what they have done. They have to pay for the atrocities that they have [indirectly] committed. The people who made the [Apartheid laws] who detained people for a year, two years without trial [they should be held accountable]".

Johan's demand for justice to hold the designers and implementers of the Apartheid policies accountable is significant coming from a white Afrikaans speaking Worcester resident. His own background as a lawyer and the fact that he never voted for the National Party could explain his opinion. Noble as Johan's statement may be, caution should be raised against the diversion of Apartheid blame to others without taking own responsibility. In Mamdani's (1998; 2000) critique of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission he argues that all white people in South Africa benefitted from apartheid at the expense of black African and coloured people and are therefore all guilty of some form of human rights abuse. He argues that white people in South Africa should therefore not be allowed to escape from their own responsibilities by putting the blame on "others".

3.2.2.2 Absence of Crime

Crime is widespread in Worcester. Residents of the town do not feel safe and have little confidence in the rule of law. During the period between April 2011 and March 2012 Worcester experienced 45 murders. There were 1220 house burglaries, 84 cars were reported stolen and 921 cars were broken into (South African Police Service, 2012). Corruption amongst government employees in Worcester is also rife. In January 2012 two employees of the Worcester License Department were arrested on charges of corruption and fraud (Politicsweb, 2012) and later in the same month two police officials of the Worcester Flying Squad were arrested on fraud charges (SAPS Journal Online, 2012).

A number of participants identified crime in Worcester as a major obstacle for sustainable peace. Cedrick voiced particular concern over the effect corruption is having on sustainable peace: "Corruption is blocking a better peaceful future for [all] Worcesterians".

3.2.3 Truth Seeking

South Africa established a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to focus on gross human rights violations and extreme violence committed in the pre-democracy era. Many black South Africans had high hopes that the TRC under the leadership of Archbishop Tutu would address the injustices and painful memories linked to the Apartheid past. In the words of the first Minister of Justice of the democratic South Africa, Mr Dullah Omar, the commission was “a necessary exercise to enable South Africans to come to terms with their past on a morally accepted basis and to advance the cause of reconciliation” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission Website, 2009).

The TRC consisted of three committees. The Human Rights Violations Committee investigated human rights violations that occurred between 1960 and 1994. The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee was responsible for the restoration of the dignity of people who suffered human rights abuse. This committee was also tasked to formulate proposals for possible reparations to victims of human rights abuse. The Amnesty Committee was responsible for considering the amnesty applications from perpetrators of human rights abuse. In its final report the TRC made pertinent restitution recommendations related to health, housing, education and employment as strategies to address past injustices and the laying of foundations for lasting reconciliation in South Africa (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa, 1998). Very few white South Africans embraced the TRC process. Prominent white South Africans ridiculed the TRC and in the white press it was criticised for not being objective (Coetzee, 1998).

Mamdani is one of the fiercest black critics of the South African TRC. He argues that the TRC wasted an opportunity for real reconciliation because it focussed too narrowly on gross human rights violations and "extraordinary" violence. Through this narrow focus, the TRC has allowed white South Africans to escape moral and political responsibility for the terror of Apartheid (Mamdani, 2009; Robins, 1998). With this narrow focus on gross human rights violations and extraordinary violence Mamdani (2000-) argues that the TRC compromised on truth. The focus of the TRC shied away from bringing the unresolved tensions between the white minority who

benefited from Apartheid and the black majority who were victims of Apartheid to the light. The TRC did not encourage a social debate on how Apartheid affected the personal lives of all the citizens of South Africa. The truth that South Africa needed from the TRC was one that would capture both the violence of the Apartheid state as well as the relationship between the victims and the beneficiaries of Apartheid. The truth that South Africans received from the TRC was a very selective individualised truth. It only reflected the experiences of a minority of South Africans, the perpetrators, who as government agents violated South African law while relating to political agents resisting the Apartheid state and the victims who suffered because of the abuse. The truth that South Africa needed from the TRC was one that would capture both the violence of the Apartheid state as well as the relationship between the victims and the beneficiaries of Apartheid (Mamdani, 2000; 2001).

The TRC conducted a hearing in Worcester between 24 and 26 June 1996. Twelve people testified before the commission and eight people gave statements but did not testify. Most of the testimonies of Worcester witnesses focussed on human rights violations at the hands of the security forces. Interviewed after the hearings the people who gave testimony said they experienced relief as they felt recognised, acknowledged and vindicated by the exposure of the brutality of Apartheid (Skinner, 2000).

Mandla indicated that although some of the truth about the human rights abuses of the Apartheid era has been revealed at the TRC hearings in Worcester, there are still some answers outstanding: "There were times police came to arrest a person and you will never see that person again. So they were killing people, there were bodies that were buried somewhere that you don't know". The allusion to bodies that were buried somewhere refers to some Zwelethemba liberation activists that are still not accounted for.

The TRC hearing was an opportunity for the white community in Worcester to develop an understanding of the Worcester liberation struggle and the human rights abuses that occurred during that time. It was also an opportunity for them to acknowledge the role they had played in maintaining the Apartheid policies in the

country. Unfortunately only three white people attended the TRC hearings in Worcester (Reynolds, 2013a).

Gobodo-Madikizela (2008:180) highlights the importance of acknowledgement of the truth in the trauma recovery process. Acknowledgement reassures victims that the abuse occurred and that they were not responsible for it happening to them. Luc Huyse (2003a:26) states “if the victims in a society do not feel that their suffering has been acknowledged, then they are not ready to put the past behind them. If they know that the horrible crimes carried out in secret will always remain buried then they are not ready for reconciliation”.

To date the majority of white South Africans have not yet sufficiently acknowledged their complicity to Apartheid rule. This became very evident through the criticism and rejection by white South Africans of the Home for All Campaign launched in 2000. With the close of the TRC some within the white community understood that symbolic gestures were needed to acknowledge the abuse of the past amongst some white sectors and to address the socio-economic divide within the country (Matthews, 2010:6). This desire culminated in the launch of the Home for All Campaign on the 16th of December 2000 in St George's Cathedral in Cape Town. The wording of the Home for All Declaration was straightforward and concise: There is an acknowledgement that Apartheid greatly harmed black South Africans and undermined the common humanity of all South Africans, an admission of the guilt of most white South Africans in supporting Apartheid, and a recognition of the continuing legacy of Apartheid and of the persistence of racism in post-Apartheid South Africa. The acknowledgement was followed by a statement of commitment to redressing the wrongs of the past (Matthews, 2010).

The Home for All Campaign was vehemently criticised and rejected by many different sectors representing white interest. The Democratic Alliance referred to the campaign as fuelling polarisation. The National Party stated that the campaign was engineering collective white guilt as a form of permanent psychological enslavement (Nagy, 2004; Matthews, 2010). The Freedom Front Plus described the campaign as being propaganda for the ANC government (Isaacson, 2000). The FW de Klerk

Foundation rejected the campaign, arguing that it presented an 'over-simplistic analysis' which would effectively label white South Africans as 'morally inferior' (IOL News, 2000).

Gobodo-Madikizela (2012:253-254) argues that white South Africans feared to acknowledge their complicity to and benefication from the Apartheid past as such undertakings would threaten their sense of who they are today and their image of who they were in the past. She points out that it is therefore safer for white South Africans to be silent about the past or deny that they were in any way responsible for past abuses.

Mamdani (2000:179-182; 2001:59) puts some of the blame for the lack of acknowledgement from the white community for their role in Apartheid on the shoulders of the TRC. He argues that by focussing only on gross human rights violations the TRC assisted white South Africans in putting the blame for Apartheid only on the shoulders of a minority of perpetrators. This response allowed the majority of white South Africans to avoid accounting for the ways in which they had benefited from Apartheid.

Research participants identified that the recovering from traumatic memories and white people's acknowledgement of their complicity to and benefit from Apartheid as requirements for sustainable peace in Worcester.

3.2.3.1 Recovering from Apartheid Traumatic Memories

Hannelie pointed out that some people in Worcester are still struggling to recover from the Apartheid related trauma: "I don't think people have healed from the psychological damage of the Group Areas Act". Cedrick indicated that there is very little support for people in Worcester to assist recovery from trauma: "We need to help people deal with the remnants of the trauma. There is nothing being done to help".

Phumeza stressed that there could never be real peace in Worcester if people have not recovered from their traumatic memories of the past: “The first requirement for sustainable peace is the healing of [our memories]. We should be healed”.

Hannelie, Fransman, Phumeza and Johan had some understanding of what trauma is and that making meaning or understanding the traumatic event more deeply assists in the trauma recovery process. Hannelie stressed the importance of truth telling and acknowledgement in the trauma recovery process: “[The traumatic memories] don’t go away by itself. It has to be worked with and certain things need to happen to address [the pain and bitterness]. To deal with the pain is the first step, to acknowledge that you have a problem [] and the second thing is to talk about it with someone you can trust”. Johan emphasised the risk of the re-enactment of unresolved trauma: “If people are not debriefed they will re-enact their trauma and then their families have to carry the burden of their behaviour”. Fransman acknowledged the importance of public acknowledgement in the trauma recovery process: “we [need to] create a [public] platform where we jointly address the pain of the past”.

Some respondents shared a different understanding of the trauma. Mandla stated that the remembering of the trauma just takes victims back to the hate of the past: “if you want to take the hate out you need to forget about the past. [] to think back is to bring the memory back to you and [then you] start to think hey it was bad and start to think again and rely on your cassette and you come out hating the people who hurt you”. Lindii-Jain suggested that the best way to recover from trauma is to forget about it: “Just forget about the past and work together for a better future”.

Both Mandla and Lindii-Jain were severely traumatised by the Apartheid past. Mandla spent many months in detention without trial and Lindii-Jain grew up with the thinking that “God was a white person. Everything white was considered pure and clean. Everything black was considered bad and of the devil”.

3.2.3.2 Acknowledgement of White People's Complicity to and Benefit from Apartheid

Respondents identified white acknowledgement of complicity to and benefit from Apartheid as a key requirement for sustainable peace.

White Worcesterians were complicit in Apartheid by endorsing the racist policies of the Apartheid government. From 1948 until the last whites' only parliamentary election in 1989 the white electorate in Worcester overwhelmingly voted for political candidates that endorsed the Apartheid policies of the National Party. Parties to the right of the National Party gained increasing support during the turbulent years of the 1980's (see Appendix 2: Worcester Parliamentary Election Results, 1948-1989).

White Worcesterians were also complicit in Apartheid through being apathetic towards the plight of their fellow citizens in their struggle against oppression. In the words of Juan Kariem (2012) one of the activists in the Worcester liberation struggle:

White Worcester was totally apathetic during the Apartheid time. There were times where one just wondered if a white community really existed in Worcester. Zwelethemba was burning [and the whites didn't do anything about it]. [It means that] they [have] condoned the police atrocities. They embraced the Apartheid philosophy of superiority. I am not aware of one progressive figure within the white Worcester community during that time. Not one of them took a stand against the abuse of the state and Apartheid. They were totally apathetic.

Though white respondents did not directly accept that they were complicit in Apartheid, Johan implied it indirectly: "I know what the army required from me was wrong but I was not strong enough to stand up against them. I was not prepared to suffer the consequences. I was married and had a child. I did not have the courage. I was not prepared to make a sacrifice".

Hannelie indicated that many white Worcesterians still find themselves in a state of denial and continue to believe that they have done nothing wrong during the Apartheid era and that they therefore have nothing to feel ashamed of: “[White] people are very quick to say I was not part of [the abuse that happened under Apartheid]. It is not my fault that it happened. I haven’t done anything wrong”.

The Apartheid policies of the National Party benefitted white Worcesterians in various ways. White children had better education opportunities because during the 1970’s white schools were on average ten times better funded than schools for black African children. White people had access to better jobs than people of colour which enabled them to afford better houses. White people had access to quality health care and had the capacity to save for their retirement. The accumulated advantage that white people received over years increased the wealth gap between white people and people of colour. This advantage was passed on to the next generation of white people. Koos conceded that white people did indeed benefit from Apartheid: “We white people all benefitted a lot from Apartheid”.

3.2.4 Restitution

Restitution attempts to rectify the psychological and structural abuse associated with the period of conflict.

Much has been accomplished in democratic South Africa to commemorate the struggle against white oppression. A number of public holidays celebrate significant events in the liberation struggle, the names of some towns, streets and buildings have been changed and many South African museums acknowledge the liberation struggle. Many new statues have been unveiled to acknowledge important role played by anti- Apartheid leaders and new monuments have been created.

The apologies for Apartheid offered by white South Africans in general and white politicians in particular failed to convince the South African majority. In his book *Pale White Native* Max du Preez (2003:25) describes the inadequate apology for

Apartheid provided by FW de Klerk at the TRC as a metaphor to highlight the unsatisfactory apologies of most white South Africans as he notes:

His speech was void of any emotion, of any sense of momentousness. They were the carefully considered words of a clever politician and lawyer. It was the clinical apology for something others had done even though they had meant well when they started Apartheid. Desmond Tutu, the Chairperson of the TRC said that de Klerk spoiled his apology when he qualified his apology by saying that Apartheid was not originally intended to do bad and that he as the leader of the country didn't know about the human rights abuses as "the work of a rogue minority" of which he as leader of the country didn't know and didn't give permission for.

Although some success have been achieved in the reconciliation process between white and black South Africans, Matthews (2010) points out that much more progress is required. She states that one of the reasons that not more progress has been made is the very narrow understanding of reconciliation that many white South Africans have. She quotes Jody Kollapen (former head of the Human Rights Commission) when he stated that "White South Africans see reconciliation and transformation as being in opposition to one another. Reconciliation within the understanding of the white community comes at the expense of transformation". Matthews highlights that Kollapen in contrast argues that reconciliation should not only be about apologising for the past but should also include commitment to making good the ills of the past', hence this narrow interpretation is problematic as it requires very little from white South Africans. Matthews (2010:10) explain the response of the white community as an indication of how conservative white South Africans really are and how they remain unwilling to take responsibility for the devastating effect Apartheid had on the lives of the majority of South Africans.

Swartz and Scott (2012:12-13) use the term "restitution of means" to describe financial compensation for the lost of resources due to human rights abuse. It comprises reparations, punitive payment and the return of land and property. The

purpose with the restitution of means is to facilitate a decent standard of living to the victims of Apartheid rule by providing opportunities to make it possible.

White South Africans in general has not shown much support for material restitution in response to their unfair benefit from Apartheid. This became quite evident in their general rejection of a 2011 call from Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu that white South Africans should pay a wealth tax in recognition of the fact that they have benefitted from Apartheid.

Ellis (2000) argues that some of the criticism for a lack of restitution from white South Africans should be directed at the democratically elected South African governments' inability to take more action in this regard. He states that the onus to bring about actions such as redress in South Africa lies with the South African politicians (Ellis 2000:71). The South African government has the political power to ensure that redress can happen and they must make use of that power.

The government has put some restitution measures in place. The government paid an amount of R30 000 of reparations to 21 000 victims of human rights abuse, some land restitution processes have been concluded, but it has largely ignored the recommendations of the TRC.

Research participants identified white remorse and apology for Apartheid, reconciliation between white and black Worcesterians, the memorialisation of the Worcester struggle against Apartheid and the restitution of means as different restitution requirements for sustainable peace in Worcester.

3.2.4.1 White People's Sincere Remorse about the Harm Caused by Apartheid

Respondents of the study identified remorse from white people for the role they played in the human rights abuses of Apartheid as a requirement for sustainable peace in Worcester.

The white respondents agreed that sustainable peace in Worcester requires that white people must show remorse for the past. Hannelie highlighted that the remorse must be shown in such a manner that all people will know that white people are really sorry: "A person of colour must see [] that you as a white person are truly sorry [about Apartheid]".

Respondents agreed that white people as a collective in Worcester have not yet shown real remorse for Apartheid. Koos stated that some white people's Apartheid thinking has not really changed and that many do not even understand what they should have remorse for: "There is still of our [white] people that don't even know why they should have remorse. Many of us [white people] continue with the typical Apartheid superiority thinking". Hannelie agreed that many white Worcesterians' Apartheid ways of thinking has not yet changed: "We still hurt each other, even though Apartheid has ended. The spirit of Apartheid is still very, very strong, also in Worcester". Fransman thinks that Apartheid has not yet been defeated in Worcester: "Apartheid is still very clear to see in Worcester".

Phumeza indicated that she is aware of this lack of remorse amongst white people in Worcester: "Most of the white people are not sorry about Apartheid".

3.2.4.2 White People's Sincere Apology about the Harm Caused by Apartheid

Respondents identified apology from white Worcesterians for the role they have played in Apartheid as a further requirement for sustainable peace in Worcester.

Though many traditional white institutions and individual white Worcesterians have apologised for Apartheid, the general feeling amongst black African and coloured respondents was that most of these apologies have not been convincing. Mandla indicated that no white person in Worcester has come to him to apologise for Apartheid: "Nobody came to me and say sorry".

Fransman highlighted that the apology for Apartheid from white Worcesterians should be communicated in such a manner that everybody in Worcester will know

about it: “The apology must be of such a nature that people on all levels of society, especially on grassroots level, could also know that an apology has been rendered”.

Respondents made some suggestions of what is required for an apology for Apartheid to be considered as sincere. Zanele pointed out that all white people in Worcester have to identify with the apology and that sincere remorse has to be demonstrated when the apology is made: “The whole white community must come out and show that they are sorry”. Mandla suggested that the people who want to apologise should be willing to humble themselves and render their heartfelt apology to masses of people at a public meeting and promise that they will never harm black African people again: “Those people [who supported and implemented Apartheid] must come to the people. [We must] have a huge meeting with the people. Call all the people black and white and [the perpetrators must] say we are very sorry to what happened [we are] sorry, sorry it is never going to happen again. We need [the perpetrators] to come here [] to sit down with the people and say here we are. We are saying sorry for what happened that time”. Johan agreed with the sentiment that there should be a public confession that Apartheid was wrong: “I feel there should be a public confession [about Apartheid]”.

Johan emphasised that white people should be willing to apologise for Apartheid at every possible opportunity and that part of the apology process should include a rebuke of Apartheid: “Wherever I go in the circles that I move in I have to say that Apartheid was unjust and I distance myself [from it]”. Koos stated that white people should continue to apologise for Apartheid until the apology has convinced black African and coloured people in Worcester: “I think even if we have to say sorry ten times, even if we have to say sorry twenty times, we will have to continue saying sorry until the people realise that we really mean it. [] we will have to say it over and over”.

3.2.4.3 Restitution of Means

Respondents identified restitution of means as a requirement for sustainable peace in Worcester.

Phumeza stated that an apology from white people for Apartheid alone is not enough to convince her that white people in Worcester have sincere remorse. It has to be accompanied by acts of restitution: "Sorry means nothing when you say sorry you must show that you are really sorry. You must show black people [that you are sorry] and do something about that, not just say sorry with the mouth. [You must] say sorry and do something about that sorry". Fransman shared Phumeza's sentiment: "It is not acceptable to [only] apologise for the harm that has been caused [and nothing is being done about the harm caused]. The impact or footprint of the harm caused by Apartheid also needs to be addressed".

Hannelie agreed that white Worcesterians have a responsibility to partake in restitution: "It is important that one shows through one's deeds, through what one does that one wants to put right what was wrong. That asks sacrifice and it asks intentional doing something about the matter".

Respondents had some ideas for the restitution process. Fransman suggested that white people in South Africa should mobilise themselves in a restitution social movement with specific set programmes: "We need a national movement amongst white people that will actively work towards redress and restitution. The white people of Worcester on their own would not be able to succeed ... there has to be [restitution] programmes". Koos suggested that the restitution process should have a holistic focus and include the restitution of people's personhood: "[The restitution programme] should assist people to develop to their full potential". Zanele suggested that the restitution actions should not be something that white people do for black African people. White and black African people should work on the programme together because the outcome of the restitution programme must benefit all the people in Worcester: "There must be [restitution] programmes where white and black can work on together".

Respondents provided some practical restitution suggestions. Cedrick suggested that farmers who evicted farm workers from their farms should invite them to return and provide them with good housing: "The farmers who chased [farm workers] from

the land [] they have to build quality houses on the farms for [the farm workers] and go and take the people from the squatter camps and give back to them what was taken from them”.

Phumeza suggested that white people provide bursaries for black African people in Worcester: “If there [could] be a bursary for everyone, for every child. That will help most”. Koos suggested that white people should see to it that the people working in their homes and gardens are well provided for:

White people should see to it that their domestic worker, the person working in your garden, that they have acceptable housing, that they have electricity, and if they have children what progress they are making with their education. Help the children to succeed, encourage them, be involved with them. A person could also in a structured way contribute to a fund to assist children with merit but who don't have access to bursaries to assist them to study further.

Mandla was the only respondent who showed an interest in land restitution. He emphasised that very little land is available for commercial use by black African people. When land is offered to black African people it is not a big enough piece of land. In the interest of sustainable peace he thinks something has to be done to address the unfair advantage white people have to land ownership:

I mean the time of the white people they were given big land than us now. If I go to the municipality now and say I don't have and that I give you that piece of land. What are you going to do with that piece of land? It is a very small piece of land while you can see that the white guy is having a farm which is starting here from Worcester to de Doorns. This is not enough.

Zanele highlighted that there are some things that restitution would never be able to repair:

Some of our families they lost their children, some of them even don't know where their children are buried, some of them it's not even one child, two or three in one family died, how are you going to repay someone like that? You can't, you can't. My husband lost an eye in this whole Apartheid thing ... now you tell me, how do you repay someone back his eye? You can't. Some of [the women] were raped [by the police]. How are you going to pay back? You can't. You can imagine your husband not being there for your children whilst they grow up, because he was like coming out [of prison] for a month and then go back [to prison] for nine months and then they will take them in again and then it will repeat itself again like the month that I am talking about. So about, for three years he was not with his children. He was just for a month in the year [at home] and that affected us a lot as a family. It even destroyed our marriage if I can be honest with you because for a wife without a husband and the husband the whole time in jail. When he comes out of jail he's like not himself. He doesn't believe in himself anymore because life has gone on, the children have grown and as for myself, he left me, he was the breadwinner. So for us as a family, it affected us a lot. That unity that was there as a family husband and wife, that kind of relationship wasn't anymore there because there was no time for us even to discuss about our family matters because he was out [of prison] for a short while and he's in again for a long time. You see, now that's why I say he even lost his [self] confidence. He lost it and I had to see how I move forward with the children. It was very difficult, very difficult really.

3.2.4.4 Memorialisation of the Worcester Struggle against Apartheid

Participants identified memorialisation of the Worcester liberation history as a requirement for sustainable peace in Worcester.

Johan indicated that knowledge of the full history of Worcester will enable residents to know how to plan the future: "History is important. It will tell us this is the wrong road and that road is the right one".

Koos highlighted that Worcesterians have to learn from the past in order not to make the same mistakes in the future: “We have to learn from our history. We must not repeat the mistakes of our past”. Cedrick pointed out that the past should never be ignored: “We cannot say that we mustn’t look at the past. The knowledge about the past is knowledge that we need to build the future”.

Phumeza, one of the Worcester struggle heroes, stressed the importance of recognising the Worcester liberation history: “There also should be [recognition of the liberation] history in Worcester so that everyone can be able to see that historical things happened here”. She alluded to the reality that the younger generation of black African people in Worcester do not know much about the anti Apartheid struggle in Worcester: “We know the history but our children must also know the history”.

The fact that their contribution to the liberation struggle is not known by the younger generation is a source of much pain to many of the struggle veterans (Skinner 2000:105). Phumeza is an unskilled labourer working for the local municipality as a cleaner. On first appearance at her workplace people who do not know her would not expect that she played such a leadership role in Worcester’s liberation struggle. An important requirement for sustainable peace for Phumeza is the acknowledgement of the role activists played in the liberation struggle: “There also should be [recognition of the struggle] history in Worcester so that we can show our children and say this is freedom square, this is where all the fighting happened”.

Most of the memorials in Worcester are located in the square opposite the municipal buildings. For many decades the memorials only reflected the white history of the town for example the Great Trek; the Great South African war; the First World War and the Second World War. After the 1996 Worcester bombing a small memorial with the names of the people who died was added to the memorials. In June 2012 the local municipality unveiled a statue of Nelson Mandela on the Worcester plain. There have as yet been no changes of street names and the local hospital is still named after one of the Apartheid era stalwarts.

3.2.4.5 Reconciliation between Black and White Worcesterians

The respondents identified reconciliation between the different racial groups in Worcester as a further requirement for sustainable peace. Although some reconciliation between people from different races in Worcester has taken place, respondents generally agreed that very little has changed in the way Worcesterians are relating to each other.

Fransman highlighted that white people in Worcester are still not open to develop friendships with black African and coloured people: "There are very few genuine friendships across the colour lines. The painful truth is that the little integration we find in the white areas is also very artificial. When people [of colour] move into white areas they are not really welcomed. There are not really examples of a relationship with the neighbours".

Cedrick pointed out that many white people in Worcester are still not comfortable to associate with black African and coloured people:

What happened in schools is that when the parents of coloured and black children could afford it they sent their children to the white schools. Most of the white parents then took their children out of these schools and took them to private schools. So many times we have invited white people to come and look [what we coloured people] do at the annual Easter bazaar [in Worcester] and to become part of it.

Koos acknowledged that there has not been that much progress with reconciliation within the white in Worcester: "Many of our white people still have the Apartheid way of thinking, that they are superior to people of colour".

Respondents made a number of suggestions of how to facilitate reconciliation amongst the different racial groups in Worcester.

Koos suggested that white people should make a special effort to reach out to black African and coloured people: "White people need to encourage black African and coloured people to call white people on their names". Fransman proposed that white people should actively participate in the different activities arranged in the Worcester: "White people must not withdraw themselves from civil society organisations, and sport organisations such as the Worcester rugby clubs, when black and coloured people start to join these institutions".

A number of respondents suggested that the different racial groups need to make a concerted effort to develop a better understanding of the cultures of other racial groups. Koos pointed out that Worcesterians should be exposed to the way of doing of other racial groups: "We need to learn about each other's cultures and way of doing things". Lindii-Jain stressed the importance of understanding where people are coming from: "We need to understand each other's backgrounds and cultures". Cedrick highlighted that if Worcesterians start appreciating each other's cultures they would also start appreciating each other:

We [need to] learn about each other's cultures. If I as a coloured person can learn how to "sokkie" or if my children could learn a "Voortrekker dance", or if white people can learn how to "lang arm" dance, or if they could learn their children to "riel dance", or all of us could learn their children to do the "Zulu dances". If we can start develop a liking in each other's cultures we would also start liking each other.

Fransman pointed out that reconciliation in Worcester would benefit much when the traditional white churches begin to actively work towards becoming multi-racial churches: "So called white churches like the Dutch Reformed Church need to integrate and get a lot more coloured and black membership. The example of the new emerging churches and the charismatic churches needs to be followed in this regard. The integration of the Dutch Reformed Churches in Worcester will send out a very strong message to the whole town".

The Worcester community is a very religious community. More than 80% of the town are active members of Christian churches. The majority of white residents are members of one of the seven Dutch Reformed congregations in the town. These congregations are still exclusively white. If they could make a concerted effort to become multi-racial it would have a significant effect on the town as a whole. The unification of the white section of the Dutch Reformed Church with the black section of the church known as the Uniting Reformed Church in Southern Africa could be an important example in this regard.

Fransman stated that the interracial relationships that people develop at the work place should be extended to other areas of social life: "White people must not only be friendly with their black and coloured colleagues at work. They need to be friendly with them and greet them when they see them in the shops. There has to be genuine relationships between people of different races – not just pretend to be in relationships".

Apartheid worked to strip black African and coloured people in Worcester of their human dignity. Significantly some black African respondents consider reconciliation as a strategy to restore their own sense of dignity. One of the most powerful ways for the black African respondents to restore their sense of dignity is when white people visit black African people at their homes. Zanele affirmed this reality by stating that real reconciliation for her means that white people must be willing to come and sleep over at her house: "White people] have to stay with me here in Zwelethemba for a day and night to understand where I am now you see or I have to stay in their house in the white area to understand them better". Mandela expressed a similar desire: "Yes, the white people must come to my house. [They must say] Mandela, I will come to your [house] tomorrow that we can have a talk with you and so on. That can bring peace".

One of the most humiliating aspects of the Apartheid legislation was the 1949 Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and the 1969 Immorality Act. These acts prevented people from different racial backgrounds to marry or have sexual

intercourse with each other. The Apartheid ideology became so entrenched in the mindsets of many white South Africans that it is still for some unthinkable to have such intimate relations with black African and coloured people. Fransman indicates that a good barometer for reconciliation in Worcester would be the acceptability of interracial romantic relationships:

I think one of the elements for reconciliation would be to create a more open environment for interracial romantic relationships to be acceptable because even amongst coloured and black African, there is this thing of no, let's steer away from that and I think a key ingredient for reconciliation would be to allow the Worcester community to open up to this subject of how important it is to allow you know cultures to fuse and to engage with one another.

3.2.5 Socio-economic Justice

Sustainable peace and economic transformation is very much interrelated. Brown and Magilindane (2004:115-117) and Mani (2002:10) state that there cannot be sustainable peace without economic justice. Economic justice depends on broad based economic growth from which all citizens in a country have to feel they benefit. Citizens of a country will only be able to envisage sustainable peace when an end to poverty, huge inequalities and endless struggles for survival is in sight.

The democratic South African state had to deal with the immense economic challenges of the Apartheid legacy. Apart from a responsibility to repay massive Apartheid era debt, the government had to address the huge socio-economic inequalities within the society (Terreblanche, 2012). Most black South Africans lived below the minimal level of subsistence and experienced disadvantage in all aspects of life.

In 1994 the newly elect government adopted the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) to address socio-economic inequalities within the country. The aims of the RDP were to alleviate poverty, address massive shortfalls in the social services across the country and to support development accompanied by economic growth. The RDP encouraged government spending to reach the set goals.

The Apartheid debt detail was of such a massive scale that the newly elected government could not afford to continue with big government spending. The RDP was in 1996 replaced with the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) plan (Terreblanche, 2012). The aims of GEAR were the strengthening of economic development, the decreasing of unemployment, the redistribution of income and the creation of socio-economic opportunities for the poor. GEAR differs from the RDP by focussing on economic growth and the cutting of government spending. There has been much criticism of GEAR in that the strategy failed to secure the required economic growth, job creation, poverty reduction and a more equitable distribution of wealth.

In 2012 the government adopted the National Development Plan (NDP) with the aim to eradicate poverty and reduce inequalities amongst all the people of South Africa by 2030. The priorities of the NDP include increasing employment through faster growth, enhancing the quality of education, skills development and innovation and building the state to fulfil a more developmental and transformational role. Despite creative strategies to provide for a more equitable distribution of the wealth of South Africa these strategies has as yet not been very successful (National Planning Commission, 2012).

Professor Sampie Terreblanche, one of South Africa's leading developmental economists is critical about what he refers to as the "liberal capitalist free market ideology" in South Africa as a way to significantly address poverty and inequality within the country. He advocates for a much more active role for the state and civil society in the economy of South Africa which will ensure that the wealth of the country is not monopolised by a very small number of already wealthy people.

Terreblanche (2002; 2003; 2012) proposes distributive justice as a strategy to correct structural or systemic injustices of inequality within South Africa. He argues that since democratisation only a very small percentage of black South Africans have significantly benefitted from the economic wealth of the country. The country's wealth is still predominantly in white hands and the government has not yet held

white business accountable for the exploitation and deprivation of black South Africans under Apartheid rule. Instead of restructuring the economic system and redistributing of wealth, the South African government persists with neo-liberal capitalist economic policies that enable the rich to become wealthier. The only change that has occurred is the creation of a small black elite through the black economic empowerment and affirmative action policies of the government. The current economic system does not provide enough power to the government to restructure the economy. Terreblanche (2012) and Ellis (2000) propose that the government use its power to play a larger role in the economy to ensure that wealth and resources are radically redistributed to benefit the majority of people in South Africa.

Similarly, respondents identified the sharing in the wealth of Worcester and the provision of decent employment as socio-economic requirements for sustainable peace in Worcester.

3.2.5.1 The Sharing of the Wealth of Worcester

Respondents did not specifically identify economic justice on a macro-economic level as a requirement for sustainable peace in Worcester. Possible reasons for this omission could be the micro level focus of the research question and participants' general inexperience with South African macro-economic politics.

Although no specific reference was made to macro-economic policies, Zanele indicated that there cannot be any expectation of real peace in Worcester if so much wealth is still concentrated in the hands of the white minority: " [It feels like] everything is still in the white man's [hand] because there's nothing that is belonging to the black African people. In Worcester it's the white man [that is in charge of everything], you're still working under [the white] person, you will work until you die".

None of the black African or coloured respondents suggested expropriation of white affluence as a way to redistribute wealth in Worcester. It is significant that all the black African respondents suggested that white people should be willing to share

their abundance with people who have little. Mandla pointed out that people who are wealthy should share with people who have very little as it is not fair that some people have much more than other people: “If [people who have a lot] can share [what they have] with the lives of the people [who have little] there will be peace because [] it is a problem that these people still have everything and we don’t have anything”. Phumeza suggested that poor people would be satisfied if they could share in the wealth of wealthy people: “Sharing. That is what we want. That can make us [black people] feel satisfied”. Zanele indicated that wealthy white South Africans should be willing to share their resources with black South Africans to enable them to achieve their goals in life: “I think we [all South Africans] should share with each other. We [must] share the wealth of this country in order to get where we [black people] want to get”.

3.2.5.2 Decent Employment

Respondents identified decent employment for black African and coloured people as a requirement for sustainable peace in Worcester. The unemployment rate amongst black African and coloured Worcester residents is very high. According to the 2011 National Census 11 545 people in Worcester are unemployed (Statistics South Africa, 2012b). The overwhelming majority of the unemployed people are black African and coloured people.

Phumeza attested to the lack of employment for black African people in Worcester: “There is no work in Zwelethemba - unemployment is very, very high in Zwelethemba”.

Cedrick indicated that sustainable peace in Worcester would only be possible when employers treat their workers well and pay them a decent wage: “The business people shouldn’t exploit the labour of the workers and then after using them and they don’t have a need for them anymore just throw them away without doing justice to their hard work over a long time. [Employees] should treat and pay their workers well”.

Fransman highlighted that Worcester will have peace when the next generation of workers would know if they work hard at school one day they will be able to have decent work: “The children of farm workers should not also become farm workers. They must have the opportunities to become something else if they want to”. Johan agreed that sustainable peace in Worcester is only possible if the historical fault lines in the workplace are addressed: “I am a supporter of black economic empowerment”.

3.3 The Possibility of Sustainable Peace in Worcester

Respondents broadly understood sustainable peace in Worcester as the absence of physical and criminal violence and the use of dialogue as mechanism to ensure potential conflict situations are resolved through dialogue. Sustainable peace is based on the principle of justice and includes respect for other people’s humanity. Respondents also identified that sustainable peace benefits from healthy mutual relationships and that there is great need to work to secure the future.

The participants identified seventeen core requirements for peaceful co-existence that include:

1. Effective governance
2. Poverty eradication
3. Equality
4. Eradication of hunger
5. Decent housing
6. Quality education
7. Prosecution of Apartheid leadership
8. Absence of crime
9. Recovering from Apartheid traumatic memories
10. Acknowledgement of white people’s complicity to and benefit from Apartheid
11. White people’s sincere remorse about the harm caused by Apartheid
12. White people’s sincere apology about the harm caused by Apartheid
13. Memorialisation of the Worcester struggle against Apartheid
14. Reconciliation between black and white Worcesterians
15. Restitution of means
16. The sharing of the wealth of Worcester
17. Decent employment

In achieving these elements of peaceful co-existence effective governance is a foundation that works towards the creation of a more equal society and the eradication of poverty and hunger. Effective governance should also provide for decent housing and quality education to all residents in the town. Sustainable peace in Worcester further requires the creation of jobs for unemployed people and an equal sharing in the wealth of South Africa.

Respondents pointed out that holding Apartheid-era politicians and other criminals legally accountable for their abusive actions could promote a safer and more peaceful Worcester environment.

Sustainable peace in Worcester could be strengthened through the remembering of and recovery from the traumatic memories associated with the Apartheid past. Such recovery could benefit when white Worcesterians acknowledge that they were directly or indirectly responsible for Apartheid. Such acknowledgment should be accompanied by sincere remorse and an apology and a commitment to restitution and reconciliation.

Respondents highlighted that most of their identified requirements for sustainable peace are not in place and that the prospects for sustainable peace in Worcester does not look very positive. Phumeza indicated that she does not foresee any significant changes to the situation in the near future: "Peace is a very, very long way away". Mandla seemed a bit more optimistic. Although he agreed that it would take time for the whole of Worcester to become a peaceful society he suggested that some progress has already been made: "It will take time [] to have peace to everybody".

Even though participants appreciate that sustainable peace in Worcester is tenuous they remained hopeful that it is still possible. Koos trust that peace is possible as there is a lot of good will amongst the people of Worcester: "I believe that [peace] is possible. There are a lot of people of good will on all sides". Mandla pointed out that sustainable peace in Worcester is feasible as long as people have the hope that it can materialise. He guarded against ever giving up such hope: "There will be peace

in Worcester. I am having that hope. A person must not give up hope. [] you must not give up hope. You must try and try and try and try. I think we can have peace here in Worcester because we are all living in it”.

CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH RESULTS

Current conditions in Worcester are not conducive for sustainable peace. Although the majority of people in Worcester are not actively using physical violence against each other, participants of the study believe that the present situation in the town can be understood as a ceasefire where the original reasons for the conflict have not been addressed. Worcester currently experiences negative peace and even this negative peace is under threat. That the town may return to outbreaks of physical violence similar to the pre-democracy period is a realistic possibility as has been demonstrated by the recent protest actions and harsh police response. The effects of the harm caused by Apartheid are still very real in the lives of black Worcesterians. Lasting peace will only return to Worcester when this harm is fully addressed.

The respondents of the study indicated that the harm caused by Apartheid has, as yet, not been sufficiently addressed in Worcester. Some black African and coloured people in town continue to find it difficult to manage their Apartheid related memories and emotions. There are few memorials that acknowledge the liberation struggle and white people in general do not take responsibility for their role in Apartheid and do not show enough remorse for their complicity and for benefitting from the implementation of these policies. White Worcesterians have, as yet, not been able to render convincing apologies for Apartheid. Reconciliation where the white, coloured and black African people of Worcester are able to fully relate to each other as full persons has not yet been reached.

Socio-economic inequality in the town remains very high. Housing and food security continue to be challenges for some people. Quality education and decent employment for all Worcesterians remains an unrealised expectation and the prevalence of crime in Worcester is high. These elements of dignified living that offers the possibility for development are core to building peace in Worcester.

Some progress has been made to undo the political framework that provided for the Apartheid policies. The political rights of all residents have been restored. Everyone

in Worcester has now the right to vote and the new South African constitution provides for the protection of the human rights of all citizens and prohibits any discrimination on grounds of race, gender, religion, age, sexual orientation or disability. Of concern is the capacity of the government structures to govern effectively. All spheres of government in Worcester must be seen as actively addressing the concerns and the needs of particularly the most marginalised people within the society. Also, the government agencies in Worcester have to do more to combat all forms of crime to provide safety and clean governance to all the residents.

The progress made with the undoing of the political framework of Apartheid should be extended to include the restitution of legal justice for Apartheid era political crimes and the restitution of memory, means, dignity, equality and opportunity of the people harmed by Apartheid rule (Swartz & Scott, 2012:10).

The results of this study highlight that sustainable peace in Worcester is particularly hampered by the inadequate way in which the town is managing Apartheid era related emotional trauma and the slow pace of economic change in the lives of the majority of people impoverished by the policies of the past. The consequences of trauma and economic hardship have a direct impact on the way the people of Worcester are relating to themselves, each other and the way residents manage their day to day lives. Without the recovery from the past or redress to reduce economic hardship, the possibility of sustainable peace in Worcester will remain remote.

4.1 The Trauma of Apartheid

The acknowledgment that many black African and coloured people in Worcester have been traumatised by the structural and psychological violence of Apartheid is an important departure point for the trauma recovery process in Worcester (Hamber, 2009).

Apartheid was violent in a structural way through the legislation of racism which seriously harmed the lives of black African and coloured people (Hamber, 2009). The promulgation of the Apartheid laws had ripple effects on all spheres of Worcesterians' lives. It affected how people were identified, who people could become, where people could live, what people could own, where people could work, what type of work they could do and what people were paid for their work. The political violence even affected where people could pray and who people could love.

When black African and coloured people in Worcester protested against these forms of violence their protest actions were violently suppressed by the Apartheid state through the banning of political parties, organisations and individual people, torture, detention without trial, killings, state of emergency regulations and curfews (Ross, 2003; Reynolds 2013b). Even the courts did not protect the human rights of people who resisted Apartheid. When people broke the Apartheid laws they were prosecuted by the state, found guilty by the courts and harshly punished.

Apartheid brutally violated the socio-economic rights of black Worcesterians (Hamber, 2009). Black African and coloured people were a source of cheap labour which enriched their white employers. Very few people of colour had opportunities to develop to their full potential and when they received opportunities it was of an inferior standard. The cumulative financial privilege white Worcesterians enjoyed under Apartheid gave birth to the huge inequalities in the town. The reminders of these inequalities are still very stark: the neat predominantly white neighbourhoods with big well maintained houses versus the small very humble houses or informal settlements in Zwelethemba and the coloured neighbourhoods. Some white people are still spending more money per month in caring for their pets than what some black African and coloured people have available to feed themselves.

Apartheid was also violent on a psychological level (Hamber, 2009). The racial policies of the pre-democracy era created fertile soil for white racism. Racist, derogatory language was commonly used when white people addressed or referred to people of colour. In return it was expected that black African and coloured people

relate to white people in a subservient way. The violence of the racist policies humiliated some black African and coloured people and affected their sense of self worth.

The emotions of humiliation and inferiority continue to affect people's lives even after the end of Apartheid rule. Many black African and coloured people in Worcester have not yet recovered from the traumatic emotions associated with Apartheid rule (Skinner, 1998; 2000; Hamber, 2009). Sustainable peace in Worcester requires from all people in Worcester, both black and white people, to acknowledge that Apartheid traumatised many black African and coloured people in the town. To date such an acknowledgment has not been forthcoming.

4.1.1 Understanding Apartheid Trauma Responses

The effects of trauma on people are very complex and not always strictly rational (Herman, 2001). When some traumatised black African and coloured people in Worcester interact with their white compatriots the interaction is structured on the relationships and violence of the past. As these relationships were damaging and oppressive the past pain is relived. This happens particularly when white people are perceived to continue with their old behaviour and are seen as not embracing the transformation values of the post Apartheid South African constitution. It also happens when poor black African and coloured people in Worcester continue to witness the much higher living standard of their white compatriots, without sharing. Such behaviour from white people leads to the "retraumatisation" of black African and coloured people. A remark made by Hannelie illustrates this reality: "The moment when it happens that one of the parties' say something negative about the other then all the old wounds burst open. All the hate and bitterness reappears".

4.1.2 Responsibility for Apartheid Trauma

White Worcesterians, by virtue of being closely associated with the Apartheid dispensation, are seen as part of the perpetrator group responsible for the trauma of

black Worcesterians. Not only did the overwhelming majority of white Worcesterians vote for political parties with racist ideologies but the majority of white people harnessed the same racist ideology towards people of colour. This was clearly demonstrated in the ways that white people spoke of black African and coloured people, related to black African and coloured people, were reluctant to advocate for the rights and dignity of black African and coloured people, and were satisfied to enrich themselves through the exploitation of black African and coloured labour. All white people benefitted from Apartheid's beneficial treatment. Even if white people might argue that they were not directly responsible for the racist policies of the past, the lack of action of most white Worcesterians made them active bystanders and therefore complicit to the Apartheid abuse (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2012).

While white Worcesterians might understandably find it difficult to accept that white people as a collective are seen as perpetrators of trauma, conditions for sustainable peace in the town require for them to realise this, alongside an understanding of the effect this association has on relating to the people affected by Apartheid.

4.1.3 Recovery from Apartheid Trauma

The trauma recovery process of safety, meaning making and reconnection is not dependent on the behaviour of the perpetrator (Herman, 2001; Hamber, 2009). Trauma survivors can recover without any positive response from their perpetrators. The trauma recovery process of the Worcester victims of Apartheid era violence will be supported by white Worcesterians' acknowledgement that they have benefitted from and were complicit to Apartheid, their sincere remorse and apology and their acts of restitution. But this is not a necessary condition for survivors' recovery.

Yet the lack of acknowledgement, sincere remorse, apology and restitution from white Worcesterians may be seen as a further violation of black Worcesterians' human dignity and a continuation of Apartheid era related psychological violence (Hamber, 2009). Such continuation could further traumatise some black African and coloured people in Worcester. Sustainable peace in Worcester therefore requires that the continuation of such violence from the white community in Worcester has to

end and that they should contribute towards the trauma recovery process by acknowledging the harm of the past and their role in it, portray remorse, render sincere apology and demonstrate a commitment to do restitution.

The white respondents of the study showed signs of readiness to contribute towards the trauma recovery process of their black compatriots. Koos acknowledged that all white people benefitted from Apartheid: "We white people all benefitted a lot from Apartheid – if we want to acknowledge it or not". Johan recognised the importance for white people to show sincere remorse for Apartheid: "We [white people] have to offer sincere remorse [for Apartheid]". Koos recognized the need for convincing apologies for the abuses of the past: "I think even if we have to say sorry ten times, even if we have to say sorry twenty times, we will have to continue saying sorry until the people realise that we really mean it". Johan demonstrated a desire to develop meaningful relationships with black Worcesterians: "White and black people need to say to each other I see in you my sister's son" referring to the statement that Ms Olga Macingwane made when engaging with bomber Stefaans Coetzee (Fuller, 2010). Hannelie indicated a preparedness to do meaningful restitution for past abuses: "It is important that one shows through one's deeds, through what one does that one wants to put right what was wrong. That asks sacrifice and it asks intentional doing something about the matter".

These hopeful positions of the white respondents are encouraging, and could be further strengthened by their understanding of the importance of these actions as supportive elements of the trauma recovery process of their black compatriots. It is an indication that some other white Worcesterians might hold similar positions and that it is possible for other white people in Worcester to develop such positions.

It would be of value for future research to study what circumstances contributed to the positions of these white respondents to assist in identifying a strategy to support all white Worcesterians to take responsibility for their involvement in Apartheid induced trauma.

4.2 Economic Justice after Apartheid

Even when full psychological harm of apartheid had been repaired, the structural injustices of cumulative socio-economic inequality will still be in place and conditions for sustainable peace in Worcester will remain compromised (Mani, 2002:10). During decades of Apartheid rule white Worcesterians accumulated economic privilege. Such cumulative advantage contributed to South Africa becoming the most unequal society in the world. Even when the transformation of the economic structures within Worcester has been achieved the cumulative advantage of white Worcesterians will remain.

Cedrick used the analogy of a soccer match to illustrate this reality:

Imagine two teams are playing a soccer match. The field is heavily tilted in favour of the one side which enable that team to build up a score of 1000 goals to 0. At a certain point during the match the advantaged team realised that the match is not fair and suggested for the playing field to be levelled. The decision to level the playing field is only one part of doing justice to the deprived team. The other part has to do with the result of the match. To just level the score of the match and continue with the game is also not good enough. For the duration of the match the disadvantaged team had to play uphill causing the team members to be more exhausted than the team playing down hill. To do justice to both teams the score should be adjusted to compensate for the disadvantage or the match should be abandoned and replayed on another day. Peace within Worcester has not only to do with levelling the playing field. It includes addressing the cumulative advantage some sectors within society enjoyed in order to address the imbalances created by our past.

Sustainable peace in Worcester requires both the transformation of existing economic structures and the redistribution of the wealth that white Worcesterians unjustly acquired through Apartheid rule.

4.2.1 Economic Transformation

Mani (2002:8) proposes distributive justice as a strategy to correct the structural or systemic injustices of inequality in societies transitioning from policies such as Apartheid. This requires the transformation of the circumstances that led to the cumulative structural advantage that white Worcesterians enjoyed during the pre-democracy period. The transformation process should include the restructuring of the South African economic system in order to provide for the redistribution of wealth and the creation of equality within the South African society (Lambourne, 2009:41-44; Lederach, 1997:29; Deutsch & Coleman, 2012:10; Mani, 2002:8).

Terreblanche (2002; 2003; 2012) suggests that the required transformation could be possible through replacing the current liberal capitalist free market ideology with a social-democratic ideology which recognises the role of the state and civil society in the economy. He further proposes the transformation of the entire corporate elite-based power relationship of the current South African economy into a well-balanced social democratic and human system of democratic capitalism. According to Terreblanche the third aspect of the economic transformation should have a strong distributive focus to bring about the necessary redistribution of income, economic opportunities and property which is needed to create a better life for the poor majority of people in South Africa. As part of the distributive focus of the restructuring of the economy the unjust acquisition of land and mineral wealth through Apartheid policies should be urgently addressed.

The Worcester society has limited power to influence the South African government to transform the current economic system from a profit driven approach that tends to increase the wealth of institutions and individuals that are already wealthy, towards a people driven economy that distributes wealth more equally. There is a need for education amongst all sectors within the Worcester society regarding the requirements for a just economy and why an alternative economic system will benefit the chances for sustainable peace in Worcester. Part of such an education process could include highlighting the unhealthy nature of both having too many resources or too little resources. An education drive regarding economic justice can become a

catalytic tool to mobilise the Worcester society to advocate for a more just economic environment that acknowledges the unfair advantages white Worcesterians enjoyed during the Apartheid era.

4.2.2 Restitution as Redress

The legislation of a special tax on people that benefitted from Apartheid is another strategy to redistribute unjustly acquired wealth in South Africa. In a presentation at the third Carnegie Conference on poverty at the University of Cape Town in September 2012, Arrison, Weitz & Snyman proposed the establishment of a National Restitution Fund through the legislation of a restitution tax on people who benefitted from Apartheid rule. The intention with such legislation could be to close the book on Apartheid debt when a set target is reached. The funds generated could be held in the Reserve Bank but the fund itself needs to be managed by independent leaders in society. The first monies to be paid to the fund should be from the corporate sector that benefitted from Apartheid. The fund should be used to improve the general living standard of the most marginalised people within the society.

Apart from the implementation of national strategies to redistribute wealth, a Worcester based strategy for the redistribution of wealth might receive support from the residents of the town. The Worcester business community could play a leading role in such an initiative. Koos specifically referred to the establishment of a local bursary fund to enable people from disadvantaged backgrounds to access education opportunities: "A person could also in a structured way contribute to a fund to assist children with merit but who don't have access to bursaries to assist them to study further".

On individual level Koos suggested that white Worcester employers could contribute to a more equal society by ensuring that the people working for them have good houses to live in, receive decent salaries and get the support to provide quality education for their children: "White people should see to it that their domestic worker, the person working in your garden, that they have acceptable housing, that they

have electricity, and if they have children what progress they are making with their education. Help the children to succeed, encourage them, be involved with them”.

4.3 In Closing ...

The psychological reminders of Apartheid era humiliation and most black Worcesterians' lack of economic means to provide for a decent standard of living are some of the main obstacles in the road towards sustainable peace in Worcester. There are no easy or clear cut solutions for either of these obstacles.

The acknowledgement that these obstacles exist forms an important first step in the peace building process. Such acknowledgment should be followed by a commitment to find solutions how to address these obstacles. The solutions should include psychological and economic sacrifices from the white community in Worcester who participated in Apartheid humiliation and benefitted from the cumulative advantages the Apartheid policies bestowed on all white people.

The white community should ideally voluntarily participate in making the required psychological and economic sacrifices as was suggested in the recommendations of the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the declaration of the Home for All Campaign and the wealth tax call of Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu. The reality is that thus far very few have responded to the voluntary calls on white people to take responsibility for the role they have played in the Apartheid dispensation. Although white people cannot be forced to take responsibility for the psychological harm caused by Apartheid the South African government has the power to legislate arrangements that could force the white sector to take economic responsibility for their unfair benefit from Apartheid rule. The South African government has thus far also been very reluctant to do so.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

The town of Worcester is at a crossroads. The legacy of Apartheid remains a heavy burden on the shoulders of the community and dampens future prospects of sustainable peace. As long as the present conditions in the town remind some residents of the pain and injustices of the Apartheid past sustainable, peace will remain elusive.

This study posed the question “what is required for the community of Worcester to live in peace with each other, now and in the future?” and considered the perceptions of nine diverse participants in the Worcester Hope and Reconciliation Process in the light of the international literature and the related developments within South Africa. Seventeen key elements were identified including: effective governance, the addressing of socio-economic and educational needs, the prosecution of those responsible, sincere apology and redress.

The study concludes that while the national mechanisms of transitional justice are in place, lasting peace in Worcester depends on the restitution of the whole personhood of the black African and coloured people in Worcester. The restitution of personhood requires resolving the consequences of the psychological and structural violence of Apartheid rule. The different spheres of government and the beneficiaries of Apartheid in Worcester are responsible to make such restitution happens.

Government has thus far shown some commitment through the constitution and through more equitable service delivery, but a much stronger pro-active response is required. Some of the required actions from government will be unpopular amongst the privileged sectors within the society, yet in the interest of the long term sustainable peace these decisions have to be made. This study is significant in showing the urgency and importance of these decisions to secure peace within the rural town of Worcester. It would be valuable to research whether the dynamics evident in Worcester are shared more broadly across South Africa.

The responses from the white respondents of this study indicate that some white Worcesterians are willing to take responsibility for the abuse of the Apartheid past. The willingness of a few has to become the commitment of the majority of white Worcesterians, supported by the institutions within this community such as the churches, business forums and school parent bodies.

Without a concerted effort from both government and the white community in Worcester the impression of Phumeza seems to be true: "Peace is a very,very long way away".

APPENDIX 1: BIOGRAPHIES OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Mandla is a 65 year old Xhosa speaking black African man. He was born in Worcester and grew up South of Durban Street where his family lived amongst coloured people. With the implementation of the Group Areas Act Mandla was forced to move to Zwelethemba, the black African township on the outskirts of Worcester. Mandla was a member of Umkhonto weSizwe, the military wing of the ANC leader in the Worcester anti-Apartheid struggle. Mandla was detained a number of times without trial under section 29 of the Internal Security Act of the Apartheid government. He spent months at a time in solitary confinement and was tortured by the security police. After democratisation Mandla served as an ANC ward counsellor of the Breede Valley Municipality. He is currently unemployed and depends on the salary of his one employed son.

Zanele is a 60 year old Xhosa speaking black African women. She was born in Worcester and grew up South of Durban Street where her family lived amongst coloured people. With the implementation of the Group Areas Act Zanele was forced to move to Zwelethemba, the black African township on the outskirts of Worcester. During the 1980's Zanele's husband was on many occasions detained without trial under section 29 of the internal security act for his involvement in ANC activities. Zanele served a few terms as a local government councillor in the Breede Valley Municipality. During her last term she served as the first black Mayor of Worcester. She is currently not involved in politics and spends her time with church activities and community development initiatives.

Phumeza is a 45 year old Xhosa speaking black African women. She was born in Zwelethemba, Worcester. During the 1980's while still at school Phumeza became a member of the ANC and joined Umkhonto weSizwe, the military wing of the ANC. She became an active youth leader in the anti-Apartheid struggle in Zwelethemba. On two occasions Phumeza was detained for a number of months under section 29 of the Internal Security Act. She suffered torture while in detention. Black African people of her generation in Zwelethemba respect her as one of the key leaders in

their struggle for liberation. Phumeza is married and have children. She currently works as an unskilled labourer at the Breede Valley Municipality.

Lindii-Jain is a 40 year old coloured woman who was born in Worcester. She grew up under very poor and difficult circumstances but early on in her life she made a decision that she would like to succeed as a person. After completion of her school training she pursued tertiary education and worked as the manager of a furniture shop. The shop had to close and Lindii-Jain then decided to start an own business. She is today the owner of a successful recycling business and employs twenty staff members of all the different racial groups in Worcester. Her success as business women received local, national and international press coverage. She has two children, is divorced and is currently engaged to a white man.

Cedrick is a 64 year old coloured man who was born in Worcester. He is married and has children. He is qualified teacher and is currently working for a Worcester based NGO. Cedrick received a lot of recognition for his music and poetry talents. He was the leader of a music band and made a number of records. He published several collections of poetry and received the Worcesterian of the year award for his contribution to the cultural life of Worcester. Cedrick serves on a number of boards and is currently serving as the chairperson of the Worcester Museum. He is an eager chess player and has a particular interest in teaching blind people to play the game.

Fransman is a 45 year old coloured man who was born in Worcester. He is married and does not have children. He grew up in a poor working class family and was an active ANC leader during the student uprisings in the 1980's. During this period he was detained without trial under section 29 of the state of emergency regulations. Fransman completed tertiary education at the university of the Western Cape and first serve as an ANC councillor of the Municipality before he started working for the Robben Island Museum. He then worked for local government in Zwelethemba and in George before accepting a senior managerial position in local government in Worcester. Fransman serve on the board of a number of NGO's and is an active member of his church.

Koos is a 63 year old white Afrikaans speaking male. Koos is married and has children. He is a minister in the Dutch Reformed Church. He started his ministry in a black African congregation in the Eastern Cape. He recently retired after 35 years as a minister of religion in the Dutch Reformed Church. He spent 24 of these years serving as a minister in a white congregation in Worcester. He is very involved in community projects that serve the interest of marginalised people in the black African and coloured communities. Koos is currently much involved with advocacy work on foetal alcohol syndrome within churches.

Hannelie is a 66 year old white Afrikaans speaking woman. Her father was a minister in the Dutch Reformed Church. Hannelie is married and has three children. She is a retired teacher. Her husband is a retired minister of the Dutch Reformed Church. For the first ten years of his ministry he served coloured congregations in rural areas. This exposure assisted Hannelie to develop an understanding of the challenges coloured people faced. Her husband then became a minister in a white Dutch Reformed Church congregation in Worcester. Hannelie and her husband are for the past ten years involved in multi racial faith-based reconciliation work.

Johan is a 60 year old white Afrikaans speaking male. He is married and has two children. Johan practised for many years as a lawyer in Worcester. He used to support the policies of right wing political parties such as the Conservative Party and the Freedom Front Plus. He was for many years sympathetic to the ideology of the AWB, a white supremacist organisation until he underwent a radical transformation in 2001 when he came to understand the perverse nature of his racist worldview. He is currently serving as a DA councillor in the local municipality and is actively promoting reconciliation amongst the different racial groups in Worcester.

APPENDIX 2: WORCESTER PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION RESULTS, 1948-1989

YEAR	POLITICAL PARTY	ELECTION RESULT	VOTER TURNOUT	REFERENCE
1948	NP ¹ UP ²	5233 4515	90.88%	Wallace 2000
1953	NP UP	5961 4825	94.68%	Wallace 2000
1958	NP UP	6287 3340	93.78%	Wallace 2000
1961	NP UP	6832 3175	88.09%	Schoeman 1977:404; Wallace 2000
1966	NP	Unopposed	-	Schoeman 1977:437; Wallace 2000
1967	NP UP	6516 3133	83.5%	Schoeman 1977:450; (by election)
1970	NP UP HNP ³	7462 2975 514	84.5%	Schoeman 1977:473; Wallace 2000
1974	NP	Unopposed	-	Schoeman 1977:509
1977	NP HNP	7523 461	64.81%	Wallace 2000
1981	NP HNP	6898 1509	66.94%	Van Vuuren 1987:430; Wallace 2000
1987	NP HNP	7553 2245	67.45%	Van Vuuren 1987:410; Wallace 2000
1989	NP CP ⁴ DP ⁵	6679 3270 1193	73.36%	Wallace 2000

Notes

¹ The National Party was the ruling party in South Africa from 4 June 1948 – 9 May 1994. Its policies included Apartheid, the establishment of a republic and the promotion of Afrikaner culture. The NP's programme of principles included a united white South Africa; equal rights for the Afrikaans and English speaking white South Africans; acceptance of the existence of four different racial groups in South Africa: Whites; blacks; coloureds and Indians; promotion of sound inter-group relations; self determination and self government and independence for the various black African people in their Bantustan homelands; non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries (Official Yearbook of the Republic of South Africa 1989:162).

² The United Party was the governing party in South Africa from 1934 – 1948. After the loss of the 1948 election to the National party the United Party struggled with internal divisions and a lack of a united approach towards the policies of Apartheid. The right wing members of the party attacked the National Party's policies of creating home lands for Black Africans as a too liberal policy. The liberal wing of the party could not identify with these racists views and broke away from the party in 1959 to form the Progressive Party.

³ The "Herstigde" Nationale Party (HNP) broke away from the National Party in 1969 in protest against the then Prime Minister BJ Vorster's approval of (i) New Zealand Maori rugby players in the New Zealand team against South Africa in 1970 (ii) the attendance of Maori spectators at these matches (iii) the establishments of diplomatic relations with Malawi and (iv) the appointment of a black ambassador of Malawi to South Africa. The HNP stayed fierce defenders of the original Apartheid policies of the National Party and propagated for Afrikaans to be declared the only official language in South Africa. Other major objectives of the party included territorial, political, economic and social separation of all the different racial groups in South Africa (Official Yearbook of the Republic of South Africa 1989:162).

⁴ The Conservative Party was formed in 1982 as a break-a-way from the National Party in protest against the National Party's decision to adopt a Tricameral Parliament system that would allow for representation of "coloured" and Indian people in the South African Parliament. The party supported the continuation of all Apartheid policies and in 1987 became the official opposition in parliament. The policies of the party included separate political self realisation for the different population groups. The party was opposed to any form of racial integration (Official Yearbook of the Republic of South Africa 1989:162).

⁵ The Democratic Party was established in 1989 and promoted the abolishment of Apartheid, the unbanning of the liberation parties, the release of political prisoners and the start of negotiations to establish a non racial South Africa.

APPENDIX 3: IDENTIFIED REQUIREMENTS FOR SUSTAINABLE PEACE IN WORCESTER

1. Effective Governance
2. Poverty Eradication
3. Equality
4. Eradication of Hunger
5. Decent Housing
6. Quality Education
7. Prosecution of Apartheid Leadership
8. Absence of Crime
9. Recovering from Apartheid Traumatic Memories
10. Acknowledgement of White People's Complicity to and Benefit from Apartheid
11. White People's Sincere Remorse about the Harm Caused by Apartheid
12. White People's Sincere Apology about the Harm Caused by Apartheid
13. Memorialisation of the Worcester Struggle against Apartheid
14. Reconciliation between Black and White Worcesterians
15. Restitution of Means
16. The Sharing of the Wealth of Worcester
17. Decent Employment

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Amadiume, I. & An-Na'im, A., Eds. 2000. *The Politics of Memory: Truth, Healing, and Social Justice*. London: New York: Zed Books.

Arrison, E., Weitz, V. & Snyman, D.W. 2012. *Legislating Restitution: A strategy to address poverty and inequality within South Africa*. Paper presented at the Carnegie Conference on Poverty and Inequality held at the University of Cape Town, South Africa, 3-7 September.

Barnes, C. 2012. *Spike in protests is 'political'*. Available: <http://www.iol.co.za/news/crime-courts/spike-in-protests-is-political-1.1307703> [2012, December 2].

Bickford, L. 2004. Transitional Justice. In *The Encyclopaedia of Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity*. D.L. Shelton, Ed. Detroit: Thomson Gale. 3:1045-1047.

Birks, P. 1985. *An introduction to the law of restitution*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Bloomfield, D., Barnes, T & Huyse, L., Eds. 2003. *Reconciliation After Violent Conflict. A Handbook*. Halmstad: Bulls Tryckeri AB.

Boesak, A. & De Young, C. 2012. *Radical reconciliation: Beyond political pietism and Christian quietism*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books.

Boraine, A. 2004. Transitional Justice. In *Pieces of the Puzzle. Keywords on Reconciliation and Transitional Justice*. C. Villa-Vicencio & E. Doxtader, Eds. Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. 67-72.

Borer, T. A. 2006. Truth Telling as a Peace-Building Activity: A Theoretical Overview, In *Telling the Truths. Truth Telling and Peace Building in Post Conflict Societies*. T.A. Borer, Ed. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

Borer, T. A., Ed. 2006. *Telling the Truths. Truth Telling and Peace Building in Post Conflict Societies*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

Braun, V. & Clarke, V. 2006. Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*. 3(2):77-101.

Brett, S., Bickford, L. Sevchenko, E & Rios, M. 2008. *Memorialization and Democracy: State Policy and Civic Action. Report. Latin American School of Social Sciences, International Center for Transitional Justice, and International Coalition of Historic Site Museums of Conscience*. Available: <http://www.sitesofconscience.org/wp-content/documents/publications/memorialization-en.pdf> [2013, February 6].

Brown, S. & Magilindane, F. Economic Transformation. In *Pieces of the Puzzle. Keywords on Reconciliation and Transitional Justice*. C. Villa-Vicencio & E. Doxtader, Eds. 115-120.

Carranza, R. 2008. Plunder and Pain: Should Transitional Justice Engage with Corruption and Economic Crimes? *International Journal for Transitional Justice*. 2(3):310-330.

Casey, C. & Edgerton, R.B., Eds. 2007. *A Companion to Psychological Anthropology. Modernity and Psychocultural Change*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Christie, D.J. & Noor, N.M. 2012. Sustaining Peace through Psychologically Informed Policies: The Geohistorical Context of Malaysia. In *Psychological Components of Sustainable Peace*. 153 Peace Psychology Book Series. P.T. Coleman & M. Deutsch, Eds. New York:Springer. 153 – 175.

City Press. 2012. Study finds protests are spiralling. *City Press*, [online] 15 June. Available:

<http://www.citypress.co.za/news/study-finds-protests-are-spiralling-20120615/> [2013, February, 5].

Coetzee, H. 1998. *Biegbank benadeel versoeningsproses in SA met verdraaiings, sé De Klerk*. Available:

<http://152.111.1.87/argief/berigte/dieburger/1998/08/03/4/18.html>. [2013, January 24].

Coleman, P.T. & Deutsch, M, Eds. 2012. *Psychological Components of Sustainable Peace*. 153 Peace Psychology Book Series. New York: Springer.

Conradie, E. 2012. *Reconciliation as one Guiding Vision for South Africa. Conceptual Analysis and Theological Reflection*. Unpublished paper. Cape Town: University of the Western Cape.

Corkalo, D., Ajdukovic, D., Weinstein H.M. & Stover, E. 2004. Neighbors again? Intercommunity relations after ethnic cleansing, In *My neighbor, my enemy. Justice and Community in the aftermath of Mass Atrocity*. E. Stover & H.M. Weinstein, Eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Courtois, C.A., Ford, J.D., Cloitre, M. 2009. Best Practises in Psychotherapy for Adults. In *Treating Complex Traumatic Stress Disorders*. J.D. Ford, Ed. New York: Guilford Press.

De Wet, P. 2012. *Marikana: Blood trails lead into a maze*. Available: <http://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-31-00-blood-trails-lead-media-nowhere> [2013, February, 5].

Demombynes, G. & Özler, B. 2005. Crime and local inequality in South Africa. *Journal of Development Economics*. 76 (2):265–292.

Deutsch, M. & Coleman, P.T. 2012. Psychological Components of Sustainable Peace: An Introduction. In *Psychological Components of Sustainable Peace*. P.T. Coleman & M. Deutsch. Eds. New York: Springer.1-14.

Doxtader, E. 2004. Reparation. In *Pieces of the Puzzle. Key Words on Reconciliation and Transitional Justice*. C. Villa-Vicencio & E. Doxtader, Eds. Cape Town: Institute for Transitional Justice. 25-32.

Du Bois, F. & Du Bois-Pedain, A. 2008(a). Introduction. In *Justice and Reconciliation in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. F. Du Bois & A. Du Bois-Pedain, Eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1-8.

Du Bois, F & Du Bois-Pedain, A. 2008(b). Post-Conflict justice and the reconciliatory paradigm: the South African experience. In *Justice and Reconciliation in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. F. Du Bois & A. Du Bois-Pedain. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 289-311.

Du Bois, F. & Du Bois-Pedain, A. 2008(c). *Justice and Reconciliation in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Du Preez, M. 2003. *Pale Native: Memories of a Renegade Reporter*. Cape Town: Zebra Press.

Ellis, S. 2000. Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report, Volumes 1-5. Pretoria: Government Printer, October 1998. *Transformation*. 42:51-72.

Fogel, B. 2013. *De Doorns: Police action breeds hostility*. Available: <http://mg.co.za/article/2013-01-18-00-de-doorns-police-action-breeds-hostility/> [2013, February 5].

Ford, J.D.,Ed. 2009. *Treating Complex Traumatic Stress Disorders*. New York: Guilford Press.

Fuller, A. 2010. Mandela's Children. *National Geographic Magazine*. 217(6):80-109.

Galtung, J. 1964. An Editorial. *Journal of Peace Research*. 1(1):1-4.

Global Peace Index. 2012. *2012 Global Peace Index*. Available:
<http://www.visionofhumanity.org/gpi-data/> [2013, February 5].

Gobodo-Madikizela, P. 2008. Trauma, forgiveness and the witnessing dance: making public spaces intimate. *The Journal of analytical psychology*. 53(2):169-88.

Gobodo-Madikizela, P. 2012. Remembering the past: Nostalgia, traumatic memory, and the legacy of apartheid. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*. 18(3): 252-267.

Hamber, B. 2009. *Transforming Societies after Political Violence*. New York: Springer.

Haugerudbraaten, H. 1998. Peacebuilding: Six Dimensions and Two Concepts. *African Security Review*.7(6):1-11.

Henkin, A.H.,Ed. 2002. *The Legacy of Abuse: Confronting the past, Facing the Future*. New York: The Aspen Institute and NYU School of Law.

Herman, J. L. 1998. Recovery from psychological trauma. *Psychiatry and Clinical Neurosciences*. 52:145-150.

Herman, J.L. 2001. *Trauma and Recovery*. London: Pandora.

Hoex, L.E. 2009. *Between Genocide and Sustainable Peace. An Analysis of Rwanda's Present and Future Security, Fifteen Years after the Genocide*. Unpublished MA Thesis. Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit van Amsterdam.
<http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/en/page71654?oid=274770&sn=Detail&pid=71654> [2013, February, 5].

Human Rights Watch. 2011. *Ripe with abuse. Human rights conditions in South Africa's fruit and wine industries. Summary and Recommendations*. Available:

http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/safarm0811_brochure_low.pdf [2012, December 28].

Hutchison, E & Bleiker, R. 2008. Emotional Reconciliation Reconstituting Identity and Community after Trauma. *European Journal of Social Theory*. 11(3):385–403.

Huyse, L. 2003. Offenders. In *Reconciliation After Violent Conflict. A Handbook*. D. Bloomfield, T. Barnes & L. Huyse, Eds. Halmstad: Bulls Tryckeri AB. 67-76.

Huyse, L. 2003. The Process of Reconciliation. In *Reconciliation After Violent Conflict. A Handbook*. D. Bloomfield, T. Barnes & L. Huyse, Eds. Halmstad: Bulls Tryckeri AB. 19-33.

International Centre for Transitional Justice. 2013. *What is Transitional Justice?* Available: <http://www.ictj.org/about/transitional-justice> [2013, February, 5].

IOL News. 2000. *De Klerk, Van Schalkwyk slam white apology*. Available: <http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/de-klerk-van-schalkwyk-slam-white-apology-1.55888> [2013, February 5].

Isaacson, M. 2000. *Whites not reconciled to sharing Home for All*. Available: <http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/whites-not-reconciled-to-sharing-home-for-all-1.56695> [2013, February 5].

James, W & Van de Vijver, L., Eds. 2001. *After the TRC: Reflections on Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers.

Kaminer, D. & Eagle, G. 2010. *Traumatic Stress in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Kariem, J. 2012. *Personal conversation with the author*. Cape Town.

Kelman, H.C. 2004. Reconciliation as identity change: A social psychological perspective. In *From conflict resolution to reconciliation*. Bar-Siman-Tov, Y., Ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 111-124.

Koyana, X. & Felix, J. 'There are criminal elements involved'. *Independent Online*, [online] 16 January. Available: <http://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/there-are-criminal-elements-involved-1.1453018#.UaXWoSkaLIU> [2013, May, 29].

Kritz, N. J. 2002. Where We Are and How We Got Here: An Overview of Developments in the Search for Justice and Reconciliation. In *The Legacy of Abuse: Confronting the past, Facing the Future*. A. H. Henkin, Ed. New York: The Aspen Institute and NYU School of Law. 21-45.

Krog, A. 2004. Memory, In *Pieces of the Puzzle. Key Words on Reconciliation and Transitional Justice*. C. Villa-Vicencio & E. Doxtader, Eds. Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. 46-57.

Lambourne, W. 2009. Transitional Justice and Peacebuilding after Mass Violence. *The International Journal of Transitional Justice*. 3:28–48.

Lazare, A. 1995. Go ahead, say you're sorry. *Psychology Today*. 28:40-43.

Lederach, J.P. 1997. *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press.

Mackay, M. 2012. *Worcester residents march for service delivery*. Available: <http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012/05/30/worcester-residents-march-for-service-delivery> [2013, February 5].

Mamdani, M. 1996. Reconciliation without justice. *Southern African Review of Books*. 46:3-5.

Mamdani, M. 1998. When Does Reconciliation Turn into a Denial of Justice. *Sam Nolutshungu Memorial Series* (1). Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.

Mamdani, M. 2000. The Truth According to the TRC. In *The Politics of Memory: Truth, Healing, and Social Justice*. I. Amadiume & A. An-Na'im, Eds. London: New York: Zed Books. 176-183.

Mamdani, M. 2001. A Diminished Truth, In *After the TRC: Reflections on Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*. W. James & L. Van de Vijver. Athens: Ohio University Press. 58-61.

Mamdani, M. 2002. Amnesty or Impunity? A Preliminary Critique of the Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa (TRC). *Diacritics*. 32(3/4):32-59.

Mamdani, M. 2009. Response by Mahmood Mamdani, *International Journal of Transitional Justice*. 3(3):470-473.

Mani, R. 2002. *Beyond Retribution: Seeking Justice in the Shadows of War*. Cambridge: Polity.

Matthews, S. 2010. Differing interpretations of reconciliation in South Africa: a discussion of the home for all Campaign. *Transformation*. 74:1-22.

Mogapi, N. 2012. *Wrestling to move forward: Collective trauma in reconstructing African societies*. Paper delivered at International Congress on Psychology, 25 July 2012. Cape Town.

Nagy, R. 2004. The ambiguities of reconciliation and responsibility in South Africa. *Political Studies*. 52(4):709–727.

National Planning Commission. 2012. *National Development Plan. 2030. Our future – make it work*. Available:

<http://www.npconline.co.za/MediaLib/Downloads/Downloads/Executive%20Summary>

-NDP%202030%20-%20Our%20future%20-%20make%20it%20work.pdf [2013, February, 10].

Office of the President. 1995. *Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act. No. 1111*. Cape Town: Government Printers.

Peck, C. 1998. *Sustainable Peace: The Role of the UN and Regional Organisations in Preventing Conflict*. Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.

Politicsweb. 2012. *Worcester traffic cops arrested over driver license fraud – Carlisle*. Available:

Rage, A.B. 2010. *Achieving sustainable peace in post conflict societies: An evaluation of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. Unpublished MA Thesis. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.

Ramsbotham, O., Woodhouse, T. & Miall, H. 2008. *Contemporary conflict resolution*. Cambridge: Polity.

Raubenheimer, G. 2012. *Avian Park residents protest*. Available: <http://ewn.co.za/2012/06/06/More-service-delivery-protests-in-WC> [2012, December 2].

Regehr, C. & Gutheil, T. 2002. Apology, justice, and trauma recovery. *The journal of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law*. 30(3):425-430.

Reynolds, P. 2013a. *Personal conversation with researcher*. Cape Town.

Reynolds, P. 2013b. *War in Worcester. Youth and the Apartheid State*. New York: Fordham University Press.

- Rigby, A. 2001. *Justice and Reconciliation: After the Violence*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Robben, A.C.G.M. & Suárez-Orozco, M.M., Eds. *Cultures under Siege. Collective Violence and Trauma*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Robins, R. 1998. The truth shall make you free? - Reflections on the TRC. *Southern Africa Report*, 13:4-9.
- Rogers, P. & Ramsbotham, O. 1999. Then and now: peace research- past and future. *Political Studies* 47(4):740-754.
- Ross, F. 2003. *Bearing witness: Women and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa*. London:Pluto.
- Ross,F. 2001. Speech and silence: Women's testimonies in the first five weeks of public hearings of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. In *Remaking a world: Violence, social suffering, and recovery*. V. Das et al., Eds. Berkely: University of California Press. 250-279.
- SABC. 2012. Men dressed in AWB uniforms arrested in W Cape. *SABC News*, [online] 4 December. Available: <http://www.sabc.co.za/news/a/efd441004db06680bd1fff0380ff593a/Men-dressed-in-AWB-uniforms-arrested-in-W-Cape-20121204> [2013, February, 10].
- Samuels, K. 2005. Sustainability and Peace Building: A Key Challenge. *Development in Practice*. 5(6): 728-736.
- SAPS Journal Online. 2012. *Worcester: Flying squad members arrested for corruption*. Available: http://www.sapsjournalonline.gov.za/dynamic/journal_dynamic.aspx?pageid=414&jid=28393 [2013, February, 5].

Scheper-Hughes, N. 2007. The Politics of Remorse. In *A Companion to Psychological Anthropology. Modernity and Psychocultural Change*. C. Casey & R.B. Edgerton, Eds. Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 467 – 494.

Scheper-Hughes, N. 1998. Undoing: Social Suffering and the Politics of Remorse in the New South Africa. *Social Justice*. 25 (4):114-142.

Schoeman, B.M. 1977. *Parlementere verkiesings in Suid Afrika 1910 – 1976*. Pretoria: Aktuele Publikasies.

Seedat, M., Van Niekerk, A., Jewkes, R., Suffla, S. & Ratele, K. 2009. Violence and injuries in South Africa: prioritising an agenda for prevention. *The Lancet*. 374(9694):1011-1022.

Sen, A. 1992. *Inequality Re-examined*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

September, C. & Raubenheimer, G. 2012. *6 Arrested after De Doorns protests*. Available: <http://ewn.co.za/2012/11/06/Six-arrested-following-De-Doorns-protests> [2012, December 2].

Shelton, D.L., Ed. 2004. *The Encyclopaedia of Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity*. Detroit: Thomson Gale.

Sideris, T. 1998. Women and Apartheid: Collective Trauma and Social Reconstruction. *The Way Supplement*. 93:80-92.

Skinner, D. 2000. An evaluation of a set of TRC public hearings in Worcester: a small rural community in South Africa. *Psychology, Health & Medicine*. 5(1):97-106.

Skinner, D., Ed. 1998. *Apartheid's Violent Legacy. A report on trauma in the Western Cape*. Cape Town: The Trauma Centre for Victims of Violence and Torture.

Slocum, D., Allan, A. & Allan, M.M. 2011. An emerging theory of apology. *Australian Journal of Psychology*. 63(2):83-92.

Smith, N. 2008. *I Was Wrong: The Meanings of Apologies*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Suárez-Orozco, M.M. & Robben, A.C.G.M. 2000. Interdisciplinary perspectives on violence and trauma. In *Cultures under Siege. Collective Violence and Trauma*. A.C.G.M. Robben and M.M. Suárez-Orozco, Eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

South African Police Service. 2012. *Crime in Worcester for April to March 2003/2004 – 2011/2012*. Available:
http://www.saps.gov.za/statistics/reports/crimestats/2012/provinces/w_cape/pdf/worcester.pdf [2013, February, 5].

Statistics South Africa. 2012a. *Census 2011: Highlights of key results*. Available:
http://www.statssa.gov.za/Census2011/Products/Census_2011_Methodology_and_Highlights_of_key_results.pdf [2013, February, 5].

Statistics South Africa. 2012b. *Census 2011: Municipal fact sheet*. Available:
<http://www.statssa.gov.za/Census2011/Products.asp> [2013, February, 5].

Staub, E. 2012. Reconciliation between Groups, the Prevention of Violence, and Lasting Peace. In *Psychological Components of Sustainable Peace*, 153 Peace Psychology Book Series. P.T. Coleman & M. Deutsch, Eds. New York: Springer. 245-263.

Stover, E. & Weinstein, H.M. Eds. 2004. *My neighbor, my enemy. Justice and Community in the aftermath of Mass Atrocity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Swartz, S., & Scott, D. 2012. *The idea of restitution and its applications in contemporary society: A critical review*. Paper presented at the Carnegie Conference on Poverty and Inequality held at the University of Cape Town, South Africa, 3-7 September.

Tavuchis, N. 1991. *Mea Culpa: A sociology of apology and reconciliation*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Terreblanche, S.J.S. 2002. *The History of Inequality in South Africa: 1652 – 2002*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

Terreblanche, S.J.S. 2003. *An incomplete transformation: What is to be done?* Lecture delivered at a Harold Wolpe Memorial Trust forum meeting, 20 May 2003. Available: http://www.wolpetrust.org.za/dialogue2003/CT052003terreblanche-davies_notes.htm [2013, February, 6].

Terreblanche, S.J.S. 2012. *Lost in Transformation. South Africa's search for a new future since 1986*. Johannesburg: KMM.

Terreblanche, S.J.S. 2012. *Rich get richer through unfettered capitalism, not own devices*. Available: <http://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-03-00-rich-get-richer-through-unfettered-capitalism-not-own-devices> [2012, December 26].

Thobejane, T.D. 2012. Violent Crime and Apartheid Philosophy: The Inextricable Twins of Social Disorder. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*. 2 (22):95-99.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa (TRC). 1998. *Final Report, 1-5*. Pretoria: Government Printer.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission Website. 2009. *Welcome to the official Truth and Reconciliation Commission Website*. Available: <http://www.doj.gov.za/trc/> [2013, February, 5].

UN General Assembly. 1948. *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Available: <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6b3712c.html> [2013, February, 5].

Van der Kolk B., McFarlane, C. & Weisaeth, L., Eds. 2007. *Traumatic Stress. The effects of overwhelming Experience on Mind, Body and Society*. New York: The Guilford Press.

Van der Kolk, B. 2007. The Black Hole of Trauma. Traumatic Stress. In *The effects of overwhelming Experience on Mind, Body and Society*. B. Van der Kolk, C. McFarlane & L. Weisaeth, Eds. New York: The Guilford Press. 3-23.

Van Vuuren, D.J. Ed.1987. *South African Election 1987. Context, Process and Prospect*. Durban: Owen Burgess.

Vecchiatto, P. 2013. *De Doorns quiet as farm workers await word from unions*. Available: <http://www.bdlive.co.za/national/labour/2013/01/14/de-doorns-quiet-as-farm-workers-await-word-from-unions> [2013, February 5].

Villa Vicencio, C. 2004. Truth Commissions. In *Pieces of the Puzzle. Key Words on Reconciliation and Transitional Justice*. C. Villa-Vicencio & E. Doxtader, Eds. Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. 89-95.

Villa-Vicencio, C. 2004. Reconciliation. In *Pieces of the Puzzle. Key Words on Reconciliation and Transitional Justice*. C. Villa-Vicencio & E. Doxtader. Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. 3-9.

Wallace, C.S. 2000. *A statistical survey of South African elections from 1910 – 1992*. Cape Town: C.S. Wallace.

Weinstein, H. M. 2011. Editorial Note: The Myth of Closure, the Illusion of reconciliation: Final Thoughts on Five Years as Co-Editor-in-Chief. *The International Journal of Transitional Justice*. 5 (1):1–10.

World Bank. 2012. *GINI index*. Available:

<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI> [2013, February, 5].

Yoder, C. 2005. *The little book of Trauma Healing. When Violence Strikes and Community Security is Threatened*. Intercourse: Good Books.