

A Theology of Restitution as Embodied Reconciliation:

A Study of Restitution in a Reconciliation Process in Worcester, South Africa

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Abstract

This thesis explores the concept of restitution through the questions, 'How adequate are the current understandings of restitution in relation to the reconciliation journey?', and 'What would a theology of restitution based on a broader understanding look like?' The nature and role of restitution, or rather its lack, began to seem key to the process of reconciliation.

Restitution in the South African context seemed to be little regarded or acted upon. The hope is that this thesis will make a new contribution to the current understanding of the theology of restitution and as such, provide a bridge from theory to praxis, in order to further the work of reconciliation and healing in situations of conflict, wherever they may arise.

The argument that reconciliation without restitution is at best, only partial, and needs to be based in praxis, led to engaging with a community reconciliation process in Worcester, Western Cape, to seek to understand with them what restitution means, and how it is enacted.

The thesis is based in practical theology in conversation with qualitative research. Twelve interviews and in-depth fieldwork were conducted. Thematic comparative analysis of the data allowed themes to be identified from the interview and observational records, and included cycles of theological reflection.

Exploration of emerging key themes led to the conception of restitution as broader than currently understood: as relational, radical, embodied and embracing. Themes of 'eucharistic space', gift, and embodiment relate restitution to the Eucharist and the body of Christ, as something sacramental, tangible, and communal. The thesis argues that a Eucharistic understanding of restitution and a restitutionary understanding of Eucharist, arrived at through the empirical work, enables a broader understanding of the theology of restitution, which thus enables transformative praxis in the journey towards reconciliation with God and with each other.

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List of Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
AWB	<i>Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging</i>
CSVR	Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
DRC	Dutch Reformed Church
IJR	Institute for Justice and Reconciliation
IRA	Irish Republican Army
NGK	Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk
PAC	Pan African Congress
SACC	South African Council of Churches
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UDF	United Democratic Front
WHRP	Worcester Hope and Reconciliation Process

Statement of Copyright

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1. Introduction: The Problem of Restitution-'Topography'

1.1 Introduction: Bicycle Theology

Bicycle theology is when I come and steal your bicycle. Six months later I come back to you and admit I am the one who stole your bike. 'I am very sorry I stole your bike, please will you forgive me?' Because you are a Christian, you say: 'Yes, I do forgive you.' Of course, I keep the bike. Sometimes we reduce forgiveness to simply saying sorry. Forgiveness involves returning the bike. [So] the bicycle is returned with new tyres and a bell if not transformed into a Harley Davidson. The journey of forgiveness includes restitution and reconciliation as integral parts of the package.¹

Father Michael Lapsley SSF is an Anglican priest who has spent most of his working life in South Africa. He was badly injured in a letter bomb sent to him during the apartheid era in South Africa, and since then has devoted his life to working towards healing and reconciliation across the world, through the Institute for the Healing of Memories. Michael Lapsley speaks here of the link between forgiveness, restitution and reconciliation. What is the theoretical and theological basis for this link? What part does restitution have to play, if any?

In this thesis I probe these questions by presenting my research into the role of restitution within the reconciliation process, with specific regard to a reconciliation process in the South African context. This is a practical theological enterprise, although to some extent borrowing from multi-disciplinary sources such as politics, psychology and sociology as appropriate. It stems from my own experience and commitment to working for reconciliation as an Anglican priest, and former psychiatrist, as well as my upbringing in two places undergoing conflict-South Africa and Northern Ireland. I argue that restitution is a necessary part of the reconciliation process. I ask therefore

- 1. How adequate are the current understandings of restitution in relation to the reconciliation journey?**
- 2. What would a theology of restitution based on a broader understanding look like?**

My intention and hope is that this thesis will make a contribution to the current understanding of the theology of restitution within the reconciliation process, and as

¹ Michael Lapsley, 'Bicycle Theology and the Journey of Forgiveness', (2006)
<http://www.healingofmemories.co.za/articles/bicycle_theology.htm> [accessed 4 April 2007].

such, provide a bridge from theory to praxis, in order to further this work of reconciliation and healing in situations of conflict, wherever they may arise.

In this introductory chapter I ask the questions 'Why Restitution?'; 'Why South Africa?' and 'Why me?' The first section answers these questions, and discusses my journey in order to do so. The subsequent sections in chapter one set out the next stages of the journey and give an insight into some of the people travelling. I then place this journey in the context of the wider theological and South African journeys. This is followed by a guide to the methodology, analysis and findings of the empirical core of the thesis. Then, some broad themes arising from the research are discussed, and pointers towards further work are offered. Lastly, a brief synopsis of the other chapters, two to nine, is given.

1.2 The 'Problem' of Restitution: Aims and Context. Why Restitution? Why South Africa? Why me?

I became interested in forgiveness and reconciliation firstly through my upbringing in South Africa and then Northern Ireland. I was born in South Africa, and my parents were both involved in anti-apartheid activities. We left when I was a young child. In Northern Ireland, where we moved to, I grew up rather confused. About whether my hair was so curly because I was African; about why, when we went back to visit my grandparents, only white people could go to the beach, or sit on public benches; about why my old nanny lived in a house with no running water. And then, as a medical student I spent time working in a rural hospital in South Africa. While there, I found myself joining in protest marches with thousands of other South Africans, demonstrating against apartheid – and taking bullets out of people who had been shot while demonstrating: singing freedom songs with the others – ‘Viva Mandela!’, ‘Amandla!’ Mandela, then coming towards the end of his twenty seven years in prison, was the inspiration, the name on everyone’s lips. In the years following, Mandela's commitment to reconciliation lived in my mind, in stark contrast to rumours of the vengeful tarring and feathering of two teenage sweethearts who lived near my family home in Northern Ireland. She lived in our village, which was Protestant, he from a farm in what was known as 'IRA' country. Questions couldn't help but form.

After qualifying in medicine, I worked as a psychiatrist. These questions about the nature of reconciliation, retribution, forgiveness, and justice were fuelled by that work, and particularly in a setting where we were treating long term and often seriously ill through psychoanalytical psychotherapy. Several patients seemed to start to make significant progress towards healing when they had forgiven the perpetrator, in a number of different situations such as maternal neglect or physical assault. Why did forgiveness matter for some, and not others?

During ordination training, I spent some time back in South Africa researching for my MA in Theology and Pastoral Studies, looking at a reconciliation and restitution process. This link continued post ordination and I spent further time there following up this restitution process, while on placement at St George's Cathedral, Cape Town. During these times, I met many people who had been involved in the anti-apartheid struggle, some of whom are still active in reconciliation in South Africa. From discussion with them and observation 'on the ground', it became clear that despite the end of apartheid and the birth of the new 'rainbow nation', huge socio-economic, educational, and indeed racial divides still operated. While the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), chaired by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, has made great strides along the road to reconciliation possible, and has certainly averted what many feared would be a 'bloodbath', many of its recommendations have not been implemented.

The TRC's recommendations with regard to reparations and restitution, which have mostly not been met, combined with a growing vociferousness from actors in the scene suggest that reconciliation attempts post TRC were, at best, insufficient.² There are clearly many possible reasons for this, and they are multifaceted and complex.³

However, the concept of restitution, or rather its lack, began to seem key to the process. White family and friends who I talked to were mostly fearful that they would be told to give back 'too much' to their own detriment, or believed that the government

² For instance, in 2011, Desmond Tutu called for a 'wealth tax' to be levied against all white South Africans, as beneficiaries of apartheid. Murray Williams, 'Tutu calls for wealth tax on whites', 12 August 2011 < <http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/tutu-calls-for-wealth-tax-on-whites-1.1116744#U7Eipf9OXIU> > [accessed 30 June 2014].

³ For comprehensive discussions of this, see Charles Villa-Vicencio and Wilhelm Verwoerd, eds., *Looking Back Reaching Forward: Reflections on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 2000); Charles Villa-Vicencio and Fanie du Toit, eds., *Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: 10 Years On* (South Africa: Claremont Books, 2006); Fanie du Toit and Erik Doxtader, eds., *In the Balance: South African's debate reconciliation* (South Africa: Jacana, 2010).

rather than themselves should act to make restitution. They did not want to talk about restitution. Black and coloured friends and colleagues I spoke to were also reticent about it, but in a different way. Some did not want to seem 'ungracious' in talking of restitution, others felt strongly that legislation should be enacted to force whites to 'pay back' in some way, but felt it was a subject that could not be openly talked about, while others simply wanted help with the daily necessities of food, schooling and bills and did not know where this money should come from. I include myself in this white fearfulness or reticence. Thoughts about whether it was correct for me to be able to afford to travel back and forwards from the UK to South Africa; whether my stints helping at a township soup kitchen were only compounding the problem, rather than alleviating it; even generational guilt through my parents having left South Africa, were all at some level internal drivers which affected how I viewed restitution.

All of this, then, led me to go back and study restitution and its place in reconciliation, in a more systematic and rigorous way. Exactly what was going on in these processes? What is the theology? How could a new interpretation, a theology of restitution, make a contribution to the theory and praxis of reconciliation?

Searching the academic literature, I found that while much is written about land restitution in particular from the legal and political spheres, and about the TRC recommendations, there seemed to be a dearth of literature concerning restitution theologically. Sociologically, Sharlene Swartz in Cape Town is exploring restitution through the lens of 'personhood', and other characteristics such as dignity.⁴ But considering how much has been written on reconciliation in theology, among many other fields, and the similarly extensive psychological and theological literature on

⁴Sharlene Swartz and Duncan Scott, 'The restitution of personhood: An expanded paradigm for social justice and transformation in broken spaces The restitution of personhood: A theorized framework for social justice action in broken spaces', (2012) <hsrc.ac.za> [accessed 3 July 2014].

forgiveness⁵, it seemed rather surprising that restitution did not figure much. Other related concepts such as restorative justice and reparations are however much more widely discussed.⁶

I therefore returned to the 'praxis' of reconciliation. While there are many reconciliation processes at national, societal and local community levels operating, both in South Africa and worldwide, the only reconciliation process that I was aware of in South Africa which overtly included restitution was the Restitution Foundation, with which I had previously done some work. I therefore asked them if I could study the project they are involved with in Worcester, in the Western Cape. This is the Worcester Hope and Reconciliation Process (WHRP), and I had been involved as a mentor and 'listening ear' since its inception in 2009. This is where I based my empirical research.

⁵ In chapter two I explore this literature as relevant to restitution in particular. However, on reconciliation, authors such as John de Gruchy, *Reconciliation, Restoring Justice* (London: SCM Press, 2002); Colin Gunton, ed., *The Theology of Reconciliation*, (Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 2003); Donald Shriver, *An Ethic for Enemies, Forgiveness in Politics*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997); Miroslav Volf, *The End of Memory: Remembering Rightly in a Violent World*, (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 2006); and Robert Schreiter, *The Ministry of Reconciliation*, (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1998) have made major contributions to the field. On forgiveness, authors such as L. Gregory Jones, *Embodying Forgiveness: A Theological Interpretation*, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1995); Everett Worthington, ed., *Dimensions of Forgiveness, Psychological Research & Theological Perspectives*, (Philadelphia: Templeton Foundation Press, 1998); Stephen Cherry, *Healing Agony: Re-Imagining Forgiveness*, (London: Continuum, 2012) and Anthony Bash, *Just Forgiveness: Exploring the Bible, Weighing the Issues*, (London: SPCK, 2011). are among notable contributors. Nigel Biggar reviews the recent literature in his chapter, 'Forgiveness in the Twentieth Century: A Review of the Literature, 1901-2001' in *Forgiveness and Truth, Explorations in Contemporary Theology*, ed. by Alistair McFadyen and Marcel Sarot, (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2001) p. 181-217.

⁶ I refer to this in detail in chapter three.

1.3 Who is this Research for?

The question of who this research is for is worth looking at here. Or in other words, how can, or indeed should, a theological Christian work inform secular or non-Christian faith based practice? The 2001 census in South Africa found that 79.8% of the population regarded themselves as Christian.⁷ In Worcester, I found that most of the participants had a Christian faith and practice, on which they relied heavily in their daily lives.⁸ So in that setting, the bridge between theology and the practice of a reconciliation process in the local community does not have to be too long, though it is still necessary.

Theology in the public square is not new,⁹ and may be said to have a duty to speak out, to be a prophetic witness in a struggling world. Church as reconciled community is a contested subject, but nevertheless, theology needs to connect with communities among which it lives, and find ways of bridging across often deep gullies.

Importantly, of course, this research is for the people among whom I worked in Worcester. This was not participatory action research¹⁰, as I did not set out to collaboratively design and conduct the research with them, but as I will discuss in chapter five, I quickly became, and probably was always going to be, more than just 'the researcher'. I was asked to lead prayers, to comment on process, to advise and counsel on personal matters; and I formed many friendships. My decisions about style of writing and approach echo this, in order to be accessible to the participants, at least in part. For instance, I write in the first person, and draw on poetry and articles that some of those in Worcester have written themselves, as illustrative of the context, and

⁷ 15% have no religion; 1.5% Islam; 1.2% Hindus; 0.3% African traditional religion; 0.2% Judaism. <http://www.gcis.gov.za/sites/default/files/docs/resourcecentre/pocketguide/004_saspeople.pdf> [accessed 30 June 2014].

⁸ Most public events I attended, including municipal meetings, opened with Christian prayer; although the WHRP tried to ensure that in their context, prayers were interfaith.

⁹ Stephen Martin explores the interesting phrase, 'sacramental public theology', in the light of both Augustinian thinking and the current South African context. He argues for a renewed public theology through transformational 'ethnographic ecclesiologies', via a sacramental imagination, which transforms the ordinary public space into the extraordinary and eschatological. Stephen W. Martin, 'Sacramental Imagination and Ecclesial Transformation: A Proposal for Rethinking Public Theology's "Public" in South Africa', *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 139, March (2011), pp. 42-57. See also Fanie du Toit, 'Three Prayers for Liberation in Democratic South Africa', *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 123, November (2005) pp. 93-104.

¹⁰ John Swinton and Harriet Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research*, (London: SCM Press, 2006), p. 227.

also as an attempt at inclusion. Power is an important issue in any fieldwork setting, and particularly pertinent here, given the history of colonialism and apartheid. I was aware of the possibility that I would be perceived as a powerful white, 'colonial', educated 'other' in that context, which I sought to address in these and other ways. I highly value the people I journeyed with, for their courage, determination, perseverance and above all, their continuing hope for a 'better South Africa for all'.¹¹

1.4 The Human Face of Reconciliation

Turning now to address this question of a 'better South Africa for all', I present an illustrative narrative of people's experiences of the need for reconciliation, in order to ground the research questions. This story concerns a middle aged Xhosa woman, called Olga. I first met Olga at a conference in Cape Town, just before the WHRP was formed. She seemed to be in pain, and struggled to her feet to greet me. Olga had been badly injured during a bomb attack in her home town several years before. Accompanying her was Harris, an elder from the township. They had come to talk about 'the new South Africa'. Olga had been shopping when the bomb went off. She was unconscious for several days, and Harris outlined what had happened.

A right wing white group had set off the bomb and killed four of our people. More were injured, and it has taken a long time for people to start to get better.

He went on to describe how the town had tried to come to terms with the attack; how angry people, especially the victims, felt; how there was no money to pay for good health care; and so on. 'But', he said, '*we are not bitter. Things are much better now*'. I asked what had changed to improve their lives. Olga broke in

We must thank God. He has allowed us to forgive. I did not want to forgive at first. I did not think I could forgive the people who did this to me.

They proceeded to tell me an extraordinary story. The group who had planted the bomb had been arrested and imprisoned. One of the group, a young man, had been

¹¹ A note about race: in South Africa during apartheid (from late 1940's), racial classifications were assigned to people, i.e. 'Black', 'White', 'Coloured', 'Indian'. As these terms remain in common usage in South Africa, I use them here also, while acknowledging and standing with those for whom the terms connote oppression and injustice. This is a complex area, for instance, some of the coloured community prefer the term 'brown', or 'first nation people'. I refer further to this complexity in chapter five.

asking for forgiveness ever since. Eventually, the prison authorities contacted various governmental and victim support groups, who after much deliberation, sought out victims of the bomb. Olga and Harris agreed to meet the young perpetrator in prison. Olga related how nervous she had been, and how she was not at all sure she even wanted to look at him, let alone forgive him. She said that she had more or less decided that she would let him ask for her forgiveness, but that she would not grant it. *'He needs to explain to me what he has done'*. And so the meeting took place. The young man spoke to them about his part in the bombing, about how remorseful he felt, and how he would like them to forgive him. The turning point came, said Harris, when the young man said that his family had never visited him in prison. Harris was outraged. *'He was, then, my own son!'* *'We hugged, and I forgave him'*, Olga said. This was a two way process: both a giving and receiving of the other's humanity.

This was the beginning of a long process, the Worcester Hope and Reconciliation Process, in fact. Since this time, representatives of the white, black, and coloured communities have met monthly, with restitution as the focus of the meetings. Various projects have been undertaken. At one of the initial meetings, a list of 'dreams' was drawn up, with restitution at the top of the list, followed by unity, specific reparations for the survivors of the bombing, healing, understanding and forgiveness. Other ideas were: to promote better understanding of diversity; to make a gesture that will demonstrate true 'sorryness' for past human rights abuses; and for churches to become relevant to peoples' situations.

For Olga, Harris and the other participants in 'the new South Africa', it seems vital that for ongoing reconciliation to take place, some form of restitution is necessary. What exactly that needs to be is still undecided, but it certainly is high on their agenda of how the future might be.

These snapshots of the human face of the theology of restitution, and of the whole process of forgiveness and reconciliation, leave us with many questions. But they serve to place the idea of restitution-and specifically, a theology of restitution-in a human context, providing a starting point for this exploration.

This thesis aims to explore these issues theologically, through the lens of praxis; through existing theologies which may illuminate the concepts; and leading to a new theology of restitution.

1.5 Current Thinking: Theological and South African

Reconciliation is not intuitive and it is not easy. As both a process and goal, its power must be cultivated and nurtured...reconciliation and justice thus struggle to chart the course forward, turning the wounds of the past into the basis for learning to live together within the rule of law and in pursuit of a culture of human rights.¹²

How then do we approach this question of restitution, of the place of restitution within the reconciliation process?

The literature on reconciliation and related concepts such as forgiveness, truth, justice, repentance, confession, and reparations, is large and varied, encompassing fields such as politics, transitional justice, conflict resolution, sociology, anthropology, psychology, medicine, philosophy, as well as of course theology.¹³ Theologically, the doctrines of reconciliation historically from St Paul, the early Church Fathers, through the medieval period to the Reformation and beyond have much to inform the current debates.¹⁴ Old and New Testament biblical scholarship is of course informative when discussing concepts such as covenant, *shalom* and forgiveness.¹⁵ More contextually, *ubuntu* and lament in relationship to reconciliation in the South African context need to be considered.¹⁶

The role of restitution, especially theologically, has so far received little attention in this work, although there is significant literature in other disciplines regarding related concepts such as reparations, restorative justice, and the role of international courts versus reconciliation commissions.¹⁷

¹² Villa-Vicencio and Doxtader, eds., *Pieces of the Puzzle, Keywords on Reconciliation and Transitional Justice* (Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2004), p. viii.

¹³ I have given a flavour of the field in footnote 5.

¹⁴ Paul Soukup, 'Theological Understandings of Reconciliation', *World Association for Christian Communication*, (2000)

<http://www.wacc.org.uk/de/layout/set/print/publications/media_development/archive/2000_4> [accessed 8 August 2007].

¹⁵ For instance, Ralph Martin, *Reconciliation: A Study of Paul's Theology*, (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1981).

¹⁶ I explain the Southern African concept of *ubuntu* in chapter three, but briefly, it stems from the phrase '*I exist because you exist*'; essentially regarding the interlinking of relationship as crucial to communal life. For example, Michael Battle explicates *ubuntu* with regard to Desmond Tutu's theology of reconciliation. Michael Battle, *Reconciliation: The Ubuntu Theology of Desmond Tutu*, (Cleveland: The Pilgrim Press, 1997).

¹⁷ For example, Elazar Barkan gives a comprehensive overview in terms of restitution and international justice. Elazar Barkan, *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustice*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000).

I focus largely on theological writing around reconciliation and restitution. I also concentrate on South Africa in terms of place, although acknowledging that there are many other examples internationally of communities and nations heavily involved in the work of reconciliation.¹⁸ Comparative work on Northern Ireland for example would be useful, and the hope would be to use the South African experience as a potential model-as both method and outcome-for a broader understanding of the theology of restitution.¹⁹

1.6 Methodology: Qualitative Research

In this thesis I have used qualitative theological research in discussion with sociological methodology to generate knowledge which is theocentric, faithful and transformative.²⁰ This knowledge then may lead to action which has the potential to be life-changing, which can shape the way we relate to each other and to God.

Turning now to consider reconciliation as praxis, the impetus for researching restitution from the starting point of praxis rather than theory came out of my deep sense that it is precisely because of the nature of the concept that it will be best understood in its true place, i.e. in practical terms, embodied and grounded in a community of people actively engaged in thinking and working towards what it means, what it is, how to 'do it'. Following John de Gruchy's concept that reconciliation is first praxis, then theory,²¹ I decided to base my work in an empirical study of the WHRP, in order to understand theologically how the people of Worcester engage with the process of restitution and reconciliation. My hope is that a new theological understanding of restitution may form a bridge to enable some of the barriers and reticence about restitution to be understood differently, and a change in

¹⁸ For example, Gregory Baum and Harold Wells, eds., *The Reconciliation of Peoples: Challenge to the Churches*, (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1997); Kirsteen Kim, ed., *Reconciling Mission, The Ministry of Healing and Reconciliation in the Church Worldwide*, (Delhi: ISPCK, 2005); Robert Schreiter, *Mission as Ministry of Reconciliation*, (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2013); Miroslav Volf, *The End of Memory: Remembering Rightly in a Violent World*, (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 2006); Walter Wink, *When the Powers Fall: Reconciliation in the Healing of Nations*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997).

¹⁹ David Stevens, *The Land of Unlikeness: Explorations into Reconciliation*, (Dublin: The Columba Press, 2004); Ronald A. Wells, *Hope and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland: The Role of Faith-Based Organisations*, (Dublin: The Liffey Press, 2010), among others.

²⁰ Swinton and Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research*, p. viii.

²¹ I quote John de Gruchy on this in section 1.4.

how the process of restitution 'on the ground' is thought about and acted upon. This then may add to the wider understanding of what is occurring, or what is involved, in the process of reconciliation itself. John de Gruchy sums up the way this work needs to be done

Reconciliation is, indeed, an action, praxis and movement before it becomes a theory or dogma, something celebrated before it is explained...reconciliation is properly understood as a process in which we become engaged at the heart of the struggle for justice and peace in the world. That is why any discussion of reconciliation must be historically and contextually centered, a reflection on what is happening on the ground by those engaged in the process. Only then we can critically engage the rhetoric and practice of reconciliation.²²

Following John de Gruchy's work on reconciliation as praxis, I argue that reconciliation as theory must start 'on the ground', i.e. with praxis. But praxis and theory must exist in a dialogical tension if transformation or change is to be enabled to occur. The theoretical character of the final chapter thus represents one stage of this dialogue. Further work, taking into account this new theory, arising out of and then also, and importantly, affecting transformational ways of thinking, understanding and living the gospel afresh needs to be undertaken. This cycle of reconciliatory praxis to theory to praxis is thus ongoing, and the further research and embodiment of the theory of the final chapter will lead to change in the praxis of reconciliation in the future. Like all practical theology, this PhD can only represent part of the ongoing journey, as the experiences, contexts, and spaces for reconciliation change and are further analysed and lived according to the new theory. Out of the praxis, the embodiedness, theoretical theological consideration may, and indeed, must take place. Additionally, I was first struck by the idea that reconciliation is best embodied, and may need to include restitution as this embodiment, during my MA research, as I was observing a reconciliation workshop. I therefore wanted to test this thought in my PhD research. Thus restitution and reconciliation as something observed was the starting point i.e. praxis rather than theory. The theoretical grew therefore directly out of the praxis as I observed it in Worcester. Nico Koopman also delineates public theology as transformational, with a bias towards the poor and destitute, looking at

²²De Gruchy, *Reconciliation: Restoring Justice*, p. 22.

prophetic, priestly and servant hood models of engagement in public life.²³ Both these ideas speak to my sense that theology must connect with a reconciliation process 'on the ground'. Stanley Hauerwas's idea of 'faith as performance' speaks well into the way reconciliation needs to be approached.

One of the things that liberal democratic society has encouraged Christians to believe about what they believe is that what it means to be Christian is primarily about belief!...This is a deep misunderstanding about how Christianity works. Of course we believe that God is God and we are not and that God is Father, Son and Holy Spirit...but that is not a series of propositions...rather [it is] embedded in a community of practices that make those beliefs themselves work and give us a community by which we are shaped. Religious belief is not just some kind of primitive metaphysics...in fact it is a performance just like you'd perform Lear. What people think Christianity is, is that it's like the text of Lear, rather than the actual production of Lear. It has to be performed for you to understand what Lear is-a drama. You can read it, but unfortunately Christians so often want to make Christianity a text rather than a performance.²⁴

This idea of Christianity as something needing to be performed to gain the fullest sense of what it means is akin to what is needed to practise and indeed understand and embody the process of reconciliation. Reconciliation is not an abstract 'word' based paradigm; it needs to be embodied, in the 'real world', for it to have the power to be transformative. So to regard the theoretical ethical thinking that needs to be done about this issue of moral life as sufficient to inform human wellbeing, without involving the praxis of it and the people on the ground engaged in the day to day process, is a mistake. Engaging with this practical knowledge, this 'doing', enables a more complete understanding and therefore potential for change which may be lost without this embodiment or grounding of the theory.

Therefore, human experience must be a factor in any exploration of what restitution within the reconciliation journey means. This however does not mean that the knowledge gained from studying or engaging with this lived, embodied human experience is privileged over other avenues of exploration, or indeed revelation. A deep investigation in both theological writing and the revealed workings of God is critical in helping delineate what is going on this 'performative act' of a lived,

²³ Nico Koopman, 'A Public Theology of Global Transformation in Challenging Times?' <http://www.sven-giegold.de/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/Koopman_Public-Theology-of-Global-Transformation.doc> [accessed 30 June 2014].

²⁴ Stanley Hauerwas, Homiletics Online, <http://www.homileticsonline.com/subscriber/interviews/hauerwas.asp> [accessed 14 February 2015].

embodied gospel. The process of reconciliation cannot be best understood without engaging with all of this. Theological reflection is served by exploring both praxis and theory. The movement from praxis to theory to praxis is well documented.²⁵ The term *praxis* originates in Marxism, delineating action that is value-driven. It is used in theological reflection, and this is how I use it, to denote the idea that practice is central to theological reflection and theory: praxis is both beginning and end of the cycle of theological reflection *in order to* better understand and work towards freedom. Denise Ackermann writes in an interview with Bastienne Klein

We are called to be present and active in this world. We are, in some or other awesome way, the tools with which God is accomplishing what must be done in this world. Thus Christian practices are both normative and theological. That's why I use the word praxis, because it means a practice that has been informed by theory, that has been reflected on.²⁶

Swinton and Mowat write

Human experience is a 'place' where the gospel is grounded, embodied, interpreted and lived out. It is an interpretive context which raises new questions, offers challenges and demands answers of the gospel which are not always obvious when it is reflected on in abstraction.²⁷

The problem of what restitution means within the reconciliation journey is one such 'new question'. Theoretical theological writing about reconciliation, forgiveness, and justice has so far little regarded the idea of restitution. Much has been written, thought and debated about theologies of forgiveness and reconciliation. But restitution as a separate yet related (or indeed crucial) concept within this paradigm has not been given the same consideration. There are clearly reasons why this may be so. Restitution may not be regarded as a component of the reconciliation journey. Or it may be viewed, if present, as having a minor role to play. Or it may, and this is evident in the literature, be regarded as non-theological, i.e. as a purely legal concept. Restitution has not been a major component of reconciliation processes around the world, although in the TRC, for instance, recommendations regarding restitution were

²⁵ Elaine Graham, Heather Walton and Frances Ward, *Theological Reflection: Methods*, (London: SCM Press, 2005), p. 170.

²⁶ Bastienne Klein, 'On Becoming and Being a Woman Theologian in South Africa: In Conversation with Denise Ackermann' 118 March (2004) pp. 40-52
<<http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/ricsa/projects/sochist/read-volume-3-chapter-3.html>> [accessed 4 July 2014], p. 45.

²⁷ Swinton and Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research*, p. 6.

made.²⁸ Other considerations on the nature of restitution itself may also come into play. Restitution arises as a practical response to an obligation, a thought, a feeling, a relationship. It is 'out there' in the world, embodied and seen. It is in experience then that restitution is found, and may start to be thought about. Out of the praxis, the embodiedness, theoretical theological consideration may, and indeed, must take place.

This thesis is based, then, in practical theology. Practical theology in conversation with sociological empirical research methods allow a study of the praxis of reconciliation and restitution, from within the theological framework. Practical theology takes into account both revelation and human experience and as such is interpretive of the reality of the theological truth and scriptural meta-narrative. This is discussed in much more detail on page 116, but for the purposes of these introductory remarks, a definition of practical theology is the joining of abstract ideas and practical knowledge or observation which leads potentially towards a fruitful working out of what is actually going on within a theological and embodied process. Its aim is to understand, evaluate, criticise and ultimately to shape and transform Christian practice in the world.²⁹ Cameron et al define practical theology as follows

Practical theology is a discipline committed to making whole and dynamic the truthfulness of Christian thought and action, through the bringing together of aspects of faith which, in truth, can never be separated from one another. Practical theology seeks in explicit and varied ways to enable the Christian practitioner to articulate faith – to speak of God, in practice.³⁰

Early in the research proposal it was clear that a decision needed to be made about the focus of the thesis in terms of theology, sociology, psychology. As I am most concerned with the theological aspects of reconciliation and restitution, and working from within theology itself, I decided to prioritise theology over the other disciplines in this thesis. However, I have used sociological methodology to examine and interpret the data, as part of the overarching narrative. So my view is that sociological methodology is supportive of the task of practical theology rather than their being

²⁸ I discuss this in chapter four.

²⁹ See also Richard R. Osmer, *Practical Theology: An Introduction*, (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2008); James Woodward and Stephen Pattison, eds., *The Blackwell Reader in Pastoral and Practical Theology*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000); Helen Cameron, Deborah Bhatti, Catherine Duce, James Sweeney and Clare Watkins, eds., *Talking about God in Practice: Theological Action Research and Practical Theology*, (London: SCM Press, 2010), esp. pp. 18-33; Elaine Graham, Heather Walton and Frances Ward, *Theological Reflection: Methods*, (London: SCM Press, 2005).

³⁰ Helen Cameron, Deborah Bhatti, Catherine Duce, James Sweeney and Clare Watkins, eds., *Talking about God in Practice: Theological Action Research and Practical Theology*, (London: SCM Press, 2010), p. 20.

equal allies. Although I come on in chapter five to discuss the mutual critical conversation method, I in fact criticise this as lending too much weight to the sociological over the theological. I prioritise theology over sociology, while using critical conversation as a method to extend the formal theological understanding of reconciliation, to take into account what is actually happening on the ground, in the praxis as I observed and experienced it, alongside those directly involved in the reconciliation process. Hence formal theology and praxis are related, but approach reconciliation from interlinked but different, and therefore mutually useful approaches. Cameron et al recognise this and the possible dilemma that it raises in terms of the nature of practical theology in the formal theology versus praxis debate.

The discipline seeks to address [–] the tendency to split pastoral practice and academic theology, to the detriment of both....the methodological and fundamental theological questions are thrown into sharp relief: the difficulties of ‘reading’ and articulating something as complex as ‘practice’; the need to offer more nuanced accounts of the proper and relative authorities of ‘experience’ and ‘tradition’; the perennial search for methods that better embody the proper complexities of faithful Christian practical wisdom; and the recurrent (and ancient!) questions as to how theology is to learn from and ‘use’ the expertise of other disciplines, without doing violence to either in its own peculiar integrity, or that of its conversation partners.³¹

I concur with the points they raise in this, and it speaks to the space I find myself in regards to this project. So I privilege theology over sociology for these purposes, while placing a high regard on the need also to link formal theology and praxis. Both must take their place in this dialogue, and this dialogue then is the best way to approach this question of restitution in Worcester.

Therefore, as my argument is that a theology of restitution must be practical, embodied, concrete and relational; I seek first to site my work in praxis. I therefore engage with a community of people, a ‘body of Christ’, who are actively living out a journey towards reconciliation together. The town of Worcester, near Cape Town, in South Africa, is where this empirical research is based, and provides the ‘model’ upon which I base my thinking.

I spent nearly three months living in Cape Town with my family, about eighty kilometres from Worcester, and spent most days in Worcester. The methods of the qualitative research I employed included twelve interviews and in-depth fieldwork

³¹ Helen Cameron, Deborah Bhatti, Catherine Duce, James Sweeney and Clare Watkins, eds., *Talking about God in Practice: Theological Action Research and Practical Theology*, (London: SCM Press, 2010), p. 30.

during this period. I attended meetings of the Worcester Hope and Reconciliation Process, and other events. I had many informal conversations with others in Cape Town about restitution and reconciliation, including theologians John de Gruchy and Denise Ackermann, clergy and other academics, and took part in several conferences. During previous visits to South Africa, I had also had a conversation about restitution with the current Anglican Archbishop Thabo Makgoba, and over the last years have had ongoing conversations with Desmond Tutu similarly. Many conversations with Deon Snyman of the Restitution Foundation took place in the car while travelling between Cape Town and Worcester, and these acted as a means of clarifying and testing of ideas. All of these have informed my thinking about these issues, in helpful and challenging ways.

The process of analysis of the data thus started in Cape Town, and I continued this on return to the UK. The process of analysis I used is described by John Swinton and Harriet Mowat, and was a comparative thematic analysis, done both 'by hand' and by entering the data into NVivo.³² I initially entered the data into NVivo in order to organise and structure what was a large amount of interview and other fieldwork data (including audio and video recordings from events), and continued the detailed analysis on paper. This process allowed me to identify major and minor themes from the interview and observational records, and included cycles of theological reflection. Some of this theological reflection occurred while I was engaged in the fieldwork, and continued after the research period, during further analysis of the data. Four sub questions from the data arose out of the main research questions.

A. What makes up the reconciliation journey in Worcester?

B. How do these factors relate to God?

C. Where is restitution found in the reconciliation journey?

D. In what ways is it theological?

These clarified and helped delineate the findings. The findings are then presented under these thematised headings, with theological reflection and further discussion. Two major sections are given as case studies, those of the peace train journey and a Reconciliation Eucharist I held for the people I had been working with at the end of my time in Worcester.

³² John Swinton and Harriet Mowat, new chapter in forthcoming 2nd edition, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research*.

1.7 Findings: What Might a Theology of Restitution Look Like?

The data was analysed as discussed, and articulated with current theories of restitution, so that a new understanding of a theology of restitution can be presented in chapter nine. Following analysis of the findings from my fieldwork, key themes emerged, which led me to explore restitution in terms of embodied reconciliation. Taking these ideas further through praxis, within the community in South Africa, leads towards a new understanding of the theology of restitution. This new understanding of the theology of restitution then informs and bridges into praxis.

1.8 Synopsis of Chapters

This chapter has introduced the thesis, and provided an outline of the aims, context and contribution I hope it will make to the field of restitution and reconciliation. I have introduced 'bicycle theology', and set out the research questions designed to probe the links, if any, between restitution and reconciliation i.e.

- 1. How adequate are the current understandings of restitution in relation to the reconciliation journey?**
- 2. What would a theology of restitution based on a broader understanding look like?**

I introduce my hope that this thesis will make a contribution to the current understanding of the theology of restitution within the reconciliation process. I start by setting the scene, and ask the questions 'Why Restitution?'; 'Why South Africa?' and 'Why me?' I then set out the next stages of the journey and give an insight into some of the people travelling, namely people I met during the research in South Africa. I then consider the contexts of the South African, and then the theological journeys. I briefly outline the methodology, analysis and findings of the empirical core of the thesis. I then present in overview the broad themes that arise from the fieldwork. Lastly, I give a brief synopsis of the other chapters as follows.

Chapter two sets the work in the South African 'space' including the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and its results. It then moves to site the research in Worcester itself, and looks at the Restitution Foundation and the Worcester Hope and Reconciliation Process, where the fieldwork was based. Chapter three sets the research question within the field, with specific regard to the theological

literature on reconciliation. Chapter four discusses restitution, tracing its legal origins, through a sociological view towards a theological reading. Chapter five presents the practical theological and qualitative methodologies and epistemologies, and the methods of qualitative research I used. Chapters six and seven present and discuss the thematic comparative analysis i.e. the findings. Chapter eight presents the two case studies: the Reconciliation Eucharist and the Peace Train, and the key themes that arose. Chapter nine looks further at these themes, and how they relate to sacramental, and specifically Eucharistic theologies, and considers restitution in this light, proposing a new way of considering and bridging the Eucharistic and reconciliation journeys, with embodied restitution at the core. It concludes the thesis, and considers how this bridge may inform the praxis of restitution and reconciliation. It also points forward to further work in other contexts.

2. South African Context: History and Current Practice-'A Rough Guide'

2.1 Introduction

[T]he adoption of this Constitution lays the secure foundation for the people of South Africa to transcend the divisions and strife of the past, which generated gross violations of human rights, the transgression of humanitarian principles in violent conflicts and a legacy of hatred, fear, guilt and revenge.³³

Faith communities enjoy a unique and privileged position in South African society. They are widely respected and have a far reaching moral influence. As such, they should play a key role in healing and reconciliation initiatives.³⁴

These quotations set the scene for this chapter's discussion of restitution and reconciliation from within the South African context. I start this chapter with a brief overview of the history, from the apartheid era, through the beginnings of the new democracy, to post-apartheid South Africa today. I then discuss the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and ask what it has achieved. All of these discussions are covered in depth elsewhere in the literature, and the following authors have done much to lay out the arguments.³⁵

I then turn to look at what has and is being achieved through various reconciliation initiatives, which have sprung up alongside and since the work of the TRC. The work of the Restitution Foundation is then explored. Finally, I place the

³³ Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, Government of the Republic of South Africa, Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 200 of 1993 (Interim Constitution) <<http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/legal/sacon93.htm>> [accessed 4 July 2014].

³⁴ South African Government, Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, 'Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Final Report, Volume 5, Chapter 8', (1998), 316. <<http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/report/finalreport/Volume5.pdf>> [accessed 6 July 2014].

³⁵ John W. de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa*. (London: SCM Press, 2004); Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport, eds., *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social and Cultural History*, (Cape Town: David Philip, 1997); Peter Hinchcliff, *The Church in South Africa*, (London: SPCK, 1968); Alex Boraine, 'Transitional Justice', in *Pieces of the Puzzle*, edited by Villa-Vicencio and Doxtader, pp. 67-72; Graybill, *Truth & Reconciliation in South Africa: Miracle Or Model?*, Mahmood Mamdani, 'A Diminished Truth', in *After the TRC: Reflections on Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*, edited by W. James and L. Van de Vijver, (Athens: Ohio University, 2001), pp. 58-61; Megan Shore, *Religion and Conflict Resolution: Christianity and South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk To Freedom*, (Great Britain: Little, Brown and Company, 1994); John Allen, *Rabble Rouser for Peace: The Authorised Biography of Desmond Tutu*, (London: Rider, 2006); Antie Krog, *A Change of Tongue*, (Johannesburg: Random House, 2003); Tutu, *No Future without Forgiveness*; Charles Villa-Vicencio and Mills Soko, eds., *Conversations in Transition: Leading South African Voices*, (Cape Town: David Philip, 2012); D. J. Smit, 'The Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Tentative Religious and Theological Perspectives', *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 90, March (1995), pp. 3-15.

Worcester Hope and Reconciliation Process within these, as one-if not the only-example of a reconciliation process with restitution at its heart, and discuss how it is placed within its local context of Worcester, bringing us to the start of my fieldwork journey.

2.2 Apartheid

In 1961, a beautiful part of Cape Town underneath Table Mountain, across the road from Kirstenbosch Botanical Gardens, was declared a whites only area. The Group Areas Act was enforced, and a whole community of coloured families from Protea Village were removed to new coloured townships, such as Manenberg, on the Cape Flats. Most of their houses were bulldozed. The church that had been built for them, the Church of the Good Shepherd, remained.³⁶ This story introduces and places people at the heart of this section, which looks at the apartheid era: their story will be continued in the sections following.

The National Party came to power in 1948, and the era of apartheid was begun, lasting until democracy in 1994. Only white South Africans were able to vote, and the 'doctrine' of separate development, or 'apartheid' was born. Although it could be argued that segregation of the races was nothing new, since colonisation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the impact of the policy was huge. Much of apartheid thinking was already in place through the legislation surrounding the mining industry and consequent industrialisation of the black workforce, but the scale and effects of apartheid after 1948 were devastating. The Group Areas Act prescribed where the different races could live, and the Group Amenities Act governed separate public facilities, such as park benches, beaches, and so on. Blacks were required to carry identity documents under the pass laws at all times. Crucially, the Bantu Education Act of 1953 meant that education for black people was not of the same standard as for whites. For instance, black children were no longer taught mathematics as a core subject; and the mission schools were closed. The results of this policy were crippling. Francis Wilson quotes Henrik Verwoerd, Minister of Native

³⁶ Eileen Nomdo and Jenny Wilson, 'The Role of the Church and a Faith based Community in Healing the Nation', *Beyond Reconciliation Conference*, University of Cape Town, (December 2009).

Affairs, who said that higher education for blacks 'misled them by showing them the green pastures of European society in which they are not allowed to graze.'³⁷

The creation of separate 'homelands'; the forcible resettling of black people to 'Bantustans' (more than three million people); the urban removals of non-whites to separate townships; the separation of black families through the policy of not allowing urban black workers' wives to live with them in the cities; the 'reclassifying' of people into different racial groups and many other such policies had appalling consequences.³⁸

Opposition to these oppressive policies began. The African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) called for mass protests. The Defiance Campaign of 1952 resulted in over 8,000 people arrested for entering the 'non-European' sections of public buildings and burning pass books. The Freedom Charter of 1955 spelt out what a democratic South Africa could look like. In the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 the police shot dead sixty-nine peaceful demonstrators, many of them in the back. The ANC and PAC were banned, and armed resistance was born. Nelson Mandela and the others in the Rivonia Treason Trial in 1963 were sentenced to life imprisonment. 1976 saw the shooting of schoolchildren in Soweto, and in 1977 Steve Biko died in police custody. 'It is better', he said, 'to die for an idea that will live than to live for an idea that will die.'³⁹

In the 1980s, violence soared, amid an increasingly volatile political atmosphere. The United Democratic Front (UDF) was formed, with close links to the exiled ANC, and rallies and protests increased, like the ones I took part in as a medical student. Sanctions from the international community were imposed, and many areas of opposition internally, including from some whites (e.g. the Black Sash)⁴⁰ along with other factors, caused mounting pressure on the South African government.

³⁷In Francis Wilson, *Dinosaurs, Diamonds and Democracy: A short, short history of South Africa*, Cape Town: Umuzi, 2009), p. 88.

³⁸ An example being the District Six removals in Cape Town, which epitomise this era. District Six Museum, Cape Town, has a wealth of collected personal story and information. <<http://www.districtsix.co.za/>> [accessed 1 July 2014].

³⁹ Steve Biko, quoted in Wilson, *Dinosaurs, Diamonds and Democracy*, p. 100. See also Steve Biko, *I Write What I Like*, ed. by Aelred Stubbs, CR, (Oxford: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 1978).

⁴⁰ I discuss the Black Sash in chapter four. In summary, it was a movement of mainly white women who demonstrated against apartheid wearing black sashes; and worked for human rights and advocacy. See Kathryn Spink, *Black Sash: The Beginning of a Bridge in South Africa*, (London: Methuen, 1991).

There is not space here to discuss the subsequent events and negotiations that took place leading to the release of Mandela and the first democratic elections in 1994. The ANC won a huge majority, and Nelson Mandela became South Africa's first black president.

This summary of the apartheid era does not do justice to the immense suffering and harm-physical, psychological and spiritual-to individuals, and the society as a whole, caused by its policies.

Turning to the churches involvement, de Gruchy notes that the churches were far from unified in their approaches and responses to apartheid, and thus important to distinguish between what might be called the 'pro' or at least neutral, and 'anti' apartheid churches. The former included the conservative, white Afrikaans-speaking Dutch Reformed Church, and the latter, as de Gruchy puts it, the 'so-called' English-speaking more liberal churches (Anglican, Roman Catholic, Methodist and others).⁴¹ This is of course a somewhat simplified view. There are many more and nuanced versions-not to mention the black Uniting Reformed Church, the recent rise in free/Pentecostal style churches, the indigenous churches, and so on.

Deon Forster quotes Neville Richardson who notes just how influential and significant the ideology of systematic oppression was and how it would affect the Church

The church under apartheid was polarised between “the church of the oppressor” and “the church of the oppressed.” Either you were for apartheid or you were against it; there was no neutral ground. Given the heavy-handed domination of the minority white government, those who imagined themselves to be neutral were, unwittingly perhaps, on the side of apartheid. This complicity was especially true of those Christians who piously “avoided politics” yet enjoyed the social and economic benefits of the apartheid system... While young white men were conscripted into the South African Defence Force, many young black people fled the country to join the outlawed liberation movements that had their headquarters and training camps abroad. What could the church do in this revolutionary climate? And what should Christian theology say now?⁴²

⁴¹ De Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa*. See also, Tinyiko S. Maluleke 'Of Lions and Rabbits: The Role of the Church in Reconciliation in South Africa', *International Review of Mission*, 96, 380, January (2007), pp. 41-55 <DOI: 10.1111/j.1758-6631.2007.tb00591.x> [accessed 3 July 2014].

⁴² Neville Richardson, quoted by Dion Forster, 'The Role of the Church in Reconciliation in South Africa', *Lausanne World Pulse*, January (2014) <https://www.academia.edu/248052/The_Role_of_the_Church_in_Reconciliation_in_South_Africa> [accessed 3 January 2014].

What the church 'did' and 'said' in this climate was subject to many considerations. Writing here of church resolutions during the apartheid years, de Gruchy gives a flavour of the complexities faced.

Some spoke more generally to matters of race and ideology, others to specific issues such as migrant labour, forced removals, detention without trial, conscientious objection, education, violence, human rights and the death penalty. These resolutions were usually addressed to the authorities, who generally ignored them, but even when addressed more specifically to congregations they had little impact. The resolutions of the Dutch Reformed Church (NGK) were, of course, invariably in support of government policy, even if at times they expressed some muted criticism.⁴³

Various declarations and groupings of churches tried to address apartheid and its devastating effects. The rise of black consciousness; particular and shocking events in the political struggle (the Sharpeville massacre, the Soweto uprising); and certain prophetic church leaders such as Desmond Tutu, Beyers Naude, Frank Chikane, Trevor Huddleston and others, all led to the raising of consciousness and action against the evils of apartheid. The most well-known of the declarations is the *Kairos* Document, published in 1986.

The *Kairos Document* not only rejected the 'state theology' of those who gave their support to apartheid, but also opposed what it named the 'church theology' of the mainline multi-racial churches, accusing them of promoting 'cheap reconciliation'. In doing so, the *Kairos Document* called for direct Christian participation in the struggle, including acts of civil disobedience in resistance to government tyranny.⁴⁴

The *Kairos* Document itself caused controversy about the meaning of reconciliation, but it is important to note that these documents and declarations were not without real and grave risk-they were more than 'theories'. Many Christian leaders were detained, banned or exiled.

The struggle continued into the 1980s. During the continuing State of Emergency in 1988 Tutu and other church leaders of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) marched on Parliament to hand in a petition. They were all arrested, but later released. The SACC wrote

⁴³ John W. de Gruchy, 'Political Landmarks and the Response of Churches in South Africa 1936-1994', *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 118 March (2004), pp. 3-26.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 22. See also *The Kairos Document*, (Johannesburg: Institute for Contextual Theology, 1986).

We regard your (the government) restrictions not only as an attack on democratic activity in South Africa but as a blow directed at the heart of the Church's mission in South Africa. The activities which have been prohibited are central to the proclamation of the gospel in our country and we must make it clear that, no matter what the consequences, we will explore every possible avenue for continuing the activities which you have prohibited other bodies from undertaking.⁴⁵

A year later, in 1989, 30,000 people gathered at St George's Cathedral in Cape Town to march for peace. This march, in a long line of decisive moments in the Church's struggle against the apartheid regime, and alongside the start of negotiations, came at a *Kairos* moment. The beginning of the end of apartheid was in sight. Shannon Wright quotes Tutu, who wrote in 2009 of the peace march,

September 13, 1989 was God's tipping point. When we gathered in the cathedral to mourn the loss of yet more lives, we knew the time had come to throw off the yoke of oppression. We would be free because we were created for freedom. We could no longer tolerate the pervasive evil of apartheid that had corroded our beloved country and had torn apart our people. We were at risk of losing our humanity....we found that our humanity is bound up together -oppressor and oppressed, we could only be free together.⁴⁶

The discourse on confessing guilt played a large part in the Church's psyche in the 1980s. South African theologians looked to the work of Dietrich Bonhoeffer on the confession of guilt; and to Karl Jaspers on different types of guilt.⁴⁷ The Rustenberg Conference in 1990, an ecumenical conference of church leaders, called to discuss a new phase for political involvement of churches in South Africa, produced a declaration, in which the church leaders confess that

We have in different ways practised, supported, permitted or refused to resist apartheid...we have been unwilling to suffer, loving our comfort more than God's justice and clinging to our privilege rather than binding ourselves to the poor and oppressed of our land.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ De Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa*, p. 203. See also South African Council of Churches, *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, no.63, (June 1988), pp.69-70.

⁴⁶ Desmond Tutu, quoted by Shannon Wright, *Glimpsing Hope, Marching for Peace: 20th Commemoration of the September 1989 Cape Town Peace March*, (Cape Town: St George's Cathedral Crypt Memory and Witness Centre, 2009), p. 9.

⁴⁷ Karl Jaspers, *The Question of German Guilt*, trans. By E. B. Ashton, (New York: Dial Press, 1947). See also John de Gruchy, 'Guilt, Amnesty and National Reconstruction: Karl Jaspers' "Die Schuldfrage" and the South African Debate, *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 83 (June 1993), pp. 3-13. See also John W. De Gruchy, *Bonhoeffer and South Africa: Theology in Dialogue*, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1984) for discussion of Bonhoeffer's relevance to the South African apartheid context.

For further exploration, also see Conradie, *Reconciliation: A Guiding Vision for South Africa?*

⁴⁸ Louw Alberts and Frank Chikane, eds. *The Road to Rustenberg*, (Cape Town: Struik, 1991) p. 277-278.

A final word from the Conference takes us into the post-apartheid era. Professor Willie Jonker of the DRC expressed remorse and asked for forgiveness for his own, but also for the DRC's and Afrikaner people's role in apartheid.

I have the liberty to do just that, because the NGK (DRC in Afrikaans) at its latest synod has declared apartheid a sin and confessed its own guilt of negligence in not warning against it and distancing itself from it long ago.⁴⁹

Tutu embraced him warmly, but Jonker's speech was certainly not universally accepted. These issues of guilt, apology, remorse and forgiveness clearly remain complex.⁵⁰

2.3 Post-Apartheid

The coloured families who had been removed from near the Kirstenbosch Botanical Gardens continued to be faithful to their community now on the Cape Flats. However, one woman travelled back every Saturday on public transport to clean the Church of the Good Shepherd, and served tea after attending the Sunday morning service. She kept the hope of return home alive. In 1978, coloured families from the Cape Flats and local white residents from the wealthy local suburb of Bishopscourt started worshipping together as the Church reopened for regular worship. Strong relationships were formed, and land restitution claims were submitted, and then granted. Since then plans have been slowly underway for reintegration of the communities, in which the church has played a key role.⁵¹ This story, sadly, though a story of restitution and reconciliation, is unusual.

The 1994 elections were surprisingly peaceful, thanks to the leadership of Mandela and the influence of Tutu and others. As Russell Daye notes, 'huge challenges lay ahead but also behind. The new country, the Rainbow Nation, was to be a place of hope as well as struggle.'⁵² Amidst the rejoicing following the elections, came the reality of continuing socioeconomic inequality, differences in education, employment possibilities, and continuing racism. The end of apartheid signalled

⁴⁹ In Alberts and Chikane, eds. *The Road to Rustenberg*, p.92.

⁵⁰ See de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa*, and de Gruchy, 'Political Landmarks and the Response of Churches in South Africa 1936-1994'.

⁵¹ Nomdo and Wilson, 'The Role of the Church and a Faith based Community in Healing the Nation'.

⁵² Russell Daye, *Political Forgiveness: Lessons from South Africa*, p. 33.

freedom from an oppressive regime, but its effects were ongoing. How then did the new government go about tackling these issues? This was clearly a huge task, as it remains. Various legislative measures were adopted, such as the Employment Equity Act, which aimed to address workforce inequalities through affirmative action to employ 'designated groups' in favour of others (blacks, women, disabled).⁵³

But what of the other effects of apartheid? The need to address crimes perpetrated during apartheid, and reconciliation between the races, loomed large. The need to know the 'truth' of what had happened during apartheid, to heal wounds, to discover who and where and how, to find peace, needed to be addressed urgently. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was formed to answer these needs. The fact that the route of a TRC rather than a Nuremberg type court was taken is extensively documented elsewhere.⁵⁴

2.3.1 Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)

The TRC's charge to the nation was

- To provide a historic bridge between the past of a deeply divided society characterized by strife, conflict, untold suffering and injustice, and a future founded on the recognition of human rights, democracy and peaceful co-existence for all, irrespective of colour, race, class, belief or sex.
- The pursuit of national unity, the well-being of all citizens, of peace and reconciliation and the reconstruction of society.
- The recognition of the need for understanding but not for vengeance, the need for reparation but not for retaliation, for *ubuntu* but not for victimisation.⁵⁵

The TRC was set up in 1996, and dealt with gross violations of human rights perpetrated in the period between 1960 and 1994. The TRC has been documented extensively elsewhere.⁵⁶ In brief, the aims of the TRC were

to develop a complete picture of the gross violations of human rights that took place in and came through the conflicts of the past; to restore to victims their

⁵³ The South African Labour Guide: Summary of the Employment Equity Act, 55 of 1998, issued in terms of Section 25 (1) <<http://www.labourguide.co.za/employment-equity/summary-of-the-employment-equity-act-55-of-1998-issued-in-terms-of-section-25-1>> [accessed 3 July 2014].

⁵⁴ Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths: Facing the Challenge of Truth Commissions*.

⁵⁵ TRC Report, 1998, Vol.1, p 55-57.

⁵⁶ Villa-Vicencio and Verwoerd, eds., *Looking Back Reaching Forward, Reflections on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa*; Graybill, *Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*.

human and civil dignity by letting them tell their stories and recommending how they could be assisted; and to consider granting amnesty to those perpetrators who carried out their abuses for political reasons and who gave full accountings of their actions to the Commission.⁵⁷

Seventeen Commissioners were appointed to sit on three committees, dealing with human rights violations; amnesty; and reparation and rehabilitation. Under the chairmanship of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, hearings were held throughout South Africa. Antje Krog powerfully records a session of the TRC.

A slow litany of names, read out into the quiet hall. The names of one hundred and twenty people who died in police custody...name upon name upon name....They fall like chimes into the silence. Journalists stop taking notes, committee members put down their pens – stunned by this magnitude of death that is but a bare beginning.⁵⁸

One of the Commissioners told me that the emotional and physical drain was huge, and how spontaneous hymn singing during hearings was evocative and healing.⁵⁹ Although Tutu's chairing of the TRC was consciously Christian, the TRC was not primarily religious. On one occasion, the Muslim Chairman of the hearing asked Tutu not to open with a Christian prayer, but those present would not let proceedings commence without, such was the feeling that the TRC was in fact a 'religious body'.⁶⁰ Graybill notes

It was an exhaustive process in terms of money, time, and energy: 140 hearings took place in sixty-one towns; 22,000 victim statements were taken covering 37,000 violations; over 7,000 perpetrators applied for amnesty; and eighteen months became six years – all to the tune of 200 million rand.⁶¹

The TRC recommended that reparations be paid, and in 2003 the South African government awarded those with 'victim status' a one-off payment.⁶²

The TRC faith communities report is particularly relevant in terms of restitution. It recommended that

- Religious groups utilise the skills enjoyed by many of their members, to provide training and leadership skills to disadvantaged communities.
- Religious communities from different racial and class groups seek ways of sharing material resources.

⁵⁷ Graybill, *Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*, p. 6.

⁵⁸ Antje Krog, *Country of My Skull*, (Johannesburg: Random House, 2002), p. 1.

⁵⁹ In personal conversation.

⁶⁰ Personal conversation with a TRC Commissioner.

⁶¹ Graybill, *Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*, p. 8.

⁶² Watts and Gulliford, eds., *Forgiveness in Context*, p. 163.

- Religious communities undertake a 'land audit', identifying land in their possession which can be made available to the landless poor.
- Where religious communities have acquired land as a result of apartheid legislation, this land be returned to its rightful owners.
- Religious communities take the initiative to expose members from predominantly white and black communities to one another.⁶³

Ackermann argues that the TRC gave South Africans the chance to live the gospel through the practice of an ethic of relationship. Confessing and lamenting an unwillingness to 'deal lovingly with our neighbours who are different' through the medium of the TRC enabled this gospel living to be practiced. That is how the churches, Christian people, could engage with 'the other'.⁶⁴

Peter Storey, one of the selection panel for the TRC Commissioners writes of the TRC and its relation to liberation and reconciliation, justice and forgiveness. The experiences of the TRC point, he says

Beyond conventional retribution into a realm where justice and mercy coalesce and both victim and perpetrator must know pain if healing is to happen. It is an area more consistent with Calvary than the courtroom. It is the place where the guilty discover the pain of forgiveness because the innocent are willing to bear the greater pain of forgiving.⁶⁵

Much has been written about the TRC and its effects, and the debate continues.⁶⁶

2.3.2 From the TRC to the Situation Today

Recently Archbishop Tutu got himself into hot water once again for speaking about reconciliation and restitution, and the unfinished business (indeed, the

⁶³ TRC Final Report, Volume 5, chapter 8, p. 316.

⁶⁴ Denise M. Ackermann, 'Becoming Fully Human: An ethic of relationship in difference and otherness', *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 102 (November 1998), pp.13-27, p. 23.

⁶⁵ Peter Storey, A Different Kind of Justice: Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa. *The Christian Century*, (1997), 114(25), pp. 788-793, (p. 793).

⁶⁶ For further discussion of issues surrounding the TRC such as amnesty and reparations, *Pieces of the Puzzle*, edited by Villa-Vicencio and Doxtader provides a good overview. See also Catherine Jenkins, 'After the Dry White Season: The Dilemmas of Reparation and Reconstruction in South Africa', *South African Journal of Human Rights*, 16, (2000), pp. 415-485 <<http://heinonline.org>> [accessed 7 January 2014]; and one of the TRC's fiercest critics, Mahmood Mamdani, 'The Truth According to the TRC', in I. Amadiume, and A. An-Na'im, eds., *The Politics of Memory: Truth, Healing, and Social Justice*, (London: Zed Books, 2000), pp. 176-183; Tinyiko S. Maluleke, 'Truth, National Unity and Reconciliation in South Africa: Aspects of the Emerging Agenda', *Missionalia*, 25, 1 (1997), pp. 59-86 <http://general.ujhb.ac.za/EN/AboutUJ/ExecutiveLeadershipGroup/Prof-TS-Maluleke/Documents/Articles%20in%20Peer%20Reviewed%20Journals/Truth_Untity_Reconciliation.pdf> [accessed 3 July 2014]; Tinyiko S. Maluleke, 'Reconciliation in South Africa: Ten Years Later', *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 123 (2005), pp. 105-120.

unfulfilled promise) of the TRC. And, as usual, the sorts of reports that followed focussed as much on the outrage as on the heart of the matter. But there is an important issue at stake – and it will not do to leave such unfinished business hanging in the air while continuing to complain at it. This is a recipe for a dangerous festering sore, not a solution.⁶⁷

As an attempt towards such a solution, a letter was written to the ANC in December 2011, signed by hundreds of South African Christians, under the auspices of *Kairos* South Africa, a movement founded on the original *Kairos* Document of 1985. The letter spells out the continuing problems of poverty, increasing corruption, poor education, and political division. It asks the ANC to take note of these concerns, and to act with integrity and urgency to address them.

We pray that we can dream new dreams together and work towards its fulfilment: a dream where there will be no more shacks in South Africa, a dream where no person has to go to sleep hungry, a dream where entrepreneurs will feel encouraged and motivated because of the environment that has been created for them to create new businesses, new industries and new jobs, a dream where every citizen feels safe and where no citizens are discriminated against on the basis of race or ethnicity, a dream where the environment is protected to ensure that future generations may also enjoy the fruits of the earth.⁶⁸

So what of these dreams? And why should a large group of Christian people across racial and theological divides, clergy, academics, ex- struggle activists, business leaders, and people in the pews feel the need to write to the government in this way? It is now eighteen years since the TRC took place. What has been achieved since then? The TRC itself asked theologians and faith communities to work towards a theological understanding of reconciliation. In its report it recommended that

Religious communities develop theologies designed to promote reconciliation and a true sense of community in the nation. Particular consideration could be given to the role of whites as beneficiaries of apartheid; with regard to reconstruction and reconciliation, the empowerment of black people and those who have suffered gross violations of human rights to move beyond 'victimhood' in regaining their humanity.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Thabo Makgoda, 'Tiyo Soga's Legacy: A Reflection on Restitution, Freedom of Information and Hate Speech', *Archbishop Thabo Makgoda's blog*, September 19 2011, <<http://archbishoanglicanchurchsa.org/2011/09/tiyo-sogas-legacy-reflection-on.html>> [accessed 3 January 2014].

⁶⁸ Kairos Southern Africa, 'Theological and Ethical Reflections on the 2012 Centenary Celebrations of the African National Congress: A Word to the ANC', (28 December 2011) <<http://www.methodist.org.za/sites/default/files/fileuploads/KAIROS%20DOC.pdf>> [accessed 4 July 2014], p. 16.

⁶⁹ TRC Final Report, Volume 5, p. 317ff.

Faith communities, I would argue, still need to address these issues. Mamphela Ramphele, doctor and politician, writes of 'the miracle that never was'.⁷⁰ Desmond Tutu speaks of peoples' anger ten years or more after the TRC when they still find themselves living in squalor, while others, 'mostly white', live in 'palatial homes'. He exclaimed, 'I don't know why those people don't just say, 'To hell with peace. To hell with Tutu and the Truth Commission'.⁷¹

However, the positive effects of the TRC should not be downplayed: many people were able to discover some 'truth', and enabled to start the healing and reconciliation process. But there are also many more people who have been affected by issues of apartheid and its legacy, and some who were even damaged by the TRC process because of their vulnerability to the concept of *ubuntu* and their consequent need to forgive. Piet Meiring, Emeritus Professor of Religion at Pretoria, who served on the TRC, writes of 'microwave oven reconciliation'. Reconciliation, he argues, can not be taken for granted. It cannot be organised. Yet it is attainable.⁷²

While some progress then towards reconciliation has been made, however, it seems that actual steps towards restitution have lagged far behind. Why is this? In a presentation to the Carnegie Conference in Cape Town in 2012, Edwin Arrison et al argue that the beneficiaries of apartheid have failed to embrace the concept of restitution for three main reasons: firstly, the TRC's narrow focus on gross human rights violations and extraordinary violence allowed ordinary beneficiaries of apartheid to escape moral and political responsibility for apartheid; secondly, the white community's too narrow understanding of reconciliation.; and thirdly, the democratic government's lack of will to promulgate restitution legislation.⁷³ In the first point, they follow Mahmood Mamdani's view that the TRC limited the 'truth' which could be spoken to gross violations, and thus that the TRC 'did not encourage a social debate on how apartheid affected the personal lives of all the citizens of South

⁷⁰ Mamphela Ramphele, *Laying Ghosts to Rest, Dilemmas of the Transformation in South Africa*. (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2008), pp. 46-69.

⁷¹ Tutu, *No Future Without Forgiveness*, p. 221.

⁷² Piet Meiring, 'Forward, with Joy and Confidence: Some Thoughts on the Prerequisites for Reconciliation in South Africa', *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 134, July (2009), pp. 102-130.

⁷³ Edwin Arrison, V. Weitz, and D.W. Snyman, '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 2012.

Africa.' Explicating the second point, the authors cite the 'Homes for all' campaign as an example of this narrow understanding of reconciliation.⁷⁴ Thirdly, Arrison et al argue that the government could have acted, but has not taken these difficult political decisions. Thus the TRC itself cannot be wholly blamed.⁷⁵

Tutu's call for a 'wealth tax' in 2011 to be imposed on all white South Africans did not meet with a positive response from the white community. However, support did come from some quarters. Fanie du Toit of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) is one such supporter, questioning whether 'those of us who have benefited from the past are now free once again to get on with our lives despite rampant and growing inequality in our society?'⁷⁶

Cilliers writes that the National Planning Commission reported that South Africa 'remains deeply divided and characterised by high levels of inequity and inequality.'⁷⁷ Snyman writes, quoting Tutu, who said that

the still existing (and growing) gap between rich and poor in South Africa serves as a warning that all the progress made with reconciliation in the country can go up in flames if the needs of the poor are not addressed.....we need to be very careful that the poor don't begin to ask 'Where is the freedom dividend?'⁷⁸

While redistributive practices have created a new 'black' elite and a growing 'black' middle class, South Africa is one of the most unequal countries in the world. The top 10% of the population account for 58% of its income, and the bottom half less than 8%. The unemployment rate is more than 25.2%, one of the highest in the world. 70% of the poorest 20% are unemployed.⁷⁹

Warnings such as Tutu's have been echoed by other leaders. Bongani Finca, quoted in Snyman's Restitution Foundation Report, said that

a prophetic community must not sing a lullaby to the nation – it must sound warning bells and calls on the nation to wake up before it is too late... the matter of restitution had become painfully hot. No one wants to touch it.

⁷⁴ Mahomed Mamdani, 'The Truth According to the TRC', in *The Politics of Memory: Truth, Healing, and Social Justice*, ed. by I. Amadiume and A. An-Na'im, (London: Zed Books, 2000), pp. 176-183.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 13.

⁷⁶ Fanie du Toit, 'Take heed of Tutu tax', *SA Reconciliation Barometer Blog*, <http://reconciliationbarometer.org/volume-nine-2011/take-heed-of-tutu-tax/> [accessed 15th February 2015].

⁷⁷ In Cilliers, 'Between Enclavement and Embracement', p. 1.

⁷⁸ Deon Snyman, 'July letter from the COO', Restitution Foundation, (2006) <<http://www.restitution.org.za>> [accessed 8 August 2007].

⁷⁹ World Bank Report, *South Africa Economic Update: Focus on Equality and Opportunity*, (2012: July 24).

People have closed their minds to it. No one wants to think about it, let alone speak about it or hold a workshop on it-not in the faith communities, not in the structure of the state, not in civil society.' 'Restitution isn't a political issue, but a moral imperative!'⁸⁰

The Institute of Justice and Reconciliation, based in Cape Town, produces an annual 'Reconciliation Barometer' in order to measure progress towards reconciliation. The 2013 report is worth looking at in some detail, as it highlights the current difficulties, and provides a good understanding of the state of reconciliation in South Africa today. It speaks directly to the issue of restitution in the introduction.

Almost 20 years after the transition, the Reconciliation Barometer survey finds that for ordinary citizens issues of economic inequality and material injustice are the biggest blocks to reconciliation faced today. In light of conceptual critiques and lived realities, it is important that we re-conceptualise reconciliation in ways that place issues of material injustice front and centre.⁸¹

It raises the interesting view that I have alluded to earlier, that reconciliation is too 'big' or difficult an aim. It quotes Villa-Vicencio who suggests a 'moratorium' on reconciliation, in favour of focusing on human dignity and inequality, as this compromises simple co-existence.⁸² Moves towards reconciliation are slow, at best, and there is now some thought among academics and practitioners in the field that reconciliation is an impossible task, and that phrases such as 'social cohesion' are better employed.⁸³ I argue strongly against this, as from within the theological arena, concepts such as reconciliation and hope have an important eschatological, not to mention soteriological dimension. We are entrusted with a 'ministry of reconciliation' (2 Cor 5:18), not a ministry of social cohesion. The fact that progress towards reconciliation is slow or that it is difficult, or even cheapened, does not mean that the broad scope of restoration and transformation which is reconciliation should be

⁸⁰ Deon Snyman, 'Letter from the COO', Restitution Foundation, (2007) <<http://www.restitution.org.za>> [accessed 8 August 2007].

⁸¹ Kim Wale, 'Confronting Exclusion: Time for Radical Reconciliation', *SA Reconciliation Barometer Survey 2013* (Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2013), p. 8, <http://reconciliationbarometer.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/IJR-Barometer-Report-2013-22Nov1635.pdf> [accessed on 9 February 2014].

⁸² Charles Villa-Vicencio, 'A moratorium on 'reconciliation'?', *South African Reconciliation Barometer Newsletter*, (2013), 11(1):pp.4–5.

⁸³ For instance, see S. Gordon and others, 'Towards a Social Cohesion Barometer for South Africa', *State of the Nation: South Africa: 2012-2013*, (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 2013) <<http://www.hsrc.ac.za/en/research-outputs/view/6302>> [accessed 8 July 2014].

downplayed, even if it is to something potentially more achievable in the short term.

The report interestingly goes on to warn against swinging too far in the direction of materiality alone, quoting Brandon Hamber and the need to 'hold both faces' together, i.e. the material inequality face and the interpersonal healing face.⁸⁴

This is the position that I argue, that the embodiment of reconciliation in restitution does combine these two aspects of reconciliation, which are equally necessary. The report authors argue that it is this understanding of the need for mutual recognition in terms of both the redress of economic injustice and psychological reconciliation that undergirds the reconnecting of previously oppressed peoples.⁸⁵ This has similar overtones to the idea of *ubuntu*.

The 2013 Reconciliation Barometer results indicate that South Africans have not yet gained a mutual understanding and awareness of divided lived realities across race and class lines. Socially and psychologically this lack of connection across intersecting race and class barriers is connected to patterns of economic, geographical and social exclusion. Furthermore, results demonstrate that South Africans do not share a desire for economic redress across race. Black, Coloured and Indian/Asian South Africans are 20–30% more likely to agree on the need for economic redress and victim support than white South Africans.⁸⁶

So, the need for economic redress is vital in the reconciliation process. Hugely important also is their final point, that white South Africans are less likely to recognise that point, and also the need for victim support. This makes the need for the concept of restitution to be raised further, relevant and timely. It also asks the question of how this could or should be done, and what models may be helpful. My research in Worcester aims to address these questions.

It is pertinent then to quote some of the results from the Barometer, which is the only nationally representative survey of reconciliation in South Africa, and has been in place since the transition to democracy in 1994. Some salient points from the 2013 survey help to ground and set the scene for my research:

- economic exclusion in the form of poverty, class inequality and unemployment is the greatest threat to reconciliation
- white South Africans seem to compare their economic situation only with other whites, i.e. when asked if anyone is worse off than them, the answer was

⁸⁴ Brandon Hamber, , 'Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde': Problems of violence prevention and reconciliation in South Africa's transition to democracy'. In *Violence in South Africa: A variety of perspectives*, ed. by E. Bornman, R. van Eeden and M.E. Wentzel, (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 1998), PP.349–370.

⁸⁵ Wale, 'Confronting Exclusion', p. 8.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

no, despite the fact that the lowest classes of standard of living, there were no whites, only blacks. This is an extraordinary, and worrying, finding. The lack of shared concern for other races hampers reconciliation at the outset.

- poor blacks are geographically distant from and therefore excluded from the rest of the population, thus hampering reconciliation.

The report concludes that

The desire for unity expressed by all South Africans may be sincere, but it also needs to be grounded in a shared aspiration to redress the effects of the past on the present. By not supporting efforts to redress the wrongs of the past, the majority of white South Africans allow a system of racial privilege and inequality to continue. We can constructively build on the shared desire to unite and move forward from apartheid. To do so, however, South Africans of all races need to come together on the same page about the pressing need to rectify the economic, cultural and psychological imbalance which pervades our society.⁸⁷

The report, like Boesak and DeYoung, uses the term 'radical reconciliation', arguing that a new and in depth, or 'rooted' approach is needed.

This term grounds reconciliation in a new direction which places the connection between economic justice and reconciliation at the centre of radical reconciliation.⁸⁸

This radical approach, then, based on evidence of what is actually happening today on the ground, provides further congruence between praxis and theory, and again highlights the necessity for a new look at restitution as an embodiment of reconciliation, in order to address these problems.

Theologically, as I argued in chapters two and three, little regard has been paid to restitution itself. Placing theology at the heart of this quest, and asking the churches as communities of the body of Christ to play a role as models of reconciliation, hope and transformation, speaks directly then to these issues of poverty, exclusion, and lack of shared commitment, or disconnection from 'the other'.

2.4 Reconciliation: Models in Action

Firstly, however, it is necessary to look at what is already happening in terms of these questions. I note some of the current models of reconciliation in South Africa. I have already mentioned the work of the Institute for Healing of Memories, and summarise

⁸⁷ Ibid., p.41.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 9.

briefly here, drawing on work I did during my MA. I also in that work lay out the beginnings of the Restitution Foundation (then known as the Foundation for Church-Led Restitution) and so will not discuss it here, apart from a brief introduction.⁸⁹ I take up the story with regards to its involvement in Worcester in 2010. I will then briefly give other examples of processes whose aims are healing and reconciliation.

2.4.1 The Institute for Healing of Memories

The Institute for Healing of Memories was set up in 1998 by Michael Lapsley, in order to provide a space for reconciliation and healing. The Institute now runs workshops worldwide, one of which the people of the WHRP have attended. The Institute 'seeks to contribute to the healing journey of individuals, communities and nations.' It 'believes all people: are spiritual beings and of infinite worth; share responsibility for the past and therefore are responsible for dealing with it and are capable of being both victim and victimizer; should face history and face themselves.'⁹⁰ Michael Lapsley, previously exiled from South Africa during apartheid, and then badly injured in a letter bomb, writes

I don't know who posted it [the letter bomb], who gave the orders. So in a sense I have not yet forgiven anybody, because there's nobody yet to forgive. But perhaps, when I return to Cape Town, the doorbell will go, and someone will be there who says, 'I am the one who sent you the letter bomb. Please will you forgive me?' I would have a prior question: 'Do you still make letter bombs?' He says, 'No actually, I work at the local hospital.' My response would be to say, 'Yes of course I forgive you and I would prefer that you spend the next fifty years working at that hospital rather than be locked up in prison.'....Of course, you cannot return my hands, you cannot return the eye I lost, you cannot fix my eardrums, but you could assist me for the rest of my life with someone to help me, as a consequence of what happened to me.' That would not be a condition of forgiveness; it would be a form of reparation and restitution, in the ways that are possible.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Sarah Hills, 'The theology and pastoral praxis of forgiveness, restitution and reconciliation arising out of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in South Africa, with particular regard to local reconciliation initiatives in SA', unpublished MA thesis, (University of Leeds: 2007).

⁹⁰ Michael Lapsley, 'Vision', Institute for Healing of Memories, (2007)
<http://www.healingofmemories.co.za/introduction/ihom_vision.htm> [accessed 3 August 2007].

⁹¹ Michael Lapsley, 'TEAM: Towards Effective Anglican Mission, an International conference on Prophetic Witness, Social Development and HIV and AIDS', Institute of Healing of Memories, (2007)
<<http://www.healingofmemories.co.za/articles/TEAM%20address%20boksburg2007.htm>> [accessed 30 April 2007].

2.4.2 Restitution Foundation

The Foundation for Church-Led Restitution, or the Restitution Foundation, as it is now called, was set up in 2003.

A common denominator in the discussions was the biblical basis of church-led restitution and the importance thereof for the healing of the divide between the poor/black church and the rich/white church.⁹²

One of the founder members sold his farms as an act of restitution, so that the Foundation was self-funding. He said at the time

Restitution is a heart issue and not just a matter of giving things away-it is more than doing good deeds and it is definitely more than just a land issue. Restitution is done with repentance and humility, and with an awareness of the wrong previously done to other people; it is the beginning of the process of correcting the wrongs. For all involved it is an attitude of forgiveness for (and a willingness to forgive) every insult and reminder of injustice and one that seeks to make amends for any past wrongdoing in tangible ways.⁹³

Their original model comprised restitution discussion groups, although the current work of the Foundation draws on these initial ideas, the Restitution Foundation has now moved forward in its models of community restitution. It has developed four programmes:

1. Restitution theory
2. Community-led Restitution
3. Restitution Financing
4. Restitution Mobilisation

The Worcester Hope and Reconciliation Process is part of one such programme, in the Community-led category. A recent national dialogue online has been established, in which practitioners, academics, theologians and business people are asked to comment on their views of restitution. Some quotes from this are indicative.

Restitution in South Africa has many facets which could make valuable contributions to the building of the society for which we long to see. From the perspective of our Constitution, restitution upholds the cherished values of freedom, equality and human dignity.⁹⁴

⁹² Deon Snyman, 'Letter from the COO', Restitution Foundation, (2007) <<http://www.restitution.org.za>> [accessed 8 August 2007].

⁹³ Martindale, 'Your land is my land'.

⁹⁴ Archbishop Thabo Makgoda, quoted on the Restitution Foundation website.

Personal and corporate restitution is an urgent necessity in South Africa. Restitution recognises that to truly set things right, these consequences of Apartheid must be systematically dealt with. Beneficiaries of Apartheid, those who were well educated, whose employment was guaranteed, and whose ownership of land was encouraged must compensate people for the losses in opportunity, investment and self-betterment that may have come their way had they had the means to take advantage of them. This is the only way to a healthy, parasite-free future for all South Africans.⁹⁵

Restitution starts with a painful awareness of what has been broken and of our complicity as white South Africans. Then follows acts of accountability, of giving back something for all the many ways in which we benefitted and remain privileged. We have so much to offer and yet we are so poor in many respects. Restitution is about becoming changed as we participate with those that we never even noticed and thereby assisted in robbing of so much.⁹⁶

Although these and other similar thoughts about restitution appear on the Restitution Foundation's website, it is important to realise that these are unusual and 'enlightened'. The reality is that restitution is not widely discussed, let alone practised, and my hope is that, through this research, restitution may be illuminated, and lives improved.

Other aspects of the Restitution Foundation's work include a 'Restitution Toolkit', for use in church or community discussion groups, as a teaching and discussion aid; as well as aims to involve the commercial sector in making restitution a part of day to day business.⁹⁷ The major work of the Restitution Foundation is currently the Worcester process, facilitated through the work of Dr Deon Snyman, the Chief Operating Officer.

2.4.3 Other Models

Other models which work towards reconciliation and healing in South Africa include those that promote research and the practice of reconciliation, or work in the areas of victim support, advocacy and human rights. I give several brief examples, in order to contextualise the Worcester process.

⁹⁵ Sharlene Swartz, Sociologist and Chair of the Board of the Restitution Foundation, quoted on their website.

⁹⁶ Elize Morkel, a psychologist, quoted on the Restitution Foundation website.

⁹⁷ Restitution Foundation website.

2.4.3.1 Khulumani

Khulumani is a victim support group, set up in 1995. Khulumani means 'speaking out' in isiZulu, and this in essence is what informs their work; lobbying and advocacy for outstanding TRC issues, such as prosecution of those who did not apply for amnesty; capacity building; and telling stories of success. They aim to achieve these aims by working with schools and arts programmes; moves for community reparations; healing and memorialisation programmes, and so on. For example, Khulumani was involved in the peace train, which I discuss later.⁹⁸

2.4.3.2 The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation

The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR), was set up in 1989. It describes itself as a multi-disciplinary institute, which is involved in research, policy formation, community interventions, service delivery, education and training. It uses its expertise in building reconciliation, democracy and a human rights culture and in preventing violence in South Africa and in other countries in Africa.⁹⁹

2.4.3.3 The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation

The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation was launched in 2000. It states that 'the aim was to ensure that lessons learnt from South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy were taken into account as the nation moved ahead. Today, the Institute helps to build fair, democratic and inclusive societies in Africa through carefully selected engagements and interventions.'¹⁰⁰ The IJR gives an annual reconciliation award, which in 2012 was won by Olga from Worcester, whose story I narrated in chapter one.

⁹⁸ Khulumani Support Group <<http://www.khulumani.net>> [accessed 4 July 2014].

⁹⁹ Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) <<http://www.csvr.org.za/>> [accessed 3 July 2014].

¹⁰⁰ Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) <<http://www.ijr.org.za>> [accessed 4 July 2014].

2.4.3.4 The Black Sash Trust

The Black Sash was formed during apartheid by a group of white women who demonstrated by standing silently, wearing black sashes for mourning, outside parliament or court buildings. Their protests from positions of white privilege raised awareness of what was happening under the apartheid government, and several of them were detained. Denise Ackermann writes

They put their bodies on the line. They spent hours and hours and hours in advice offices in cramped, hot little places, going about the work that had to be done. Their praxis communicated to me that they cared about human rights and the inherent worth of people. This suggested an underlying anthropology that values people's dignity, people's rights and freedom. This, it seemed to me, is what the Christian faith should be about. We can have the finest theologies in the world, the most rigorous systematic belief systems and dogmas, from here to the Vatican and back. But they mean nothing if they remain in the realm of theological theory and do not translate into the practices of people of faith.¹⁰¹

On being released from prison, Nelson Mandela referred to the Black Sash as 'the conscience of white South Africa.'¹⁰² Membership grew and widened, and they continue to run advice offices, working in the areas of advocacy for justice and monitoring of human rights.

2.4.3.5 Local and Other Processes

There are numerous local and community reconciliation initiatives. For example, the community in Paarl, near Worcester, have set up a reconciliation process.¹⁰³ It is important also to record that there are many governmental departments and initiatives, NGOs and internationally funded programmes involved in reconciliation work in South Africa. Other organisations have particular briefs, for example, organisations working with survivor of domestic violence, HIV/AIDS and so on. These are crucial, and have strong overlaps with the more general reconciliation initiatives. It is

¹⁰¹ Bastienne Klein, 'On Becoming and Being a Woman Theologian in South Africa: In Conversation with Denise Ackermann' 118 March (2004), pp. 40-52
<<http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/ricsa/projects/sochist/read-volume-3-chapter-3.html>> [accessed 4 July 2014], p. 45.

¹⁰² In Margie Orford, ed., *Black Sash: Making Human Rights Real, The Golden Jubilee Report 1955-2005*, (Cape Town: Formset, 2005), p. 7.

¹⁰³ Information from meetings and personal conversations with Deon Snyman and others in Worcester, during fieldwork, 2012.

important to note that many of these societal problems are directly related to the legacy of apartheid, or have their roots in the structural and individual oppression apartheid caused, such as the rise in domestic violence against women and children, and the increasing gang and drug problems.

However, as I have suggested, the Worcester Hope and Reconciliation Process, supported by the Restitution Foundation, is unusual, if not unique, in South Africa, in having restitution as a core consideration.

2.5 Fieldwork Site: Worcester

In Worcester the wind is always blowing, thin and cold in the winter, hot and dry in summer. After an hour outdoors there is a fine red dust in one's hair, in one's ears, on one's tongue.¹⁰⁴

Worcester is a town of about 90,000 people in the Western Cape. It is a beautiful town planned in the 1820s, with white gabled houses, wide tree lined streets, and an impressive white Dutch Reformed Church overlooking the central green, now called Freedom Square. High mountains surround the river valley, and wine and fruit growing are the major industries. Moving out of the centre of town, the coloured areas become poorer and dustier, and the black township, named Zwelethemba ('place of hope') is situated five kilometres further out.

2.5.1 Apartheid and Afterwards: Worcester's Involvement

During the apartheid regime, Worcester was known as a hotbed of anti-apartheid struggle. There was one road in and out of the black township, so that the security forces could best control the area. Rallies and protest actions were met with the force of police *sjamboks* (whips), water cannon and bullets. 'Necklacing' (the placing of a burning tyre round the neck of an informer) was practiced. Many activists from Worcester were detained and tortured in police custody and prison. The ANC Women's League locally was very strong, and supported those families affected.

Many of the current members of the Worcester Hope and Reconciliation Process were actively involved in these ways, on both 'sides'. Houses in the black

¹⁰⁴ J.M. Coetzee, *Boyhood: Scenes from Provincial Life*, (London: Vintage Books, 1998), p. 103.

township were raided by white neighbours in the police force. Trauma and its effects live on in the lives of many.¹⁰⁵

Although occurring after the end of apartheid, it was against this background that the 1996 bombing of the Shoprite supermarket took place, a sign of the continuing violence in the town. The bomb was set off by the white supremacist movement, the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* (AWB)¹⁰⁶, killing four, and injuring sixty-nine black and coloured people, on Christmas Eve afternoon. The four perpetrators of the bombing said they wanted to kill as many black people as possible, as an act of rejection of the new government.¹⁰⁷

Worcester today, twenty years after the first elections, remains a place of inequality. The South African Census of 2011 shows that 8,341 households live in shacks.¹⁰⁸ Less than 0.5% of these are white people. As in the IJR Barometer Survey, there are huge discrepancies in earnings across the races. Gang culture is rife, especially in the coloured areas. The violence and drug culture associated with these gangs is significant. The policy of forced removals during apartheid ensured that people were placed into overcrowded housing, with those they felt 'different' from. Communicable diseases such as TB, and since the 1990s, HIV/AIDS, combined with high rates of alcohol problems, drug use and unemployment ensure the continuation of poverty and misery for many. Lack of resources and poor service provision maintain low education standards. The associated low self-worth, loss of dignity and agency to make a better future is a huge problem in these areas.¹⁰⁹

The TRC held one of its hearings in Worcester in 1996. Significantly, only three white people attended. There are seven Dutch Reformed Churches in Worcester, and more than 80% of Worcesterians are regular church goers across the denominations.¹¹⁰

Violence in the area is not far below the surface. During the period I was in Worcester, there were two major protests, and violence erupted. Farm workers were

¹⁰⁵ From personal conversations, and in Snyman, 'Achieving Sustainable Peace in Worcester', p. 10.

¹⁰⁶ The AWB came into prominence under Eugene Terreblanche in the 1970's. It aimed to create a Boer State, and continues to be active in promoting white supremacy in South Africa.

<<http://www.sahistory.org.za/organisations/afrikaner-weerstandsbeweging-awb>> [accessed 1 July 2014].

¹⁰⁷ Alexandra Fuller, 'Mandela's Children', *National Geographic Magazine*, 217, 6 (2010), pp. 80-109.

¹⁰⁸ *Statistics South Africa*, South African National Census of 2011

<<http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P03014/P030142011.pdf>> [accessed 9 July 2014].

¹⁰⁹ Personal conversations in South Africa, 2012.

¹¹⁰ Snyman, 'Achieving Sustainable Peace in Worcester', p. 44.

protesting about their wages of R69 per day (about £5).¹¹¹ The N1, the 'motorway', was blocked, vehicles highjacked, vineyards burnt, shops looted. One protester died after being shot by the police with a rubber bullet and many more were subjected to water cannon and stun grenades. Reaction was split. Many white people felt that the farmers were doing their best, and in fact barely making any profit. Many black and coloured people likened events to the apartheid era. The issues of unemployment, land distribution and racism added to the volatile mix.¹¹² In the middle of all this, the Worcester Hope and Reconciliation Process exists. I turn now to this 'beacon of hope'.

2.5.2 Worcester Hope and Reconciliation Process (WHRP)

The WHRP was formed in 2010, after the visit by Olga to Stefaans, one of the perpetrators of the 1996 bombing, in Pretoria Prison. I have described this visit in chapter one. On her return to Worcester, with the help of the Restitution Foundation, the WHRP was born: a result of witness to hope via action. Twenty community leaders were identified and asked to meet together: church leaders, the Mayor, business leaders, farmers, anti-apartheid activists. After a year of meeting, and discussing their aims of reconciliation, restitution and peace, they launched the WHRP. One of the members of the WHRP said

If it was possible for Olga and Stefaans to make peace with each other it must be possible for all Worcester residents to make peace with each other.¹¹³

The WHRP aims to be a 'beacon' or catalyst for the rest of South Africa. It is made up of about one hundred and fifty members, representing the black, coloured and white communities, across the range of socioeconomic and education brackets. Most of its members are active members of Christian church denominations, and some of other faiths. The WHRP holds events, workshops, pilgrimages to Robben Island, and hosts meals in each others homes across the racial divide, in order to promote community reconciliation, and as acts of restitution. Restitution is high on the agenda, although

¹¹¹ M. Mackay, 'Worcester residents march for service delivery', (2012) <<http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012/05/30/worcester-residents-march-forservice-delivery>> [accessed 5 February 2013].

¹¹² Snyman, 'Achieving Sustainable Peace in Worcester', p. 8.

¹¹³ Quote from one of members of WHRP, in Deon Snyman, Restitution Foundation Report 2012, Restitution Foundation, (2012) <<http://www.restitution.org.za>> [accessed 5 July 2014].

they have found it complex and hard to address. To date, the WHRP has been facilitated by Deon Snyman of the Restitution Foundation, and supported by its Board.

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided a contextual discussion of the question of restitution within the reconciliation process in South Africa, and started to place the theological and interdisciplinary questions of restitution in the light of apartheid history and beyond. I have concurred with Tutu and others, that restitution should be placed much higher up the nation's agenda in order for transformation and reconciliation to be possible. I began this chapter with an outline summary of the history of South Africa from the apartheid era onwards, and then through the beginnings of the new democracy, to post-apartheid South Africa today. I looked at the churches involvement in apartheid, the struggle of the anti-apartheid movement, and their role afterwards. I turned then to discuss the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, looking critically at what it has achieved. I gave some examples of the need for economic redress, and explore ideas such as the wealth tax. I then look at what has and is being achieved through various reconciliation initiatives, such as the Institute for the Healing of Memories, Khulumani, the Black Sash and others, which have sprung up alongside and since the work of the TRC. The work of the Restitution Foundation is explored in some detail. Finally, I turn to Worcester, the fieldwork site, and look first at its involvement in the struggle, and what has occurred since then, in terms of socioeconomic and other markers, such as gang violence, and drug abuse. I then describe the Worcester Hope and Reconciliation Process within these, as one-if not the only-example of a reconciliation process with restitution at its heart, and discuss how it is placed within its local context of Worcester.

Could restitution as embodied reconciliation be a helpful theological way of understanding and conceptualising these issues? The IJR, for example, does not focus on theology as one of the interrelated disciplines (nor should it, given its remit) surrounding reconciliation and socioeconomic justice. However, I argue that conceptualising these issues from a theological worldview allows a greater consonance between these issues, which a non-theological view seems to struggle

with, as has been shown here. Engaging with the community in Worcester from a theological stance then is the next step in this journey.

I now turn in chapters three and four to place this South African context in a wider discussion of the theoretical and theological fields of reconciliation and restitution which will enable this new research to be placed and analysed within the past research.

3. Reconciliation: Meanings and Components-‘Mapping the Journey’

3.1 Introduction

There is a movement, not easily discernible, at the heart of things to reverse the awful centrifugal force of alienation, brokenness, division, hostility and disharmony. God has set in motion a centripetal process, a moving toward the Centre, towards unity, harmony, goodness, peace and justice; one that removes barriers. Jesus says, 'And when I am lifted up from the earth I shall draw everyone to myself', as he hangs from His cross with outflung arms, thrown out to clasp all, everyone and everything, in cosmic embrace, so that all, everyone, everything, belongs. None is an outsider, all are insiders, all belong. There are no aliens; all belong in one family, God's family, and the human family.¹¹⁴

Desmond Tutu articulates the hope of reconciliation for all. This is clearly a Christian hope, and places reconciliation firmly in the theological arena. Forgiveness is at the heart of Tutu's theology of reconciliation, and indeed the Christian gospel. However, forgiveness is not a straightforward subject, and views on it and its place within the reconciliation journey differ widely, even from within the Christian perspective.

Charles Villa-Vicencio offers one such different perspective. He sets out a series of ‘benchmarks’ against which to test political reconciliation (note that this is political rather than individual reconciliation, and while some of these apply to both, not all do). He argues that reconciliation does not necessarily involve forgiveness, although it may come later. Reconciliation interrupts an established pattern of events. It is a process, and is about talking. It requires time and space for mourning, anger and hurt, as well as healing. It entails understanding. It involves an acknowledgment of truth. It is about memory, and about pursuing justice. It includes reparations, and lastly, it is about survival.¹¹⁵

Where, then, if at all, does forgiveness fit in the reconciliation paradigm?

Hannah Arendt writes of Jesus being the 'discoverer' of forgiveness¹¹⁶, and whether or

¹¹⁴ Desmond Tutu, *No Future Without Forgiveness*, (New York: Doubleday, 1999), p. 213.

¹¹⁵ Villa-Vicencio and Doxtader, eds., *Pieces of the Puzzle: Keywords on Reconciliation and Transitional Justice*, p. 6.

¹¹⁶ Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition: A Study of the Central Conditions Facing Modern Man*, (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1959), p. 212-213.

not that is the case¹¹⁷, there is no doubting the role forgiveness can play in reconciling relationships, in both the secular and the sacred. And while forgiveness is one of the key concepts to consider, justice, repentance, truth, peace, remembering, not to mention restitution, are just some of the others. What then does reconciliation mean, and what are its component parts? This chapter discusses these questions with specific regard to the research question of restitution and its place within reconciliation.

In this chapter and the next I discuss the field as it relates to the South African context described in Chapter 2. As past and more current research on the field of reconciliation and all its components is large, and as there are many directions this investigation of the concepts could be taken, I have necessarily had to narrow my work to look at those areas of this research that impact most on my area of interest. There is scope therefore to only make reference to some of the other areas of the field, and to acknowledge that other comparative work needs to be undertaken in further research. Also, of course, there is much research on other areas of the world apart from South Africa where reconciliation is needed post-conflict. I have drawn on this research through this and the following chapter where appropriate, and where it illuminates my interest in restitution in South Africa. Likewise, other issues, which may have overlaps with the post-apartheid context, are necessarily only briefly examined, such as colonialism or slavery. There are many other problematic areas that could have been discussed, in terms of reconciliation and its components, such as forgiveness, apology, truth and so on, such as inter religious conflict, sexual abuse, post-World War II Germany, the state of first nation peoples in Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, and there is much work on all of these.

I have therefore had to be selective in presenting my discussion in these two chapters on reconciliation and restitution, and have necessarily chosen to signpost to some areas which although are relevant to my research, do not add as much to the questions under consideration in the South African post-apartheid context as those which I have looked at in greater detail.

The literature on this field is huge, and has been growing rapidly over the last ten or more years.¹¹⁸ Setting current theory and practice of reconciliation in context,

¹¹⁷ Anthony Bash, 'Did Jesus Discover Forgiveness?', *Journal of Religious Ethics*, 41, 3 (2013), 382-399 < DOI: 10.1111/jore.12020 > [accessed 4 July 2014].

¹¹⁸ There is substantial literature in this field. Authors behind the subject include those noted in chapter one, as well as those writing more specifically from and about the South African context, such as Lyn

Robert Schreiter addresses the important question of why there is such an upsurge in interest in peace making and reconciliation today. He posits some answers. The rise in terrorism globally and the fact that there are more 'not looked after' young people (child soldiers, street children, victims of trafficking, young people orphaned or made homeless through conflict) are possible reasons for the recent drive towards finding peaceful solutions. The consequences of globalisation; migration of peoples; and the coupling of violence and religion (e.g. 9/11), likewise, have all led to increasing need for reconciliation on the world stage.¹¹⁹

The question of restitution, and specifically its role and meaning within reconciliation, seems to have been little regarded in this field. Much more attention has been paid to other elements in the reconciliation paradigm. As I have outlined in chapters one and two, my previous work in South Africa suggested there are various reasons why this may be, despite recommendations involving restitution from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and more recently, calls for its inclusion in the South African legislature.¹²⁰ In attempting to address these issues, this chapter probes the current understandings of reconciliation. The specific questions I am asking, i.e. 'How adequate are the current understandings of restitution in relation to the reconciliation journey?' and 'What would a theology of restitution based on a broader understanding look like?' lead me to the first, and overarching path through the field, in this chapter. This is a discussion of reconciliation and its possible components, in order to best understand restitution itself.

These processes and concepts are of course not confined to post-apartheid South Africa, but are written about and practiced in many contexts worldwide. There is not scope in this thesis to examine the specific literature from within these other

S. Graybill, *Truth & Reconciliation in South Africa: Miracle Or Model?*, (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002); Charles Villa-Vicencio, *Walk with Us and Listen: Political Reconciliation in Africa*, (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 2009); Wilhelm Verwoerd, *Equity, Mercy, Forgiveness: Interpreting Amnesty within the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, (Leuven: Peeters, 2007); Piet Meiring, 'Can swords really be hammered into plowshares?: Lessons from the South African experience', Text of lecture given in South Africa for the Global Mission Network, 21 September 2006.

¹¹⁹ Robert Schreiter, 'The Theology of Reconciliation and Peacemaking for Mission', in *Mission Violence and Reconciliation*, ed. By Howard Mellor and Timothy Yates, (Calver, Nr Sheffield: Cliff College Publishing, 2004), pp. 11-28 (p.14).

¹²⁰ E. Arrison, V. Weitz, and D.W. Snyman, '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 2012.

contexts, such as Northern Ireland, Bosnia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).¹²¹ However, much comparative work has been done, especially with regard to Truth and Reconciliation Commissions and their functioning.¹²²

While I concentrate on the theological concepts, this is a multi-disciplinary field, especially in practice. It is appropriate therefore to place theology alongside fields such as politics, sociology, psychology, transitional justice, conflict resolution, peacekeeping. For example, there is a huge literature surrounding forgiveness from a psychological viewpoint.¹²³ Likewise, restitution itself has been most commonly situated within the justice field.¹²⁴

Reconciliation and restitution are not clear cut processes, and their exploration both theoretically and practically bears this out. For these reasons, then, I present in this and the next chapter, a discussion of the state of the research field as an overview of the recent work, in order to site my research within this area of work. This is a huge

¹²¹ There has been much recent and comparative work from areas of conflict, including Wendy R. Lambourne, 'Justice and Reconciliation: Post-Conflict Peacebuilding in Cambodia and Rwanda', (unpublished PhD. thesis, University of Sydney, 2002); Marwan Darweish, and Carol Rank, eds., *Peacebuilding and Reconciliation: Contemporary Themes and Challenges*, (London: Pluto Press, 2012); David Tombs, and Joseph Liechty, eds., *Explorations in Reconciliation: New Directions in Theology*, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2006); Nigel Biggar, ed., *Burying The Past, Making Peace And Doing Justice After Civil Conflict*. (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2001); Raymond G. Helmick, S.J., and Rodney L. Petersen, eds., *Forgiveness and Reconciliation*, (Pennsylvania: Templeton Foundation Press, 2001). Work from and on Northern Ireland: Graham Spencer, ed., *Forgiving and Remembering in Northern Ireland: Approaches to Conflict Resolution*, (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011); Brandon Hamber, *Transforming Societies after Political Violence*, (New York: Springer, 2009).

¹²² Priscilla B. Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths: Facing the Challenge of Truth Commissions*, (New York: Routledge, 2002); Martha Minow, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998); Lambourne, 'Justice and Reconciliation: Post-Conflict Peacebuilding in Cambodia and Rwanda'.

¹²³ Mary Ann Coate, *Sin, Guilt and Forgiveness, The Hidden Dimensions of a Pastoral Process*, (London: SPCK, 1994); S. Lamb, and J.G. Murphy, eds., *Before Forgiving, Cautionary Views of Forgiveness in Psychotherapy*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Fraser Watts and Liz Gulliford, eds., *Forgiveness in Context, Theology and Psychology in Creative Dialogue*, (London: T&T Clark, 2004); Worthington, Jr., ed., *Dimensions of Forgiveness, Psychological Research & Theological Perspective*; Marilyn McCord Adams, 'Forgiveness: A Christian Model', *Faith and Philosophy*, 8, 3 (1991), pp. 277-304; M. Cavell, 'Freedom and Forgiveness', *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 84 (2003), pp. 515-531; D. Kaminer, and others, 'The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa: relation to psychiatric status and forgiveness among survivors of human rights abuses', *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 178 (2001), pp. 373-377; Ann Macaskill, 'The Treatment of Forgiveness in Counselling and Therapy', *Counselling Psychology Review*, 20 (2005), pp. 26-33; Ann Macaskill, 'Defining Forgiveness: Christian Clergy and General Population Perspectives', *Journal of Personality*, 73,5 (2005), pp. 1237-65.

¹²⁴ For instance, Barkan's seminal work, *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustice*.

and conflicting field, and it is crucial then that in order to provide some clarity in which to place this new research, a broad view of what has already been found and its interpretation is given. Within this, strands of my specific arguments regarding restitution and its place in the post-apartheid reconciliation situation in South Africa colour the discussion, and where appropriate, I compare and contrast the arguments regarding this context with other areas of the world or other situations which require reconciliation. For example, when discussing restitution, I turn first to a wider and legal interpretation of the concepts, before looking more closely at restitution in post-conflict situations.

What follows then is a consciously broad overview of the state of the research in these areas, with a particular and comparative focus on what is happening in the South African context, in order to make some sense of an already rather imprecise and 'messy' arena, with multiple and far reaching potential examples of the need for and role of reconciliation. The historical and current personal, psychological, relationship, marital, domestic, communal, societal, national and international contexts provide a rich seam of research, theory and praxis, which I draw on as appropriate to this new research.

3.2 The Messiness of Reconciliation: Definitions?

As I have already intimated, this is a confused and messy field. Concepts such as restitution and reparation; even reconciliation and restoration are sometimes used interchangeably. Joseph Liechty notes that forgiveness as a term can be used in ways which are at best confusing, if not even contradictory, within the same piece of text.¹²⁵

Unsurprisingly then, with regard to reconciliation itself, there is a multitude of definitions. Within the South African context, Charles Villa-Vicencio argues that reconciliation cannot be defined in a neat set of rules. It is more than theory. It involves grace. It is an art rather than a science.¹²⁶ Piet Meiring contends however that reconciliation needs a clear definition, although he notes that this does not mean that reconciliation can be 'organised'. He writes, 'Microwave oven reconciliation does not

¹²⁵ Joseph Liechty, 'Putting Forgiveness in its Place: The Dynamics of Reconciliation', in Tombs and Liechty, eds., *Explorations in Reconciliation: New Directions in Theology*, pp. 59-68.

¹²⁶ Charles Villa-Vicencio, 'The Art of Reconciliation', *Publications for Peace Education, Life and Peace Institute*, (2002), p. 4.

last!' meaning that reconciliation is not straightforward, nor should it be taken for granted. He does not however provide a definition as such, arguing rather for the necessity of inclusion of truth, justice, confession, forgiveness, and firm commitment.¹²⁷ Wendy Lambourne, in her research on post-conflict peace-building in other areas of Africa, provides a list of at least twelve definitions of reconciliation, in order to 'illuminate the many and varied aspects of reconciliation'.¹²⁸

Rather than attempting to provide a single definition of what seems to be a variable phenomenon, over time and place and dependent on the people involved, I argue that reconciliation itself as process must in fact constantly change and adapt to the myriad of influences working on it. This speaks to the 'counterfactual', the surprising, nature of an embodied process, which, at best, should be lived and experienced before theorising takes place, hence the suitability of a qualitative approach. Theory of course is necessary and indeed vital to enable better understanding and change in the lived experience, but with the caveat that it cannot eclipse the experience and insights of those on the ground.

Reconciliation, then, as we have begun to see, has a multitude of meanings, component parts and order. It can be seen as primarily between God and humanity; or interpersonal, social, national, international, ecological. Or more than one of those at the same time. It can be seen as process, or goal, or both. For instance, John Paul Lederach uses Psalm 85 as a model for reconciliation, drawing out truth, justice, mercy and peace, as necessary and transformative processes leading towards reconciliation, which is at once, journey, encounter and place.¹²⁹

Reconciliation can be described as radical, political, theological, and social. It may come at the beginning of a process which includes forgiveness, or at the end of a process which focuses on justice. Or it can be an overarching paradigm which includes repentance, confession, truth telling, and reparations. It can be called unjust, cheap, disempowering, or just too hard. Social cohesion may be thought to be good

¹²⁷ Piet Meiring, 'Forward, with Joy and Confidence: Some Thoughts on the Prerequisites for Reconciliation in South Africa', *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 134, July (2009), pp. 102-130.

¹²⁸ Lambourne, 'Justice and Reconciliation: Post-Conflict Peacebuilding in Cambodia and Rwanda', pp. 201-203.

¹²⁹ John-Paul Lederach, *The Journey Toward Reconciliation*, (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1999), p. 13.

enough. It sometimes includes apology. It may lead to healing or transformation. Reconciliation can be any of these, it seems.¹³⁰

However, at the heart of reconciliation are relationships-connections or re-connections: between humanity and God; between me and you; us and them. Robert Schreiter captures what I take as the core theological meaning of reconciliation.

To enter into a process of reconciliation is better described as entering *mysterion*, a pathway in which God leads us out of suffering and alienation into the experience of the grace of reconciliation. This grace is transforming, and creates the conditions of possibility not only for forgiving our enemies, but also helping them to rediscover their humanity.¹³¹

Reconciliation, then, is about transforming relationships, about re-connecting.

Reconciliation, however, clearly does not just 'happen', even though soteriologically grace is foremost in the enabling of these transformative relationships. So what are the other processes or components necessary for these re-connections? I delineate several core components which make up the reconciliation journey, which I reference within the thesis: acknowledgement; remembering; truth; lament; understanding of the effect on the other (and self); repentance; transformation; restitution; justice; forgiveness.

Some of these concepts may not be in every reconciliation journey, and will certainly have a different emphasis. They may appear in a different order, and they may overlap. Some will take a considerable time, others may not. Moreover, it is important to realise that reconciliation is not a linear process, but rather one that can be conceptualised as a spiral. But this list does at least give us somewhere to start to consider what might be happening. *Of course, these may be very different in the South African context from the context of for example, domestic abuse in the UK, or the reconciliation of first nation peoples in Australia. Given this, in* what follows, some of these concepts will necessarily be discussed more fully than others. For instance, forgiveness and justice as core (and much debated) concepts within the reconciliation paradigm are examined in some detail in this chapter, while restitution clearly remains the main focus of enquiry. In exploring restitution and its role within

¹³⁰ Roundtable discussion at the University of the Western Cape, 2012, Cape Town, resulting in a book edited by Ernst M. Conradie, *Reconciliation: A Guiding Vision for South Africa?*, (Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 2013).

¹³¹ Robert J., Schreiter, *Reconciliation: Mission and Ministry in a Changing Social Order*, (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1992), p. 58.

reconciliation, I discuss these components in order to understand and differentiate the role and meaning of restitution, both here and in chapter three.

Since there is a comprehensive literature surrounding these concepts, I signpost to other work where it is not possible or relevant to discuss them in detail. While I draw mainly on those writing from within the theological arena, some authors and practitioners are more overtly writing from within or for the political or public arena. This of course, raises an interesting point about the place of theology in the public or political square, and how, or indeed, if, it can best speak into that space.¹³² Geraldine Smyth and Stephen Graham note that theology not only 'provides believers with an internal narrative', but also importantly must be able to speak to all.

There is an intrinsic theological necessity for keeping such terms as 'forgiveness' and 'reconciliation' anchored between the religious and the secular spheres. This derives from the nature of biblical revelation itself, regarding the interrelationship between God, humanity and the world.¹³³

Furthermore, they argue that the interplay between God's saving purpose and human sin, where forgiveness and reconciliation are placed, has a long biblical heritage, in both Old and New Testaments. They quote examples of fidelity and treachery (Cain and Abel); the co-existence of goodness and betrayal (Hagar, King David); and the world as both the arena of grace (John 3:16)¹³⁴ and grace rejected (John 1:11).¹³⁵

If we truly recognise the world as God's creation, we cannot designate it as beyond the realm of grace. The world of politics and public life falls within God's reconciling purpose.¹³⁶

Agreeing with Smyth and Graham, I additionally argue that to regard the theological and political worlds of reconciliation as separate, given the multiplicity of meanings of reconciliation, and attempts to define it, only adds to the general melee. However, placing reconciliation within strict protocols is as harmful. It has to be contextual and

¹³² I discuss this in Chapter eight. For an overview of the place of political theology, see Peter Scott, and William T. Cavanaugh, eds., *The Blackwell Companion to Political Theology*, (Blackwell Publishing, 2003) Blackwell Reference Online, <http://www.blackwellreference.com/public/book.html?id=g9780631223429_9780631223429> [accessed 5 July 2014].

¹³³ Geraldine Smyth and Stephen Graham, 'Forgiveness, Reconciliation and Justice', *Embodying Forgiveness Project, Centre for Contemporary Christianity in Ireland (CCCI) 2003, 1-12* <http://www.contemporarychristianity.net/resources/pdfs/Forgiveness_Paper_09.pdfref> [accessed 5 July 2014].

¹³⁴ All biblical references are from the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV).

¹³⁵ Smyth and Graham, 'Forgiveness, Reconciliation and Justice'.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

embodied. The process, or journey, of reconciliation, to have the best chance at being meaningful or even transformative, must be allowed to be open to the surprising, to imagination, above all, to grace. I return to these ideas later.

3.3 Dancing at the Crossroads¹³⁷: The Process of Reconciliation

So what does the process of reconciliation actually look like amidst all this? Denise Ackermann writes

The very word 'reconciliation' is contested, if not abused, in South Africa. Many, if not most whites, long for reconciliation and a peaceful future yet, given our recent history, we barely dare to utter the word 'reconciliation'. Have we listened before we speak? On whose behalf are we talking about reconciliation?'¹³⁸

John de Gruchy echoes this, but adds that bearing in mind the potential power imbalances between one and 'the other', and the dangers inherent in speaking on 'their' behalf, we dare not keep silent 'in a world torn apart by hatred, alienation and violence. We dare not remain silent whether as citizens or as Christians.'¹³⁹ Liechty and Clegg argue that a true understanding of reconciliation has to be 'built on the interlocking dynamics of forgiveness, repentance, truth and justice, understood in part as religiously-rooted virtues, but also as basic dynamics (even when unnamed or unrecognised) of human interaction, including public life and therefore politics'. Reconciliation is thus 'both the theological remainder of politics, the leap that comes when realism confronts total conflict...and the political remainder of theology, a form of action that endows hope with content.'¹⁴⁰

John de Gruchy writes that the process of reconciliation is 'a human and social process that requires theological explanation, and a theological concept seeking human and social embodiment.'¹⁴¹

Duncan Forrester, in examining the role of politics and theology in reconciliation, sees them as necessary partners in terms of politics being both a safe

¹³⁷ A phrase ascribed to Eamonn De Valera, Taoiseach of Ireland, 1959-1973.

¹³⁸ Denise M. Ackermann, 'Reconciliation as Embodied Change: A South African Perspective', *CTSA Proceedings*, 59 (2004), 50-67, p. 52.

¹³⁹ De Gruchy, *Reconciliation: Restoring Justice*, p. 17.

¹⁴⁰ Joseph Liechty and Cecelia Clegg, *Moving Beyond Sectarianism: Religion, Conflict and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland*, (Dublin: Columba Press, 2001), p. 17.

¹⁴¹ De Gruchy, *Reconciliation: Restoring Justice*, p. 20.

guarding space for, and an agent, of reconciliation, within a frame of acknowledging that societal injustice and evil must be tackled only in a serious and timely fashion, and that the politics of hope have much to recommend them in this battle for reconciliation.¹⁴²

Reconciliation then, I would argue, following Liechty and Clegg and de Gruchy, is a process which must be theological and human, social and political. It is a process that entails both understanding and action, or theory and praxis. How do these inform each other? John de Gruchy sees four interrelated ways of looking at the process of reconciliation. The first is theological, and refers to reconciliation between God and humanity, which then allows for 'a shared life and language'.¹⁴³ The second is interpersonal reconciliation, or the relationships between individuals. The third is social, such as between communities or local groups. The fourth is political, for example the Southern African case post-apartheid. He writes

Reconciliation is, if you like, a journey from the past into the future, a journey from estrangement to communion, or from what was patently unjust in search of a future that is just.¹⁴⁴

A theology of reconciliation which is about bringing a just future into communion with others lends itself to my view of reconciliation as being necessarily relational, and a process, rather than a static event.

In order to explore this further, I turn now to Miroslav Volf's work on reconciliation's social meaning, which brings these two concepts into focus. Although reconciliation is firstly vertical (between humanity and God), it must, in praxis, socially and politically, also relate to the need for connection, for relationship, between people. Volf argues that in fact, these-the vertical and horizontal dimensions-have often been separated unhelpfully by the Church. On the one hand, a pietistic view of reconciliation has been propounded-that 'the soul' reconciles with God, and following that, individuals; this ignores the wider social milieu, and links to the issue of in what sense political reconciliation is more than the sum of individual reconciliations. On the other hand, 'the pursuit of freedom and the struggle for justice'

¹⁴² Duncan Forrester, 'Politics and Reconciliation', in *Reconciliation in Religion and Society*, ed. by Michael Hurley SJ, (Antrim: Institute of Irish Studies, 1994), pp. 111-122, (p. 121). Jurgen Moltmann argues that those who live in hope 'can no longer put up with reality as it is, but begin to suffer under it, to contradict it'. This leads to creative action to change society for the better. Jurgen Moltmann, *Theology of Hope*, translated by James W. Leitch (London: SCM Press, 1967), p. 21.

¹⁴³ De Gruchy, *Reconciliation: Restoring Justice*, p. 26.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

receives priority, and liberation must take place before reconciliation can occur.¹⁴⁵

There are problems with this approach, which Volf outlines as divorcing social engagement from the core of Christian belief in the cross which 'reveals the character of the Triune God'; and secondly, leads to oversimplified designation of victim versus perpetrator (rather than a more nuanced view) of most conflict situations, which allows both 'sides' to use Christianity to legitimate their search for justice.

Volf argues that this is not to diminish the role of justice within reconciliation, but rather, 'to understand the struggle for justice as a dimension of the pursuit of reconciliation whose ultimate goal is a community of love.'¹⁴⁶ He posits two main, and important, tenets in order to do this. Firstly, he argues that justice must be subordinate to grace, in the social meaning of a theology of reconciliation. Volf argues this through an exploration of Paul's theology of reconciliation, in the key passage 2 Corinthians 5:17-21.

So if anyone is in Christ, there is a new creation: everything old has passed away; see, everything has become new! All this is from God, who reconciled us to himself through Christ, and has given us the ministry of reconciliation; that is, in Christ God was reconciling the world to himself, not counting their trespasses against them, and entrusting the message of reconciliation to us. So we are ambassadors for Christ, since God is making his appeal through us; we entreat you on behalf of Christ, be reconciled to God. For our sake he made him to be sin who knew no sin, so that in him we might become the righteousness of God.

Volf pursues Seyoon Kim's thesis that Paul's use of reconciliation here was borne out of his experience on the road to Damascus.¹⁴⁷ Firstly, Kim argues that Paul's view is that it is human beings who need to be reconciled to God, not the other way round. This occurs through God's grace, not through works, or repentance.¹⁴⁸ Volf agrees with Kim that it was precisely through God's reconciling love, his grace, that Paul was made a 'new creation', and his sins forgiven. Volf writes

In conversion, Paul encountered God who was not wrathful, as God should have been, but who instead showed love by offering to reconcile Paul, the

¹⁴⁵ Miroslav Volf, 'The Social Meaning of Reconciliation', *Interpretation: A Journal of Bible and Theology*, 54, 2 April (2000), 158-172 <<http://int.sagepub.com/content/54/2/158.abstract>> [accessed 4 July 2014].

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Seyoon Kim, 'God Reconciled His Enemy to Himself: The Origin of Paul's Concept of Reconciliation', in *The Road From Damascus. The Impact of Paul's Conversion on His Life, Thought, and Ministry*, ed. by R. N. Longenecker, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), pp. 102-124.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p.103. Also, see Martin, *Reconciliation: A Study of Paul's Theology* for a broader discussion of Paul's reconciliation theology

enemy, to himself. Paul's conversion was not the result of the pursuit of strict justice on the part of the "victim." Had the "victim" pursued strict justice, Paul never would have become the apostle of the very church he was persecuting.¹⁴⁹

This is not to say that justice did not play a part-this reconciliation was not 'cheap'.¹⁵⁰ Paul's acts of persecution were named, and he was asked to account for them. But this accounting, crucially, was not the reason divine reconciliation was given.

Robert Schreiter also privileges the importance of this 'new creation'. He delineates the process of reconciliation, also based on Paul's writings, as follows: reconciliation first and foremost is the work of God; God's reconciling work begins with the victim; God makes of both the victim and the wrongdoer 'a new creation'; the Christian places suffering inside the story of the suffering and death of Christ; and full reconciliation will happen only when God will be all in all.¹⁵¹ This further speaks to Volf's idea of Trinitarian embrace, which I explore later.

Volf's second thesis regarding the theology of a social meaning of reconciliation is that 'though reconciliation of human beings to God has priority, reconciliation between human beings is intrinsic to their reconciliation with God'.¹⁵² He argues that it was in Paul's understanding of his persecution of others as Saul, that he was persecuting Christ himself. 'I am Jesus, whom you are persecuting' (Acts 9:4-5). In consequence, reconciliation must be both vertical and horizontal. Volf writes

It contains a turn away from the enmity toward people, not just from enmity to God, and it contains a movement toward a community, precisely that community which was the target of enmity. Just as the persecutor was received by God in Christ, so the persecutor was received by the community which he had persecuted. And he in turn sought to give a gift to the community that received him: he became a builder of the very community that he sought to destroy.¹⁵³

Both of these arguments, i.e. the necessity of both divine grace, and then human relationships for reconciliation, and the link back to God, are core to my understanding of reconciliation, both theologically and in the social setting, in a

¹⁴⁹ Volf, 'The Social Meaning of Reconciliation'.

¹⁵⁰ Referring to Bonhoeffer's concept of 'cheap grace'. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship*, (London: SCM Press, 2001), pp. 45-49.

¹⁵¹ Schreiter, 'The Theology of Reconciliation and Peacemaking for Mission', in *Mission Violence and Reconciliation*, ed. by Mellor and Yates, pp. 11-28, (p.18).

¹⁵² Volf, 'The Social Meaning of Reconciliation', p. 4.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

community, in praxis. I will return to them in more detail in the discussion on restitution itself.

The notion of 'vertical' and 'horizontal' reconciliation is one which is widespread in thinking about reconciliation, as I have started to address through Volf's work.¹⁵⁴ De Gruchy traces the development of the modern reconstruction of the doctrine of reconciliation.¹⁵⁵ He cites Albrecht Ritschl's attempts to recast the doctrine in terms of moral values, and the necessity to try to emulate God's character.¹⁵⁶ Karl Barth, drawing on Pauline theology, develops the doctrine further (among other Protestant theologians).¹⁵⁷ While this is not the place for an extended discussion of Barth's work, his vision of God's divine reconciliation as encompassing all of creation within God's redeeming work does provide an important insight into current approaches.¹⁵⁸ Barth argued that God, through Christ, renewed his covenant with humanity, and in so doing, reconciled all things to himself. Furthermore, Barth connected his vertical doctrine of reconciliation to an ethical framework, writing that on the basis of accomplished reconciliation citizens are called to serve their neighbour, and live for others on the basis of mutual forgiveness.¹⁵⁹

This is an important move when regarding the praxis of reconciliation and restitution, and one that Dietrich Bonhoeffer strongly supported. Following de Gruchy's work on Bonhoeffer, and his linking with the South African context, I find much resonance in Bonhoeffer's work on reconciliation.¹⁶⁰ He emphasised 'self-renouncing, active work for the neighbour; intercessory prayer; and finally the mutual forgiveness of sins in the name of God'.¹⁶¹ For Bonhoeffer, the *imago Dei* exists purely as a relational concept. God creates two people in relation to each other- He doesn't just create one. 'Freedom...is simply something that...happens to me through

¹⁵⁴ Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion & Embrace: A Theological Exploration of Identity, Otherness, and Reconciliation*, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996)

¹⁵⁵ De Gruchy, *Reconciliation: Restoring Justice*, pp. 67-76.

¹⁵⁶ Albrecht Ritschl, *The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation*, trans. H.R. Mackintosh and A.B. Macaulay, second edn., (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1902)

¹⁵⁷ Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics: The Doctrine of Reconciliation*, vol. IV,1, edited by T.F. Torrance, trans by G.W. Bromiley (Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark, 1961)

¹⁵⁸ Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics: The Doctrine of Reconciliation*, vol.IV,1 (Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark, 1961).

¹⁵⁹ Ibid

¹⁶⁰ John W. de Gruchy, *Bonhoeffer and South Africa: Theology in Dialogue*, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1984).

¹⁶¹ Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Sanctorum Communio: A Theological Study of the Sociology of the Church*, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer works*, vol. 1, English edition, ed. by Clifford J. Green, trans. by Reinhard Krauss and Nancy Lukens, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009), p. 130.

the other'.¹⁶² Again, this relationality speaks to reconciliation between people and peoples, who are always going to have differences, but who can legitimately make ethical claims on each other, and 'in the image of God' as relational and incarnational above all, can expect to have them met in a concrete fashion.¹⁶³ For Bonhoeffer, forgiveness and justice are inextricably linked, in the kingdom of God and in the world.

It is important however that this reconciliation is not 'cheap' as in Bonhoeffer's concept of cheap grace, but that it should take place in the context of a parallel search for justice. According to Bonhoeffer, the key is discipleship, which means: 'obedience and faith, works and grace are harmonised in responding to the Lord whose claim upon us is both a total demand and the concrete fullness of grace'.¹⁶⁴ Grace is not an alternative to, or a substitute for, discipleship: we need to be disciples as well as to receive grace. This is why it is costly. Cheap grace endangers salvation; it is a shortcut which does not work. Likewise, there is no shortcut to reconciliation. Restitution too involves costly grace-we cannot get to reconciliation without it.

Dietrich Bonhoeffer's formal theology did not advocate violence; rather, he proposed a system of community discipleship based on the peaceful attributes of prayer, self-renouncing work for the neighbour, and forgiveness of sins.¹⁶⁵ However, Bonhoeffer's theology led him to choose a course of practical action which he felt he had no choice but to undertake i.e. a plan to kill Hitler. However, I do not see this as an abandonment of his peaceful theology, rather a necessary violent action when peaceful means had failed. Nelson Mandela, similarly, did not advocate violence in the struggle against apartheid initially, but only when it seemed that other means to end apartheid had and would continue to fail. Of course, these are contextually driven value judgements, and demonstrate our imperfect humanity, and the need to take cognisance of dissonance in our attempts to live the gospel. Bonhoeffer writes of his dilemma in *Ethics*, fully accepting his guilt in this decision and asking for God's grace

¹⁶² Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Creation and Fall: A Theological Exposition of Genesis 1-3*, Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works, vol. III, trans. Douglas Bax (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), pp. 62-3.

¹⁶³ Ibid

¹⁶⁴ Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship*, (London: SCM Press, 2001)

¹⁶⁵ Dietrich Bonhoeffer *Sanctorum Communio: A Theological Study of the Sociology of the Church*, Dietrich Bonhoeffer works, Vol. 1, English edition, ed. by Clifford J. Green, trans. by Reinhard Krauss and Nancy Lukens, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009), p. 178.

Those who in acting responsibly take on guilt - which is inescapable for any responsible person – place this guilt on themselves, not on someone else; they stand up for it and take responsibility for it. They do so not out of a sacrilegious and reckless belief in their own power, but in the knowledge of being forced into this freedom and of their dependence on grace in its exercise.¹⁶⁶

3.4 Reconciliation and its Components

Turning now to a consideration of some of the core components of the reconciliation process, it becomes clear that justice, forgiveness, acknowledgement, truth, repentance, apology, guilt, vengeance, lament and restitution form a substantial list, and by no means an exhaustive one. Furthermore, many of these components are inextricably linked, and there is not universal agreement about the inclusion of each of them in the reconciliation paradigm, as we have already seen. I begin with repentance, following Joseph Liechty's conceptualisation of the two 'complementary dynamics' of repenting and forgiving, which he argues form the heart of reconciliation.¹⁶⁷

3.4.1 Repentance and Reconciliation

Joseph Liechty writes that

at its most basic, reconciling involves the complementary dynamics of repenting and forgiving, the first a way of dealing with having done wrong, the second with having suffered wrong.¹⁶⁸

While I do not agree that this somewhat stark statement always applies (for instance, see Villa-Vicencio's political reconciliation benchmarks¹⁶⁹) Liechty proceeds to delineate further which components are included under these two broad headings. He proposes that five stages emerge under the heading of repentance, from work with groups in Northern Ireland: 'acknowledging a wrong done, accepting responsibility,

¹⁶⁶ Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Ethics*, Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works, vol. 6, English edition, ed. by Clifford J. Green, trans. By Reinhard Krauss, Charles C. West, and Douglas W. Stott, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009), p. 282

¹⁶⁷ Joseph Liechty, 'Putting Forgiveness in its Place: The Dynamics of Reconciliation', in *Explorations in Reconciliation: New Directions in Theology*, edited by Tombs and Liechty, p. 6.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 60.

¹⁶⁹ Charles Villa-Vicencio, 'Reconciliation', in *Pieces of the Puzzle*, ed. by Villa-Vicencio and Doxtader, pp. 3-9, (pp. 5-8)

expressing remorse, changing attitudes and behaviour, and making restitution'.¹⁷⁰ Interestingly, he notes that restitution is 'the capstone, too rarely applied', and that 'restitution is also the element most likely to persuade the party wronged that repentance has been genuine.'¹⁷¹ While I agree that restitution can best fit under the heading of repentance in some circumstances (in terms of changing attitudes and behaviour), this understanding is more akin to the current narrow meaning of it than my thesis of a broader vision for restitution. I come on to further discussion of this, but Liechty makes a further point, with which I wholeheartedly agree, that restitution is too rarely applied. This is borne out in the South African context also. As my argument progresses however, I return to his choice of words, and ask whether in fact restitution should or can be 'applied'?

Liechty moves to think about apology, another component of reconciliation, linking it with his phrase 'expressing remorse'. He makes the point that apology, as verbal regret, may function as 'symbolic restitution' where literal restitution is not possible. I discuss this later, and am in agreement with his further statement that apology can be a first step in the move towards the 'other', in making an internal process public. Interestingly, there has been much recent political and academic debate about the necessity or will to make apology.¹⁷²

3.4.2 Forgiveness and Reconciliation

Within the journey of reconciliation, forgiveness is probably the most contested and yet one of the central tenets. It is not surprising that there may be different definitions depending on perspective.¹⁷³ Forgiveness is to do with all of us: there are times when we need to be forgiven, and times when we are asked to forgive. But forgiving and forgiveness are not straightforward, and are not easy to do. There are many questions

¹⁷⁰ Joseph Liechty, 'Putting Forgiveness in its Place: The Dynamics of Reconciliation', in *Explorations in Reconciliation: New Directions in Theology*, ed. by Tombs and Liechty, pp. 60-68, (p. 60)

¹⁷¹ Ibid., p. 61.

¹⁷² Tombs and Liechty, eds., *Explorations in Reconciliation*, Liechty, p. 61; also see Jeremy M. Bergen, 'Church apologies and the politics of reconciliation', *Vision*, Spring (2007), 80-87

<[http://www.mennovision.org/Vol%208%20No%201/Bergen_](http://www.mennovision.org/Vol%208%20No%201/Bergen_Church-apologies-and-the-politics-of-reconciliation.pdf)

[Church-apologies-and-the-politics-of-reconciliation.pdf](http://www.mennovision.org/Vol%208%20No%201/Bergen_Church-apologies-and-the-politics-of-reconciliation.pdf)> [accessed 2 July 2014]; Deon Snyman, 'Achieving Sustainable Peace in Worcester', (unpublished MPhil Dissertation University of Cape Town, Faculty of the Humanities, 2013).

¹⁷³ See Bash, *Just Forgiveness*, for discussion of this.

that forgiveness raises. Sometimes it seems that we are told we *must* forgive-I have heard people say, 'It is your duty as a Christian to forgive the person who hurt you'. Sometimes it is even hard to accept that we ourselves are forgiven by God. And are personal and political forgiveness the same? I start this discussion of forgiveness with a brief summary, in order to clarify.

So what is forgiveness? It may be helpful in answering this question to look at forgiveness from two perspectives: what forgiveness is, and what it is not. Forgiveness is letting go: the word often used in the New Testament for forgiveness is *apheimi*, meaning 'letting go'. Letting go of vengeance, of hatred, of resentment, can help us to be free. It is a gift: the other word in the New Testament used is *charizomai*, meaning grace or gift. Forgiveness means giving of ourselves, in grace-filled and generous ways. Crucially, the victim of wrongdoing has the choice to offer this gift of forgiveness, and the perpetrator does not have the right to expect it. Forgiveness is costly: this giving of forgiveness can be hard, and can take a long time. It originates firstly from God: we are forgiven through Jesus' death on the cross. The Lord's Prayer asks us to forgive others, as we have been forgiven by God. We are helped to become more forgiving of others if we first believe we are forgiven by God. Like reconciliation, it is often a journey: becoming more forgiving takes time and energy. It is not usually a 'one off' moment. It is about recognising that we are all human together: today I am the victim, tomorrow I might be the perpetrator. We are connected through our being human together, and our need for restored relationships. Forgiveness is healing: both being forgiven, and forgiving, help us to become more whole.¹⁷⁴

Forgiveness is not forgetting: we must re-member the past hurts, in order to move forwards in our journey of forgiveness. Forgiving does not mean having to forget; rather, it takes very seriously the wrongs done and seeks to address them. It is not in opposition to justice: forgiveness and justice are inextricably linked and together lead towards the possibility of restoration rather than vengeance. Forgiveness is not always a response to repentance: it is possible to forgive a perpetrator without their repentance. However, while this can help the victim to heal, it will not restore relationships or lead to reconciliation. Finally, forgiveness is not the same as

¹⁷⁴ I am here summarising discussions for the sake of clarity in what is a complex field. Authors include Bash, *Just Forgiveness*; Jones, *Embodying Forgiveness*; Worthington, ed., *Dimensions of Forgiveness*; Cherry, *Healing Agony*.

reconciliation: other factors are necessary in the reconciliation journey. For instance, in political reconciliation, peace and socioeconomic justice may play a larger role, while between individuals, forgiveness may be more crucial.¹⁷⁵

Looking in more detail, Joseph Liechty defines two main strands: forgiveness as 'letting-go'; and forgiveness as 'love given before'.¹⁷⁶ These are important delineations. He argues that forgiveness as 'letting-go' stems from the New Testament Greek word, *aphiemi*. However, he makes the important point that in more than half the occasions it is used in the New Testament, 'to let go', or variations on letting go, are the words used, rather than 'forgive'.¹⁷⁷ What he suggests by this, is that this 'letting go' pertains to three key ideas in forgiveness i.e. it is a letting go of

Vengeance, punishment of the wrongdoer in exact proportion to the wrong done, and in so far as possible, those feelings, especially hatred, that will damage, immediately or eventually the wronged party.¹⁷⁸

What must not be let go of, on the other hand, is justice. Forgiving is the means of 'dealing with a justice claim', albeit radically different from the usual notions of justice.¹⁷⁹

Liechty's second strand, that of forgiveness as 'love given before', refers to the offering of oneself, the extension of goodwill, to the other. He cites the story of the prodigal son as an example. I would argue further, that conceptualising forgiveness in this way links justice and love, and can enable transformation.¹⁸⁰

Anthony Bash provides a very clear 'reappraisal' of forgiveness in a close examination of the Hebrew and New Testament scriptures. He writes

Our starting point is that if we want to practise forgiveness as a moral virtue in its biblical framework, forgiving the unrepentant is neither expected nor enjoined. Forgiveness did not taken place outside confession, repentance and restitution.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁵ See Villa-Vicencio and Doxtader, *Pieces of the Puzzle*, for further discussion of political forgiveness. Also Rebecca Saunders, 'Questionable Associations: The Role of Forgiveness in Transitional Justice', *The International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 5 (2011), pp. 119-141 <<http://itij.oxfordjournals.org/>> [accessed on 16 January 2012].

¹⁷⁶ Tombs and Liechty, *Explorations in Reconciliation*, p. 61.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

¹⁸¹ Anthony Bash, 'Forgiveness: A Reappraisal', *Studies in Christian Ethics*, 24, 133 (2011), <DOI: 10.1177/0953946810397439> [accessed 12 January 2014], p. 138.

He posits five features making up a 'forgiveness quintet', which all need to be in place for forgiveness to be a 'source of joy and healing'. These are: a response to wrongdoing; repentance; acts that are morally wrong; restored relationships; and justice.¹⁸² For Anthony Bash, then, justice is a core feature of forgiveness. He also delineates carefully between divine and human-to-human forgiveness, arguing that human forgiveness is always derivative from divine forgiveness.¹⁸³

Schreiter argues that in forgiveness, 'the victim seeks the redemption of the perpetrator. It recognises the human dignity of the perpetrator, however deeply twisted and flawed.'¹⁸⁴ This has echoes of *ubuntu*, which I discuss later. Nigel Biggar, however, refers to both 'forgiveness as compassion', and 'forgiveness as absolution'. In the former, the 'inner, psychological work of forgiveness is unilateral and unconditional'; while in the latter, 'some of the work of forgiveness is relational, however, and this should be reciprocal and conditional, refusing to open the door to reconciliation before repentance is forthcoming.'¹⁸⁵ While I concur that 'forgiveness as compassion' can lead to some intrapersonal healing and peace, I do not agree that 'forgiveness as absolution' is necessary for reconciliation to be able to at least begin. Forgiveness may, in fact, result from the relational and grace-filled act of reconciliation and particularly restitution, rather than the other way round.

Rodney Petersen writes that forgiveness, from a Christian theological perspective, flows from the underlying tenet of the primary forgiveness and therefore acceptance of humanity by God, through Christ, and thereafter the forgiveness we can show to others leads to the 'renewal of holiness, or the integrity of the person in all his or her relationships.'¹⁸⁶ This holiness or wholeness occurs through mediation by Jesus, and 'gives efficacy to the triad of justification, forgiveness and reconciliation.'¹⁸⁷

John Milbank suggests that forgiveness 'is poised vertiginously between obliteration and a recollection that amounts to a restoration.'¹⁸⁸ He goes on to

¹⁸² Bash, *Just Forgiveness*, p. 30.

¹⁸³ Bash, *Just Forgiveness*, p. 143.

¹⁸⁴ Robert Schreiter, 'Reconciliation and Peacemaking: The Theology of Peacemaking for Mission' in *Mission Violence and Reconciliation*, ed. by Mellor and Yates, pp. 11-22, (p. 22).

¹⁸⁵ Nigel Biggar, 'Melting the Icepacks of Enmity: Forgiveness and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland', *Studies in Christian Ethics*, 24,199 (2011) <DOI: 10.1177/0953946810397444> [accessed 12 January 2014].

¹⁸⁶ Rodney L. Petersen, 'A Theology of Forgiveness', in *Forgiveness and Reconciliation*, ed. by Helmick and Petersen, pp. 3-25, (p. 14).

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁸⁸ John Milbank, *Being Reconciled: Ontology and Pardon*, (London: Routledge, 2003), p.44.

delineate a philosophical and historical account of forgiveness. Forgiveness in its earliest pre-Christian form was seen to be a 'letting go', or ignoring (from the Latin *ignoscere*), and the 'God of mercy in the Old Testament is said to hide human faults behind his back.'¹⁸⁹ Later, and in vernacular tongues he describes a 'hyperbolic giving' (e.g. *pardonner*), and proceeds to a detailed look at the meaning of forgiveness through the lens of forgiveness as 'positive' or 'negative gift'¹⁹⁰, summarising that 'the Western legacy of forgiveness presents it as a positive mixed constitution'.¹⁹¹ He opposes Kierkegaard's view of forgiveness as 'decreation', rather seeing it as a continuation of the outpouring of Creation, with the 'donological remaining ontological'. Milbank extends his argument of forgiveness as gift in the public realm as the overcoming of evil, depending on both the divine and human exchange of offering and gift. This view of forgiveness as gift, and being dependant on both divine and human exchange of offering, speaks closely to my view of restitution as entailing more than just a paying back, i.e. that it must be a shared offering, which then allows Milbank's forgiveness as gift to be visible and embodied. This is a departure from the usually accepted view of restitution, and as such, led me to explore these ideas further in praxis in the fieldwork. Moving on from what might be deemed a static view of forgiveness, either as gift or as a letting go, L Gregory Jones writes

Forgiveness is not so much a word spoken, an action performed, or a feeling felt as it is an embodied way of life in an ever-deepening relationship with the Triune God and with others. As such, a Christian account of forgiveness ought not simply or even primarily to be focussed on the absolution of guilt; rather, it ought to be focussed on the reconciliation of brokenness, the restoration of community-with God, with one another, and with the whole creation.¹⁹²

He focuses here on restoration of community as the outcome of forgiveness, in 'an ever deepening relationship'. Forgiveness is not a one-off event; relationships take time to heal. Secondly, forgiveness is part of a larger whole, such as the community or creation. For Jones, embodiment is a central concern in thinking about forgiveness, and as such, forgiveness is something which can be practiced, or learnt.

¹⁸⁹ John Milbank, *Being Reconciled: Ontology and Pardon*, (London: Routledge, 2003), p.44.

¹⁹⁰ Milbank, *Being Reconciled.*, p. 50.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., p. 49.

¹⁹² Gregory Jones, *Embodying Forgiveness, A Theological Interpretation*, p. xii.

Forgiveness must be embodied in specific habits and practices of Christian life paradigmatically as we become part of Christ's body the Church.¹⁹³

Robert Vosloo argues in support of Jones that it is in learning this 'craft' of forgiveness that habits, practices, friendships, exemplars become our guides to 'living in communion with the Triune God'.¹⁹⁴ While these concepts of embodiment, relationality, and a non-static view of forgiveness, are core to my understanding of forgiveness, I wonder whether in fact what is being referred to here is more than forgiveness, i.e. is reconciliation itself. Forgiveness is one aspect of the reconciliation process, and these concepts of embodiment, fellowship, journey, living in relation through the model of the Trinity may better be applied to the process of reconciliation as a whole.

John Swinton explores forgiveness in terms of 'the problem of evil'. He addresses the question of 'therapeutic forgiveness', which has seen a recent rise in both practice and research in the psychological and health fields. While this is not the place for an extended discussion of this, it is important to note that in post-conflict situations where reconciliation processes are underway, and healing of trauma is necessary, this 'therapeutic approach' can eclipse a theological epistemology of the place of forgiveness. Swinton writes

When forgiveness becomes therapeutic, it turns into a personal task and achievement (or failure) rather than a way of living life in community.¹⁹⁵

Forgiveness, then, must be theological. Swinton acknowledges that forgiveness is not easy, and must be viewed theologically, through the cross and resurrection, for it not to appear 'ridiculous even'.¹⁹⁶ Jurgen Moltmann's question and Miroslav Volf's answer, 'Can you embrace a *Cetnik*?' 'No, I cannot-but as a follower of Christ I think I

¹⁹³ Gregory Jones, *Embodying Forgiveness, A Theological Interpretation*, p. xii.

¹⁹⁴ Robert Vosloo, 'Reconciliation as the Embodiment of Memory and Hope', *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 109 (2009), pp.25-40, p. 29.

¹⁹⁵ John Swinton, *Raging With Compassion: Pastoral Responses to the Problem of Evil*, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 2007), p. 161. He notes that forgiveness can be therapeutic, but that is not its primary function. See also psychological papers on the role of forgiveness, apology and restitution in healing: Elosie K. Thomas, and Geoffrey W. Sutton, 'Religious Leadership Failure: Forgiveness, Apology, and Restitution', *Journal of Spirituality in Mental Health*, 10, 4 (2008) <DOI: 10.1080/19349630802417851> [accessed 12 January 2014]; Robert D. Carlisle, and others, 'Do actions speak louder than words? Differential effects of apology and restitution on behavioral and self-report measures of forgiveness', *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, 7, 4 (2012), pp. 294-305 <DOI: 10.1080/17439760.2012.690444> [accessed 1 July 2014].

¹⁹⁶ Swinton, *Raging With Compassion: Pastoral Responses to the Problem of Evil*, p. 167.

should be able to.¹⁹⁷ more than bears this out. In order to practice forgiveness theologically, Swinton argues for the importance of friendship, for pastoral practices which help in the necessary expression of anger, and lament (for instance, the imprecatory psalms). He argues that there can be no forgiveness without repentance. He writes

Repentance means being exposed for what we truly are and, in recognising what we are, receiving new life. Above all else, repentance requires an acceptance of God's forgiveness and a consequent living out of that gift.¹⁹⁸

Swinton relates this to Gregory Jones's view of 'God's judgement of grace' in order that we may be healed and forgiven.¹⁹⁹ Forgiveness, for Swinton, is a process, rather than a one off event, and as such, enables the possibility of moving towards living as forgiven and forgiving people. I concur with this view of forgiveness, but add that similarly, repentance may entail a journey, a process, rather than occurring as a single event. The repentance/forgiveness dyad may not be linear, or sequential. In terms of a reconciliation process, it is the restoring of relationship and the growing awareness of what being in relationship means that may in fact, lead to an awareness of the necessity for repentance, forgiveness and restitution. This is important in the complexity of human lives, and the interplay between divine gift and human need of forgiveness.

Engaging with forgiveness in the South African post-apartheid situation brings many of these issues into play. Significantly in this context, the Xhosa translation of forgiveness and reconciliation is in fact the same (*uxolelwano*): there is no conceptual difference between them.²⁰⁰ This clearly has an effect on consideration of the process of reconciliation in the South African context. An argument that some black South Africans culturally felt an imperative to forgive has been made: that the TRC was seen as the 'Truth and Forgiveness' Commission.

¹⁹⁷ Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace*, p.9.

¹⁹⁸ Swinton, *Raging With Compassion*, p. 166.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 167. And see L. Gregory Jones, 'The Judgement of Grace: Forgiveness in Christian Life', *Theology Matters* 3, no.4, (July/August 1997), pp. 7-16 See also L. Philip Barnes's paper on righteousness and peace in NI for discussion of forgiveness, repentance and politics, which further underlines this point. L. Philip Barnes, 'Reconciling Enemies: Righteousness and Peace in Northern Ireland', *Studies in Christian Ethics*, 24, 2 (2011), pp. 183-198
<<http://sce.sagepub.com/content/24/2/183>> [accessed 12 January 2014].

²⁰⁰ Stephen Cherry, 'Forgiveness and Reconciliation in South Africa', in *Forgiveness in Context: Theology and Psychology in Creative Dialogue*, ed. by Watts and Gulliford, pp. 160-177, (p. 164).

Martha Minow addresses these issues in her seminal work *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness*, writing of the post-atrocity concern for both justice and truth; and importantly, another dialectic, that of vengeance and forgiveness. All of these, she argues, have a place in responding to such tragedies, concluding

Between vengeance and forgiveness lies the path of recollection and affirmation and the path of facing who we are, and what we would become.²⁰¹

Minow points up the complexities of these concepts, and their part in the reconciliation journey.²⁰²

De Gruchy approaches the subject of vengeance theologically, and refers to acts of vengeance as 'the sounds of fury', which reflect a 'legitimate concern for justice, and thus affirm the biblical understanding of God as the one to whom vengeance ultimately belongs (Deut.32.35; Rom. 12.19 et al)'.²⁰³ He writes of the 'paradox' of the single-minded pursuit of justice which can lead to destructive vengeance, and also of the problem of pursuing reconciliation without justice which can perpetuate evil.²⁰⁴

3.4.3 Justice and Reconciliation

Moving then to consider the issue of justice, another core concern in the reconciliation process, I begin the discussion in this section, and look at it in more detail in the next chapter with specific regard to restitution. Justice and forgiveness are not, as is sometimes thought, in opposition to each other. Forgiveness acknowledges that an injustice has been done, and seeks to challenge it. Justice may be retributive or restorative. It is harder to find forgiveness operating in a retributive justice system, and there is indeed an argument, with which I agree, to say that it is not appropriate that it should. Some see forgiveness as a personal, private response to wrongdoing, while a legal system of punishment or retributive justice does not attempt to restore relations or induce reconciliation. Smyth and Graham note that biblically 'the theme of restoration provides a broader interpretive framework than that of retribution.'²⁰⁵ They go on to posit that the Old Testament pattern was a move towards living

²⁰¹ Minow, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness*, p.147.

²⁰² For further discussion of these issues, see Minow, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness*.

²⁰³ De Gruchy, *Reconciliation: Restoring Justice*, p.169.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Smyth and Graham, 'Forgiveness, Reconciliation and Justice', p. 10.

together in *shalom*, under God's covenant, and that to attain this, social justice was paramount. When a criminal offence was committed, relationships under the covenant were broken, *shalom* disturbed, and thus needed restoring. Clearly, this is not to say that punishment (exile, even death) was not practiced, but that the overarching aim of Israelite law was to restore community, whether through punishment, reparation, or restitution, in order to restore life together as God's covenanted people.²⁰⁶ They write

There are frequent images of divine punishment-against Israel, against individual Israelites or against external oppressors. However, these too are not merely retributive. The justice of God is related to the liberation of those who are suffering or to do with purifying and refining those who have gone astray....The goal of judgment is salvation of the poor, weak and righteous...Yahweh's punishment is a part of restoration-a process--not the be all and end all of divine justice (see Amos 9:11ff, Ezekiel 20, 36:24-28 and Deuteronomy 30:1-4).²⁰⁷

Turning to the New Testament, it is perhaps easier to see the restorative theme. Paul's unconditional offer of forgiveness for persecution, the prodigal son's return, and many other examples show a focus on promoting restoration into community, healing and wholeness.²⁰⁸ De Gruchy focuses particularly on restorative justice, as being the closest form of justice to the Christian tradition of restoration, i.e. about relationships and their healing. He follows Duncan Forrester's view that love and justice belong together. Forrester writes

For love gives the clue to the inner nature of justice; and justice without love becomes distorted into something diabolic and tyrannical.²⁰⁹

This issue of justice versus reconciliation is borne out in the *Kairos* Document which was published in South Africa during apartheid in 1985.²¹⁰ The *Kairos* Document is critical of a 'too easy', Church-led theology of reconciliation.²¹¹

Some further points on restorative justice are worth emphasising here, before I turn to it more fully in the section on restitution. De Gruchy writes 'redistribution of

²⁰⁶ Smyth and Graham, 'Forgiveness, Reconciliation and Justice', p. 11.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ De Gruchy, *Reconciliation: Restoring Justice*.

²⁰⁹ Duncan Forrester, *Christian Justice and Public Policy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 218.

²¹⁰ *The Kairos Document*, Johannesburg: Institute for Contextual Theology, 1986. The theologians who authored the *Kairos* Document called for direct action by Christians in the struggle against apartheid, believing that justice and an end to apartheid were necessary precursors before the goal of reconciliation could be reached.

²¹¹ Ibid.

land and wealth is crucial'.²¹² He is partially referring here to land restitution, which is an ongoing and critical concern in South Africa today.²¹³ He further argues that justice is a necessary precursor of reconciliation, and looks to the idea of covenant in biblical terms. McCarthy writes that reconciliation is a New Testament term, while words such as *shalom*, renewal of the covenant and atonement are used to express a similar concept in the Old Testament.²¹⁴ This links with Smyth and Graham's work discussed earlier, and with de Gruchy's work on the linking of covenant and reconciliation.²¹⁵ De Gruchy adds, 'the redistribution of wealth is never easy or without pain but it is vital, and those who were privileged in the past need to accept this responsibility as a liberating and healing opportunity.'²¹⁶ Volf, on the other hand, and I agree here with him, argues strongly that grace must have precedence over law.²¹⁷

L. Philip Barnes, extending these arguments in the public sphere, argues that political forgiveness is an inappropriate tool for Christian engagement with the reconciliation process, writes that justice/righteousness is the primary personal and social virtue for a Christian response in the public realm. In addition, he writes

Christian justice goes beyond secular notions of fairness; embraces what is now referred to as social justice; is essentially relational rather than abstract; promotes the well-being of the community; and is a vindication of the right, which also means a vindication of the good.²¹⁸

He also makes the point that this righteousness/justice is eschatological, and that 'Christians are required to practice righteousness and work for righteousness in the world, even if their practice and their efforts will always fall short of perfect realisation.'²¹⁹ 'Righteousness/justice' rather than unconditional forgiveness in the political sphere, then, points towards restorative justice as a means of reconciliation.

²¹² De Gruchy, *Reconciliation: Restoring Justice*, p. 206.

²¹³ For instance, the Commission on Land Restitution has been set up to address the inequalities of land ownership due to the apartheid policies, i.e. 'The purpose of the restitution programme is to provide equitable redress to victims of racially motivated land dispossession, in line with the provisions of the Restitution of Land Rights Act, 1994 (Act No. 22 of 1994)'.

<<http://www.ruraldevelopment.gov.za/services/commission-on-restitution-of-land-rights>> [accessed 4 January 2014]. See also Ruth Hall, 'The Impact of Land Restitution and Land Reform on Livelihoods', *Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies Research Report*, August (2007) <www.plaas.org.za> [accessed 3 January 2014].

²¹⁴ Hurley, Hurley SJ, ed., *Reconciliation in Religion and Society*, p. 43.

²¹⁵ De Gruchy, *Reconciliation: Restoring Justice*, p.207.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Volf, 'The Social Meaning of Reconciliation'. I discuss this further in chapter four, when considering Tutu's 'wealth tax'.

²¹⁸ Barnes, 'Reconciling Enemies: Righteousness and Peace in Northern Ireland', p. 191.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

While I agree that this form of justice is crucial to a reconciliation process, there is a danger in dispensing with forgiveness altogether in these terms. Likewise, focusing purely on forgiveness as a political or therapeutic 'tool' in such a context is equally problematic. There is however, a fine balance between these two, but one which is worth attempting to engage with, especially in a Christian consideration of reconciliation. Justice and forgiveness are both necessary, and are not mutually exclusive. It may be that restitution is able to inhabit the space between them.²²⁰

3.4.4 Truth and Reconciliation

Turning now to truth, we find that truth is a concept in the reconciliation journey that is much debated, and is too often presupposed, or taken for granted. Banners bearing the TRC's slogan 'Truth, the Road to Reconciliation' were placed at the hearings. Volf writes, 'within social contexts...the embrace itself, full reconciliation, cannot take place until the truth has been said and justice done'.²²¹ He goes on to warn that, 'there is far too much dishonesty in the single-minded search for truth'.²²² Truth emerges in situations, relationships, interactions. For instance, the TRC's final report delineated four types of truth: 'objective, factual or forensic truth; personal or narrative truth; dialogical truth; healing and restorative truth'.²²³

What we then do with such truths leads to other debates. For instance, does truth or truth telling mean that amnesty should be granted? In other areas, acknowledgment of the truth can assist the healing process after trauma.²²⁴ Truth and remembering, or storytelling, have close links. James Cone writes

Indeed, when I understand truth as story, I am more likely to be open to other peoples' truth stories...it is only when we refuse to listen to another story that our own story becomes ideological, that it is a closed system incapable of hearing the truth.²²⁵

²²⁰ I take this argument further in the next chapter, but for a general theological understanding of justice, see Nicholas Wolterstorff, *Justice in Love*, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 2011); Nicholas Sagovsky, *Christian Tradition and the Practice of Justice*, (London: SPCK, 2008); Biggar, *Burying The Past: Making Peace And Doing Justice After Civil Conflict*.

²²¹ Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace*, p. 29.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ See discussion in Alex Boraine, *A Country Unmasked: Inside South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 288-292.

²²⁴ Snyman, 'Achieving Sustainable Peace in Worcester', p. 44; Nancy Nyquist, Potter, ed., *Trauma, Truth and Reconciliation: Healing Damaged Relationships*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

²²⁵ James H. Cone, *God of the Oppressed* (New York: Seabury Press, 1975) pp 103-104.

In the South African post-apartheid context, these are important reminders. Clearly, truth, remembering, and storytelling are pertinent in the reconciliation process, not least in the associated healing process.²²⁶

3.5 Conclusion

Reconciliation and its components, as I have discussed in this chapter, cover a wide ranging set of contexts and issues. The reconciliation journey necessarily encompasses a specific set of circumstances, and historical and situational arenas. Addressing these in the post-apartheid context in South Africa has meant that I have presented here the research as it stands in relation to this context, while acknowledging that there are many other areas and situations that could have been examined. I have addressed in this chapter an overarching view of reconciliation and its components, as they relate to this context. This has been necessary in order to address the role of restitution more specifically in the following chapter, and especially as it relates to South Africa. The research on reconciliation following crime, domestic abuse, slavery and other contexts brings different focus and while it adds emphasis to various of the components, and may not include some of the others, it provides an interesting and worthwhile comparison with the field as it relates specifically to the context under consideration. Interpersonal reconciliation of a relationship following domestic abuse is in a very different context to societal reconciliation following genocide, as is the role of forgiveness following the Holocaust or an IRA bombing.

Prisicella Hayner provides a significant overview, for example, of truth commissions globally.²²⁷ And of course, the post-apartheid context itself is a complex and multifactorial one. Issues of interpersonal reconciliation following violence, of

²²⁶ For a psychological view, see Jeffrey Prager, 'Healing from History: Psychoanalytic Considerations on Traumatic Pasts and Social Repair', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 11, 405 (2008) <DOI: 10.1177/1368431008092570> [accessed 30 June 2014]; H. Russel Botman and Robin M. Petersen, eds., *To Remember and to Heal: Theological and Psychological Reflections on Truth and Reconciliation*, (Cape Town: Human and Rousseau, 1996). Theologically explored by G. Muller-Fahrenholz, *The Art of Forgiveness: Theological Reflections on Healing and Reconciliation*, (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1997). Michael Lapsley provides a personal account in *Redeeming the Past: My Journey from Freedom Fighter to Healer*, (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2012). For a contextual view, see D.J. Smit, 'The Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Tentative Religious and Theological Perspectives', *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 90, March (1995), pp.3-15.

²²⁷ Priscilla B. Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths: Facing the Challenge of Truth Commissions*, (New York: Routledge, 2002).

forgiveness following state atrocity, of the role of apology following forced removal of the need for repentance by the State, are all facets (and of course not the only ones) of the reconciliation field in South Africa. There is much contextual theological writing which has arisen in the South African setting, especially in practical theological terms. For example, Christo Thesnaar's chapter on restorative justice and the healing of communities in post-apartheid South Africa argues that the Christian church has a vital role to play in the 'destructive cycle of being a victim today and a perpetrator tomorrow'.²²⁸

Similarly, there has been burgeoning interest in forgiveness from an interpersonal healing and therapeutic view. Ann Macaskill's paper on forgiveness in counselling and therapy is one such.²²⁹ Rebecca Saunders questions the role of forgiveness in a transitional justice setting, but in theological terms, I do not agree that forgiveness can be left out of the reconciliation journey.²³⁰

These areas are of course pertinent to my thesis, and overall arguments, but do not focus specifically on the role of restitution within reconciliation. I have therefore in this chapter then, and in the next on restitution itself, concentrated on providing a broad discussion of these components of reconciliation, and how they may affect the context I am working in, while also attempting to signpost to other research in which further discussion of these other contexts is given priority. As such, given that this field is so complex, and that my focus is on a very particular context, it is not possible or necessarily helpful to provide direct comparison of these far reaching and sometimes hugely different contexts. Of course, I acknowledge that there is indeed a place for further discussion of these areas, and as I have shown, much work on them has been done. Because reconciliation is so broad, and the situations that need reconciliation are so many and varied, and the disciplines involved are multiple, I have in this chapter provided a more in depth and mainly theological discussion, rather than a multi contextual comparison.

²²⁸ Christo Thesnaar, 'Restorative Justice as a key for healing communities in post-apartheid South Africa', in *Religion and Social Development in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Perspectives for critical engagement*, ed. by Ignatius Swart, and others, (Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 2010), pp.93-106, (p.93).

²²⁹ Ann Macaskill, 'The Treatment of Forgiveness in Counselling and Therapy', *Counselling Psychology Review*, 20 (2005), 26.

²³⁰ Rebecca Saunders, 'Questionable Associations: The Role of Forgiveness in Transitional Justice', *The International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 5 (2011), 119-141 <<http://itij.oxfordjournals.org/>> [accessed on 16 January 2012].

There is, however, clearly much to learn from the different emphases involved in these differing contexts. I have addressed these in these chapters where they add to the discussion. For example, I argue that the Xhosa translation of forgiveness and reconciliation (i.e. it is the same) has lent a particular and possibly unhelpful nuance to the working of the TRC and the expectations of those involved in it. I agree with Knud Jorgensen who describes these many differing contexts as ‘exciting building blocks for hope in a fragile world.’²³¹ He further contends, and again, I concur, that each model of reconciliation is necessarily unique. He and Robert Schreiter have compiled eighteen stories of reconciliation in their book, from many different contexts. He writes

stories about washing dirty feet, about truth-telling, about people burning their guns, about the need for replacing harmony with healthy scepticism, about nation-building and the formation of a national forum for reconciliation, about building communities of reconciliation, and about simply enabling factions and leaders to meet. I have come to realise that there is no one answer to our unique contribution.²³²

The contexts they examine include mediation between ethnic groups in Burundi, interfaith dialogue, reconciliation in Israel-Palestine among others – a very varied set of stories. This is of course not to say that much cannot be learned from these different contexts which may be helpful in others, but that each context needs to be examined in the local theological, sociological, political and cultural milieu in which it sits. Similarly, looking historically at issues such as slavery, colonialism, Nazism; or at interpersonal forgiveness issues such as domestic or sexual abuse as authors such as Nigel Biggar (especially on war and violent conflict), Martha Minow (especially looking at genocide) and L. Gregory Jones (on forgiveness) and others have done²³³, help in providing comparisons and understanding different emphases on the role of forgiveness for example, but need to be understood in their particular and local context. This is what I have tried to show in this chapter – that it is necessary to know and understand what the possible components of any reconciliation journey may

²³¹ Knud Jorgensen, ‘Hope in a Fragile World: The Reconciling Mission of the Church’, in *Mission as Ministry of Reconciliation: Regnum Edinburgh Centenary Series, Volume 16*, ed. by Robert Schreiter and Knud Jorgensen, (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2013), pp. 321-330, (p.323).

²³² Ibid, p. 324.

²³³ Nigel Biggar, ed., *Burying The Past, Making Peace And Doing Justice After Civil Conflict*, (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2001); Martha Minow, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998); Gregory L. Jones, *Embodying Forgiveness, A Theological Interpretation*, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1995).

include, as a ‘baseline’, and then to look further towards understanding and delineating in the local context in the praxis of a reconciliation process such as the one I engage in in Worcester.

I have pointed towards other areas on the world in which reconciliation is needed, and towards other situations requiring personal or psychological forgiveness and reconciliation, and shown where these provide useful overlaps, and gaps in the research which can speak to my particular focus. But as Schreiter and Jorgensen argue, it is also important to understand that there is no one ‘blueprint’ for how reconciliation works in individual praxis. It is in the local praxis that understanding can be best found.

This chapter, then, has set the scene for the research questions, i.e. ‘How adequate are the current understandings of restitution in relation to the reconciliation journey?’ and ‘What would a theology of restitution based on a broader understanding look like?’ I have looked at reconciliation as the overarching concept within which restitution is placed, using a mainly theological lens. I have examined these components of reconciliation as a baseline, or as a setting of the scene, for restitution and where and how it is placed in the reconciliation journey. I looked first at the ‘messiness’ of reconciliation, and the many possible definitions. I concurred with Robert Schreiter that reconciliation is about ‘entering *mysterion*’, and about the transformation of relationship, firstly vertically with God, and then horizontally between humanity. I agreed with John de Gruchy, and Cecelia Clegg and Joseph Liechty, that reconciliation is necessarily a process, and one that has intrapersonal, interpersonal, social and political components. And that it is then human and theological. I follow Miroslav Volf’s view of reconciliation as needing both grace and justice. I look to Dietrich Bonhoeffer and his work on discipleship and costly grace and relate these to the reconciliation journey.

I then examine reconciliation and its components in more detail, namely repentance, forgiveness, justice and truth, shining particular light on the possible South African and contextual theologies that arise from these ‘baseline’ explorations. For example, the Kairos Document is a contextual theological response to the state led theology of apartheid. I refer to James Cone and black theology in the section on truth, and its relation to storytelling and remembering. So this chapter has set some ‘baseline’ components of reconciliation, and explored them in the contextual South African situation post-apartheid, but importantly, as a broader and more general scene

setting for restitution, and where it is placed within this. I now turn in chapter four to a discussion of restitution itself, and what such a 'broader understanding' might look like.

4. Restitution: Origins-‘Planning the Route’

4.1 Introduction

No healing is possible without reconciliation,
and no reconciliation is possible without justice,
and no justice is possible without some form of genuine restitution.²³⁴

Beyers Naude opens Mark Hay’s paper on the TRC, these words ascribed to Naude during his trial. He links healing, reconciliation, justice and restitution. But what is restitution? And how is it linked to these other core concepts? This chapter discusses restitution, and asks how it fits within the reconciliation journey theologically.

4.2 The Journey of Restitution.

Erik Doxtader and Fanie du Toit contend that

It is the time to complicate, challenge and remake our understanding of reconciliation. This is not the time to dismiss reconciliation any more than it is a moment to blindly accept inherited interpretations of its meaning. There are choices to be made. To approach the question of reconciliation, we may need to look in three directions at once.²³⁵

Their ‘three directions at once’ refers to the complexity of the challenges facing those who work towards reconciliation; that many factors (past, present, future; political, social, personal etc.) must be taken into account. I take their statement as a mandate for this exploration of restitution as one such ‘challenge’ to our understanding of reconciliation.

4.3 What is Restitution?

There is a legend on the meaning of reconciliation that is told about a man called Zulu who had one cow. One day a Mr White came along, overpowered Zulu, took his cow and went away. Zulu lived a miserable life without his cow. A few years later a TRC reconciliation process touched the lives of both Zulu and White. They were deeply moved, they washed each other’s feet, they had tea together, hugged and cried together. At the end of the process Zulu stood at the door of his shack and White walked to his car outside the gate.

²³⁴ Beyes Naude, quoted in Mark Hay, ‘Grappling with the Past: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa’, *African Journal of Conflict Resolution* 1, 3 (1999), p. 1.

²³⁵ Du Toit and Doxtader, eds., *In the Balance: South Africans debate reconciliation*, p. xi.

Before they waved good-bye Zulu had the courage to ask the question: *Mr White what about the cow?* Mr White was very angry and said: *Zulu, this is about reconciliation, it has nothing to do with the cow.*²³⁶

This quotation from Bongani Finca, one of the Commissioners on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, highlights the need for and place of restitution in reconciliation. It also recognises that these concepts are inextricably linked. Having begun by exploring reconciliation itself, I now trace the path of restitution as it has grown from its narrow legal definitions, towards an expanded and multidisciplinary understanding of it. I then explore restitution from a theological viewpoint, and ask how it relates to linked concepts within the theological literature.

So what is restitution? And importantly, what are the results, the outcome, of restitution? Michael Lapsley writes of restitution as involving 'returning the bicycle', at least in some form, as I quoted in the opening chapter. Popularly, restitution is seen as giving something back which has been taken, in order to make things as they were before. Immediately, though, we run into difficulties with this view of restitution. Things can rarely, if ever, be returned to the *status quo ante*. The Restitution Foundation's 'strap line', '*giving back to go forward*' speaks to this sense of restitution having a sense of forward movement.²³⁷

Restitution, as Finca, among others such as Desmond Tutu, Allan Boesak, and Sharlene Swartz note, is indeed a complex, potentially divisive and troublesome word in itself, especially in situations of long term and significant inequality.²³⁸ I discovered this for myself, when speaking at a conference in South Africa in 2012 where I had underestimated the strength of feeling (of denial, and even some anger) among the audience in response to my thesis that restitution needs to have a core place within reconciliation. One of the psychologists listening to my paper congratulated me for being 'very brave in daring to talk to a group of white South Africans about restitution'.

²³⁶ Bongani Finca, 'Restitution Imperative in a Fragile Democracy', Speech at the Restitution Foundation (2010)

<<http://www.google.com/webhp?nord=1#nord=1&q=Finca%2C+Bongani%2C+Restitution+Imperative+in+a+Fragile+Democracy>> [accessed 4 July 2014].

²³⁷ Restitution Foundation, <<http://www.restitutionfoundation.org.za>> [accessed 4 July 2014].

²³⁸ The Restitution Foundation website runs a 'National Dialogue', publishing comments and reflections from South Africans about restitution. Restitution Foundation, <<http://www.restitutionfoundation.org.za>> [accessed 4 July 2014].

Sharlene Swartz, a sociologist, and Chair of the Restitution Foundation, working in the field of restitution in Cape Town writes of it as potentially socially transformative, and 'ultimately, as a mechanism to end poverty and inequality'.²³⁹

I will discuss the complexities of and need for restitution in the following sections, but I first trace its path through the legal justice system, where it has been most used.

4.3.1 Legal Origins

The concept of restitution has been much discussed in the legal justice system, particularly over the last fifty years, and there is some evidence of its mention in the literature from the 1800s.²⁴⁰ Some key points are worth noting. Restitution appears in the criminal justice literature, as well as in contract and civil law. Peter Birks describes restitution as an act of restoration which specifically seeks to rectify a case of unjust enrichment at the expense of another by giving the victim monetary or other material means.²⁴¹ Swartz notes however that claims for restitution, as well as those for unjust enrichment, have been made on the basis of psychological harm and economic losses, for example in child pornography cases.²⁴² This already increases the complexity of the debate about what makes for restitution. Is restitution only about material means, or can it relate to other areas of life?

There is debate in the criminal justice and other legal literature about which way restitution looks: is the aim to punish the offender or compensate the victim, or both?²⁴³ This argument is played out in the retributive versus restorative justice arena, which I come to later.

The debate over where restitution fits within the ambit of justice involves consideration of different 'types' of justice. De Gruchy points out that there is no coherent understanding of what justice means in the modern world.²⁴⁴ There are

²³⁹ Swartz and Scott, 'The restitution of personhood', p. 19.

²⁴⁰ Christian B.N. Gade, 'Restorative Justice and the South African Truth and Reconciliation Process', *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 32, 1 (2013).

²⁴¹ Birks, Peter, *An Introduction to the Law of Restitution*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985).

²⁴² Swartz and Scott, 'The restitution of personhood', p. 5.

²⁴³ Ibid.; but see also William G. Matthews, 'Restitution: The Chameleon of Corrections', *Journal of Offender Counseling Services Rehabilitation*, 5:3-4 (1982), pp.77-92
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/J264v05n03_08> [accessed 12 January 2014].

²⁴⁴ De Gruchy, *Reconciliation: Restoring Justice*, p. 200.

many and divergent views on whether justice is about punishment of perpetrators, or about making wrongs right, or about providing economic equality, among others. Amartya Sen's seminal work, *The Idea of Justice*, is an important analysis of theories of justice, critiquing and discussing major theorists in the field such as John Rawls, Mary Wollstonecraft et al.²⁴⁵ He writes, 'justice is ultimately connected with the way people's lives go, and not merely with the nature of the institutions surrounding them.'²⁴⁶

This idea of 'lived justice' unshackles the act of restitution-for-and-within-reconciliation from institutional processes, allowing for a more relational and contextual approach, which I contend must come above legal enforcement. It makes room in the process for hope; important in a context such as South Africa, where commendable, but so far incomplete at best, attempts at a 'just solution' through institutional means have been largely unsuccessful. Legislation for restitution in the form of a wealth tax or other means may well prove necessary, but, I argue, will not have the power to bring about lasting reconciliation.²⁴⁷ Borrowing Volf's phrase, 'embrace is grace, and grace is gamble, always', I argue the following: if the working definition of restitution were free and flexible enough to allow space for grace (with its element of risk) alongside justice; if restitution were encompassed within the embrace of reconciliation, this would be a move forward in the current debate in the literature.²⁴⁸ The fact that it is premised on the concept of grace does not mean that this idea of restitution cannot or indeed should not belong 'in the world'. In fact, this interdisciplinary (legal and theological) understanding allows a richer description and deeper analysis of the role of restitution in a reconciliation process.

My aim, then, following Sen, is to converse widely across these fields, in order to best address conflict and the subsequent inequalities as they are found locally and globally, in a multitude of contexts and relationships. The outcome of making restitution is critical in 'the way people's lives go', and it is this which drives my argument towards praxis, rather than a discussion of theory alone.

However, in order to clarify institutional justice and 'the way people's lives go', Wendy Lambourne, writing from within the peacebuilding field, provides a

²⁴⁵ Amartya Sen, *The Idea of Justice*, (London: Allen Lane, Penguin Group, 2009).

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. x.

²⁴⁷ This is a reference to Desmond Tutu's call for a 'wealth tax', payable by all whites in South Africa, as a response to the injustice of apartheid, as already noted. I discuss this in chapter four.

²⁴⁸ Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace*, p. 147.

helpful model. She divides justice into two broad areas-substantive and symbolic justice. Within substantive justice, she further delineates legal and socioeconomic/distributive justice. Legal justice is constituted of retributive, restitutive, restorative and procedural justice. Retributive justice involves punishment or revenge. Restitutive justice includes recovery of losses, reparations or compensation. Restorative justice emphasises the restoration or healing of relationships between parties, and recognises the humanity and dignity of all concerned; it allows for telling of stories, and acknowledgement by offenders of their actions. Procedural justice involves fair treatment in the making and implementing of court and other outcomes. Socioeconomic or distributive justice includes fair distribution of goods and conditions that affect individual well-being, in order to achieve social equality through a fair share of economic means. Symbolic justice gives parties a sense of justice by verbal or symbolic acknowledgment that an injustice has occurred.²⁴⁹

This construction is most helpful in assessing the nature of restitution, in the context of post-apartheid South Africa, given the current inequalities in the socioeconomic situation. Although Lambourne separates restitutive and restorative justice, I would argue that given an expanded and potentially more unifying view of restitution, this division is artificial. I will discuss this more in later sections, particularly when construing restitution and justice from a theological and biblical view.²⁵⁰ Before discussing an expanded view of restitution, I explore restorative justice in more detail, as this is where restitution best sits.

4.3.1.1 Restorative Justice

Restorative justice, like many areas in this field, has no single definition. Howard Zehr, however, one of the major authors in this area, defines it as follows.

Restorative justice is a process to involve, to the extent possible, those who have a stake in a specific offense, and to collectively identify and address

²⁴⁹ Lambourne, 'Justice and Reconciliation: Post-Conflict Peacebuilding in Cambodia and Rwanda', p. 198.

²⁵⁰ De Gruchy, *Reconciliation: Restoring Justice*, p. 199, gives a good overview of this.

harms, needs and obligations, in order to heal and put things as right as possible.²⁵¹

He posits a useful set of principles. Restorative justice calls one to:

1. Focus on the harms and consequent needs of the victims, as well as most of the communities and the offenders
2. Address the obligations that result from those harms (the obligations of offenders as well as of the communities and society)
3. Use inclusive, collaborative processes to the extent possible
4. Involve those with a legitimate stake in the situation, including victims, offenders, community members and society; and seek to put right the wrongs.²⁵²

Charles Villa-Vicencio quotes Ismael Mahomed, a South African Judge writing in the post-apartheid context, who suggests that the need is for 'both victims and perpetrators to cross the historic bridge from the past to the future.'²⁵³

While there is no one definition of restorative justice, neither is there consensus about where it originates.²⁵⁴ However, many authors trace its significant emergence in the latter half of the twentieth century. It is important and relevant for this thesis however that in non Western, and in African cultures, forms of restorative justice have long been practiced and have been in fact the norm in 'traditional society' (including ancient Israel)²⁵⁵, where community and group belonging are seen as ultimately more important than the individual. The Southern African concept of *ubuntu* speaks to this.

So how does restitution relate to restorative justice? In order to look at this, it is worth briefly differentiating between restitution and reparation. Many authors use these terms more or less interchangeably, however, Larry May gives a useful delineation:

Restitution is the restoring to the rightful owner what has been lost or taken away. Reparation is the restoring to original, or good enough, condition of something that has been damaged. Restitution and reparation have the same

²⁵¹ Howard Zehr, 'Doing Justice, Healing Trauma: The Role of Restorative Justice in Peacebuilding', *Peace Prints South Asian Journal of Peacebuilding*, 1, 1 (2008) <<http://www.wiscomorg/peaceprints.htm>> [accessed 2 July 2014], p. 4.

²⁵² Howard Zehr, 'Doing Justice, Healing Trauma'.

²⁵³ In Charles Villa-Vicencio, 'Restorative Justice', in *Pieces of the Puzzle*, ed. by Villa-Vicencio and Doxtader, pp. 33-38, (p. 33).

²⁵⁴ See Gade, 'Restorative Justice and the South African Truth and Reconciliation Process'; and J.J. Naser, 'Restorative Justice as Reaction to Crime: Development and Conceptualisation', *Crime Research in South Africa*, 2, 2 (2001), <<http://www.crisa.org.za>> [accessed 2 July 2014].

²⁵⁵ Naser, 'Restorative Justice as Reaction to Crime: Development and Conceptualisation'.

root, restoration, which is itself a kind of rectification or compensation. But each emphasizes different aspects of the idea of restoring.²⁵⁶

4.3.1.2 Transitional or Transformative Justice

Transitional justice has been widely used as an overarching term to address post-conflict societies, often those moving from authoritarian to democratic rule.²⁵⁷ It thus can include both retributive justice and restorative justice, in the forms of the international criminal court, truth and reconciliation commissions, and informal or 'indigenous' justice mechanisms such as the *gacaca* courts in post genocide Rwanda.²⁵⁸ Restitution often figures in these scenarios, both as a retributive and restorative component. Alex Boraine writes

Transitional justice is not a contradiction of criminal justice, but rather a deeper, richer and broader vision of justice which seeks to confront perpetrators, address the needs of victims, and start a process of reconciliation and transformation towards a more just and humane society.²⁵⁹

Russell Daye provides a framework of transitional justice which highlights the dialogue between revenge and restoration.²⁶⁰ He concludes this dialogue with a list of objectives for transitional justice, namely: the restoration and celebration of the dignity of victims; the implementation of measures to ensure accountability; the entrenchment, upholding and protection of human rights; the implementation of measures to advance distributive justice; the prevention of revenge-taking and other forms of violence; the pursuit of reconciliation.²⁶¹ Restitution, although not mentioned by Daye specifically in his discussion of these objectives, should, especially in an expanded form, I argue, be included in this list, in particular in restoration of victims, in terms of personhood, dignity, and so on; and advancement of distributive justice.

²⁵⁶ Larry May, ed., 'Morality, *Jus Post Bellum*, and International Law', *ASIL Studies in International Legal Theory*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012)

<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139161916.003>> [accessed 30 January 2014], p. 1.

²⁵⁷ See Daniel Philpott for a useful overview. Daniel Philpott, 'Religion, Reconciliation, and Transitional Justice: The State of the Field', October 17 (2007)

<<http://kroc.nd.edu/sites/default/files/workingpaperphilpott.pdf>> [accessed 3 July 2014].

²⁵⁸ Lambourne, 'Justice and Reconciliation: Post-Conflict Peacebuilding in Cambodia and Rwanda'.

²⁵⁹ Alex Boraine, 'Transitional Justice', in *Pieces of the Puzzle*, ed. by Villa-Vicencio and Doxtader, pp.67-72, (p. 67)

Villa-Vicencio and Doxtader, *Pieces of the Puzzle*, p. 67.

²⁶⁰ Russell Daye, *Political Forgiveness: Lessons from South Africa*, (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2004), p. 113.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

This raises again the important point that these terms-restitution, reparation, reconciliation, and so on, are often used loosely or even interchangeably. As I have pointed out, definitions are many and varied, and these factors can lead to lack of clarity about process and content of the various models of justice and reconciliation. While it is important not to oversimplify or put too rigid boundaries round these concepts, it is also helpful to explain and produce rich and 'thick' discussion or description of what is meant. Hence I have taken some time to discuss where restitution may be placed within the justice framework.

One final point, before moving to look at the expansion of the legal concept of restitution, concerns the move that Wendy Lambourne makes from transitional to transformative justice, as this helps to clarify where restitution fits within this framework. She argues that a transformation in relationships is required to promote peacebuilding, and that a wider conceptualisation of transitional justice is necessary in order to do that. Linking the past and the future through local initiatives that promote accountability, acknowledgement, political and socioeconomic justice is important. Key to this is the contextualisation of these mechanisms to local customs, cultures and needs. This leads to capacity building and local ownership.²⁶²

Deon Snyman's²⁶³ work on what is necessary for sustainable peace picks up these points, and as I will argue, a concept of restitution viewed both theologically and politically/socioeconomically is a critical part of this process.²⁶⁴ In doing so, I extend Lambourne's view when she writes

we need to be able to hold multiple and apparently contradictory perspectives and to transcend the dominant, western worldview of justice...the insights and languages of multiple cultural traditions could be the key to developing new syncretic approaches to transitional justice that are transformative and supportive of sustainable peacebuilding.²⁶⁵

In other words, the debate about what justice is and how it works must involve more listening. In its Southern African context, this would mean attentiveness to Southern African cultural concepts such as *ubuntu*, alongside a conceptualisation of restitution as embodied, relational and potentially transformative.

²⁶² Wendy Lambourne, 'Transitional Justice and Peacebuilding after Mass Violence', *The International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 3 (2009), pp. 28–48.

²⁶³ Note that Deon Snyman is the facilitator in Worcester; and my 'car companion' referred to in chapter one.

²⁶⁴ Snyman, 'Achieving Sustainable Peace in Worcester'.

²⁶⁵ Lambourne, 'Transitional Justice and Peacebuilding after Mass Violence', p. 48.

Before moving to look at restitution through a more overtly theological lens, I turn now to note briefly forms of restitution in this transitional or transformative stage post-conflict. There is not scope here to discuss these in detail, but there is much in the literature.²⁶⁶ The United Nations document, The *Pinheiro Principles*, points to the need for a rights-based approach for restitution of victims in terms of civil, property and political rights. Land restitution plays a large role in this, and its success serves both as a marker of reconciliation and transformation.²⁶⁷

4.3.2 An Expanded View of Restitution

Turning now to an expanded view of restitution, and away from the purely legal to an inter-disciplinary view of the literature, Albert Eglash, an American psychologist, coined the term 'creative restitution'. This was perhaps the earliest departure from purely legal definitions of restitution, in a paper from 1958. He posited that, as distinct from reparations, restitution is any constructive act; it is creative and unlimited; it is guided, self-determined behaviour; and it can have a group basis.²⁶⁸ Eglash argues that restitution is a process of growth, and focuses most on the rehabilitation of the perpetrator. This has clear links with restorative justice, but is less 'two way'.

Moving from local or domestic crime, Elazar Barkan, an American historian, has written extensively on restitution and international morality.²⁶⁹ His theory of restitution includes both a legal and cultural view. He writes of a shared accountability and responsibility for moral atrocities, and examines the role of corporate guilt, shame, and efforts at public reconciliation. Making amends, or restitution, he argues, is a moral obligation. Restitution however, and importantly, may be either substantive or symbolic, and may be intergenerational.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁶ Swartz and Scott, 'The Restitution of Personhood' gives a good overview.

²⁶⁷ UN General Assembly, *The Pinheiro Principles: United Nations Principles on Housing and Property Restitution for Refugees and Displaced Persons*, (UN Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/2005/17, 2005).

²⁶⁸ Albert Eglash, 'Creative Restitution. A Broader Meaning for an Old Term', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, (1958), pp. 619-622

<<http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/1140258?uid=3738032&uid=2129&uid=2&uid=70&uid=4&sidd=21103931296551>> [accessed 3 March 2014], p. 619.

²⁶⁹ Barkan, *The Guilt of Nations*.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

William Booth, an American political scientist, adds that the contemporary person is 'the bearer of responsibility for the past and a custodian for the future'.²⁷¹ This clearly has huge bearing on restitution as something which affects even those who were not directly involved with the acts of injustice. In South African terms, there is much debate about who should make restitution, both historically and also in terms of actual involvement or 'bystander' status.²⁷² Barkan's view of a 'moral obligation' is not necessarily a reality in practice, either in its existence, or in being honoured. What is perhaps more pertinent in this discussion, is how to highlight the need for restitution in a reconciliation process, and how to engage both 'sides' in the acknowledgment that restitution is necessary for transformation. The wish to make restitution is both potentially pragmatic (life is 'better' if peace or healing can occur with restitution being included) and ethical, or indeed, theological.

Other literature on this 'moral responsibility' for restitution focuses on backward or forward looking restitution. Swartz makes the point that these aim to distinguish the nature of restitution in terms of emphasis. Backward looking restitution emphasises restoration of a situation to its original state, whereas forward looking restitution concentrates on the future in terms of responding to injustice and stopping further harms occurring.²⁷³ My argument is that regarding restitution through a theological lens is helpful in expanding and enriching its purely legal or political sense, and that a theological model can and should provide a useful metaphor in the 'secular world' also.

4.3.2.1 Restitution of Personhood

Swartz and Scott make an important turn in the debate, from a sociological perspective. They argue for an expanded view of restitution which focuses on the restitution of personhood. This development of restitution as more than a legal or political or even socioeconomic concept is hugely relevant to a theological consideration of what restitution means. They follow Braithwaite's assertion that

²⁷¹ William, J. Booth, Communities of memory: On identity, memory, and debt. *American Political Science Review*, 93(2), (1999), p.249.

²⁷² The 'born free' generation is illustrative of this debate: the term refers to those born after the end of apartheid (i.e. after 1994).

²⁷³ Swartz and Scott, 'The Restitution of Personhood', p. 8.

any restorative process must comprise restoring property loss, restoring injury, restoring a sense of security, restoring dignity, restoring a sense of empowerment, restoring deliberative democracy, restoring harmony based on a feeling that justice has been done, and restoring social support.²⁷⁴

They move a step forward to conceptualise these 'multiple dimensions' as restitution of personhood, both for the concept's African properties (*ubuntu*) and its individual as well as societal connotations. They concur with Wingo's philosophical definition of personhood as comprising 'judgements about personal identity, moral responsibility, and the proper relationship both among individuals and between individuals and community.'²⁷⁵

Swartz and Scott's six elements of restitution of personhood are dignity, memory, equality, opportunity, means, and citizenship. They make the point that each of these six can operate at the individual, civil/social and institutional/structural level, and indeed, must do so. South African examples given include apologies between individuals (dignity); national centres of remembrance (memory); youth employment subsidy (opportunity, means); learning an indigenous language (citizenship); refusing privilege based on whiteness (equality).²⁷⁶ Many more such examples in other contexts could be given under this model (Northern Ireland, Rwanda, and forgiveness after personal attack).

Swartz and Scott further make an important point about 'positionality': the notion of 'actors' in this regard allows the theory and the people involved to move away from simple ideas of us and them, or perpetrator and victim (or bystander), towards a more nuanced perception of what has happened in the past; this in turn enables a more relational and empathic moving forward together. These positionalities are divided into the following categories: architects, implementers, beneficiaries, dishonoured, and inheritors.²⁷⁷ Architects designed the policies of injustice. Implementers are either those that perpetrated the injustice, or actively fought against it. Beneficiaries are bystanders, those who may have benefited in various ways from doing nothing. The dishonoured are usually called victims. Inheritors are the next generations, those born after the injustice has ended, but inherit either the benefits or

²⁷⁴J. Braithwaite, Restorative justice: Assessing optimistic and pessimistic accounts. *Crime and Justice*, (1999), pp. 1-127, (p.10).

²⁷⁵ A. Wingo, Akan philosophy of the person. *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, (2006), <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/akan-person/> [accessed on 15th February 2015].

²⁷⁶*Ibid.*, p. 15.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

dishonour (or both). They argue that all of these positions matter in terms of restitution, and also importantly act to diffuse guilt and blame. As a pertinent example from South Africa, they write

It may be helpful to think of conscripted soldiers as having been dishonoured by apartheid in their complicity in brutal bombings and violent policing in townships.²⁷⁸

Much of this echoes Lambourne's idea of transformational justice, discussed earlier. Swartz and Scott themselves note that 'the notion of restitution of personhood which we offer here articulates well with extant post-conflict literature that emphasise the need to satisfy human needs.'²⁷⁹ Importantly, though, they argue that it also offers a rationale for why people should wish to become involved in the process of justice and reconciliation.²⁸⁰ So, the restitution of personhood is about individual, social, psychological, or emotional transformation, acknowledging that the legal and usual understanding of restitution as something which restores things to how they were before is mostly not possible. What makes restitution potentially transformative, they argue, is this expanded conceptualisation which offers a more subtle understanding of where responsibility and agency lie. Swartz and Scott's conceptualisation of the restitution of personhood takes us much closer to a theological understanding of restitution as an embodied reconciliation, and this is where I now turn.

4.4 Theology of Restitution

In a theological context, 'meaningful restitution can only occur when both parties responsible for and receiving restitution, develop a meaningful relationship with each other.'²⁸¹ This has huge significance for how the process of restitution and therefore reconciliation can be carried out. The idea of restitution as being born out of our being set free by God's mercy (grace) to want to right the wrongs of the past is central to my theological understanding of it. Charles Buchanan, one of the founder members of the Restitution Foundation writes

²⁷⁸A. Wingo, Akan philosophy of the person. *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, (2006), <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/akan-person/> [accessed on 15th February 2015]. p. 16.

²⁷⁹ Swartz and Scott, 'The Restitution of Personhood'.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 17.

²⁸¹Deon Snyman, 'August letter from the COO', Restitution Foundation, (2006) <<http://www.restitution.org.za>> [accessed 8 August 2007].

Rather than being motivated by the guilt of our past we are motivated by the promise of the future blessings coming to us as God's people as we break free from the bondages of our past.²⁸²

Although Schreiter is referring to a paradigm of mission as reconciliation, I would argue that his emphasis on 'deeds done rather than words given' serves well as a mandate for the power of restitution also.

It is the Good News in the concrete. ...these elements (of truth telling, the pursuit of justice, healing and forgiveness) speak perhaps most eloquently of deeds done rather than words given. They relate a pattern of relationships which begin to mirror the hoped for Reign of God.²⁸³

So what of the literature on a theology of restitution? Surprisingly, given the huge and growing field on reconciliation, forgiveness, restorative justice, and on restitution itself from a non-theological stance, there is very little contemporary writing on a theology of restitution. Swartz has contributed to this theologically in terms of an ethnographic study of young people in South Africa, which includes a theological and biblical view.²⁸⁴ Tinyiko Maluleke has written a paper, 'Towards a Theology of Restitution'.²⁸⁵ Otherwise, features of restitution are found enmeshed within discussions of justice, forgiveness, and of course, reconciliation in general, in biblical, doctrinal, ethical and in systematic theological terms. It is at times difficult and indeed artificial to extract or isolate restitution from where it sits, and consequently what follows will move backwards and forwards to some extent between these concepts and views.

Denise Ackermann has written of reconciliation as 'embodied praxis for change', which I draw on and to which I add that the concept of restitution is central.²⁸⁶ Restitution conceptualised as embodied reconciliation is therefore a step

²⁸² C. Buchanan, Q&A' Foundation for Church-Led Restitution, (2006) <<http://www.restitution.org.za/faq.htm>>[accessed 30 April 2007].

²⁸³ Robert Schreiter, 'Reconciliation and Peacemaking: The Theology of Reconciliation and Peacemaking for Mission', in *Mission Violence and Reconciliation*, ed. by Mellor and Yates, pp. 11-22, (p.22).

²⁸⁴ Sharlene Swartz, 'Mission to make the blood boil and the heart glad, Restitution: A contemporary theology for young people', *International Association for the Study of Youth Ministry, Journal of Youth and Theology*, 6, 1 (2007), pp. 47-69 <<http://www.iasym.org/jyt/6-1/jyt06-01-article3.pdf>> [accessed 30 June 2014].

²⁸⁵ Tinyiko S. Maluleke, 'Justice in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Towards a Theology of Restitution', *Verbum et Ecclesia*, 29, 3 (2008), pp. 681-696 <<http://www.ve.org.za/index.php/VE/article/view/36/33ref>> [accessed 3 July 2014].

²⁸⁶ Ackermann, 'Reconciliation as Embodied Change'.

further in this journey than has been already taken: hence also the need for my empirical praxis-based research.

4.4.1 Restitution as Embodied Reconciliation

So why restitution as embodied reconciliation? In terms of restitution itself, within the reconciliation paradigm, the story of Zacchaeus is probably the most quoted in terms of restitution. However, Swartz points us also to references in Habakkuk, Exodus, Samuel, Job and Proverbs.²⁸⁷ In each of these, different amounts should be repaid or restored, if unjustly taken: two, four, even sevenfold. The general idea is clear however-what is taken or damaged must be restored, whether it is land, or goods, or means.

Zacchaeus, in Luke 19: 1-10, is the story of a 'chief tax collector'. He was rich, and we are told, because he wanted to see Jesus but was too short to see over the crowd, he climbed a tree. Jesus noticed him, and told him to hurry up and come down, in order that he might stay at his house. The crowd grumbled-after all, Zacchaeus was one of the despised, working for the Romans, a 'sinner'. Zacchaeus then did the extraordinary deed of giving away half his possessions, and pledging to pay back fourfold anyone whom he had defrauded. Jesus gave him and his household salvation. Zacchaeus makes restitution- that is clear. But a number of other points are worth noting. Zacchaeus realises that he needs to make restitution, in order to be restored to the community. He realises that what Jesus is offering him in his acceptance, in his wish to stay at his home, is nothing less than transformative. And Zacchaeus, in receiving this gift from Jesus, offers to make restitution. A restitution which is not cheap, which is whole hearted and which will show his desire to make amends, for justice to be done, and his wish for reconciliation with God, and with his community. Jesus immediately restores him: 'He too is a son of Abraham' as salvation comes to his house. So we have the linking of justice, restitution and reconciliation with God, and with the community. Zacchaeus, as the 'chief tax-collector' is found only in this passage, and as such, is significant as is the fact that he is 'rich'. The importance then of Jesus's response to Zacchaeus in wanting to come and stay with him is further underlined also by the fact that 'all', not just the Pharisees, grumble at Jesus's

²⁸⁷ Swartz, 'Mission to make the blood boil and the heart glad'.

suggestion. The fact that such a person can be saved, presents a climax in Luke's narrative of salvation.²⁸⁸

In the light of this, the interpretation of the Zacchaeus story with particular regard to restitution enables parallels to be drawn with the South African situation, particularly on the background of the white communities' response to suggestions about a wealth tax, or restitution in general, as I discuss in chapter one. Furthermore, Olu E. Alana offers an interesting African (Nigerian) contextual reading of the Zacchaeus pericope, which has some resonance with Boesak's reading of it in the post-apartheid situation. Alana argues that in the Nigerian context, there are many 'Zacchaeus's' i.e. corrupt and wealthy officials, but that if they repent, like for Zacchaeus, salvation is theirs. This is a somewhat different reading from Boesak's, but has some consonance. While I agree with Boesak that the Zacchaeus story illustrates both the need for and the doing of restitution, which then enables transformation, I would also be wary of privileging restitution over repentance in this reading.

This story is a climax in the ministry of Jesus, and Luke stresses the universality of the good news of salvation for all sinners.²⁸⁹ Discipleship here is linked strongly to Zacchaeus's promise to Jesus to use his wealth for the good i.e. in making restitution. Importantly, also, Zacchaeus responds to Jesus 'with joy'. David Wenham stresses the importance of Jesus 'staying in the house' of Zacchaeus, and this certainly is a strong theme in my interviewees' view of what it means to be reconciled i.e. 'Staying together' can be seen as an act of restitution in itself, an embodied being with the other.²⁹⁰ Darrell Bock stresses that in the Zacchaeus story, it is the graciousness that God shows to the sinner that enables Zacchaeus to become generous or gracious to others, alongside making an effort to make restitution.²⁹¹ He

²⁸⁸ See Olu E. Alana, "'Today salvation has come to this house..'(Lk 19:1-10', *Verbum et Ecclesia*, JRG (2002), 23 (1) for a good discussion of the literature. Also David Wenham, 'Reading Luke: Interpretation, Reflection, Formation', in *Scripture NS Hermeneutic Series*, ed. by Craig G. Bartholomew, Joel B. Green, Anthony C. Thiselton, (Milton Keynes: Paternoster Press, 2005); I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text The New International Greek Testament Commentary*, (Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1978); Darrell L. Bock, *Luke 9:51-24:53 Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament* (Michigan: Baker Publishing Group, 1996).

²⁸⁹ I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text The New International Greek Testament Commentary*, (Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1978), p. 694ff.

²⁹⁰ David Wenham, 'Reading Luke: Interpretation, Reflection, Formation', in *Scripture NS Hermeneutic Series*, ed. by Craig G. Bartholomew, Joel B. Green, Anthony C. Thiselton, (Milton Keynes: Paternoster Press, 2005), p. 86.

²⁹¹ Darrell L. Bock, *Luke 9:51-24:53 Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament* (Michigan: Baker Publishing Group, 1996), p. 1513ff.

also stresses that it is Jesus here who makes the surprising move to invite himself to stay with Zacchaeus. God's action is firstly towards us, and then we are able to move in response to this invitation. Restitution is gift first before obligation.

A further and crucial point about this story is the way in which this knowledge of reconciliation and the need for it is shown. Why did Zacchaeus climb the tree? The simple answer is that we are told he was short, and wouldn't have been able to see Jesus any other way. But why did he need to actually see Jesus? He could have heard him anyway speaking, even if unable to see him in the crowd (and presumably had already heard of him). It seems to have been important for Zacchaeus to actually see Jesus, to encounter him face to face. We know from other stories that Jesus was capable of realising that someone needed him (touching his cloak), so it seems unlikely that Jesus would not have noticed Zacchaeus's need from somewhere else in the crowd. So why was this face to face encounter important? I would argue that this exactly correlates with the embodiment of restitution that helps to enable reconciliation. Seeing 'the other' is a theme to which I will return, but this actually coming face to face, this embodied encounter, is noteworthy here.

Turning now to theologies of atonement or redemption, these can also provide some pointers to restitution as embodied reconciliation.²⁹² While this is not the place for an extended discussion of atonement, some points are very relevant to this argument. De Gruchy delineates the various theologies of atonement and makes the point that, in relation to each particular context or time we find ourselves in, and especially in a post-conflict situation like South Africa, atonement theories can help us in understanding the nature of the current debates about restitution, forgiveness, remorse and so on. But they should also be understood within the grand narrative of redemption.²⁹³

²⁹² There is not scope here to discuss theories of atonement in a general sense. The following provide an overview. Timothy J. Gorringer, 'Atonement' in *The Blackwell Companion to Political Theology*, edited by Scott and Cavanaugh, chapter 25; Stephen Sykes, *The Story of Atonement*, (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1997). William Danaher argues that a theory of resurrection, rather than of atonement, enables clearer understanding of the South African reconciliation context, with which I concur. William J. Danaher Jr, 'Music That Will Bring Back the Dead? Resurrection, Reconciliation, and Restorative Justice in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *Journal of Religious Ethics*, 38, 1 (2010), pp. 115-141 < DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9795.2009.00397.x> [accessed 3 July 2014].

²⁹³ De Gruchy, *Reconciliation: Restoring Justice*, pp. 47-50.

What then, do these theories of atonement tell us about restitution, and its place within reconciliation? De Gruchy writes that there can be no one adequate account of how God reconciles the world.

What we have, rather, is a series of bold attempts to weave together a rich range of biblical images and metaphors into a coherent whole that seeks to interpret the grand narrative of redemption.²⁹⁴

He further makes the point that we need to draw our own conclusions depending on our context, and that the growing need for political reconciliation in our time significantly informs our understanding of the life, death and resurrection of Jesus.²⁹⁵ He adds, however, that to say there is one dominant human need which informs our approach is false. The need for reconciliation reads as liberation from poverty; or as justice and dignity in the case of abuse; or as empowerment from inequality. Restitution, then, as embodied reconciliation, is one such need.

Additionally, Nico Koopman argues that the doctrines of atonement have been recast in today's world, and look more towards reconciliation. He delineates a summary, writing here in terms of the Confession of Belhar in 1986 in South Africa, but nevertheless, giving a useful overview in terms of atonement theology.²⁹⁶

Reconciliation, therefore, is viewed as the redemptive work by the triune God which is done for us in Jesus Christ (Anselm's objective theory of atonement); reconciliation refers to the transformation that the love of the triune God brings about in our lives (Abelard's subjective theory of atonement); and reconciliation refers to the victory of Christ over the cosmic powers of evil and our consequent liberation from them (Irenaeus' *Christus Victor* theory of atonement).²⁹⁷

For example, de Gruchy links Irenaeus's doctrine of atonement as recapitulation, with Gutierrez's view of the totality of human experience for redemption, within liberation theology. Gutierrez writes

Salvation embraces all persons and the whole person; the liberating action of Christ-made human in this history and not in a history marginal to real

²⁹⁴ De Gruchy, *Reconciliation: Restoring Justice*, p. 63.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 65.

²⁹⁶ The confession of Belhar was drafted in 1982 by the black NG Sendingkerk (part of the Dutch Reformed Church family), rejecting the theological justification of apartheid. John W. de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa*. (London: SCM Press, 2004), p. 193.

²⁹⁷ Nico Koopman, 'Belhar: A Transforming and Dignifying Tradition', *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 139, March (2011), pp. 32-41 <http://belydenisvanbelhar.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/Belhar_Nico_Koopman.pdf> [accessed 7 January 2014].

human life-is at the heart of the historical current of humanity; the struggle for a just society in its own right very much part of salvation history.²⁹⁸

‘All persons and the whole person’. This, and nothing less than this, is what embodiment means. This is why Zacchaeus must effortfully struggle up a tree to see the face of Jesus over the heads of the crowd, why he needs to make eye-contact with him in order to signal his need for transformation, atonement and salvation. He has enriched his own person and household at the expense of the ‘all persons’ he has defrauded. When Jesus *sees* him clinging among the branches, guilty, needy, unpopular and suddenly vulnerable in his conspicuousness, he sees a human struggling towards a more just society. And he responds with the liberating action of Christ ‘made human in this history’. It is a fully embodied encounter, which triggers a material, real-world act of restitution – the kind that actually affects ‘the way people's lives go’. It is a relational encounter, and through it there is meaningful and enduring reconciliation, a healing of the relations between Zacchaeus and his community.

Further, a Bonhoefferian emphasis on community, active work for the neighbour and the denouncing of a doctrine of reconciliation as resting on ‘cheap’ grace’ is pertinent, regarding the nature of restitution.²⁹⁹ It is worth noting here two quotations which speak to Bonhoeffer and restitution as conversation partners, from the Restitution Foundation.

We should expect, then, that the work of restitution and reconciliation on earth will be a difficult and ongoing process, one that demands much of us and is costly if we are to follow in the path of Christ. This sense of realism—that the task ahead is difficult and costly—is one that stands us in good stead when we encounter opposition, resistance and our own frailty.³⁰⁰

Hans Engdahl, from the University of the Western Cape, considers that restitution constitutes an integral part of any authentic reconciliation process, and that ‘at this time focus should be on church as communion, as fellowship in solidarity, as *koinonia* (Acts 2.42) This too links with Bonhoeffer's emphases on community, fellowship and discipleship.³⁰¹

It is necessary to note, further for this argument and a new look at restitution as embodied reconciliation, that the practice of reconciliation itself is something to do

²⁹⁸ Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation*, trns. By Matthew J. O’Connell, revised edn., (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1988), p.97

²⁹⁹ Bonhoeffer, *Sanctorum Communio*, p. 130.

³⁰⁰ Restitution Foundation, <[http:// www. restitutionfoundation.org.za](http://www.restitutionfoundation.org.za)>.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

with action rather than words alone, in terms of encounter, justice, and relationship, and that these ideas help to bridge that gap between theory and the praxis of reconciliation. They challenge us, as de Gruchy says, and

Take us beyond discourse and speech to agency and embodiment. As we indicated at the outset, reconciliation is an event, an action, a praxis, a process and celebration, before it becomes a doctrine or theory.³⁰²

What is at stake here, however, is more than words. It is also, as I have discussed, more than a narrow view of restitution as a legal concept, important though this is. Reconciliation without the sharing of embodiment to make the material and symbolic world of real relationships better and more equal is not enough. A theology of reconciliation which is not embodied and relational can only connect us so far. So where is this relationality, this reality, this embodiment found in the theological literature on restitution? As I have noted, there is in fact very little in the theological literature concentrating on restitution itself, as opposed to restitution within or as part of other themes within reconciliation.

Swartz's paper on young people and a theology of restitution discusses restitution biblically, and considers the interrelation of grace and restitution from a political science and sociological view.³⁰³ She concludes by making the plea for the need for restitution in South Africa, while acknowledging that neither the theorising of restitution theologically nor the act of doing it is straightforward. But, 'Zacchaeus made restitution simply because he had *been* with Jesus. *His was a heart response of gratitude to Jesus before it was an act of contrition towards others.*'³⁰⁴

Maluleke in 'Towards a Theology of Restitution'³⁰⁵ explores restitution by using the parable of Lazarus and the rich man, making the point that a theology of restitution needs to restore Lazarus before, not after, he dies. He submits that discourse on restitution is lacking in South Africa, and that moreover a purely legal approach is not sufficient. Theologically, he argues that 'restitution is for us at once a human ideal and a God sponsored objective.'³⁰⁶ He places it at the heart of Christology, Trinitarian theology, and as an aspect of the doctrines of atonement and

³⁰² De Gruchy, *Reconciliation: Restoring Justice*, p. 75.

³⁰³ Swartz, 'Mission to make the blood boil'.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 67.

³⁰⁵ Tinyiko S. Maluleke, 'Justice in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Towards a Theology of Restitution', *Verbum et Ecclesia*, 29, 3 (2008), pp. 681-696

<<http://www.ve.org.za/index.php/VE/article/view/36/33ref>> [accessed 3 July 2014].

³⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 686.

creation. Restitution is about justice, expanded. It starts, he contends, with an admission of guilt, and he makes the distinction between charity and restitution. He places the 'focus of authentic restitution theology' at the human level on those who are 'un-people' (those at the margins, the poor).³⁰⁷

Thinking about Lazarus, Maluleke makes six proposals on how to 'restore' him: we need to see Lazarus; he is an emergency; there is a link between the rich man's wealth and the poverty of Lazarus; Lazarus must be consulted; his initiative (placing himself at the rich man's gate) must be recognised; and he must be helped before he dies.³⁰⁸ In these proposals to restore Lazarus, Maluleke proposes a liberationist theology of restitution, which is urgent, relational, radical and embodied.

These two papers take us so far along this road. Where else is restitution as embodied reconciliation found?

4.4.2 The Next Steps on the Journey

In order to place and delineate a broader theological understanding of restitution within the reconciliation journey, I have accompanied Swartz and Maluleke in their understandings of restitution as necessary and urgent, radical and relational, and to do with both grace and justice. I turn next to meet with Allan Boesak and Curtiss DeYoung's view of reconciliation as radical.³⁰⁹ Acknowledging the urgency and need for restitution, I turn to Desmond Tutu and the theology of *ubuntu*, as restitution itself must be relational in order to be understood in this broader way.³¹⁰ I then pursue Denise Ackermann's view of reconciliation as embodied praxis for change, which leans towards restitution as embodied reconciliation.³¹¹ Finally, I walk with Miroslav

³⁰⁷ Tinyiko S. Maluleke, 'Justice in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Towards a Theology of Restitution', *Verbum et Ecclesia*, 29, 3 (2008), pp. 681-696

<<http://www.ve.org.za/index.php/VE/article/view/36/33ref>> [accessed 3 July 2014].

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

³⁰⁹ Allan Aubrey Boesak and Curtiss Paul DeYoung, *Radical Reconciliation: Beyond Political Pietism and Christian Quietism*, (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2012).

³¹⁰ See Battle, *Reconciliation: The Ubuntu Theology of Desmond Tutu*; Thaddeus Metz and Joseph B.R. Gaieb, 'The African Ethic of *Ubuntu/Botho*: Implications for research on morality', *Journal of Moral Education*, 39, 3, September (2010), pp. 273-290 < DOI: 10.1080/03057240.2010.497609 > [accessed 30 June 2014]; Tutu, *No Future without Forgiveness*.

³¹¹ Ackermann, 'Reconciliation as Embodied Change'.

Volf's theology of exclusion and embrace, which speaks into this arena of restitution and its place within reconciliation, as looking towards both grace and justice.³¹²

4.4.2.1 Restitution as a Radical Path

I turn first to Boesak and DeYoung's book *Radical Reconciliation*. This 'radical' view of reconciliation, they argue, is needed in order to address the root causes of injustice and remove it. They warn of both 'political pietism' and 'Christian quietism', explaining that reconciliation as tactical political accommodation, and subsequent Christian complicity in it, leads to reconciliation that is deceitful rather than genuine.³¹³ In perhaps surprisingly similar vein, are Dietrich Bonhoeffer's words

How does peace come about?... There is no way to peace along the way of safety. For peace must be dared. It is the great venture. It can never be safe. Peace is the opposite of security.³¹⁴

The broken character of the order of peace is expressed in the fact that the peace commanded by God has two limits, first the truth and secondly justice. There can only be a community of peace when it does not rest on lies and injustice.³¹⁵

So the pursuit of reconciliation can be seen as necessarily risky, radical, and with justice as a core component. But it is worth remembering here Volf's warning note about placing too heavy an emphasis on justice, and about the need for grace as an overarching concept. I return to this when discussing restitution as embrace.

Boesak and DeYoung address reconciliation both from a biblical and social justice agenda. They understand reconciliation, from the Greek New Testament *katallazo* (exchange), as an 'exchanging places with 'the other', overcoming alienation through identification, solidarity, restoring relationships, positive change, new frameworks, and rich togetherness that is both spiritual and political.'³¹⁶ They read Paul through a 'post-colonial lens', and see then that reconciliation is real, it is

³¹² Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace*.

³¹³ Boesak and DeYoung, *Radical Reconciliation*, p. 1.

³¹⁴ Dietrich Bonhoeffer, 'The Confessing Church and the Ecumenical Movement', in *No Rusty Swords: Letters, Lectures and Notes, 1928-1936, Collected Works of Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, vol.1, (London: Collins, 1977), p.159.

³¹⁵ Dietrich Bonhoeffer, 'The Confessing Church and the Ecumenical Movement', in *No Rusty Swords: Letters, Lectures and Notes, 1928-1936, Collected Works of Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, vol.1, (London: Collins, 1977), p.168.

³¹⁶ Boesak and DeYoung, *Radical Reconciliation*, p. 12.

experiential; it is revolutionary; and it is focused on structural change and social justice.³¹⁷ Their argument, that reconciliation is radical, takes us on a biblical journey. The story of Rizpah, Paul's writing, and the story of Zacchaeus all serve to explicate and reinforce their central tenets of a theological justice being at the heart of reconciliation.³¹⁸

An important discussion takes place in the chapter entitled, 'Between Reitz, a Rock and a Hard Place', in which the events of 2008 at the University of the Free State in South Africa are described. In brief, four male white students forced the black cleaners at their university residence to eat a 'stew' in which the white students had apparently urinated. This was videoed, and entered into a student competition on campus. It won. The students are seen laughing, and one says, 'This is what we think of integration!' The public reaction was huge and divided. The students were found guilty of a 'hate crime', eventually settled out of court. The Rector of the University, Jonathan Jansen, three years later, held a public reconciliation event. Confession and forgiveness were given, but the complexity of the process and its aftermath is not lost on Boesak. The divide between the wish for retribution for apartheid, and the generosity of spirit urged by Tutu in the TRC, has been highlighted by this case. There is not space to pursue the argument in detail, but Boesak writes of the lessons we can learn. He argues that reconciliation starts where God stands, from a place of suffering, not from a place of neutrality; that reconciliation is not possible until the dynamics of power have shifted; that reconciliation is not cheap, but a response, through God's grace, to inflicted woundedness; that there is a place for rightful anger; and that genuine radical reconciliation is perhaps the only way we can walk away from the rock and the hard place: as family; forgiven, healed, restored.³¹⁹

But what of restitution? The authors go on to engage with Desmond Tutu, in what they call his 're-radicalisation'. I will discuss Tutu's comments on wealth tax and other forms of restitution in chapter four. However, it is pertinent to quote here, from Tutu.

For unless houses replace the hovels and shacks in which most blacks live; unless blacks gain access to clean water, electricity, affordable health care, decent education, good jobs and a safe environment-all things which the vast

³¹⁷ Boesak and DeYoung, *Radical Reconciliation*., p. 16.

³¹⁸ Ibid, pp. 25-39.

³¹⁹ Ibid, p. 111.

majority of whites have taken for granted for so long-we can kiss goodbye to reconciliation.³²⁰

Boesak and DeYoung argue for a just reconciliation, one which includes restitution, social justice, equality and dignity, much the same words as Swartz and Scott have used in the restitution of personhood. But they continue, theologically, that reconciliation is holding the memory (of atrocity) holy before God as a means of responding to God's demands for justice for the vulnerable, the powerless, and the neglected. Reconciliation, they argue, calls for systematic justice, and sustained transformation of society. It emerges from the powerless, the margins. It is biblical, it rehumanises all God's children.³²¹

So, restitution helps to radicalise reconciliation. It is part of biblical justice, of socioeconomic justice, of equality and dignity. It is risky and radical.

4.4.2.2 Restitution as a Relational Path: *Ubuntu*

So what of restitution as relationship? Tutu's theology, the African concept of *ubuntu* is relevant here. '*Ubuntu*' means 'humanness' or 'I am human because we are', emphasising the communal over the individual.³²² *Ubuntu* is an African philosophy of being. It has been called 'the root of the African tree of knowledge, in which *ubu*, evokes the idea of unfolding towards 'being in general' and *ntu* denotes 'being human'. Together the words suggest the wholeness and oneness of all life, the location of individual humanness within the larger whole'.³²³ John Hailey provides a good resource on ubuntu with his review of the literature.³²⁴

Desmond Tutu describes *ubuntu* as 'humanness', and used the concept as an underlying tenet of his theological and philosophical understanding and outworking of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. *Ubuntu* has played an important role in the resolution of conflict and a worldview which has enabled survival in the context of colonialism and then apartheid in community life in Southern Africa, and also, some

³²⁰ Desmond Tutu, *No Future Without Forgiveness*, (New York: Doubleday, 1999), p.221.

³²¹ Ibid., p. 155.

³²² Battle, *Reconciliation: The Ubuntu Theology of Desmond Tutu*, p. 179.

³²³ Dani W. Nabudere, 'Ubuntu', in *Pieces of the Puzzle*, ed. by Villa-Vicencio and Doxtader, pp. 10-16.

³²⁴ John Hailey, 'Ubuntu: A Literature Review', *The Tutu Foundation*, (2008)

<http://www.tutufoundationuk.org/documents/UbuntuLiteratureReview_JH_Dec08.pdf> [accessed 4 July 2014]

argue, throughout the whole continent. It has enjoyed a recent upsurge in academic and political thinking, due to its use in the post-apartheid world as a means of emphasising the communal route to peaceful existence, and the need for relational living, and deep respect for the others views.³²⁵ Michael Battle writes that Tutu sees *ubuntu* as ‘a corrective hermeneutic for Western salvation theology that focusses on the individual’.³²⁶ This model understands that as each individual is made under God, so in *ubuntu* the oppressed is enabled to see their oppressor as equally made in God’s image, with the consequent mutuality of existence in community. This has clear implications for a theology and practice of reconciliation, especially in the South African context, where an understanding of and empathy with the concept of *ubuntu* is historically and contextually embedded within community life.

Tutu makes the point that ‘the humanity of the perpetrator is bound up with that of the victim and that as one is abused so the other is degraded.’³²⁷ He combines this with the Christian idea that all of us are made in the image of God, and that redemption therefore is open to all. Generous forgiveness is therefore laid upon all Christians.³²⁸ Tutu viewed the TRC as a process in which ‘Forgiveness will follow confession and healing will happen, and so contribute to national unity and reconciliation.’³²⁹

Ubuntu relates restitution as grace-filled gift, and the ideas of otherness and identity are pertinent. It echoes the words of a Dinka elder, speaking about the conflict in Sudan, ‘reconciliation begins by agreeing to sit under the same tree as your enemy, to find a way of addressing the causes of the conflict.’³³⁰ Likewise, Villa-Vicencio reports that during a TRC hearing, a mother said to the man who killed her son,

If reconciliation means this perpetrator, this man who killed Christopher Piet, if it means he becomes human again, so that I, so that all of us, get our humanity back, then I agree, then I support it all.³³¹

Priscilla Hayner disagrees, writing that

³²⁵ Dani W. Nabudere, ‘Ubuntu’, in *Pieces of the Puzzle*, ed. by Villa-Vicencio and Doxtader, pp. 10-16, (p.13).

³²⁶ Charles Villa-Vicencio, ‘Reconciliation’, in *Pieces of the Puzzle*, ed. by Charles Villa-Vicencio and Erik Doxtader, (Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2004) pp. 3-9, (p.5).

³²⁷ Tutu, *No Future without Forgiveness*, pp. 34-36.

³²⁸ Ibid, p. 219.

³²⁹ Tutu, *No Future without Forgiveness*, p. 91.

³³⁰ Charles Villa-Vicencio, ‘Reconciliation’, in *Pieces of the Puzzle*, ed. by Villa-Vicencio and Doxtader, pp.3-9, (p. 4).

³³¹ Dani W. Nabudere, ‘Ubuntu’, in *Pieces of the Puzzle*, ed. by Villa-Vicencio and Doxtader, pp. 10-16, (p. 15).

Forgiveness, healing and reconciliation are deeply personal processes, and each person's needs and reactions to peace making and truth-telling may be radically different.³³²

I.e. victims who testified were 'forced' to forgive their perpetrators, in a potentially damaging way.³³³

The linking of *ubuntu* and the concept of the *imago Dei* summarise Tutu's theology of reconciliation. Michael Battle writes of Tutu's view:

Only by means of absolute dependence on God and neighbour-including both blacks and whites-can true human identity be discovered. Indeed, such human interdependence is built into our very creation by our being created in God's image, our common *imago Dei*.³³⁴

The vision of restitution as relational, as existing in this space between humanity, created by God, who in this view exists only for each other, is compelling. Tutu's *ubuntu* theology and his view of the need for relational equality and justice makes restitution integral to the process of reconciliation.

4.4.2.3 Restitution as a Path of Embodied Praxis

So restitution can be understood as radical, as relational, but how is it embodied praxis? Ackermann, in her paper 'Reconciliation as embodied change', argues that three particular approaches to reconciliation speak to this theme of embodiment. The individual and social aspects of reconciliation; the religious core; and the emphasis on righting relationships are key. She traces the arguments of three authors in this field in order to explore these themes: Robert Schreiter, John de Gruchy and Flora Keshgegian.³³⁵ Each contributes to her understanding of reconciliation as firstly action, as change, as praxis, and the way these themes intertwine, in God's reaching out to us through the gospels as the bridge of grace. Importantly, though, Ackermann goes on to discuss the idea of embodiment in reconciliation; that in the incarnation God became embodied and offers us reconciliation.

³³² Priscilla B. Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths: Facing the Challenge of Truth Commissions*, (New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 155.

³³³ Antjie Krog, 'This thing called reconciliation': forgiveness as part of an interconnectedness-towards-wholeness', in *In the Balance*, edited by du Toit and Doxtader, pp. 140-147.

³³⁴ Battle, *Reconciliation*, p. 40.

³³⁵ Ackermann, 'Reconciliation as Embodied Change'. See also Flora A. Keshgegian, *Redeeming Memories: A Theology of Healing and Transformation*, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2000).

The Christian idea of reconciliation (and salvation) has no meaning outside the body and its well-being. When we speak of the Word who became flesh, we are not only hungering for healing and wholeness, but we are claiming the totality of reconciliation promised to us in and through the Word.³³⁶

Reconciliation, she argues, is at the core of a community, a 'body of Christ', who are willing to embrace 'the other' 'in Christ'. She posits a movement towards reconciliation as praxis for change as follows

God is the author of reconciliation. This leads to humans' responses of awareness of the alienated situation, and then public acknowledgement through lament. Public acknowledgement includes truth telling.³³⁷

Lament gives us a language that allows us to name both the suffering and the guilt to God. It gives us the hope of change. Lament is 'a wailing of the human soul, a barrage of tears, wails, reproaches, petitions, praise and hopes which beat against the heart of God.'³³⁸ Lament must be relational, and in Walter Brueggemann's words, 'it pushes the boundaries of our relationships with one another and with God beyond their generally defined limits of acceptability'.³³⁹

Ackermann goes on to discuss forgiveness (the complexities of which I discussed earlier) as the next stage of this praxis for change. Forgiveness, as she says, 'is the thorniest part of reconciliation.'³⁴⁰

Justice is Ackermann's last move in the journey towards embodied praxis for change in reconciliation. Again, I have discussed justice already, but Ackermann sums up:

Forgiveness does not rule out just punishment and it does not excuse the wrongdoer. It simply militates against vengeance and a continuous cycle of violence. It is balanced by love...whatever kind of justice is chosen, reconciliation without justice is simply immoral.³⁴¹

³³⁶ Ackermann, 'Reconciliation as Embodied Change', p. 59.

³³⁷ Ibid., p. 61.

³³⁸ Denise M. Ackermann, 'Lamenting Tragedy from "The Other Side", chapter VIII, in *Sameness and Difference: Problems and Potentials in South African Civil Society, South African Philosophical Studies, I*, edited by Cochrane, J.R. and B. Klein, (2000) <[http:// www.crvorg/book/series02/ii-6/chapter_viii.htm](http://www.crvorg/book/series02/ii-6/chapter_viii.htm)> [accessed 6 July 2014], p. 6.

³³⁹ Walter Brueggemann, 'The Shape for Old Testament Theology: 11 Embrace of Pain', *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 47, p. 400. See also John Swinton, *Raging With Compassion: Pastoral Responses to the Problem of Evil*, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 2007); Kathleen D. Billman and Daniel L. Migliore, *Rachel's Cry: Prayer of Lament and Rebirth of Hope* (Cleveland: United Church Press, 1999); Sally A. Brown and Patrick D. Miller, eds., *Lament: Reclaiming Practices in Pulpit, Pew, and Public Square*, (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005).

³⁴⁰ Ackermann, 'Reconciliation as embodied change', p. 62.

³⁴¹ Ibid., p. 65.

Ackermann joins all these pieces in the reconciliation journey together in ritual. Ritual holds the promise of healing broken relationships, and the Eucharist, she argues, is 'extraordinarily significant for reconciliation'. The Eucharist brings together our bodies, with the gift of Christ; it is the 'sacrament of equality'; it asks us to 'embody reconciling praxis that serves the needs of the world.'³⁴²

In seeing restitution as embodied reconciliation, I follow Denise Ackermann's view of reconciliation as embodied praxis for change. Restitution as embodied reconciliation is risky. It takes us far along the path of openness, of the willingness to give back to the other what we have received. It is not just about sharing what God gives us in his body. It is also, and crucially, about recognising that we have taken too much, and in doing so, we harm our neighbour. But we also harm ourselves, as *ubuntu* tells us. We need this recognition, not to shame ourselves, but to want to give out of God's grace, to make things more equal, more just. Moreover, restitution must be about something real, material, something that will truly make a difference to how 'the other' lives. How we share in that realisation, and then how we come to a common mind, is crucial.

4.4.2.4 Restitution as a Path of Embrace

Miroslav Volf's important work, *Exclusion and Embrace*, is where we turn for the final stage of this journey. Volf is a Croatian theologian, and takes as his starting point 'the momentous inner tension in the typically modern narrative of inclusion'.³⁴³ He sites his thinking about reconciliation in terms of identity and otherness. He argues that the idealised view from the modern and colonial era of progressive inclusion was in fact one of exclusion and that the modern self is borne out of this exclusion of the other. 'Us' in the modern West and 'not us' in the rest of the world are at opposite ends of the civilisation spectrum.³⁴⁴ Volf's theology of creation supposes a binding and a separating. God creates, differentiates and judges. He does not collapse everything into complete sameness or otherness. Hence the sin of exclusion which reconfigures creation by playing God-binding or separating what has already been formed. Volf writes

³⁴² Ackermann, 'Reconciliation as embodied change', p. 67.

³⁴³ Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace*.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 58-64.

We are who we are not because we are separate from others who are next to us, but because we are *both* separate and connected, *both* distinct and related; the boundaries that mark our identities are both barriers and bridges.³⁴⁵

Exclusion then acts in two ways-to negate the separateness, and therefore the identity of 'the other, who is then subjugated to our selves'; and also to disconnect the other from us, destroying the pattern of interdependence and thus putting ourselves in a position of 'sovereign independence'.³⁴⁶ Both these processes can be said to characterise the apartheid regime. Also, I would argue, they go some way along the line of describing psychoanalytically what happens in psychotic illness, when the edges or boundaries of 'me' versus 'you' can either be blurred to the point of non-existence, or completely disconnected.

Volf traces the 'sin of exclusion' to the 'pursuit of false purity'. He argues that the source of evil lies within us, in the 'impure heart', quoting Mark 7:15. Moreover, we project our own difficulties onto 'the other'.³⁴⁷ Hatred, shame, envy, narcissism are rejected as 'not me', and 'given' to the other. This projection allows us to remain pure. Again, I would argue, an acute psychoanalytic conceptualisation of how we manage our lives.

The sin of exclusion then is played out in various ways. We exclude by elimination. We destroy 'you and your culture' (Rwanda and Bosnia). But we also exclude by assimilation-we won't kill you if you become like us and give up who you are. Or, we exclude by domination-we make you inferior (apartheid South Africa). Finally, and increasingly nuanced, we exclude by abandonment. We get richer, we hide in our clean lives, and we keep ourselves at a safe distance from you-unless you have anything we need.³⁴⁸

In terms of restitution as embodied reconciliation, these mechanisms allow us to understand how important this concept of embodiment is. These are bodies which are excluded, at the deepest level. Not only are real bodies annihilated by being actually killed, but bodies exist in a space, and in exclusion as Volf describes, that space is destroyed, subverted into something we don't recognise as belonging to us, or fenced round so that we can no longer get in. These clearly have further effects on our sense of self, dignity, self-confidence, and ability to relate to others. Restitution as

³⁴⁵ Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace*, p. 66.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

more than words, as an embodiment of what is needed to reconcile, can therefore be seen as having the potential to address some of this exclusion: through material means, certainly, but also, through redressing lacks of dignity, of confidence, and of self-worth.

How then does Volf take us towards the 'embrace'? He describes four moments: repentance; forgiveness; making space in oneself for the other; and the healing of memory.³⁴⁹ Repentance involves a turning around, a change of heart, a new way, by the oppressors. But Volf argues strongly that repentance is also necessary for the victims. He writes

Jesus combines a deep commitment to 'seeing the oppressed go free' with an acute awareness that the oppressed-that we!-need repentance, a radical reorientation of basic attitudes and actions in response to God's coming salvation.³⁵⁰

This two way looking of repentance has deep overtones of *ubuntu*: 'as you are damaged so I am degraded'. This also speaks to my argument for the necessity for restitution to be two-way. It has power to engender true reconciliation when both parties acknowledge their need of it and take responsibility for bringing it about.

Genuine repentance, argues Volf, is hard. But forgiveness is even more difficult. He understands the reluctance to forgive, and argues that victims may well find that forgiveness perpetuates the injustice already heaped on them. He echoes Hannah Arendt's view that revenge is enslaving, and that the only way out of the 'predicament of irreversibility' is forgiveness.³⁵¹ Volf argues that forgiveness 'enthrones' justice', and that strict restorative justice cannot lead to reconciliation. Neither can restitution help, if viewed in its narrowly legal sense.³⁵²

Restitution must be conceived as much wider than this; theologically, the freedom of God's grace, and his gift to us of forgiveness through Christ's death and life, means that the giftedness of restitution allows reconciliation to enter the justice/forgiveness paradox. Restitution makes it possible to 'see' reconciliation: both in the need for it, and its actuality. The sharing of restitution, the embodiment of reconciliation, looks both towards justice and towards forgiveness. It acknowledges that both are necessary somewhere in the process, or at least, a working towards both.

³⁴⁹ Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace*.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 118.

³⁵¹ Ibid, p. 121.

³⁵² Ibid.

Restitution itself symbolises that both forgiveness and justice are necessary, and more importantly, possible, by making visible, in its embodiment, the gift of wanting to make things right, of acknowledging the inequality, the injustice, the difference in means, worth, and dignity.

Volf turns next to 'the making of space for the other'. He develops a Trinitarian theology of the cross, arguing that forgiveness and the cross also lead us, through the Trinity, to shape our relations to each other. The self-giving love of Christ on the cross, and then the space he opens for us to be received, echo the life of the Trinity, 'the life of God is a life of self-giving and other-receiving love.'³⁵³ The Eucharist is then the ritual time in which we celebrate this divine 'making-space-for-us-and-inviting-us-in.'³⁵⁴ I will return to this important point in chapter nine in relation to the place of a sacramental theology of restitution. But for now, Volf turns to the act of 'forgetting', after the move from repentance, forgiveness, and making of space for the other.

The healing of memory, Volf argues, is about forgetting in order to remember rightly. This may be counterintuitive, but Volf writes that it is in God's eschatological forgetting that healing can occur.

At the centre of God's all-embracing memory there is a paradoxical monument to forgetting. It is the cross of Christ. God forgets humanity's sins in the same way God forgives humanity's sins: by taking sins away from humanity and placing them upon God's self.' There will be a 'new heaven and a new earth', where crying is no more. (Revelation 21)³⁵⁵

The 'drama of embrace', then, encapsulates these four moments in four acts: opening the arms, waiting, closing the arms, and opening them again. In an embrace, there is a movement which cannot be interrupted for the embrace to happen, and all four are essential.

Firstly, opening the arms signifies a discontent with my self alone, a reaching out for the other, a desire for a sharing of myself with the other. And importantly, a sign that I have made space for this other to come in, and for myself to move into the other's space. The opening of my arms represents an invitation to come in. Restitution must start somewhere, with a willingness, an openness. Secondly, waiting signifies 'non-invasion'. My desire has been made clear, now it is up to you to respond.

³⁵³ Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace*, p. 127.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 129.

³⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 140.

Likewise, true restitution must be shared, not one way, or forced (as opposed to a top-down legal or political imposition). Thirdly, in closing the arms, the goal of the embrace is reached. It must be reciprocal, but not overpowering or unequal. And, importantly, no assumptions of who the other is can or should be made. Volf argues this in terms of 'the need not to understand', following Gurevitch's work.³⁵⁶ This not understanding allows the self to see itself and the other in a new light. Restitution, I argue, also must be shared. It is about mutual giving and receiving. And similarly, no assumptions about the needs of the other must be made. This would be to destroy the very act of mutuality and enquiry into the other's embodiedness, through their need in terms of means, education, place in community etc. Fourthly, the final act of opening the arms again needs to happen if one's boundary is not to become subsumed into the other. The opening of the arms also allows for further embrace.³⁵⁷

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have set out to explore restitution in the reconciliation journey. In order to do this, I first concurred with Bongani Finca, and his wonderful parable of Zulu, Mr White and the cow that restitution and reconciliation are linked and importantly, that restitution is necessary for reconciliation. I noted with the problematic and over simplistic use of restitution as something purely 'given back to replace something taken', and began by exploring its legal origins, as the place where it has been most studied, and, as already noted in chapter 1, there has been little theological work on it to date. I therefore first trace the arguments through the justice field, following Amartya Sen in the importance of viewing justice as to do with 'the way people's lives go', and what restitution means in praxis therefore. I then move to look in some detail at restorative justice, as the area of justice in which restitution best sits, and discuss in particular its African cultural practice over centuries. Howard Nesper's paper on restorative justice and crime enables a wider scope to be examined,

³⁵⁶ Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace*, p.143 and see also Z.D. Gurevitch, 'The Power of Not Understanding: The Meeting of Conflicting Identities', *The Journal of Applied Behavioural Science* 25 (2 1989), pp. 161-173, (p.163).

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

although it does not have great relevance to my arguments in the reconciliation context.³⁵⁸

I turn next to the concept of transitional justice within this, and extend the arguments towards a contextual view, including the idea of *gacaca* courts in Rwanda, and Wendy Lambourne's concept of transformational justice. I then turn to look at Barkan and others' view of restitution as a 'moral obligation', while expanding the purely legal sense into a sociological and more 'creative' ambit. Swartz and Scott provide a hugely important sociological argument of restitution as to do with personhood, and I concur with their arguments of restitution of personhood as including dignity, memory, equality, opportunity, means and citizenship. They also look at the concept of 'positionality', which echoes Lambourne's view of transformational justice, and they give pertinent contextual examples from South Africa, but also in other global and interpersonal contexts. This brings me towards a theological discussion of restitution, and comes close to restitution as 'embodied reconciliation'.

In terms of the theological models or arguments I have looked at in this chapter, I move towards a concept of restitution as embodied reconciliation, borrowing from each, while extending my thinking based on these arguments. I have noted the dearth of theological writing about restitution itself. Following Boesak and others, I present a biblical exploration of the best known example of restitution, the story of Zacchaeus. Importantly, the theme of 'seeing' arises from the Zacchaeus pericope, and links closely to the need for observation and fieldwork i.e. for studying the praxis of restitution I turn to allied concepts on which restitution has some bearing, such as atonement and liberation, with particular emphasis on contextual theology in South Africa. William Danaher's paper on resurrection and restorative justice is an important contextual argument in the post-apartheid setting. He writes

In post-Apartheid South Africa, this vision [of human dignity that the Resurrection brings, and contextually, with this, in South Africa, the human flourishing that ubuntu commends] calls the Church to continue advocating for social and governmental structures that secure the minimum conditions for human flourishing, particularly with regard to adequate housing, education, and employment. Part of this advocacy would be the prophetic judgment against that which destroys the relations that constitute the human, such as violence, oppression,

³⁵⁸ J.J. Naser, 'Restorative Justice as Reaction to Crime: Development and Conceptualisation', *Crime Research in South Africa*, 2, 2 (2001), <<http://www.crisa.org.za>> [accessed 2 July 2014].

disease, and deprivation. This advocacy would not simply be implicit in the alternative sociality that Christians embody as the Church; it must also take on a prophetic role similar to the Church's vocation to speak out during the struggle against Apartheid.³⁵⁹

. I turn to papers by Swartz, and Maluleke, as specifically theological readings of restitution, but find they only take us so far in understanding of an embodied reconciliation. In order to do this, I discussed in some detail four views of reconciliation as being the closest in the current state of the research to what restitution might mean theologically, within the reconciliation journey.

De Gruchy argues that reconciliation is first and foremost praxis, before it can be theory. Ackermann writes of reconciliation as embodied praxis for change. Tutu's *ubuntu* theology, and Boesak and DeYoung's radical reconciliation add relationship and radicalism. Volf's concepts of exclusion and embrace draw attention to the space where reconciliation is needed, and ways of making space for it to happen. I have argued that restitution as embodied reconciliation needs all of these, in an interplay of grace and justice; process and risk; relationship and embrace. But these are theories, while although may be able to bring us close to a broader understanding of restitution, are not able to wholly answer the question of what a theology of restitution looks like in a reconciliation process. If reconciliation is indeed praxis first, as I maintain with de Gruchy, then it is crucial to explore how the praxis, and these theories of restitution, look like for the people actually engaged in the process. If restitution is indeed reconciliation embodied, then it is in that very embodiedness that its nature and parts may be revealed. Each of these four takes us some way towards describing the mechanisms that allow us to understand how important this concept of embodiment is. However, there is no simple taxonomy of these four paths. Elements of each are necessary, as I have shown. I would argue, however, that a nuanced taxonomy, taking these points into account, brings me closest to Volf's embrace, in delineating what a theology of restitution as embodied reconciliation might look like. He describes bodies that are excluded, their space destroyed. Restitution, then, as more than words, as an embodiment of what is needed to reconcile, can therefore be seen as having the potential to address some of this exclusion: through material

³⁵⁹ William J. Danaher Jr, 'Music That Will Bring Back the Dead? Resurrection, Reconciliation, and Restorative Justice in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *Journal of Religious Ethics*, 38, 1 (2010), 115-141 < DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9795.2009.00397.x> p. 22 [accessed 3 July 2014].

means, certainly, but also, through redressing lacks of dignity, of confidence, and of self-worth.

Tutu's *ubuntu* theology allows a two way looking of repentance: 'as you are damaged so I am degraded'. I argue that restitution similarly, must be two-way. In that way it has a shared responsibility and power between both parties.

Ackermann's emphasis on the embodiment of the praxis of reconciliation and her discussion of lament within this are crucial to my understanding of restitution, but again, does not go far enough in regarding restitution itself as a vital part of this reconciliation. Boesak and DeYoung correctly view reconciliation as radical, but do not make the link that reconciliation must include restitution as a two way process. Rather, they argue strongly that justice and transformation arise from the powerless and the margins.

Restitution, I argue, must be conceived as much wider than this; theologically, the freedom of God's grace, and his gift to us of forgiveness through Christ's death and life, means that the giftedness of restitution allows reconciliation to enter the justice/forgiveness paradox. Restitution makes it possible to 'see' reconciliation: both in the need for it, and its actuality. The sharing of restitution, the embodiment of reconciliation, looks both towards justice and towards forgiveness. It acknowledges that both are necessary somewhere in the process, or at least, a working towards both. Restitution itself symbolises that both forgiveness and justice are necessary, and more importantly, possible, by making visible, in its embodiment, the gift of wanting to make things right, of acknowledging the inequality, the injustice, the difference in means, worth, and dignity.

Although Volf does not make this point, I would argue for the importance of the embrace happening in community. The embrace can take place between only two individuals, and often indeed, this is where reconciliation and restitution is needed and focussed. But theologically, restitution and reconciliation take place within the context of 'the body of Christ', that community of God's children who exist together with each other and with Christ. So, this embrace needs to be able to be extended from one individual to the other, to move between different people in this body. The Eucharist is a prime example of this... 'where two or three are gathered'... It does not take place between only one and the other. Restitution, at least in a community, after societal injustice, is about the individual's needs within the communities. How can two parts of a community make space to decide together about the sharing of their

resources, about what the bodies which make up their community need? The diversity of multiple embraces allows for the greatest understanding of these others, and the individual other, in their particular needs and desires: 'all persons, and the whole person.'

Finally, as we have already seen, embrace is risky, and it is gamble.³⁶⁰ Johan Cilliers, writing in South Africa, contextualises Volf's theology of embrace with reference to the work of the TRC.³⁶¹

I have argued that all these elements are pertinent to a new and broader theological understanding of restitution: as radical, embodied, relational, and as embrace. But what then makes restitution different from reconciliation? It seems that a key concept may still be missing from this theological understanding of how restitution operates, what it means. What is particular theologically about restitution, as distinct from reconciliation, or even justice, or forgiveness? And crucially, do these concepts resonate with the experience of those engaged in restitution in their day to day lives? Deon Snyman reports that Desmond Tutu in a discussion at the 10th celebration of the TRC said

A deep sadness has been the fact that, by and large, the sheltered white community has yet to acknowledge and respond to the incredible generosity that has come from the black community....I just hope that one day, somehow, there will be a way in which to say thank you for not wanting to knock our heads off.³⁶²

Tutu has emphasised the necessity of restitution and also voiced his concern that the white community had done little since the TRC to acknowledge that it had benefited from apartheid.

I turn now in chapter five to a discussion of the methodology I used to further explore these questions of restitution within reconciliation, and look at its praxis in order to attempt to find this missing 'core', examining the complexities of bridging

³⁶⁰ Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace* p. 147.

³⁶¹ Johan Cilliers argues that the 'safe spaces' necessary for reconciliation in South Africa may be in fact more akin to enclaves than places for reconciliatory encounter. He explores the work of the TRC in the light of Volf's 'embrace', and asserts that religious communities must lead in fostering this embrace in the current context. Johan Cilliers, 'Between Enclavement and Embrace: Perspectives on the Role of Religion in Reconciliation in South Africa', *Scriptura*, 111, 3 (2012), pp. 499-508

<<http://scriptura.journals.ac.za>> [accessed 19 February 2014].

³⁶² Deon Snyman, 'July letter from the COO', Restitution Foundation, (2006)

<<http://www.restitution.org.za>> [accessed 8 August 2007].

this gap between theory and praxis, in the reality of a community working towards reconciliation.

5. Methodology: Study Design and Essential Considerations-‘Deciding What to Take, and Packing’

5.1 Introduction: 'We Need *Ruimte*'

Ruimte is an Afrikaans word, translated as space or platform. One of my interviewees used it to describe what is needed for the process of reconciliation to occur. This chapter, in which I discuss the methods I employed and the underlying methodology out of which the fieldwork grew, is also about *ruimte*, or space. This is a theological space, and specifically here, the 'research space', the platform for the fieldwork to take place. This chapter explores the methodological platform that forms the basis for the research, and the methods used to conduct it. This is a practical theological enterprise, and having set the scene in the preceding chapters, this chapter discusses the qualitative approach that I have undertaken in order to explore the research question.

5.2 The Worcester Community

The community in Worcester, where I placed myself for this work, lives and relates to each other and the outside world in and from their particular space, their place in the world. They journey from a particular platform, or, more accurately, platforms. I, as a researcher among them, also occupied a space, sometimes the same space, although sometimes departing from a very different platform. The concept of space can be a helpful tool in envisaging the process of empirical research. It encourages embodiment of knowledge, of truths, of the words used to try and explicate what is happening. It incorporates not only words or speech, but other functions and necessities which are of the body: the need to breathe, to feel, to move, to act, to relate. Bodies of course can be wounded, and healed. The community in Worcester can be conceptualised as such a 'body'. Theologically, people exist in communities as the 'body of Christ'.³⁶³ The body, the community in Worcester has functions and needs, some universal and some particular to the space in which it exists, the

³⁶³ See also Cas Wepener's study of three DRC congregations, in terms of ritual space, liturgy and reconciliation: *From Fast to Feast: A Ritual-Liturgical Exploration of Reconciliation in South African Cultural Contexts*, (Leuven: Peeters, 2009).

platforms from which it operates.³⁶⁴ Envisaging the community in this way, as 'body' and inhabiting a space, a *ruimte*, enables and allows as full a description as possible of the people, the place, the relationships, and hence an understanding of where a particular body is, how it is, and what it needs. Mary McClintock Fulkerson refers to these needs as 'woundedness', as a place which is able then to be transformative, to generate new theological understanding and a creative approach.

Theologies that matter arise out of dilemmas—out of situations that matter. The generative process of theological understanding is a process provoked, not confined to preconceived, fixed categories. Rather, as Charles Winquist is reported to have said, creative thinking originates at the scene of a wound. Wounds generate new thinking. Disjunctions birth invention—from a disjuncture in logic, where reasoning is compelled to find new connections in thought, to brokenness in existence, where creativity is compelled to search for possibilities of reconciliation. Like a wound, theological thinking is generated by a sometimes inchoate sense that something *must* be addressed.³⁶⁵

5.3 Research Questions

In this chapter I discuss why and how I as the researcher interacted with this community in their space, out of their wound of the need for reconciliation, and discuss why I decided to inhabit that particular space and how the underlying research questions led me there. In the case of restitution within the reconciliation journey, a 'sense that something must be addressed' was borne out of the inequality, the socioeconomic injustice, the need for reconnection and transformation. The primary theological questions that I am addressing are

- 1. How adequate are the current understandings of restitution in relation to the reconciliation journey?**
- 2. What would a theology of restitution based on a broader understanding look like?**

Within these questions sit the research questions which best enable the overarching questions to be answered, and typically, in qualitative research, these may change or be refined as the research progresses, and new data emerges. What I found after commencing the fieldwork in Worcester, was that a more general question about

³⁶⁴ I discuss embodiment in chapter nine.

³⁶⁵ Mary Mc Clintock Fulkerson, *Places of Redemption: Theology for a Worldly Church*, (Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online, 2007) <DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199296477.001.0001> [accessed 3 July 2014], p. 14.

reconciliation was needed. The questions for the fieldwork thus became

A. What makes up the reconciliation journey in Worcester?

B. How do these factors relate to each other and to God?

These then enable the generation of specific questions for the fieldwork in Worcester, of which the primary questions about restitution can be asked, i.e.

C. Where is restitution found in the reconciliation journey?

D. And in what ways is it theological?

It is helpful to know which theoretical platform I am departing from in order to best answer these questions. While theology is clearly the overarching discipline I am working in, what space within this broad category best holds this community of people travelling together on the reconciliatory journey? Where can their words, their seeing, their knowing, their changing, be most properly and truthfully represented and reflected upon, by themselves and by the research process? The very fact that I have engaged with a living community already points towards the fact that this research is an ethical and practical theological enterprise.

The embodied practices of a community travelling towards reconciliation are also crucial to this project. Liturgical practice in its widest definition (the work of the people) is key-eating together, seeing and knowing the other in the various occasions of ordinary and extraordinary life-and needs to be included in this space. How then are these different areas within this space held together? In the foreword to Christian Scharen and Aana Marie Vigen's book, *Ethnography as Christian Theology and Ethics*, Mary McClintock Fulkerson writes

So which part of the life of a Christian community is 'theological' or 'theologically ethical'? Is it the talk? The sermon? Or the recital of creeds? Is it the counseling done by the minister? Does 'theological' only refer to things said in church space? If so, where does that leave those who do not understand Trinitarian dogma? Or those who live on the streets-whose major vocation is survival? What have the color of bodies and the status accorded different bodies in our cultures to do with 'theology'? Unfortunately, many expert definitions of 'theological' do not offer ways to read these other spaces, practices and lives.³⁶⁶

Fulkerson proceeds, concurring with the authors that a reading of theology and ethics using ethnography as a core discipline allows an 'alternative vision'.

³⁶⁶ In foreword to Christian Scharen and Aana Marie Vigen, *Ethnography as Christian Theology and Ethics*, (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011), p. xi.

By interpreting the practices of ethnography as 'theology and ethics' these worldly realities, in all their complexity, difference and messiness, are thereby granted status as places where the divine presence can and must be discerned and as central to real theology.³⁶⁷

I would extend this further and argue that in the praxis of theology in the reality and messiness of the world, other fields such as psychology, sociology and politics should not be excluded and can be additionally helpful in attempting to discern the 'divine presence'. Alongside the embodied practice of liturgy, they can act as further ways to read how the space is inhabited, as platforms in their own right. These fields, then, need not exist in different spaces to each other, but in this messy reality of lives lived, exist if not together, at least able to occupy the same broad space. This is not of course to collapse these different disciplines into each other, but to not take cognisance of their relevance to the same space seems mistaken.

To give an example from two very different disciplines, biblical studies and psychoanalytic psychotherapy, the processes (of biblical exegesis and psychoanalytical interpretation) rely on surprisingly similar techniques and attention to phraseology, word structure and placement, and so on. Likewise, the pastoral conversation during a funeral visit, and good history taking from a patient in the consulting room, have overlaps in both form and content, and of course rely on many of the same listening and in fact 'diagnostic' skills. In neither of these examples would I suggest that it is right to collapse the two disciplines into each other, or even that that is a danger, but not to take note of what one might learn from the other, at least in terms of utilisable skills, is a mistake.

This concept of the ability to live together or alongside is of course also a crucial question in the reconciliation paradigm, and hence it is fitting that the methodological underpinning used to try to answer these questions of what constitutes the reconciliation journey should also embody this idea. I therefore place this project within that space: of a practical theological paradigm informed by an ethnographic stance which embodies theological ethics and liturgical practice, as well as drawing from social scientific and other methods. In this chapter I consider the methodologies and methods of practical theology, and then explore how this particular ethnographic stance has informed this research. I then go on to certain key concepts or conditions needed in the field, while discussing the method and analysis process of the fieldwork.

³⁶⁷ In foreword to Scharen and Vigen, *Ethnography as Christian Theology and Ethics*, p. xi.

5.4 Relationship between Practical Theology and Qualitative Research

The varying platforms which these disciplines and sub disciplines come from are all a necessary part of this space. Together with the other three legs of scripture, reason and tradition, experience plays an integral role in teasing out what is actually happening within this community, this body of Christ in Worcester, faithfully journeying together towards the hope of a better future. At the heart of 'what is actually happening within this community' are the epistemological and ontological questions, concerning the nature of truth and reality, with and for and about these people in this space. What is the truth about restitution, or the nature of reconciliation? The truth in this context is interpreted by the community (including the researcher). Reality can be and is always 'negotiated'. Reality can be sought in qualitative research, not as 'evidence' but as a joint enterprise between construction and interpretation of human behaviour. Swinton and Mowat write

The meaning and definition of reality is therefore flexible, and open to negotiation depending on circumstances, perception, knowledge, power structures and so forth.³⁶⁸

This chapter on method therefore places experience at the heart of how these truths and realities can be understood in this space, within a constructivist paradigm³⁶⁹, and through the concepts I have outlined, and looks at how the research process sets about engaging with the varied and rich experience of this community.

5.4.1 The Body of Christ in Conversation with Practical Theology

To proclaim God is not a propositional existential exercise but an event in which God's promise of justice, healing and reconciliation erupts into history, something that cannot be viewed dispassionately but demands a corresponding participation in the renewal of social reality. 'Ideas alone are never the message of the Gospel. Action is.'³⁷⁰

Practical theology seeks to challenge norms in society, in communities. It seeks to understand critically, and to mediate

³⁶⁸ Swinton and Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research*, p. 36.

³⁶⁹ Constructivism implies an epistemological position that there are differing realities, and that the researcher takes an active part as 'co-creator of the interpretive experience.' See Swinton and Mowat, *Practical Theology*, p. 35.

³⁷⁰ Karl Rahner, *Theology of Pastoral Action*, (New York: Herder and Herder, 1968), p.132.

Between the practices of the Christian faith and the practices of the world. Action, within the horizon of the practical theologian, is never action for action's sake, but always action in the service of revelation and mediation of the gospel.³⁷¹

I would argue that the process of asking and trying to answer the question 'What is a theology of restitution?' lies within this paradigm. The people of Worcester are traumatised by the bombing, and by years of structural deprivation during the apartheid era. They are responding by trying to generate a new way of life, one which is more relational, more equal, more just, and more peaceful. They are telling each other their stories in the hope of better understanding. They are undertaking this hopeful enterprise out of the belief that in Olga's meeting with Stefaans in prison, they were given a gift from God, a glimpse of how things could be, a grace-filled, potentially transformative moment. Practical theology and ethics are not purely descriptive or interpretive, nor can they be only contextual. The move from praxis to theory to praxis addresses the trauma, and the gift, and should be generalisable. It can take account of divine revelation within the material injustices of a struggling community, in Worcester or anywhere. Scharen and Vigen argue that

At its best, theology and ethics represent intentional and nuanced efforts to make sense of suffering and to do something (e.g. Prophetic, pastoral, constructive, hope-filled) about it-to create 'places of redemption.'³⁷²

In the case of restitution, I would go even further, and suggest that instead of 'places of redemption' a eucharistic space can be created. A space which is sacred in the ordinary, which has room for the story of God and the story of the people, which is about work, being together, sharing gift, transformation. This is what the community in Worcester is searching for, and it is the job of the practical theologian as *action* researcher to seek to understand, interpret and help to embody. Thus action and change is the assumption, the purpose of the research, and informs and extends theological critical correlation in the search for eucharistic space.

³⁷¹ Swinton and Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research*, p. 258.

³⁷² Scharen and Vigen, *Ethnography as Christian Theology and Ethics*, p. 66.

5.4.2 Practical Theology

Practical theology is the starting point for my empirical fieldwork. The joining of abstract ideas and practical knowledge or observation leads potentially towards a fruitful working out of what is actually going on within a theological and embodied process, such as restitution. Ballard and Pritchard define practical theology as centred upon ‘the life of the whole people of God in the variety of its witness and service, as it lives in, and for the world. It asks questions concerning Christian understanding, insight and obedience in the concrete reality of our existence.’³⁷³ This speaks closely to how I understand the process of my research in the Worcester setting, importantly the asking of questions in a concrete reality.

Richard Osmer argues that practical theology involves four key tasks: ‘the descriptive-empirical, the interpretive, the normative, and the pragmatic. It is helpful to conceptualise these four tasks with the image of a hermeneutical circle, which portrays interpretation as composed of distinct but interrelated moments.’³⁷⁴ Pattison and Woodward define practical theology as

a place where religious belief, tradition and practice meets contemporary experiences, questions and actions and conducts a dialogue that is mutually enriching, intellectually critical, and practically transforming.³⁷⁵

Furthermore, they delineate a number of elements that are typical of practical theology: it is a transformational activity; it is confessional and honest; it is unsystematic (or necessarily provisional); it is truthful and committed; it is contextual and situationally related; it is socio-politically aware and committed; experiential; reflectively based; interrogative; interdisciplinary; analytical and constructive; dialectical and disciplined; skilful and demanding.³⁷⁶ As such, practical theology is necessarily interdisciplinary and consists of a conversation between theory and practice, religious tradition and experience, formal theology in the form of ‘text’s and the ‘texts’ of present experience, theology and other disciplines such as sociology,

³⁷³ Paul Ballard and J. Pritchard, *Practical Theology in Action: Christian Thinking in the Service of Church and Society*, (London: SPCK, 1996), p.27.

³⁷⁴ Richard R. Osmer, *Practical Theology: An Introduction*, (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2008), p.10.

³⁷⁵ James Woodward and Stephen Pattison, eds., *The Blackwell Reader in Pastoral and Practical Theology*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), p.7.

³⁷⁶ James Woodward and Stephen Pattison, eds., *The Blackwell Reader in Pastoral and Practical Theology*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), p.13-16.

psychology, contextual, situational and metanarrative views.³⁷⁷ Elaine Graham et al provide an historical overview of practical theology, and write that there has been an epistemological shift so that now theology is understood as ‘critical reflection on faithful practice in a variety of settings’.³⁷⁸ This fits well with what I set out to do in the fieldwork in Worcester. Duncan Forrester writes

The refusal to take the question of truth seriously leads to practice which is ill-considered and dangerously responsive to the pressures of the powerful and of the moment...Practical Theology is that branch of theology which is concerned with questions of truth in relation to action. This points to a deep reciprocity between theory and practice, whereby theological understanding not only leads to action, but also arises out of practice, involvement in the life of the world: ‘He who does what is true comes to the light.’...Practical Theology is therefore concerned with the doing of the truth, and with the encounter of truth in action.³⁷⁹

The aim of practical theology is to attempt to understand, to evaluate, to criticise, and ultimately to shape and transform Christian practice in the world. As such, it is both theoretical enquiry and deeply practical. Studying an embodied and lived process such as reconciliation, the journey being undertaken by the people of Worcester, thus lends itself to the discipline of practical theology. It is important however to reiterate that I see this as working alongside theoretical study of these theological processes through other lenses, particularly that of sacramental theology. I will come back to this in later chapters. However, these strains of thought are not mutually exclusive, i.e. theoretical theological considerations and practical praxis-based explorations can and must be symbiotic. Bonhoeffer writes in *Life Together* what might be seen as a mandate for working with the practical theology lens in such a community as I am engaged with.

By sheer grace God will not permit us to live even for a brief period in a dream world. He does not abandon us to those rapturous experiences and lofty moods that come over us like a dream. God is not a God of the emotions but the God of truth. Only that fellowship which faces such disillusionment, with all its unhappy and ugly aspects, begins to be what it should be in God’s sight, begins to grasp in faith the promise that is given to it.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁷James Woodward and Stephen Pattison, eds., *The Blackwell Reader in Pastoral and Practical Theology*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), p.16.

³⁷⁸ Elaine Graham, Heather Walton and Frances Ward, *Theological Reflection: Methods*, (London: SCM Press, 2005), p.2.

³⁷⁹ Duncan Forrester, *Truthful Action: Explorations in Practical Theology*, (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), p. 16.

³⁸⁰ Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Life Together*, (London: SCM Press, 1954), p. 15.

This then, allows a deep exploration of how the community, in this case, the Worcester community, is able to live better together. The process of engaging with this reconciliatory process with the ‘ugliness’, the ‘disillusionment’, and the grace-filled moments, needs to be understood on a practical embodied level, as well as a deeply theological one.

Reflecting theologically, then, on a ‘deeply practical’ process requires a concept, as Groome writes, that it is the practice of ‘God in history as it is co-constituted through human praxis that is our primary text and context for doing theology.’³⁸¹ Reconciliation cannot be a purely ‘word’ based concept; it needs to be embodied for it to have the power to be transformative. So to regard the theoretical and ethical thinking that needs to be done about this issue of moral life as enough to inform human wellbeing, without involving the praxis of it, is a mistake. Engaging with this practical knowledge, this ‘doing’, enables a more complete understanding and therefore potential for change which may be lost without this embodiment of the theory.

Practical theology ‘seeks to explore the complex dynamics of particular situations in order to enable the development of a transformative and illuminating understanding of what is going on within these situations.’³⁸² It is a ‘looking beyond the veil of normality’ in order to plumb what is actually occurring. Swinton and Mowat delineate four key points:

1. Practical theological enquiry is critical i.e. it requires us to look honestly at and question current practice. Importantly, the theoretical understanding we come to about scripture and tradition always emerge from some context.
2. It is theological, rather than located within the social scientific or other related disciplines, a criticism often levelled at it
3. It takes place in the world, not just within a Christian community
4. It enables faithful practice.³⁸³

These points serve to set a framework for this study of a community struggling with the practice of living and embodying a theological concept.

The fact that the praxis of reconciliation is where this thesis begins is crucial

³⁸¹ Groome in Swinton and Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research*, p. 24.

³⁸² Swinton and Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research*, , p. 1.

³⁸³ Ibid., p. 9.

to understanding this model of restitution within reconciliation, and it is located in a specific context. This however does not mean that this context is where the thinking and the theory which arises from the praxis must remain. Faithful practice within the Christian tradition must not be only contextually based, and the aim must be to enable the findings of critical theological study of a particular context more generally. Qualitative research allows this praxis to be explored within a particular context. I turn now to discuss how and why this is best enabled.

5.4.3 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research explores the lived experience of individuals or groups in their setting. It is incumbent upon the researcher to be faithful to this lived experience, using appropriate research methods, and ideally, more than one method. Looking in detail, then, at such a multi-method approach within qualitative research, it is necessary first to discuss the theoretical concepts. Qualitative research is multivarious and there are many definitions. Denzin and Lincoln define it as follows,

Qualitative research is multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.³⁸⁴

It is not appropriate here to explicate the many different forms, or history, within qualitative research. However, it is worth delineating where my research fits within an epistemological and ontological framework. Lynne Butler-Kisber uses a continuum from positivistic (modern era, realist; objective, external reality) to qualitative research (post-modern, constructed reality, and then through critical realist, pragmatist, constructivist to relativist).³⁸⁵ Quantitative research appears at the positivistic end of the continuum. An understanding of the nature of reality and knowledge in the kind of research I am undertaking does not fit the quantitative mould. Within qualitative paradigms, Snape and Spencer write that

³⁸⁴ N.K. Denzin, N.K. and Y.S. Lincoln, *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998), p.3.

³⁸⁵ D. Snape and L. Spencer, 'The foundations of qualitative research', in *Qualitative Research Practice: A guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*, ed. by J. Ritchie and J. Lewis, (London: Sage, 2003), p. 1-23, (p.17).

the researcher and the social world impact on each other, facts and values are not distinct and findings are inevitably influenced by the researcher's perspectives and values...and...the methods of natural science are not appropriate because the social world is not governed by law-like regulations but is mediated through meaning and human agency.³⁸⁶

This is a theological project. Theology in its broadest sense, therefore, has to be the overarching paradigm within which the qualitative methods are employed to help answer the research question. Given this, my research borrows from the 'revised critical correlation' method.³⁸⁷ Following Stephen Pattison's model of mutual critical conversation seems to provide in the space of the Worcester community, an authentic way of asking the research questions.³⁸⁸ The resulting research findings present the best stab at finding the 'truth' of what is happening in reconciliation and restitution in Worcester, and are given as part of the ongoing praxis and reflective theory in that setting. Pattison writes,

Participation in a conversation implies a willingness to listen and be attentive to the other participants...the concept of conversation does not necessarily imply that participants end up agreeing at every point or that the identity of one overrides the character of the others...Conversations are often difficult and demand considerable effort because participants start from very different assumptions and understandings.³⁸⁹

There is, however, a major caveat. Pattison's model of conversation partners within the cycle of experience, to exploration (by other disciplines), to theology, to revision of practice, is worrying epistemologically, in that human knowledge might thus be privileged over the divine. I see theology therefore in this thesis as the overarching discipline, with sociology providing an appropriate means of adding to the understanding of, and investigating the research questions. I have discussed this in more detail in chapter one.

So, where does that leave this question of restitution and reconciliation? Going back to the particular space occupied by the body in Worcester, two further concepts may be helpful to delineate where this research is placed.

Firstly, the people of the Worcester process are engaged in a corporate narrative. Elaine Graham discusses 'corporate theological reflection', and how a

³⁸⁶ Butler-Kisber, *Qualitative Inquiry*, p. 6.

³⁸⁷ Swinton and Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research*, p. 88.

³⁸⁸ Stephen Pattison, 'Some straws for the bricks: a basic introduction to theological reflection', *Contact*, 99 (2), 2-9.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

community of faith can together create a narrative of its life together through a 'central metaphor, or symbolic practices such as prayer, eating and working together.'³⁹⁰ She cites Don Browning and his work with congregations. Browning writes of communities of memory and practical moral reasoning, in dialogue with their context.³⁹¹ Placing this idea of a corporate narrative within a community building its life together in dialogue with its context, lends itself to the community in Worcester and its journey. This has resonances with my proposition of a Eucharistic understanding of the restitution/reconciliation journey, and thus provides the theological primacy necessary to the critical conversation as discussed above. This then provides one of the underpinnings of the research method. Secondly, this research is an active and participatory ethical endeavour, which I come on to discuss in the next section.

5.4.4 Ethnography

What is meant by such an endeavour, or specifically an ethnography, which embodies such a theology and ethics? Scharen and Vigen define ethnography as

a process of attentive study of, and learning from, people-their words, practices, traditions, experiences, memories, insights-in particular times and places in order to understand how they make meaning(cultural, religious, ethical) and what they can teach us about reality, truth, beauty, moral responsibility, relationships and the divine, etc. The aim is to understand what God, human relationships, and the world looks like from their perspective-*to take them seriously as a source of wisdom and to de-center our own assumptions and evaluations.*³⁹²

They argue that 'in order to do theology and ethics well, scholars need to explore them through visceral ways, within embodied communities, and in particular contexts.'³⁹³ This is clearly a huge claim, and they recognise its challenge. However, as I have already argued, for my purpose in exploring a theology of restitution, their argument has consonance. Exploring restitution, which I argue is embodied in its very nature, has to at least begin with the particular (there is so far no overarching theology of

³⁹⁰ Graham, Walton and Ward, *Theological Reflection: Methods*, p. 109.

³⁹¹ Dan S. Browning, *A Fundamental Practical Theology: Descriptive and Strategic Proposals*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991).

³⁹² Scharen and Vigen, *Ethnography as Christian Theology and Ethics*, p. 17(my italics).

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. xviii.

restitution), and must be studied relationally (there is always an 'other' to be considered) fits well into this paradigm of ethnographic work.

Ethnography is a way to take particularity seriously-to discover truth revealed through embodied habits, relations, practices, narratives, and struggles. And as it is joined with a theological sensibility, our conviction is that each particular life, situation or community is potentially, albeit only partially, revelatory of transcendent or divine truth.³⁹⁴

They use the traditional view of how social science and theology converse (Clifford Geertz's 'thick description', to give an honest and as full as possible understanding of what is happening in the field) as a kind of staging post.³⁹⁵ However, their argument goes further, positing what seems an equal relationship between theological truth gained from fieldwork, and universal theological truth. This then becomes an 'embodied theology', which they describe as also a more accurate picture of what actually occurs. Although I have reservations about the equality of these theological truths, I would not want to downplay too far the truth gathered from fieldwork, especially in the case of a theology of restitution, which in itself can be understood as an active 'doing' of truth. Christopher Vogt writes:

Drawing largely upon Hans-Georg Gadamer's model of a fusion of horizons, Swinton explains how ethnographic research might be "sanctified" (by which he means "blessed and set aside for a special purpose") in a way that makes it theologically helpful. He points out that any "ethnographic look" (i.e., any observation that is derived from ethnographic research) is always value-laden. There is no neutral mode of mere observation in which one sees what is really going on without any act of interpretation. Ethnography always entails hermeneutics.³⁹⁶

Over-simplification of reality is a potential pitfall³⁹⁷, as is a lack of self-awareness as researcher. This is especially the case, as I have found, in a space like Worcester, with so many possible power imbalances such as race, education, privilege, not to mention the background of apartheid and colonialism. However, taking those into account, this

³⁹⁴ Scharen and Vigen, *Ethnography as Christian Theology and Ethic*, p. xxi.

³⁹⁵ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 3-30.

³⁹⁶ Christopher Vogt, 'Locating the Church in the World: Ethnography, Christian Ethics, and the Global Church', *Journal of Moral Theology*, 2, 2 (2013), pp. 158-172

<http://www.msmary.edu/College_of_liberal_arts/departments-of-theology/jmt/docs/JMT_2_2_ChurchWorldJune2013.pdf>

[accessed 29 August 2013].

³⁹⁷ Swinton and Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research*, p. 35.

method of ethnographic embodying of theology to try to answer the question of what is happening in the reconciliation/restitution journey is helpful.

A point about outcome is pertinent here. In much theological research 'on the ground', there is a desired, ethical outcome. Transformation of some sort, whether in understanding, or in actual means such as equality, justice, improvement in living conditions, is hoped for. Seeing what the theological ethnographic researcher does as 'discipleship', as Scharen and Vigen do, following Todd Whitmore's work, speaks to this hope, and resonates with my position as both priest and researcher.³⁹⁸

There are of course counter arguments to this understanding of ethnography, and in fact, the use of social science in theology at all. Notably, John Milbank contends that theology has unhelpfully allowed itself to depend on social science, which he argues has a non-objective view of theology, and keeps religion on the margins of contemporary society. While it is not appropriate or possible here to rehearse these arguments, it is at least necessary to take cognisance of them.³⁹⁹

5.5 Method

5.5.1 Key Concepts and Considerations

5.5.1.1 Research Design: Why Worcester?

I have written in chapter four about the context of this research, and hence a descriptive account of Worcester, its history and where it is placed in the Southern African context. In this chapter I concentrate on why specifically I decided to base my fieldwork in that context.

No one comes to a new space as a blank slate-we bring our history, our thoughts, our experiences, our faith, our hope, and our prejudices with us. The decision to base my empirical research in Worcester grew likewise out of a multiplicity of reasons. Most tellingly, I had previously worked with Deon Snyman of the Restitution Foundation in Cape Town, on a comparative reconciliation project,

³⁹⁸ Scharen and Vigen, *Ethnography as Christian Theology and Ethics*, p. xxv. See also Todd Whitmore, 'Crossing the Road: The Case for Ethnographic Fieldwork in Christian Ethics', *Journal of the Society of Christian Ethics* 27:2 (2007), pp. 273-274.

³⁹⁹ A useful summary of these critiques is found in chapter three, Scharen and Vigen, *Ethnography as Christian Theology and Ethics*, pp. 47-57.

when undertaking my MA in Theology and Pastoral Studies, observing interactions between previously advantaged (white) and previously disadvantaged (black) congregations, and had since then (2006) kept in touch as a mentor. I have referred to this and described the Restitution Foundation in more detail in chapter four. Through visits to Cape Town and subsequent communications with Deon, I had become something of a sounding board for him in his role with the Restitution Foundation, as the Worcester Hope and Reconciliation (WHRP) process was born, in 2010. Since the inception of the WHRP, I have been informed of meetings, sent minutes, and had many discussions with Deon about its journey. So, the Worcester community was an obvious choice. However, more crucially, as far as I understood from the Restitution Foundation, this reconciliation process was the only one in South Africa to have restitution as one of its main aims. While the catalyst for setting up the WHRP was the Christmas Eve bombing in 1996, the apartheid era is the backdrop for the racial and other issues which heralded the bombing. The WHRP thus also provided a setting to explore the effects of apartheid and the need for reconciliation and restitution among its communities.

5.5.1.2 Study Design

This is a qualitative study, within a practical theology framework, and takes a multi-method stance. Both ethnographic and active participatory tools allowed me to immerse myself in the field, and I planned on using interviews and participant observation. What I had not foreseen was the extent to which I would become actively involved in working with the reconciliation process-being asked to help organise and lead events, to open meetings with prayer, to speak on a DVD. I will return to this later.

I decided to spend two and a half months with the people of Worcester, between October 2012 and January 2013. There were several reasons for this choice of length of stay and timing. Firstly, I knew already that there would be several key events taking place during that period, which would be informative: for instance, the peace table in November and Reconciliation Day itself (a public holiday) in December. But more crucially, to engage with a body of people authentically, it is necessary to spend time with them in their space. Though I did not plan to live in Worcester, but in Cape Town with my family, I intended to spend my working time

there. Given what I already knew about the communities of Worcester, the WHRP and the events that would be taking place as part of this process, and the epistemological framework discussed above, I decided on a multi-method approach, using participant observation and themed interviews.

5.5.1.3 Research Questions and Interviews

As discussed, it became clear after starting the field work that the overarching research questions needed to be more generalised initially and then the more specific questions about restitution could be asked. Thus I was able to channel each interview question into one of the four questions generated, i.e.

- A. What makes up the reconciliation journey in Worcester?**
- B. How do these factors relate to each other and to God?**
- C. Where is restitution found in the reconciliation journey?**
- D. And in what ways is it theological?**

For example, the question 'What images come to mind when you think of restitution?' falls under question C above; and 'What do you think the aim of the process is?' falls under question A.

I discuss the interview process in the following sections. The interviews took the form of a pastoral conversation, based around twelve themes such as restitution, forgiveness, and the need for religious faith for the process of reconciliation. The questions asked in the interview were open ended and grouped according to general categories, such as reconciliation, forgiveness, restitution and faith.

5.5.1.4 Participant Observation

Fulkerson writes

How can theology matter if its content is not able to take seriously all the difference, ambiguity, beauty, horror and tragedy of created life? Christian theology and ethics must have some grasp of these messy realities, and participant observation is a marvellous way to initiate access to them.⁴⁰⁰

When I originally conceived the method for this work, I immediately came across a dilemma about how much of both my current role as an Anglican priest as well as

⁴⁰⁰ In the foreword to Scharen and Vigen, *Ethnography as Christian Tradition and Ethics*, p. xi.

PhD student, and my previous work as a psychiatrist, to introduce to the people in Worcester with whom I would be engaged. While it felt right and authentic to be open, I realised that both these 'professions' or roles would be likely to increase my participation, or inform the responses of others. This is indeed what occurred. At meetings of the WHRP, I was often asked to open the meeting with prayer. My introduction of 'the peace' (from the Eucharist) was taken up and used in corporate events such as the peace table. People I interviewed, and others, sometimes related to me as a psychiatrist, sometimes as a priest. I was called *umfundisi* (isiXhosa for priest or teacher) by some of the participants. Others asked my advice about medication or even general ailments. I was also seen as a wife and mother, as my husband and children occasionally accompanied me to particular events. Because of my research, and my Northern Irish connection, I was also seen at times as an 'expert' on reconciliation-"the researcher as instrument".⁴⁰¹

I recognised that my presence helped them to confirm the importance of the work they were undertaking, but also tried to ensure that in terms of capacity and empowerment I was not 'deferred to' in discussions, and maintained humility. Reflexivity, or critical self-awareness, is thus key in the interpretive process, and crucial to remain in that stance throughout the fieldwork encounters. I was helped in this particularly by the conversations with Deon, often as we travelled together to and from Worcester (an hour and a half's drive), as he helped to provide an informed and more neutral stance as I teased out the nuances and meanings of what I was seeing and hearing.

Transference and sensitivity as key concepts also come into play here. Transference is a central concern within psychoanalytical psychotherapy, and occurs within a therapeutic relationship. The patient in effect transfers unconscious feelings from their past (often a significant relationship) onto the therapist, either positively or negatively. These feelings can then be interpreted by the therapist as a way of increasing the patient's understanding of their difficulties, but may also lead to 'acting out' or repeating previous unhelpful patterns of engaging and behaving. I was aware at times of transferential feelings towards me during both interviews and participant observation. While this was perhaps inevitable, and given my psychoanalytic training

⁴⁰¹Swinton and Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research*, p.58.

I recognised the phenomenon, it at times made for an extra layer of observation and interpretation which was sometimes helpful, and sometimes seemed less so.

For example, I was initially surprised by the intensity of the anger directed towards me by one of the members of the process, until I was able to interpret this as transference about a significant relationship in which he had felt let down. Sensitivity is another key concept, related to this discussion on transference. Especially in an interview setting, but also in a group situation, the researcher needs to be aware of the dynamics of the relationship(s) and respond sensitively to aspects such as body language, what is not said, and so on.

5.5.1.5 Researcher as Research Instrument

There are certain ethical and practical expectations and factors that need to be taken into account by theologians working in a real, actual space, within a community. These are concerned with both methodology and method-what is the paradigm or worldview underpinning the research, and how can we best describe what is actually happening? I have gathered these concepts under the following headings (some of which I have noted briefly already).

- *reflexivity*: the crucial ability of the researcher to understand and interpret what she finds, knowing that her own self is intimately part of what she sees and hears and feels, and that this will perforce influence the findings.
- *honesty*: by this I mean that the researcher reports as truthfully as possible what she sees, given the limits of understanding and ability to reflect as fully as she may wish.
- *transference*: this is linked to reflexivity, and following the discussion in the previous section, an understanding of transference can be a useful tool in qualitative research, where by being aware of it, the often unacknowledged feelings in for example an interview situation can be picked up on, and the potential confusion and clouding of the issue at hand can therefore be better understood. An understanding and awareness of transference can thus help to articulate and understand the messiness and pain of reconciliation, which when engaged in authentically, must concern our core identity.

- *humility*: the researcher does not have all the answers, or even perhaps all the questions that may need to be asked. Issues of power between researcher and researched need to be taken seriously and attended to.
- *empathy*: if the researcher can be empathic, especially when the content under discussion is difficult or distressing, trust will be gained and the research experience and consequent understanding of the person or issues better for both interviewer and interviewee.
- *patience*: sometimes the 'throw away' comment at the very end of a long interview can be the most telling; or the 'messiness' or quotidian nature of an encounter can seem unproductive, whereas with patience the opposite can occur. It can take considerable time for someone to feel comfortable enough to share long held or traumatic stories.
- *embodiment /seeing*: the 'being there', or just 'hanging around' in person can yield the most vital and startling insights in research. Or eating together in between formal interviews, travelling in a car together, sitting beside someone in their house while the children play, are all important times when the same space is inhabited.
- *communion*: leading on from embodiment, communion-the setting apart of the space, the fellowship engendered in the eating together across a table, can create a sacred ordinariness in which revelation can occur, in which the act of the exchange of research, the interview relationship itself, can become in itself a change in praxis, a transformative moment.

Each of these has more or less to do with practical theology, ethnography, ethics, sociology and psychiatry/psychology and no doubt other disciplines could be added, as could other headings. But in the particular space I was working in, these values seem the most necessary or significant.

5.5.1.6 The Reality of Chaos in the Field

Before I discuss these in detail, a point about the process of reconciliation itself, which is that the journey of reconciliation/restitution is long, at times very slow, and full of the 'ordinary' and chaotic. The situation in South Africa bears this out: even after such a process as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (discussed in chapter

four), the 'end' of apartheid was almost twenty years ago, and although some moves have been made towards reconciliation in South Africa, the process is very much ongoing.

To give an illustrative example of the 'ordinary and messy' nature of the process, a shopping expedition to the local mall with some of the WHRP members for milk tart (a local pudding) led informally, after numerous other errands and diversions which didn't seem relevant, and in fact seemed to take time away from 'real' talking, to sitting outside sharing the pudding and listening to each other's thoughts about the continued post-apartheid struggle-a gathering of a white educated Afrikaaner, coloured professionals, coloured ex-street kids, and me as a white English/South African. While we talked, we watched some men wheeling a wheelbarrow back and forth past us, containing someone's shack (house) which they had dismantled and were busy stealing. Nothing seemed to be able to be done about it, but it led to a better understanding of life in that township and an embodiment of what we were discussing. Without the time taken and ordinariness of the shopping expedition, those insights may not have occurred.

5.5.1.7 Ethics Process

Ethical approval from the ethics committee at Durham University was sought. This involved submitting the research proposal, method, sample interview, consent form and information letter for participants, as well as gaining supervisory approval. Ethical approval was granted. Written consent was obtained, and each interviewee given an information sheet to keep. Consent to use first names was asked for, as it was felt that it would be impossible to promise anonymising of interviewees due to the press coverage of the meeting between Olga and Stefaans in prison and subsequent events. In the event of consent not being granted, a secondary question was available in terms of providing an alias, with the ability of the participant to see any information written (or directly quoted) about them. In fact, all interviewees gave consent for first names to be used. Consent was requested and granted to record the data in audio and video format.

After transcription, all the written, audio and video material was loaded onto NVivo. After the process of analysis, this material was removed from NVivo and stored securely on a CD. Several of the interviewees asked for sections of their audio

tapes to be kept confidential, and this material was removed from the tapes as soon as possible. Interviewees were told that they will be given a summary of the findings, and can request a full copy of the PhD. I decided to investigate the ethical approval procedure to interview Stefaans in Pretoria Central Prison once I had arrived in South Africa and made the necessary contacts, as I was advised that this would be a complex and sensitive process. The information letter and consent form can be found in appendices 1 and 2.

5.5.2 Method: Practicalities

5.5.2.1 Arriving

Having been in email and phone contact with both Deon and Juan⁴⁰², I arranged to travel to Worcester with Deon a few days after arriving in Cape Town to meet Juan and then attend my first meeting of the WHRP. This first meeting acted as a focus group, where I was made very welcome, given an opportunity to explain my work and hopes for the time in Worcester, and hence gained acceptance from the community. Fontana and Frey write

Focus groups are useful for collecting rich data that are cumulative and elaborative; they can be stimulating for respondents, aiding recall and the format is flexible.⁴⁰³

Although this focus group was extremely 'flexible' as it took place within the context of a meeting, it nevertheless provided a rich source of data, particularly at this early point in the fieldwork. Other events, such as several semi-formal group discussions around the preparation for Reconciliation Day also functioned as flexible focus groups, which enabled thick description and embodied knowledge from the community perspective, which was crucial given the ontological and epistemological underpinnings about the 'body of Christ'.

Juan and I continued to meet every couple of days, usually in Dros, the coffee shop in the main square in Worcester. I spent three or four days a week in the communities in Worcester, and occasionally stayed overnight. Juan oriented me to the

⁴⁰² Deon acts as the facilitator for the WHRP; Juan is the administrator, and one of my interviewees.

⁴⁰³ A. Fontana and J.H. Frey, 'The interview: from structured questions to negotiated text', in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, ed. by N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2000), pp. 645-672, (p.652).

geography and socio-political history of Worcester, in conversation in the car, as we drove through the various areas of the town and townships. It was important given the theoretical considerations to orientate myself to the space in an embodied manner, and see for myself the social and political realities of reconciliation and restitution-inequalities of housing, schooling, amenities and so on. For example, the black township, Zwelethemba, meaning 'place of hope' occupies space five kilometres outside Worcester, with one road in and out. Although I knew theoretically or intellectually about the apartheid system of forced removals and police control of the movements of black people, only after driving there and *seeing* did I understand more fully the significance of both its placement, i.e. far from the white centre; and the control gained by the security forces by having one entrance and exit point.

Amongst this general observation, Juan and I discussed potential interviewees, given the criteria I have already outlined. Juan thus became both 'gatekeeper' and 'organiser'. He is known and trusted by all sections of the communities that make up Worcester-black, coloured and white, through his work with gangs, community empowerment and in the municipal offices. Given this, and the understanding he had gained from our communication before arrival (he had asked for an interview outline, research questions and so on) Juan was able to find potential interviewees who would be able to contribute most to the research. This was, in the reality of a complex cultural setting or settings, not a straightforward task.

5.5.2.2 Introductions

In the months before arriving in Worcester, I asked Deon to introduce me and my research to the WHRP. He did this in meetings and informally in conversation with participants. Deon had suggested I make contact early on in the process with Juan, the 'administrator' of the WHRP, as he would play an integral part in helping me logistically when I was there. Deon and Juan thus became key informants in the research process. I also wrote a letter of introduction to the Chairperson of the WHRP, explaining my background, research and my wish to observe the WHRP, and spend time with the community, in formal meetings and also in informal settings. As a priest, I sent a similar letter to the local clergy, introducing myself and suggesting a meeting. This letter can be found in appendix 3. This was to be outside the formal interview process, but would provide another way of gathering information. It is of

course also correct protocol among clergy, as I would be in some ways 'on their patch'. Once I arrived, I found that many of the clergy were actually directly involved in the WHRP, and I also met the Anglican priest at his church.

Before arriving, I renewed contact with theologians, clergy and practitioners in the field of reconciliation working in and around Cape Town, in order to arrange informal conversations with them about the research. This process of course continued after arriving, as I was introduced to others.

5.5.3 Method: Data Collected

A list of data is found in appendix 6. It consists of three areas: events, fieldwork notes, and interviews.

5.5.3.1 Events

Alongside everyday participation and observation, several one off events occurred, all of which were either audio or video recorded, at least in part.

5.5.3.1.1 Leon Wessels' Visit

Leon Wessels was a Minister in the last apartheid government, and one of the first to apologise to the TRC for 'not wanting to know' that torture was occurring at the hands of the security forces. He has subsequently served as a Human Rights Commissioner in South Africa.⁴⁰⁴ He is one of the foremost Afrikaner public figures in South Africa, and is willing to speak openly, and powerfully, about his own journey of transformation. He was to be the keynote speaker for the Reconciliation Day event on December 17th and in October spent three days familiarising himself with what was happening in Worcester. His visit occurred at the beginning of my time in Worcester, and was therefore a very helpful immersion for me in the lives of the communities as I accompanied him during his tour. I was thus able to observe a traditional 'African welcome dance' by a group of ex-street children, group discussions, formal meetings,

⁴⁰⁴South African Government, Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, 'Wessels Admits NP Failures in Frank TRC Submission' (October 15 1997)
<<http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/media%5C1997%5C9710/s971015d.htm>> [accessed 1 July 2014].

a speech he gave at the municipality meeting, and tours of the local radio station, various community empowerment groups, a primary school, an early morning prayer meeting at the police station, a tour around the black and coloured townships, visits to people's homes to eat, among other informal gatherings. Some of these took place at 'the kibbutz', a centre in a deprived and gang controlled coloured area, set up in the 1990s as a Christian place of refuge and safety for those living around it, and especially for street children. It now consists of a nursery, some housing, and a hall where drama and dance is taught. A particularly moving piece of musical theatre, 'Breaking the Shackles', about the coloured people's journey from slavery, colonialism and apartheid, to freedom, was performed for us by these ex-street children, now teenagers, during Leon Wessels' visit. This was a very varied and rich time during the fieldwork, not least as it allowed me to observe more than participate, as Leon, and not I, was usually the focus for discussions.

5.5.3.1.2 The Peace Table

The peace table afforded another rich opportunity to observe, reflect and interpret. The Peace Table was so called because it was an occasion where about 140 invited guests were asked, over supper, to talk and listen to each other about peace and reconciliation in Worcester. Again, since I took part as one of guests, rather than an organiser for this event, I had the opportunity to listen and look more than actively participate, although I was asked to lead prayers at the beginning of the evening. Each table of ten was asked to discuss and then feedback to the whole gathering their involvement in the work of reconciliation in Worcester over the preceding and forthcoming year. So the evening acted as a (rather large) focus group, which enabled me to follow up some of the comments made with individuals and refine my observation and questioning in weeks afterwards. The peace table also provided an obvious but excellent example of hospitality, and another key concept, communion, as discussed earlier.

5.5.3.1.3 Reconciliation Eucharist

This Eucharist was one of the key events, along with the peace train journey. It was held as a way of saying thank you to the people I had been working among, who had

been so hospitable and welcoming of me. It also functioned to confirm my theoretical understanding of the process, in terms of presence and attendance, i.e. many more people came than had been expected, as they wanted to come and celebrate with me and say goodbye. I discuss the Reconciliation Eucharist as a 'case study' in chapter eight. An order of service can be found in appendix 8.

5.5.3.1.4 Reconciliation Day

The Reconciliation Day event took place on December 17th, a public holiday, known since the end of apartheid as Reconciliation Day. It comprised of a morning in the town hall, with a formal structure and 'all protocol observed'. Leon Wessels gave the key note speech, and there were prayers, choirs, and symbolic acts such as lighting a peace candle and letting off white doves. More than five hundred people attended. Again, this provided an opportunity to record and observe.

5.5.3.1.5 Other 'Conversations'

I engaged in other discussions, informal conversations, meetings, roundtable events, and conferences with theologians, sociologists, clergy and practitioners on the ground. These were an important adjunct in enabling theoretical interpretation and ongoing analysis of the fieldwork, and an opportunity to test and debate my tentative findings with experts with contextual knowledge.

5.5.3.1.6 The Peace Train

The peace train was the other key event during the fieldwork time. This was a highly significant event for the WHRP and Worcester in general. It was a journey undertaken by 47 survivors of the 1996 bombing in Worcester, to go to see Stefaans, the perpetrator, in Pretoria Central Prison. I accompanied the people on this journey, which was the final event of my fieldwork, the culmination of a long process. I discuss the peace train more fully in chapter eight, but in brief, it was a 28 hour journey from Worcester to Pretoria. On the train we held groups to prepare the survivors for the encounter with Stefaans. The meeting in the prison was hugely

emotional. Survivors told him how angry they were, or what the material effects of the bomb had been. Some gave him their forgiveness, others did not. We returned to Worcester on the train, having experienced a real embodying of reconciliation and restitution.

The peace train saw my furthest move into participation on the participant observer spectrum. My skills as psychiatrist and priest were integral to the psychological and pastoral support offered on the journey. It was, at times, difficult to observe at all, as I was bound up in the emotional turmoil and working hard helping to contain it. I however took notes, and photographs, and there are various reports, YouTube videos and press articles which I have also analysed. A table of fieldwork data can be found in appendix 7.

5.5.3.2 Fieldwork Notes

These took several forms. I kept a detailed fieldwork diary, in which I recorded observations in a chronological, and initially descriptive or 'free floating' way. This included descriptions of place, records of meetings, reports of conversations, and associated interpretations and feelings. Transferential material was noted, as were often verbatim transcriptions of discussions in group settings. I then re-read the notes, and made interpretations and ongoing analyses on specific issues or themes. I carried a hardback book, recording device, and iPad with me at all times, so could record using audio or video, and photograph when appropriate, and with permission. The conversations with Juan, and with Deon, when travelling around, or to and from Worcester were important sources of information, but more significantly, of mutual interpretation. I also accumulated a large amount of other sources of data-relevant local and national newspaper articles, WHRP minutes, articles and poems about the themes of reconciliation, peace, restitution, apartheid and so on, written by members of the WHRP, photos, DVDs of the WHRP shown at large events, email correspondence, video and audio material of public events and meetings, discussions, and so on.

5.5.3.3 Interviews

The number of interviews (twelve) was arrived at after advice from Deon, already actively engaged in the field. It also seemed that twelve interviews would allow a good range of different perspectives. The inclusion criteria included race, age, gender, and engagement in some form with reconciliation. I wanted to interview people from the three racial groups in the area (coloured, black, white) as these are clearly very relevant in thinking about reconciliation/restitution in that context of post-apartheid South Africa. I originally decided to interview four people from each racial group. I was also clear that I wanted to include only people who had thought in some way about the process of reconciliation/restitution. I was guided by Deon (and then Juan, the administrator of the WHRP), as to whom this might include. My initial thought had been to only include members of the WHRP, as the very fact of their being part of this process would mean they were likely to have thought about reconciliation etc. In fact, Juan suggested several people who were not members of the WHRP, but whom he knew personally and had himself had conversations with about these concepts.

This process then generated a purposive sample, meaning that the sample was specifically selected because it seemed likely that those interviewees could help to answer the research questions.⁴⁰⁵ I interviewed twelve people in Worcester, and Stefaans in Pretoria Central Prison. I will discuss Stefaans' interview separately. The interviews in Worcester were audio taped and transcribed professionally in South Africa. Each lasted one to two hours. Some took place in interviewees' homes, others at places of work and others in Dros, the coffee shop. The language used was English. The interviews were themed, with twelve prompt questions, developed to yield the wide ranging information I hoped to generate. I will discuss why I asked the questions that I did in the following section. Although I had at first envisaged using semi-structured interviews, it became clear after discussion with Deon that a less formal style of interview would yield better results, as people would be better at ease with a more informal 'conversation'. The interviews thus took the form of empathic listening, or pastoral conversations, and I also felt that because of my psychiatric and ministerial training and skills, these would elicit the most useful and 'truest' responses. Open

⁴⁰⁵ Swinton and Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research*, p. 69.

questions were used, and interviewees invited to 'tell me a bit about yourself' as preliminary to the themed questions. Basic demographic information was included.

5.5.3.3.1 Table of Interviewees

The interview cohort comprised of six men and six women, aged between 41 and 83 years.

Table 1: Table of Interviewees

Name	Gender	Race
Phyllis	Female	Black
Harris	Male	Black
Neera	Male	Black
Nobanzi	Female	Black
Kathleen	Female	Coloured
DV	Male	White
Riaan	Male	White
Olga	Female	Black
Marthinus	Male	White
Shanette	Female	White
Erena	Female	White
Juan	Male	Coloured

Further demographics concerning the interviewees can be found in Appendix 4.

5.5.3.3.2 Stefaans' interview

I used broadly the same interview scheme to interview Stefaans, i.e. a pastoral conversation based around themes. As he is in Pretoria Central Prison, I obtained permission and his consent, to see and interview him, with the help of the Director of Khulumani, the victim support group mentioned earlier. She and I visited him together, and after some confusion about access, we were allowed to see him without a prison officer present, although we met his social worker during the wait to see him.

As nothing could be taken into the prison, such as recording equipment, I made notes during the interview, and wrote these up afterwards.

5.5.3.3 Interview Questions

These are included in full in appendix 5, but included questions such as, 'What does reconciliation mean to you?'; 'What is restitution?'; and 'Is this is a religious process?'.

5.5.4 Analysis Process

I used a comparative thematic analysis to analyse the data. Immediately on returning from the fieldwork period, I wrote a brief summary of impressions of what I had found. I continued to categorise and file all the data and associated information gathered during the fieldwork period. I then read the interview transcripts and briefly summarised them. I entered all the data into the software programme NVivo.

I then undertook the process of analysis developed by Swinton and Mowat. They propose the scheme below.⁴⁰⁶ I undertook this for both sets of data, i.e. the interviews, and the field notes. The process of analysis continued in the act of writing up the findings, and is itself part of the analysis and interpretation.

5.5.4.1 Level 1: Simplifying and then Complexifying the Data

During this process, themes and sub-themes were assigned to the material. Illustrative and additional data was compiled alongside the thematised material. This level comprises firstly finding simple answers to simple questions, i.e. clarifying the main themes, and secondly, starting to complexify the data, in a way which is as thorough and therefore as authentic to the data as possible. This complexification assumes that the data is more complex than at first sight, that for example, there are many layers of meaning and interwoven strands that are not at first apparent. It thus has the ability to render the familiar strange, enabling new insights to appear. I also entered the data into NVivo, and cross referenced the thematic analysis I had done by hand with the nodal system in the programme. This gave me a thorough picture of what themes and

⁴⁰⁶ Swinton and Mowat, forthcoming in a new chapter of second edition of *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research*.

sub themes were developing from the data, and helped to ensure that what I found was really what was in the data. Although I had intended to use NVivo in a more detailed way, I found that the method of analysis I carried out by using paper and eye, actually gave me a more thorough knowledge of the data, and allowed me to 'see' the themes, and especially the detail of the tributaries within the themes more clearly. These methods therefore gave me a rich picture of what was found, and started to allow a deeper understanding of the thematised data to develop.

5.5.4.2 Level 2: Understanding the Data Within its Particular Contextual Reference

The social, political, psychological, and cultural influences on the data were then considered in order to understand and relate the findings to the context. For example, the farm workers' protest marches which occurred during the research time were very relevant to people's responses to the interview questions, and to their understanding of restitution within the reconciliation process. Similarly, the psychological effects that occurred for individuals and the group, after the sudden resignation of the Chairperson, were 'acted out' within the meetings of the WHRP. Chapter four explores the contextual and historical issues that continue to have a large influence on people's lives in Worcester, and these were taken into account in this means of understanding the data.

5.5.4.3 Level 3: Theological Reflection on this Data Set

There are various methods of theological reflection. Swinton and Mowat favour Hans-Georg Gadamer's perspective and the 'use of being brought up short' in particular.⁴⁰⁷ In brief, a Gadamerian view states that whilst prior beliefs (pre-judgement) were valid, that further truth unfolds through dialogue between conversants. All have culturally determined horizons. Truth emerges rather than being revealed.⁴⁰⁸ This is envisioned as the hermeneutical circle, on which Murray writes

⁴⁰⁷ Swinton and Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research*, p. 107.

⁴⁰⁸ Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, trans. revised by Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall, paperback edition (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

Clearly (Gadamer) has captured the recursive nature of experience, that is, the back and forth or dialectical movement of the hermeneutical circle. Just as true experience leaves one open to new experiences, each new experience also influences our understanding of previous experiences, which then, in turn, widens even more the horizon within which we may have yet more new experiences. As Gadamer points out, 'the structure of reflexivity is fundamentally given with all consciousness. (Gadamer,1981,334). And it is this awareness of the recursive or reflexivity of thought which precedes and allows what Gadamer calls historically effective consciousness.⁴⁰⁹

Hence, as below, the cycle of experience to surprise to renewed experience. This hermeneutical circle requires a moving back and forward, from 'whole to the part and back to the whole.'⁴¹⁰ It requires a moving back and forwards between praxis and theory, through the interpretive process, acknowledging the role of researcher, and previous and subsequent knowledge. This new knowledge is then reflected on in the light of further insight, and taken back to praxis, and then to new theory, and so on in a circle to new praxis, etc. So it requires

- a. focus
- b. identification of existing knowledge
- c. introduction of new knowledge
- d. the emergence of insight
- e. subsequent reflection on those insights.

For the Worcester material, I analysed each part of the data set in this way, and then the whole, as a meta-analysis. Writing the first draft is in itself also part of the process of analysis and reflection of the findings, and leads to new insights previously hidden. For example, the importance of racial delineation in the fieldwork data became particularly visible during the writing of the first draft of this chapter. This occasioned me to think more deeply about the apartheid categories (black, coloured, white) and the fact that these are still extant today, and the underlying effects that this might have on the process of reconciliation itself. Furthermore, more recent terms such as 'first nation' people (coloured) are being coined by the 'born free' generation (those young people in South Africa born after the end of apartheid), and what this might mean for their relation to concepts such as remembering, generational guilt, and especially restitution itself.

⁴⁰⁹Kris A. Murray, 'Process, emergence, and recursivity', <http://www.svcc.edu/acaedemics/classes/gadamer/gng.htm> [accessed on 15th February 2015].

⁴¹⁰ Swinton and Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research* , p. 116.

5.5.4.4 Level 4: Transformative Information or Change in Praxis

This is the final part of the analytic process, and I carried the analysed findings into my conclusions and new theory or theology of restitution, thus also enabling a potential change in praxis. In the Reconciliation Eucharist and the Peace Train, the early effects of this change in praxis were starting to be seen. For instance, the theme of eucharistic space was becoming crucial to how I understood the process of restitution and reconciliation, and during the peace train journey this was embodied and enacted, as discussed. An extract from an interview follows which illustrates this final part of the process in some detail. A further extract from my fieldwork diary is found in Appendix 7.

5.5.4.5 Analysis of Data: Extracts

5.5.4.5.1 Extract from Analysis of Harris's Interview

Sarah: You'll do it. Ok, ok. So Harris, what is the aim of the Hope and Reconciliation Process?

Harris: *The aim-I think the aim is to bring really people together. Different cultures. You know, we don't want to have a colour. We want to change the colour thing. This is a white person, this is a coloured person. We want just to say that we are people. Yes, to this coloured person you can say, "How are the white women, man?" but you cannot say, "Hey, white man, come and sit here", "Hey, you kaffir, come and sit here". We want to stop these things. And we want to even think about those who are in prison. What are you doing with a person who is coming from prison? Starve him, or what, and he was a criminal. Can't you people to say that he is having a trade maybe, and give this person a chance. You know? These people are going in as criminals. Some of them they are coming back from prison saying that, "I'm a son of God now" or "I'm a child of God. And I've got this, I can make chairs or... ". Why the government not giving those people jobs? That's the aim of the Worcester Hope. So that people who come, get there, let's try them to get there.*

Sarah: So, help them to get where they can...

Harris: *That's what we want. Everything, even now, the Worcester Hope and Reconciliation did surprise me when you came in as doctors, there are people outside there who are suffering, who can't go to treatments, but the Worcester Hope and Reconciliation-that those doctors can see people-that was wonderful!*

Descriptors from this passage:

Aim to bring people together; we don't want to have a colour; we are people; come and sit here; I'm a child of God now; I can make chairs or...; let's try them to get there; doctors can see people-that was wonderful!

Categories: these descriptors are placed into the categories (interview questions) of

- What does reconciliation mean to you?
- Aim of the process
- What does restitution mean to you?
- Is this process 'religious'?

Once the broad themes had been categorised, from within the interview questions, the next stage of the analysis was to organise the material into further sub-themes. I have included here an example of one of the categories where this has been done.

5.5.4.5.2 Interview Question/Category: Aim of the Process?

Themes and sub themes arising:

- future for our children
 1. go forward as the rainbow nation
- do more for the bomb victims
- healing of wounds
 1. this black Christmas mustn't happen again
- develop a meritocracy
- become like brothers and sisters
 1. all about friendship
 2. coming to each others areas and enjoying each's company
 3. mustn't take sunshine away from other people
 4. build relationships with diff. cultures and backgrounds
 5. understand each others stories
- build a new Worcester
 1. set an example for South Africa

These themes and sub themes (and for each category) were then subjected to further analysis, as outlined in the 4 stages above; and compared to the nodes in NVivo. While NVivo provided a countercheck at this stage of the analysis, I found that the method of analysis outlined above was more useful, particularly in enabling me to very thoroughly 'live with' and subsequently understand and analyse the data.

5.5.5 Summary Thoughts: Considerations and Cautions

Although initially I had wanted to interview four people from each racial group in order to gain differing perspectives, this did not happen (five black, five white and two coloured). There were a number of reasons for this. Firstly, when I actually arrived in Worcester, the divide into equal numbers of each group seemed unnecessarily rigid, and did not reflect the makeup of either the general population or the WHRP. Secondly, issues of availability of interviewees came into play. The fact that there were three different cultural contexts (as well as my own), meant that a good deal of reflexivity and sensitivity was needed. The black and coloured cultures tended to be very immediate, and at times rather chaotic and changeable. Arranging interviews in those contexts could be done at short notice, but arrangements were equally liable to be changed at the last moment. The elasticity of time in that context was a complicating factor.

Three of the original coloured interviewees did not attend for varying reasons. One found it difficult in practice to arrange time away from work, although he was very willing to be interviewed. One postponed or cancelled, or just did not appear, on three occasions. The third was in a leadership position with the municipality, and was unable to take time away from work during the interview period due to the local farm workers' strikes and riots, which required his full attention. This potential interviewee, although not interviewed formally, contributed much to various conversations with me, and group events, so his views have been included within the fieldwork notes. Similarly, I have quoted from the other two coloured people I was unable to interview from speeches they gave at public reconciliation events during my time in Worcester.

The farmworkers' protests figured largely during the time of the fieldwork, and are discussed more fully in chapter four. It is worth noting here however that in terms of method, the congruency between the embodiment of the research question in this way (the question of restitution for the workers) and the rich (though at times

disruptive) material it afforded was marked. This is of course not to downplay the actual devastating and at times dangerous nature of the unrest, nor the shocking inequalities it highlighted. At those times in particular, the concept of credibility and research as action are pertinent.

Space was an important issue, in terms of where the interviews took place. I made it clear that people could be interviewed where they wanted-home, work place or coffee shop. My preferred option was to interview people in their space, rather than the neutral space of the coffee shop. However, sensitivity in terms of flexibility of where to meet felt important, as did having the humility to rely on Juan's judgement. Some of the issues about where to meet were practical (transport, timing), some to do with cultural factors. When we did meet in the coffee shop, I offered drinks and sometimes a meal, as hospitality is a key component of the process.

One of the complexities about where to hold interviews involved how people felt about their own spaces. Some people seemed to be ashamed of their homes and did not want to be seen in that setting. Others, living in similar conditions of poverty, were very keen that I should visit them there. This raises an interesting question about how 'the other' is viewed, in itself hugely relevant to the research question and method, but also the importance of the theological concept of incarnation. The importance of theological embodiment in the research method is clearly visible, and the ongoing cycle of looking, listening, and being with the other, at the same time as theologically reflecting on what is experienced, is vital. This also mitigates against the danger of theology collapsing into other disciplines.

Another consideration was the use of English for the interviews. This was chosen out of necessity (I do not speak enough Afrikaans or isiXhosa), and although English is the universal language in South Africa, and everyone I interviewed spoke it well, it was the second or even third language for most people. For example, the meetings of the WHP were conducted in English, and as the common language between the three racial groups, quite strict observance of this was kept for reasons of inclusion. The black community in Worcester are mainly isiXhosa speaking, and the coloured and white communities there, Afrikaans. This only presented a problem when people occasionally struggled to find a particular word (e.g. *senderling* or missionary), or when, as often happened in meetings also, people moved seamlessly in and out of English and Afrikaans. The transcripts of the interviews show this use of hybrid language, both in the actual words used but also grammatically.

Complex concepts such as reconciliation and forgiveness proved difficult at times for people to translate in a nuanced fashion, and this of course may change the meaning of what was said. In both Afrikaans and isiXhosa speakers, it seemed that sometimes the use of tenses when speaking in English was simplified or confused. For example, in the phrase '*we must all come out together*' it is not immediately obvious whether the 'coming out' had happened or was about to happen.

Some of these issues were partially overcome by the use of South African transcribers, who could understand the local nuances of language, and 'translated' or explicated words or phrases as they transcribed. Also, as time went on, I became more attuned to the colloquialisms, and nuances of tenses, and by the end of the time there, had a reasonable understanding of (if not ability to speak much) Afrikaans.

Another very important consideration is that of 'racial categories'. In the context of South Africa, the most commonly used racial terms are still Black, White, Coloured and Indian. There is some considerable debate, however, as to the acceptability of these terms. For instance, some 'coloured' people prefer the use of the term 'brown', or 'first nation' people. Other words that are sometimes used are 'previously advantaged' or 'previously disadvantaged' people. As the most commonly used categories are still black, white and coloured, as used by my interviewees, then it seems appropriate that I do too. This is in no way meant to carry any judgement or prejudice, but it is also important to note that these terms were used by the apartheid regime.

5.6 Conclusion

Mary McClintock Fulkerson writes

What is needed to counter the diminishment and harm associated with obliviousness is a *place to appear*, a place to be seen, to be recognised and to recognise the other. Being seen and heard by others, being acknowledged by others-these are said to be essential to the political life; my point is that they are also essential to a community of faith as an honouring of the shared image of God.⁴¹¹

Working with the people of Worcester in their space, their *ruimte*, it has become clear that the process of embodied practical theological research undertaken with and

⁴¹¹ McClintock Fulkerson, 'Places of Redemption', p. 27.

among them mirrors the journey they are undertaking towards reconciliation, hope and restitution. They are able in this space to be seen and heard by others, and share in this image of God. Their *ruimte*, their space, can become grace-filled and transformed when this process and the people-the body of Christ-are honoured, by research which endeavours to authentically and truthfully record the reality of what is participated in, observed and has the potential to change in the light of the findings. This chapter has discussed both the methodology underlying, and the method employed in this practical theological undertaking. I have refined the research questions into questions for the fieldwork. i.e.

A. What makes up the reconciliation journey in Worcester?

B. How do these factors relate to each other and to God?

C. Where is restitution found in the reconciliation journey?

D. And in what ways is it theological?

I have presented a discussion of practical theology and qualitative research and within these, delineated the stance I have taken, i.e. a multi method approach. I have explored the concept of the body of Christ' in relation to practical theology, and discussed how an ethnographic stance is a useful way of engaging with the fieldwork. I have looked at the rationale for the interview selection and design; discussed participant observation and noticed some key concepts, considerations and difficulties in this type of work. I have described the ethics process, and some key points of researcher as research instrument. I have discussed reflexivity, honesty, transference, humility, empathy, patience, embodiment/seeing and communion as core to how I proceeded in the field. I have given an overview of the main events which took place during my time in Worcester, such as the Reconciliation Eucharist and the peace train, and discussed the interview process and fieldwork note keeping. I then presented my method of analysis of the data collected during the fieldwork, following Swinton and Mowat. I finally discussed some considerations, complexities and cautions of the fieldwork process. I now turn, in the next three chapters, to a presentation of the findings.

6. Findings I: Presentation of Data and Analysis- 'First Steps'

6.1 Litany of Restitution

One: O God of all people, we come humbly before you

All: In you we place our hope

One: We ask for courage to face the past

All: Our hope is in you

One: For the actions and attitudes of restitution

All: Our hope is in you

One: With words that do not result in action

All: We are no longer satisfied

One: For excuses and reluctant leadership

All: They are not enough

One: With government programmes alone

All: They are not enough

One: For accusations, fear and blame

All: We repent Lord

One: For our forgetfulness and short memory

All: Forgive us Lord

One: For demanding that those who have been hurt bear so much

All: Forgive us Lord

One: For those of us who have grown up after Apartheid

All: We offer you our privilege

One: For those of us who were complicit with Apartheid

All: We have considered our ways

One: For those of us who were dishonoured by Apartheid

All: We open our hearts to true sorry-ness

One: Grant us, Lord God, a vision of South Africa

All: As your love would have it

One: A South Africa where the weak are protected

All: And none go hungry or poor

One: A South Africa where the riches of creation are shared

All: And everyone can enjoy them

One: A South Africa where different races and cultures
All: Live in harmony and mutual respect
One: A South Africa where peace is built with justice
All: And justice is guided by love
One: Give us the inspiration and courage to build it
All: Through Jesus Christ our Lord
AMEN⁴¹²

6.2 Introduction

This litany, written by Sharlene Swartz with acknowledgement to Alan Paton, is a useful starting place for the consideration of the research findings from Worcester. I wove it into the liturgy of the Eucharist we celebrated at the end of my time in South Africa, as an act of communal confession. However, it is more than purely liturgical in this context. It embodies the process of restitution within the reconciliation paradigm, and as such, provides a framework for what follows in this chapter. It embodies at once lament and honesty; remorse and apology; courage and hope. It looks to the past and envisions the future. It provides a model, even a kind of checklist, an asking of questions. So how have the questions I have asked of the people involved in such a process been answered? Chapters six, seven and eight discuss my findings in the light of some of these key questions. Chapter six starts with an introduction and summary of the findings, followed by the presentation of the findings in regard to the broader area of reconciliation, and how this relates to theology. Chapter seven moves further into the area of restitution and its relation to theology. Chapter eight presents two case studies: the Reconciliation Eucharist, and the Peace Train. These serve to illustrate and highlight key themes from the findings, and form a bridge into chapter nine and a new understanding of a theology of restitution.

It is worth bearing in mind some of the words used in this Litany of Restitution, as they are replicated, perhaps unsurprisingly, in the themes arising from the fieldwork. Words such as hope, courage, action, hurt, privilege, peace and justice as well as the concepts of remembering, addressing inequalities, and sharing of

⁴¹² Sharlene Swartz, 'Litany of Restitution', Restitution Foundation,
 < <http://restitution.org.za/10-2/litany-of-restitution/> > [accessed 5 July 2014].

resources seem to be crucial. It is also interesting to note that some of the key concepts pertinent to the people of Worcester are not represented in the litany, which underlines the importance of authentically reporting what is actually found in a process of observation and interview; the theme of truth being one such example. The process of analysis that I have used has enabled such authenticity, with sometimes surprising results.

The process of reconciliation and restitution in Worcester is messy and slow, but with glimpses of progress and transformation. Or maybe a better way of putting it is to say that many factors are involved. My thesis is that 'full' reconciliation, or at least, as full as possible reconciliation, is made more possible when restitution is part of the process. While reconciliation can occur without restitution, it is at best, only partial. So, why is restitution a crucial part of the process? What do the people involved in the Worcester Hope and Reconciliation Process think is happening in their journey towards reconciliation and healing?

Looking now in detail at what is happening in Worcester, within the research questions, i.e.

- 1. How adequate are the current understandings of restitution in relation to the reconciliation journey?**
- 2. What would a theology of restitution based on a broader understanding look like?**

four fieldwork questions arose from the data. The findings are presented here in the light of those four questions.

6.3 The Four Fieldwork Questions

- 1. What makes up the reconciliation journey in Worcester?**
- 2. How do these factors relate to God?**
- 3. Where is restitution found in the reconciliation journey?**
- 4. In what ways is it theological?**

Although the 'reconciliation journey' can be seen as an overarching category, including all the themes identified, I have sub-divided these themes into the four questions which naturally arose out of the data analysis. Therefore, while the major themes of forgiveness, restitution, reconciliation and religion run through all these

questions and are at times inextricably linked, it is helpful to discuss the findings in a more discrete manner. As noted in the introduction, chapter six looks at the first two of these questions-the broad category of reconciliation and how it relates to God; and chapter seven moves into a deeper consideration of restitution itself, and its relation to theology.

The process of reconciliation is not, of course, clear cut, rather it is at times confusing and always more spiral than linear in form, but in order to explicate what was happening in this process in Worcester as clearly as possible, I have put some boundaries round the different themes and concepts. These boundaries are necessarily somewhat artificial, and overlapping, but do provide some containment within a complex process.

Likewise, I present different themes under only one or other of the four questions, rather than replicate them in two or more of the four, where they might naturally occur. While this point about complexity and boundaries may seem to be laboured, it is in fact an important one. Consensus about definitions and meanings of terms such as reconciliation and restitution, as well as about the processes and orders involved, is generally lacking in the theoretical literature and, as I have found, in praxis also. So while I am not attempting to impose order where there is little or none, I do try here to present what the process in Worcester looks like as clearly as is possible, in order to try to understand these very complex issues. Providing a contained and boundaried space for reconciliation to take place is a key component of this work in praxis, and it bears similar treatment in theoretical terms.

The themes will be further ordered into two categories under each question: firstly, principles and secondly, practice. The table of research questions and themes follows.

Table 2: The table of research questions and themes

Research Question	Principles	Practice
1. What makes up the reconciliation journey in Worcester?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The wish to change • Looking towards a rainbow future 	1. Creation of circumstances: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Process • Tolerance • Safe space • Peace
		2. How it happens: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowing yourself • Remembering • Understanding the past • Truth • Story telling relationships • Different levels of reconciliation
2. How do these factors relate to God?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scripture • The Trinity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prayer • Faith in action • Repentance • Forgiveness • Lament
3. Where is restitution found in the reconciliation journey?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The need for restitution • Fighting for rights • Self-worth 	1. Components: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Apology • Sharing resources • Eating together • Examples
		2. Cautions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Charity • Compensation • Role of the white community
4. In what ways is it theological?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grace • Hope 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Costly courage • Sacrifice • Embodiment • Eucharist/eucharistic space

6.4 Fieldwork Question 1: What Makes up the Reconciliation Journey in Worcester?

I wanted twenty litre of paint, white paint; I want to paint myself white today. Come on young man, bring me that twenty litres and he was a young white man. He was kind a shy about it, I don't know what he thinks, but it was a case of someone who had been painting white in some another Province. Then when I arrived here when I was working, then I tried to understand that name

*kaffir from another young (white) man. Then I asked what the meaning of kaffir is. He was like sjoe he didn't want to talk, he walked away. Then I said to myself when he comes back I will ask him until he tells me. I want to understand. He was so uncomfortable and I wanted to laugh, but I wanted him to tell me what it is, what it means to him... he was a young white guy. He said it was an atheist, an unbeliever. Ja that is a kaffir, that was his interpretation of kaffir. I said okay-and I am a Methodist...!*⁴¹³

The meaning and interpretation of words and actions from long past, and recent history, is a vital and live issue in Worcester today. Neera's point about painting himself white and trying to get a white man to explain what *kaffir* means point to the continuing strength of feeling about such issues. South Africa as a nation was deeply damaged during the apartheid era, and many of the wounds are still open. It is against that background that efforts towards reconciliation and restitution must be set, and the findings bear this out.

A number of important considerations were identified. The themes presented in this section are considered under what the question of what reconciliation itself means, and others such as forgiveness, restitution and embodiment will be considered in the next sections. Concepts such as truth, justice, apology, repentance are of course linked, and are dealt with as they arise in the material in the 'boundaried' fashion described above. This does therefore not necessarily mean that they fit only within a particular question rather than another, but that, like the process itself, the myriad of linkages and spiral nature need to be contained somewhere in order to make sense of what is going on. The two case studies or 'thick descriptions' of the Peace Train and the Reconciliation Eucharist allow a model to develop out of these themes, and a framework for where they might best 'fit'.

So what are the themes which arose from the data which are relevant to this first question of what makes up the reconciliation journey in Worcester? The following themes are pertinent-remembering; the process of reconciliation; understanding the past and each other; tolerance and diversity; safe space; relationships and reaching out; story telling; *ubuntu*; knowing yourself first; the wish to change; levels of reconciliation; the future; peace; finding common ground; friendship; community vs. individual.

I will explore in some detail the themes which are most relevant to the key question. Other themes will necessarily be dealt with more briefly. I consider these

⁴¹³ Neera, one of the black interviewees.

themes under two main headings: firstly, looking at the necessity for reconciliation, the principles: and secondly, at the practice of reconciliation.⁴¹⁴ The table of research questions and themes (Table 2 on page 157) summarises the principles and practice themes for this first research question.

6.4.1 Principles

I look first, then, at the need for reconciliation. Why is reconciliation necessary for the people of Worcester? Chapter five has discussed the South African context and the wish for reconciliation but what do the people in Worcester itself point to as important in why reconciliation is needed? I have organised their answers to this question into two main themes: the wish to change; and looking to a rainbow future.

6.4.1.1 The Wish to Change

Harris (black) summarises beautifully the need for change.⁴¹⁵

Because this what we are doing as the Worcester Hope is to change, you know. It's to change. We are coming from-we've changed now, so that we can see the light. Ya. If you go to the tunnel, you must see the light and then you can see that there's the exit. Ya. You cannot just go in the dark.

Juan (coloured) brings in another, more complex, dimension.

I mean I'm not blind about the fact that when you get the white people on the whole reconciliation process, if they tell me that they are busy with restitution work I am going to tell them, no sorry, that is not my, you know. It's a very difficult question but I think that it will be, its a hard process to get people to change their mind set and to allocate some of their resources so that it can benefit that particular community etc...I think the one thing is that I think you need to rely, unfortunately on the sincerity of people, their honesty and it's a very difficult thing at the moment. People don't want to change, 18 years already. I know that you can't rectify all the wrongs done by the party but I think that 18 years is enough to realize, listen here now, I need to do something.

This is a widely held view about the white community in Worcester, and South Africa in general. I will discuss this more in the section on the role of the white community, but it is pertinent that this lack of movement seems to be as much about the lack of a

⁴¹⁴ The quotations from Worcester are all verbatim, so not necessarily grammatically correct.

⁴¹⁵ I have added the racial category to interviewee's quotes for clarity.

wish to change, as about the ability to change, an important difference. Other work in this field also highlights this view, that the inability of the white community to engage with transformation is problematic. I have discussed this in chapters three and four. Neera (black) comments in relation to the farm workers strikes in 2012, and the neighbouring town of DeDoorns,

To reach out and go to them. It is like their Minister, the Premier in De Doorns, he went to the victims, he did not go to the perpetrators, the farmers and talk to them and see how, and appeal to them...The farmers, those are the people he should have started with.

Sarah: So people have to go to the perpetrators of the past as well and say what you are doing?

Neera: *Ja most times they really don't go to the perpetrator. They come to that meeting but the perpetrator doesn't know what he has done wrong or he is doing wrong because nobody is telling him.*

Neera makes an important point, taking the farm workers riots as an example. He believes that the 'other', in this case the perpetrators, will not be able to change, unless their errors are pointed out to them. This raises interesting questions about the role of third parties in a reconciliation process, and whether or how far a reconciliation process can proceed without both parties being fully involved.

Motivation to change clearly stems from many possible sources, and issues such as justice, law and grace play their part. As I have discussed in chapters three and four, attempts such as affirmative action, black economic empowerment, and Tutu's 'wealth tax' have been employed or suggested in order to try to address these issues, with varying success. The TRC itself provided a space and 'third parties' to both witness and interrogate the stories of apartheid atrocities. Issues such as amnesty or prosecution are important in working out motivation to become involved in a reconciliation process, and again, affect the motivation to become involved, and to effect change and transformation.

6.4.1.2 Looking to a Rainbow Future

The term 'rainbow nation' has been coined in South Africa since the end of apartheid, and refers to the need for and the hope of truly multiracial equality in society, in a land where apartheid attempted to paint a more monochrome picture. It is a term that many people from the black, coloured and white communities in the Worcester Hope and Reconciliation Process, and my interviewees, used as a shorthand metaphor to

describe their hopes for that future...to make a better future 'as the rainbow nation – to go forward and not back'. I therefore summarised this theme as 'looking to a rainbow future', taking into account what I had heard and observed in Worcester.

Basil (coloured) spoke of his experiences with the warder from his time in political detention during apartheid. He met and ate with him after the end of apartheid, and prayed with him in hospital when he was ill. He was very concerned to make a better future, but didn't underplay the difficulties.

This is an emotional journey one has to travel, and involves self sacrifice. Forgiveness doesn't come easy, and there must never be any rules or regulations or prescriptions...it must be unconditional in terms of restitution, in terms of forgiveness, in terms of taking hands in building a better future.

DV (white), likewise, acknowledged the time necessary to achieve a better future, but importantly also, stressed that 'fault' was on both sides during apartheid. This view is commonly held among the white community in Worcester.

There was a lot of wrong from our side but there was a lot of wrong from their side, and two wrongs don't make one right. Come and let's get together and said, 'Listen, that is what we think and that is what you think'. And it's...I think maybe I make it too simple. It is a longer process to get at the point where we said, 'OK, now, we going forward,' but... I am very positive, but it's a long way.

There was a clear recognition from some interviewees of the difficulties associated with these ideals. Participants used words such as 'arduous', a 'heavy challenge', 'fragile' to describe the process. But they were determined to engage with the process, and committed to continue when times became more difficult, such as the resignation of the Chairperson of the WHRP. Several people mentioned Nelson Mandela (Madiba, tata Mandela) as their inspiration, but equally recognised that they themselves needed to take the initiative to reach out. Shanette (white) identified the 'ordinariness' of the process. This 'ordinariness', the day to day practicalities of life provided both difficulties and a means of connection. For example, transport to and from Zwelethemba township was necessary for most of the members of the WHRP who live there, and this both meant that their motivation to attend reconciliation meetings had to be high; but also, in the sharing of lifts, new connections between car owners (usually white) and the residents of the township (black) were enabled. Shanette added

And it's, it always seems like this massive thing that we've got to do, we've got to have this great movement of reconciliation, but sometimes it's actually quite simple and basic to get to that point, and obviously there's a process after that

...

There were various motivations for taking part in the WHRP which speak to this determination and recognition of the need for change. Setting an example for the rest of South Africa and embracing the 'rainbow nation' were broad aims, and closer to home it was important to 'build a new Worcester'. Making sure 'that black Christmas' (of the bombing) mustn't happen again, and the healing of wounds were strong motivators. Socioeconomic equality, the wish for better education for black and coloured children, better service provision (electricity, water, sanitation) were commonly highlighted by the interviewees. These are borne out in similar studies, particularly when issues such as transitional justice, sustainable peace and socioeconomic equality are under consideration.⁴¹⁶ DV (white) summarised

We want to figure out certain better circumstances, then we must do things the right way, put this history behind us. Not to bury it, it's always there, -the way we come, like, we must now begin to, after fourteen, fifteen years of democracy, we must think other way around. That is, that is my point of view about the future of South Africa. I think this is a very nice country. And there is a lot of opportunities and we mustn't-the sun is shining upon all of us-and we mustn't take the sunshine away from other people... Sometimes I think some people want to stop the sun shining so the sun shines on you-and that's not the way we must do it. We must now say 'Well, we're the rainbow nation, let's go forward'. And it's easy for me to say something like that, because I haven't go through all the pain that other people has come through, but I think about the children.

DV raises a further interesting point here about difference in terms of race and experience. While there were varying expectations of the ability of the three communities to commit wholeheartedly to the reconciliation process, a strong theme which recurred was that of the role of the white community. I will discuss that in detail later in relation to restitution.

⁴¹⁶ See Snyman, 'Achieving Sustainable Peace in Worcester'; Arrison, Weitz and Snyman, 'Legislating Restitution'; Ignatius Swart and others, eds., *Religion and Social Development in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Perspectives for critical engagement*, (Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 2010).

6.4.2 The Practice of Reconciliation

I consider the practice of reconciliation, or how it occurs, by discussing the interview material under two main headings-firstly, the creation of circumstances to enable reconciliation; and secondly, in the eyes of the people of the WHRP, what is included. Firstly, I look at the themes under the heading of the creation of circumstances necessary for reconciliation to take place: process (time); safe space; tolerance; and peace.

6.4.2.1 The Creation of Circumstances

6.4.2.1.1 The Process of Reconciliation: *'Trying to Sing One Song'* ⁴¹⁷

Many of the interviewees flagged up the fact that the process itself is long and possibly arduous. What also became clear as the period of fieldwork progressed was that the process was not immune to the ordinary vagaries and difficulties often besetting any process or community programme. The subject matter of this process-reconciliation-did not mean that the process of attempting to reconcile communities in the wider sense made it any easier to avoid or deal with the ordinary conflicts which arose as people discussed, disagreed, and tried to move forwards. During the fieldwork period, the Chairperson of the WHRP resigned, causing much conflict both between him and the process in general, and between other members of the WHRP regarding the best way to deal with this setback. Some of the members in fact didn't regard it as a setback at all, rather, the opposite, and others disagreed about how to analyse the situation and subsequent decisions regarding a new Chairperson.

The fact that a reconciliation process involves 'ordinary' issues, personality clashes, day to day upsets, is clearly part of ordinary community living, and needs taking into account when thinking about transformation of praxis. How these 'small' issues of reconciliation are played out will have a bearing on the wider issues at hand, and also complexify attempts at understanding what is happening. It is probable that the individual and group process surrounding this issue mirrored the larger difficulties of the nation and government-both in responding reactively and in a 'split' fashion, the

⁴¹⁷ Quotation from Harris (black).

psychological legacy of the trauma of apartheid continuing to affect all. Nobanzi (black) explains, using a lovely metaphor.

So I can't say every time the thing will be smooth, but you know mammas we must have those heavy raincoats and those raincoats is there, it's the time when it rains, so the water you just shake your body and the water just run out. So it is what I am always telling them. People, let us not focus on one thing, let us wear some raincoats so that we can focus on what we are doing.

Shanette (white) said

You know if you take sort of reconciliation in stages, like a relationship where at least you have to observe each other before you can be attracted, there's hardly that. It's just like we don't even know who you are, but we don't like you because you're not one of us. And we don't really want to deal with the issues of the terrible education below Durban Street. Or the housing, and that. So I think the whole process is to bridge those gaps. Just to get people to start seeing each other and appreciating what we have.

Shanette highlights the time that is needed in the early stages of the process-that starting to get to know the other is crucial. She also underlines the importance of the socioeconomic conditions. 'Durban Street' delineates the wealth or class or race line in the town of Worcester-'above' Durban Street refers to the mainly white and wealthier areas; 'below' to the coloured areas. As noted above, the black community mainly live in Zwelethemba, the township five kilometres outside the town itself.

Many of the interviewees stressed the need for a long and slow process. They identified several key factors within this process. Other major factors including apology, forgiveness, and repentance will be dealt with in further sections. In presenting these findings, I endeavour to highlight what the people of Worcester felt were key, i.e. what they were concentrating on, rather than fitting their process into any one of the theoretical models of reconciliation processes.

6.4.2.1.2 Tolerance and Room for Diversity

The WHRP is made up of representatives from all three communities (black, white, coloured) and a range of faiths (or none), socioeconomic status, and genders are present. Much effort was given in meetings to trying to present to the outside world the diversity this represents. For example, care was taken to make sure that the prayers before a public event were interfaith, over racial representation, and that both women and men were spokespeople at these events. Interestingly, during the WHRP

meetings themselves, English was consciously the language used, as being the most inclusive option. Olga (black) said

So here in Worcester Hope and Reconciliation we mix everybody black, white, coloured whatever. So we mix everybody. We just want to build this Worcester a new one so that never, never a black Christmas (referring to the bombing in 1996) again in Worcester.

Kathleen (coloured) speaks to this view

Reconciliation I would say when we one day don't have any... when I see a white I think to myself 'I wonder where you belong'. When we don't have those thoughts anymore. When we accept each other unconditionally.

And Harris (black) agrees.

I think the aim is to bring really people together. Different cultures. You know, we don't want to have a colour. We want to change the colour thing. This is a white person, this is a coloured person. We want just to say that we are people.

Erena (white) brings in an interesting concept of the need to 'have space' for the other. This is key to the reconciliation process, and echoes Miroslav Volf's understanding of the embrace of reconciliation which is not overpowering or annihilating, but allows space for each to be who they are.

We're working towards a destiny (of) understanding of people, understanding, having... what's the English word... ruimte... Having space. Kind of having a grace for each other. And tolerating one another. Even though there's differences, diversity. To have room for diversity. And not be critical of one another, but have room for each one to be who he or she is meant to be.

Erena follows this up theologically: 'who he or she is meant to be', i.e. as created by God, is an overarching belief which colours her whole involvement in reconciliation, and was not an uncommon theme among the participants. Outside the WHPR though, it is worth noting that Worcester remains a divided town, with by and large racially separate areas of housing, schooling and so on.

So, the WHPR models a diversity and tolerance, which of course is nuanced and at times, breaks down, but nevertheless provides a space, a *ruimte*, for this to happen, which is relatively unusual in that context.

6.4.2.1.3 Safe Space, Finding Common Ground

The need for a safe space was important, and highlighted here by Phyllis (black)

Ja, through the process, the meetings I have attended they are trying because it has brought people from different backgrounds together, because I see there are Pastors from the Dutch Reform Church and Pastors from this side you see and businesses people, doctors, education, like our Director from Education is also part of it. So it has in a way brought people together. Like people never thought it would happen you see. We have always looked at each other through the fence, so now we can sit around the table.

Providing this 'table' is a key part of any reconciliation process. Some people talked of the need for a mediator, whereas others felt that sitting together around a table, sharing stories, eating, and making relationships was the way forward. 'Crafting a way' was spoken about, and most people highlighted the need for a communal rather than an individually based process. Bringing people together to 'make a big voice' rather than speaking as individuals on behalf of communities was felt to be very important and empowering.

In a national context where lack of self-confidence and perceived inability to speak out from was common, this idea of empowering through providing a safe space to meet the other seemed to be key to the success of the process. Julian Muller and Cas Wepener's paper on the creation of ritual safe space in a reconciliation project in a small town in the north-east of South Africa underlines this also.⁴¹⁸

6.4.2.1.4 Peace

Many of the interviewees recognised that peace was necessary for reconciliation to have a chance of occurring, but notably, it was mostly mentioned by those who are black or coloured. Although I have not set out to compare the responses from the different racial groupings, this finding seems significant, and work by Deon Snyman may provide some answers as to why this is so. He asked specifically about sustainable peace and its requirements, and his respondents identified a range of

⁴¹⁸Julian Muller and Cas Wepener, 'Restitution, Forgiveness and Ritual Space in the South African context. A Narrative Perspective', Forgiveness: Probing the Boundaries Conference, Mansfield College, Oxford, (July 2012) <<http://www.inter-disciplinary.net/probing-the-boundaries/persons/forgiveness/project-archives/5th/session-6-reconciliation-and-forgiveness/>> [accessed 4 July 2014].

meanings. These included the cessation of violence, absence of crime, post conflict redress, caring for the other, and dialogue.⁴¹⁹ Peace in community terms included the absence of physical violence and a situation where crime is under control.

In Worcester, the figures for violence and crime are many times higher in non-white areas. I would argue that this may be a reason why most of my interviewees who mentioned peace as necessary for reconciliation live in these black or coloured areas, and the white community are not faced with this day-to-day violence in the same way (although as discussed in chapter four, violent crime is rife across every area of South Africa). For the white community, other issues pertaining to reconciliation can be higher up the hierarchy, such as sharing story, and understanding the other. This could be conceptualised as a hierarchy of peace, starting with the absence of violence, and moving up through time, safe space, sharing story, understanding and so on.

*We have realised that for this heartbeat thing it is imperative for us to create a space where people can come and share...not perpetuate violence.*⁴²⁰

Nobanzi (black) identified that the aim of the reconciliation process

Is to make peace, we want to change people's life's, we want to change them because we are coming from those Apartheid regime time, now people must know we are for peace.

Harris (black) said

How can we do now as to have peace. It will take time umfundisi (teacher/priest) to have peace to everybody. Because we are still having whites who are still hating black people. We are still having coloured people who are still hating white people, black and so on. But other are shaking hands with the white people. And what I am saying the best thing to come together.

An important point to note here is that, for many of the members of the WHRP, the words peace and reconciliation seemed to be almost interchangeable. This of course has a bearing on what is meant when these words are explored, and in my interviews, and other conversations, I came to realise that a teasing out of what people were actually referring to was crucial. So peace and reconciliation were closely related, although for some, it also seemed that peace was felt to be necessary before reconciliation could be addressed.

⁴¹⁹ Snyman, 'Achieving Sustainable Peace in Worcester', p. 26.

⁴²⁰ One of the speakers (coloured) at Reconciliation Day.

6.4.2.2 How Reconciliation Happens

Moving now to what is needed for the process of reconciliation, the themes of knowing yourself first; remembering; understanding the other; truth; story telling; relationships built on trust; and levels of reconciliation are pertinent.

6.4.2.2.1 Knowing Yourself First

Marthinus (white) described a telling incident concerning his coloured domestic worker. He had previously thought that he didn't 'see' colour, that race didn't matter to him and how he thought about 'the other'. He in fact has worked entirely among black people in Chad, and now teaches isiXhosa in Worcester-so already feels much aligned to the concept and practice of reconciliation. He said

We've sort of got a domestic helper. And we went to her house in Avian Park once, I took her... I said we, my wife and myself, and they had a dog. And this dog came just ran for her and jumped up and she was caressing the dog, and I remember being surprised and then I thought why was I surprised? Do I think only white people can feel affection for a dog? It was just the first time that I'd seen that type of, which is completely normal to me with a white person. Why was I so surprised? So I realised it's there. The thought that we are different from you guys.

This is in line with Riaan's (white) realisation and subsequent unease at his lack of 'speaking out' and 'obliviousness' during the struggle.

So in that time it was still the time of lots of unrest and I was oblivious through the whole political situation, so if I had to go back to Varsity now I probably would have been more active in you know, I won't say the struggle, but just you know making people aware what is going on. So I feel a bit sorry that I didn't speak out then and I still feel sometimes sorry when I am in a conversation with friends or what have you and they make racist remarks and I sometimes you have family and then someone says something racist, I mean you think it is so bad to say that and then you think but I can't really tell them now because it is a family thing, it is going to be so embarrassing. So I still feel sorry sometimes, even today when I don't open my mouth and think gee you such a coward you know, why don't you just tell them to talk right. So ja I think I still sometimes even today feel sorry for not speaking up.

These comments tie in with what I observed more generally among the white population, i.e. although there may be a wish to understand and know the other, attempts to do this are hampered by a lack of self-knowledge or understanding. One of

the white members of the WHRP described not ever having known of the violence and killings which took place in Zwelethemba during the apartheid era, despite having lived in Worcester throughout that time and travelled in and out of the township regularly. Stefaans (the perpetrator of the bombing, white), however, made a link with forgiveness and self-knowledge

When you realise what you have done, when you fully understand what you have done, and its consequences...only then can you begin to ask for forgiveness.

Nobanzi (black) talked of having 'self-belief' and the courage that gave her to reach out to others, knowing that she was right in her efforts towards reconciliation.

6.4.2.2 Remembering-'I was There'

Remembering is a key concept. It is both a secular but importantly also a theological imperative in the reconciliation process. We remember in the liturgical cycle year by year Christ's coming, his birth, ministry, passion, death and resurrection. The Eucharist lets us in our contexts join with this remembering in a particular way as anamnesis. The 'making present' aspect of remembering was a key feature of how interviewees described what had happened in the past. 'I was there' was sometimes vividly repeated. 'I was there' they might have said: the women at the foot of the cross, the centurion, the disciples in the upper room. 'I was there' said Worcesterians: when the bomb went off, when they shot our youth in the street, when they arrested him.

Michael Jackson illuminates this concept. He argues that a theological understanding of both forgiving and remembering leads firstly not to ourselves but to God. The Eucharist involves a radical anamnesis at the heart of forgiving and remembering. Remembering involves suffering and death (of Christ, but also in human terms) but leads to eschatological hope. The meta-narrative of Christianity ensures that remembering is not just about the past, but leads to a reconciled future.⁴²¹

In order to discuss the reconciliation journey in Worcester, or indeed any reconciliation process, it is necessary first to look at the antecedents. Clearly, the years of structural deprivation caused by the policy of apartheid have had a lasting effect on all the communities in Worcester. Apartheid and the 1996 bombing are of

⁴²¹ Michael Jackson, 'Reconnecting the Rhetoric and Reality of Forgiving and Remembering', in *Forgiving and Remembering in Northern Ireland*, edited by Spencer, pp. 41-60.

course closely linked, and although the WHRP was set up in response to the bombing, this acted as a catalyst to a much broader need to heal the wounds caused by apartheid itself. The findings mirror this. Some interviewees chose to identify the causes of hurt and the need to heal and reconcile more with the bombing, and others with the more general difficult aftermath of the apartheid struggle. It seems that a mechanism of psychological splitting, and difficulty in inhabiting the middle ground, are in common use among all those affected by apartheid, black and white. There has been much work in the psychological field on trauma and its effects post conflict.⁴²²

Some of the interviewees and members of the WHRP had significant and opposing roles during the apartheid struggle. For example, some were members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC, while others served in the South African army. Stefaans was in the AWB (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging)⁴²³ One of the WHRP went into exile during the struggle years, and another served in the ANC Women's League. At least two suffered political detention and torture.

I attended an event at the kibbutz in the coloured area in Worcester, at which two of the WHRP spoke of their experiences during apartheid: one a former member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the other of the South African army. White men were conscripted into the army during apartheid. The anti-apartheid activist had been tortured (wet bagged and other methods) during his detention, and the other spoke of his experiences at the Angolan border. Both had clearly been traumatised, but remarkably both were willing to speak next to each other about these experiences. Both now hold significant posts in the local municipality, and work alongside each other.

Afterwards, as they embraced each other, I was asked to give my views of this encounter and the place of such encounters in a reconciliation process. It was a most moving (and difficult) encounter. The event had been opened with prayer, and this physical embrace following the words spoken provided an embodiedness which felt

⁴²² Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela's work provides a good overview in the South African context. See Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela, *A Human Being Died That Night: Forgiving Apartheid's Chief Killer*, (London: Portobello, 2006); 'Trauma, Forgiveness and the Witnessing Dance: Making Public Spaces Intimate', *Journal of Analytical Psychology*, 53 (2008), 169–188; 'Empathetic Repair after Mass Trauma: When Vengeance is Arrested', *European Journal of Social Theory* 11, 3 (2008), 331–350.

⁴²³South African History, 'Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB)', <<http://www.sahistory.org.za/organisations/afrikaner-weerstandsbeweging-awb>> [accessed 1 July 2014].

crucial to the ability to heal, for the two men, but also for those present who witnessed it.

These experiences clearly deeply affected my interviewees' thoughts about the need for, and the elements of, the process of reconciliation, and for some, much time was spent in the interview remembering these times. Harris, a black struggle activist from Zwelethemba, said

You know, they were in the state of emergency. They will take you today, arrest you, and three months, six months and if you come back, the same day they come again-they come and arrest you again, for nothing. Just for nothing. They will tell you that you must not go to the shop, you must not go to church, you must not go to work, you must stay in the home. But if they saw you go into a shop or so, they come to arrest you. That was bad, that was bad... I was there, I was there. And even the killings that I was talking about, and that happened in Zwelethemba.

DV, on serving in the South African army during apartheid:

You know, I tell you about, around about the army, and we was actually telling to do a thing a certain way, and if we tell you, you don't walk over that river, or line, or what, then we gonna shoot you, and that was just-someone tell us to do so. We don't decide ourselves.

Juan (coloured), who played a major role as a struggle activist, many times detained, said

I think it is important that we will have to deal with that type of realities, the process of reconciliation as I always said to people, nobody held a gun against my head to join the liberation struggle, it was my own free will, so people must not come and tell me how I must relate. In terms of reconciliation in the new dispensation how I want to conduct myself towards my former interrogators, those who benefitted from apartheid. You must allow people to deal with the pain... and I think for those who benefitted from apartheid as a community need to accept that...because then if you talk about reconciliation, you must take into consideration the reality and apartheid was a system of structural deprivation. It was not only a system of a word, but in practice, the whole communities have suffered because of that particular thing.

This point that whole communities suffered under the 'structural deprivation' of apartheid was very evident. The obvious economic inequalities, between black and coloured versus white communities; the rise of gang culture in the coloured areas; and the lack of self-confidence of many of those in disadvantaged areas, all go to play their part in the complexity of a reconciliation process. Moreover, the psychological damage done to all sectors of South African society in different ways is salient. The

degree of 'splitting' (the psychological defence of 'all or nothing' thinking, of moving to the extremes) and of seeming difficulty in 'sitting in the middle' makes the groundwork needed for a reconciliation process crucial. This was borne out in the necessity for psychological preparation for the bomb survivors travelling on the Peace Train, and the importance of a long and slow approach towards the needing to share stories, and understanding the other.

6.4.2.2.3 Working Towards an Understanding of the Past, and Each Other- '*We were only throwing stones, now we are covered by stones*'

There were a variety of views about understanding the past. While there was acknowledgement at Reconciliation Day from one of the speakers from the WHRP that both oppressor and victim share history and heritage, from others a more partisan view was expressed. One coloured speaker said

In 1838 470 Voortrekkers defeated 1000s of Zulus at the battle of Blood River. Just before they went into battle, the voortrekkers made a vow, a covenant with God, that they would build a church and declare 16 December as Covenant Day. The day changed in 1982 to become the Day of the Vow, and after 1994, Reconciliation Day, which we celebrate today. 1961 marked a crucial time for Umkhonto we Sizwe-the formal start of the sabotage / liberation struggle. In 1838, people used violence in the name of God and celebrated. In 1961 in the name of freedom or liberation, people used violence and celebrated. Our process is not based on violence but on peace. I think God has blessed us for this opportunity. In our process we have bloodlines-we have voortrekker blood-we have in the people actively involved in our process the story of 1838, and the story of 1961. These people now mix with one another in the name of peace.

Stefaans (white), among many of the interviewees, stressed that

We need to understand other people in order to be able to help.

Harris (black) talked of the importance of actually going to the other's space, to embody relationship through spending time in each other's places. One of the key and oft repeated moments for the WHRP was the fact that during Leon Wessels' visit, he had stayed the night in Zwelethemba-a white man sleeping in the black township-a powerful and still very unusual occurrence, symbolising a willingness to truly reach out and understand the other in an embodied way. Harris said

And we want-we need to go to your house one day, and say, "Hey Doc, I'm going to have a half an hour, give me a coffee, man, give me a drink man." Maybe I'm helping one friend or two. All drinking nice red wine there in the area. That's what we are campaigning to do, you know...what I need it's for you to come in my house. That's the bottom line.

DV (white) referred back to the Boer War, a not uncommon reference from within the Afrikaner community. He goes on however, to liken this remembering to a 'parable' of the crayfish keeping each other down, and acknowledges that this is unhelpful. He also says here that the black community has suffered more during apartheid than the white community, but that both sides must stop comparing hurt and think about the future. More starkly, Leon Foot's work looking at attitudes during the apartheid era and now, within a Dutch Reformed Church Afrikaner community, in fact highlight the continuation of attitudes prevalent during apartheid.⁴²⁴ DV (white) said

You know, I can take an example. The Boer War. Between the English and the Boer, and they murdered a lot of our women and children in the concentration camps. We haven't murder a hundred of thousands of blacks and you know apartheid was a wrong deed, there's no other description surrounds... But if we ever-we always come back and come back and come back, then we don't go forward. It keep you back, keep you back. You know a crayfish... crayfish is in a basket and the madam walk past this coloured boy and she said 'Boy, this crayfish get out of the basket', he said 'No madam, dis Afrikaner krewe [crayfish]: they keep one another down.' And that is the same on the whole of South Africa, they keep on climbing on each other, and we mustn't be like that. But there's still a lot of pain. For everybody-yeah, I don't know. I think, from the white side, the pain is actually not so big as it's from the black side, but I actually feel that we must stop now, and think about the future... You know, I think-when I was in the army and I was in Worcester in the Commandos, then we go into Zwelethemba and we raid them-you know we go from house to house looking for weapons and things. Part of the job then, but you go into someone's house and you see how neat it is, and you don't try to-I wasn't try to humiliate somebody-and after, when we had finished, I hear from them how it feels to be degraded and... But it was also for me not so nice. I just do my work...Actually I must say, because I grew up on the farm, my friends, my pals, was brown boys and girls. We play on the farm, we play with them, that's your friend...So I actually understand them better than they think I do.

These comments are typical of his community, and the fact that DV is involved in the WHRP is testament to his willingness to try to embrace transformation. There was an appreciation of the need for understanding of the other from most of the interviewees.

⁴²⁴ Leon Foot, 'Living Beyond Apartheid: Narratives of Church Members from a Longitudinal Pastoral Involvement' (unpublished PhD thesis abstract, University of the Free State, South Africa, 2012); and discussed in personal conversation.

The need to 'walk in another's shoes' and the wish to 'be known' were highlighted, but there were very different levels of what this understanding means, and some defensiveness about the lack of understanding from some, while at the same time, a genuine wish to hear more. Past history (the Boer War) and the more recent apartheid struggle both live on and their equation (in DV's interview) highlights the long and entangled woundedness which remains extant.

6.4.2.2.4 Truth

Interestingly, given the emphasis placed on truth by reconciliation processes, such as the TRC, and also in theoretical models of reconciliation, truth itself did not figure largely for my interviewees. Story telling was much referred to, and I will discuss that in the next section. However, the word truth was not much used. There are a number of possible reasons for this. One is that, today, eighteen years after the TRC, people may feel that the 'truth' about what happened during apartheid is already known, and that there is no more truth to be found out, or that the different truths are indeed too far apart to be reconciled. More likely, I would argue, is that people in the WHRP feel that they are past the stage of truth telling, or truth finding. They are at the point in the process of action, of trying to make change happen-through widening membership of the process, through socioeconomic improvements, through relational and symbolic means, i.e. through restitution.

Also, importantly, in the town, the power imbalance between the white and other communities still largely remains. The 'truth' of what happened during apartheid in Worcester may prove too uncomfortable for the white community, and the black and coloured communities now have a more pressing need to address their living and relational conditions. Pushing for 'truth' may endanger that process if it caused a withdrawal of those with power to help to enact economic change.

However, during my fieldwork, when the truth of a situation or event did appear, it had a startling and powerful effect. For example, one white member of the WHRP heard the 'truth' of what happened in his town during the struggle for the first time, as we were driving around the township. He said he had never known that youth were shot and killed there by the security police; or that such violence existed on those streets during apartheid. This truth made a huge impression on him, but also,

interestingly, he was already involved, and in fact, a key member in the reconciliation process. It had not served as a catalyst for his wish to become involved.

Others, when truth was mentioned, spoke of the need to 'talk straight'; that truth was needed; that being honest will take relationships forward.

The effects of a lack of truth telling, or truth seeking, are potentially significant in healing, or transformation. Critics of the TRC, notably, Mahmood Mamdani, argue that the TRC in its concentration on gross human rights violations, allowed a wider truth to go unheard.⁴²⁵ The TRC's slogan, 'Truth-the Road to Reconciliation', has been much discussed since. For instance, Megan Shore provides a good summary of the arguments surrounding the nature of the TRC in regard to truth telling or hearing.⁴²⁶ This truth, that white South Africans in general benefited from apartheid, and that black and coloured peoples were victims of apartheid, thus remained hidden. Mamdani argues that the truth that emerged therefore from the TRC was a small glimmer of a much larger, and potentially, more meaningful truth, which may have helped the country to heal and to reconcile.⁴²⁷

For example, in Worcester, only three white people attended the TRC hearing held there, in 1996.⁴²⁸ This could be one reason why the white member of the WHRP I referred to did not know about the violence in the township. Others clearly also missed this opportunity at the hearing to learn the 'truth' about what had happened on their doorstep.

The effects of not knowing the truth are borne out in the continuing trauma experienced by those affected by apartheid, and in Worcester, by those bomb victims who needed to know the truth of who it was who had attacked them. People were very definite in the Peace Train journey that they needed to see Stefaans, to hear what he had to say about what happened, in order to start to heal. Trauma continues if the truth

⁴²⁵ Mahmood Mamdani, 'A Diminished Truth', in *After the TRC: Reflections on Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*, edited by W. James and L. Van de Vijver, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2001), pp. 58-61.

⁴²⁶ Megan Shore, *Religion and Conflict Resolution*.

⁴²⁷ Mahomed Mamdani, 'The Truth According to the TRC', in *The Politics of Memory: Truth, Healing, and Social Justice*, ed. by I. Amadiume & A. An-Na'im, (London: New York: Zed Books, 2000), pp. 176-183. And Mahomed Mamdani, 'A Diminished Truth', in *After the TRC: Reflections on Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*, ed. by W. James & L. Van de Vijver, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2001), pp.58-61.

⁴²⁸ Ibid., p.44.

is not known.⁴²⁹

6.4.2.2.5 Story Telling; Community Versus the Individual; *Ubuntu*

I have included storytelling, community versus the individual, and *ubuntu* together in this section as they naturally relate to each other in the way interviewees spoke about these themes. Story telling is a staple of reconciliation processes. So it is not surprising that it was highlighted in the WHRP. Individuals wanted to tell their stories and be heard, and many forums were consciously created for this to take place. The need to tell their story seemed to be different from finding out or hearing the 'truth', as discussed previously. It was the need to tell and to be heard that seemed important when people were sharing their thoughts about story. This exchange of story is important, and speaks to the exchange of symbol, of the giftedness of this exchange, this sharing. I would argue that this sharing of story is, in its gift giving and receiving, restitutive in itself. Additionally, both the witnessing and telling of a story is an active process. It can be a 'doing' of story. For instance, observing how Harris told his story, it was clear that for him, at least, this was an embodied process: his whole body was involved; he gesticulated, danced, and enacted parts of the story as I listened and watched.⁴³⁰

The WHRP undertook Michael Lapsley's 'Healing of Memories' workshop, where story telling is a significant part of the healing process. The peace table, meetings at the kibbutz and other informal gatherings provided much needed and helpful places for the sharing of stories. However, what was more surprising was the felt need and the actual creation of a communal story of what the WHRP was about i.e. a meta-narrative. What its aims were, how it was progressing, how people felt about the journey. Many of the participants highlighted that this was a communal struggle, and this was borne out in this need for a story which was bigger than each individual. This ties in with *ubuntu*- 'I exist because you exist'. 'What is our story together?' seemed to be crucial to the reconciliation process. This of course has

⁴²⁹ The relation between truth and trauma has been considered by Gobodo-Madikizela among others. See Gobodo-Madikizela, *A Human Being Died That Night* for a moving example. 'Reparative humanism' is an interesting related concept, of which the importance of truth, empathy and sharing story are important elements. Gobodo-Madikizela, 'Reconciliation: A Call to Reparative Humanism', in *In the Balance: South Africans Debate Reconciliation*, edited by Fanie Du Toit and Erik Doxtader, (Auckland Park, South Africa: Jacana Media, 2010).

⁴³⁰ See also Cas Wepener, *From Fast to Feast*.

echoes with the overarching gospel narrative, and the place of community as the 'body of Christ'.

'What is the Worcester narrative?' was an important question for people, addressed in varying ways. For example, when the Chairperson resigned, there was a very strong feeling that the difficulties this entailed for the process were not hidden from public view, that the story of 'failure' and subsequent renegotiations of power was seen as an honest and authentic picture of a group of people feeling their way in a difficult process, a model of journeying together, of the mess and confusion as well as the successes.

As noted, Leon Wessels was a Minister in the last apartheid government, and one of the few such to apologise to the TRC for the part he played in the apartheid regime. In his speech at the Reconciliation Day event in Worcester he underlined, among other things, the need for sharing stories, for listening.

22 years ago I said that apartheid was a terrible mistake that blighted our land. South Africans didn't listen to each others laughing and crying, and I am sorry that I was so hard of hearing. I now realised that these words fall short. Are we now listening to each others laughing and crying? The answer unfortunately is a resounding no. Listening to each other always yields results. We know how to talk and to tell, but we don't know how to listen. Listening always leads to understanding. You can only live in the future if you understand the past.

Riaan (white) highlights the difference between the different communities' relational living, and the importance of community for reconciliation.

I learned from them how they look after one another, how they care for their neighbours and their neighbourhood. The community. A lot of the white neighbours, the guys just look after their own base behind the wall...

Sarah: So community is a big part of reconciliation?

Riaan: *Yes I think so ja.*

He also recognises the importance of listening to the other.

I think it (the aim of reconciliation) is to talk about stuff that happened in the past and listen and the reconciliation in this country has to come from, or the forgiveness has to come from the people who have been abused by apartheid, you know way back. We can't as a white person, I can't say you know let's do reconciliation...So I think you need to talk and you need to listen and you need to build relationships, but the most important is listen because a lot of these people have stories to tell and you just need to listen and you know that is it and then you must just hope that they can find it in their hearts to forgive you and then you have reconciled I think when that's happened.

Neera (black) sums up the difficulties of story telling, and the pain involved.

Like I was all for it. I felt like people really need to tell us what happened and be able to get over it and the best way to do that is really talk about it. At first I was very uncomfortable talking about it, so it was like big something, a big ball is to be held and I choke if I talk about it, I didn't want to. I was not at ease, sometimes I'll be angry, I will weep until over time something is like getting released out of you, you are able to talk about it and you wish the person you talking to can understand, about things were not right.

6.4.2.2.6 Relationships Built on Trust; Honest Dialogue; Creating New Friendships; the Ability to Reach Out

These themes highlight the importance of relationship in reconciliation. The ability to trust the other, to hold honest dialogue, and to make an effort to reach out were noted by interviewees as crucial to the process. The difficulties of initiating and maintaining these were acknowledged. Harris (black) said

It will be difficult sometimes...because these two people were not sitting in one fire. Now today, they go both to make fire, you know. They were not sitting in one fire, now today they want to go, make fire. So they are together. That is the very best way to do things.

He speaks of 'making one fire together', of reaching out to the other towards reconciliation. For the black community especially, it seemed that having white or coloured people visiting them in their houses in the black township, having the other in their own space as equals, was vital to the process of reconciliation. But it also seemed clear from listening and observing during my time in Worcester, and from the reactions I received when I visited people in their own homes, that this community was particularly good at doing the inviting, at graciously opening their homes and lives to bring in the others. Hospitality is of course a key concept in Christianity and other faiths, and Jesus' invitation to eat and be with others who are unlike us is clear. Friendship with 'the other' is part of the good news of the gospel. This is clearly pertinent to what is happening here. Marthinus (white) underlines this

Ja, and what drew me there was to see the way, basically the people from the process were interacting as friends. Across the racial boundaries...It's really now, it's enjoying each other's company... Look, I could see it was real. If there's friendship that means reconciliations really happen...Going to Zwelethemba, having a braai there...somebody coming to Avian Park and from Zweletemba or from the white area and just enjoying one another's company.

The need for trust in relationships was spoken about clearly. People highlighted sincerity and honesty as vital to the process of forming relationships across the racial divides, and also the need to take time over this. 'Small first steps' and 'starting where you are' were recognised as being important. The high level of openness and friendly banter was very evident during meetings and other interactions among the WHRP, but with acknowledgement that that was unusual and not evident much in life across the divides outside the process. Riaan (white) adds

I think it (reconciliation) is to build relationships. For me to build relationships with people from different cultures and different backgrounds and languages and people that live in different areas than me and you know to hear their stories and just to understand.

Erena (white) speaks here about the gang culture in Worcester.

Through that process if one or two find more who have the same heart, willing to listen, and you bring them together, what we found was over a period of time, bringing them together regularly over a period of time, a long time. It doesn't happen overnight. Psheew, it does not happen overnight. Yeah, for them to... when there's a fight or something, then say 'Hey but that's my friend now. 'You don't hurt my friend' because a relationship has been built, and ja... those relationships can only be built on trust over a period of time.

6.4.2.2.7 Different Levels of Reconciliation-to God/Self/Each Other/Land

Some of the interviewees spoke of the different levels of reconciliation. Most described reconciliation from God as the first level, followed by reconciliation to self and then the other. As discussed in chapter four, South Africa is a religious nation, and so it may be unsurprising in this context to find so much acknowledgement of the need for God's reconciliation. While this was readily discussed, most were detailed comments on specific themes, which I have included under those themes rather than here (e.g. prayer, scripture, the Trinity). Shanette (white) was able to generalise more readily. Here she sums up, referring to the coloured community.

So the reconciliation, reconciling to first of all who I am, reconciling to who God has created me to be, the people group he's put me in, the people group from which I've come, whether it's from settlers, or whether it's from African countries, or Indonesia, Malaysia. That to me is the first reconciliation. Ja, so... and if they care about themselves, they start caring about their families, and they start caring about the animals around them, and...So also even the reconciliation to the land. Because one of the strategies I think of the

apartheid evil was... you know take... they are the people that are supposed to be people of the land. But forcefully remove them, put them in cement buildings, no nature around them and they just start dying, because their spirit starts dying.

Shanette raises also the issue also of land restitution.⁴³¹ Several interviewees mentioned that it is important to reconcile to the land, in terms of looking after God's creation, and vineyards in particular (not surprising, given the context), and the farm workers protests while I was there had a major impact on the members of the WHRP.

6.5 Fieldwork Question 2: How Do These Factors Relate to God?

*We are not the authors of reconciliation; we simply chose to embrace it.*⁴³²

*The hand of God is so evident in people's transformations. It's about making peace with themselves, their fellow human beings and their Creator.*⁴³³

I turn now to discuss Fieldwork Question 2, 'How do these factors relate to God?' Religious language is commonplace in South Africa. In the WHRP, religion or faith plays a large part in people's lives, both as an individual relationship with God and the Church, and also as a community.⁴³⁴ Several Dutch Reformed Church Ministers are active members of the process, as is a Methodist Minister and some Free Church pastors. Several Muslims participate, and someone from the Baha'i faith. It seems that most in fact of the members have a faith, mostly Christian (DRC, Anglican, Methodist, Free Church) and church attendance is a normal part of life. Every meeting of the WHRP opened with prayers, as did the big public gatherings such as the peace table and the Reconciliation Day event. I attended a local government municipality meeting at the town hall, and this too was opened with not only prayer, but with scripture reading and a homily from a DRC Minister.

As in the previous question, I have divided this section on the relationship of these themes to God into principles (why) and practice (how). Why does reconciliation have anything to do with God, or faith, or theology? Or what is it about

⁴³¹ For discussion on land restitution in South Africa, see Ruth Hall, 'The Impact of Land Restitution and Land Reform on Livelihoods', *Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies Research Report*, August (2007) <www.plaas.org.za> [accessed 3 January 2014]; Graham Philpott and Mark Butler, 'Land in South Africa: Gift for All or Commodity for a Few?', Occasional Paper No.1, June (2004), Church Land Programme.

⁴³² One of the WHRP speaking at Reconciliation Day.

⁴³³ One of the WHRP speaking at a WHRP meeting.

⁴³⁴ See figures quoted in chapter four.

reconciliation that makes it so? And then, how is reconciliation played out theologically? How does peoples' faith relate to what they do in, or what they understand of, a reconciliation process? The themes of scripture; the Trinity; and faith in action relate to this why question, and the themes of prayer; repentance; forgiveness; and lament to the how of a theological understanding of reconciliation. Clearly, there is much overlap between these themes and where they 'fit'. There are many more potential theological themes which I could have included here, such as truth, justice, grace, hope and sacrifice. However, these are either included in the last question relating specifically to restitution and theology; or in the more general questions, where a theological take on what could be construed more generally is included. The table of research questions and themes (Table 2 on page 157) summarises the principles and practice themes for this second research question.

6.5.1 Principles

Turing firstly to the question of why reconciliation is 'religious'? The material from the fieldwork relating to this I have thematised as prayer; scripture; and the Trinity.

6.5.1.2 Scripture

Some interviewees were able to identify easily a text or part of scripture that speaks to them about the reconciliation process. Others did not find scripture as helpful or pertinent as other religious themes such as prayer or grace. There was a range of scripture quoted. Marthinus (white) said

Well, what comes to mind first is 2 Corinthians 5 where God is reconciled with me with, you know, his Son, with himself.

Riaan (white) spoke more generally.

I think of Jesus often how He actually went to the prostitutes and the people from, the outcast and he actually spent time with them. So you know that is why I am very cautious of people who you know make sweeping statements about Muslims and this sort, people are this with the prostitutes you know, but Christ actually went to those people.

Shanette (white), interestingly, linked boundaries to the space we inhabit, and the cultural differences around this.

One of the things that I stand strongly on is Acts 17: 26 where he has determined our borders and our boundaries so that we might look for Him and worship Him and I think if we understand that, then it's like 'Who am I to say that you shouldn't be here?' So even with the whole xenophobia thing, if God has determined boundaries and borders of people groups, and of individuals, then I must honour that and respect that, and the whole thing of seeing this image of God in front of me... I can't contain all of who God is, so I need to experience more of who God is through you. And that was very strong for me personally because in my white English culture it's very boxed, and this is my space, and you know my sign of affection is like this. And the coloureds are just like there's no space, and it's like they hug you and they just, if there is music on they'll burst out dancing, or they'll burst out singing.

Erena (white) spoke directly to the heart of restitution.

Proverbs 13 verse 23. "The poor suffer through the unrealised potential of their resources. Injustice sweeps away the possessions of the poor." So if people just continue to give out of... gosh man let's give something to the poor. It just keeps them where they are instead of saying 'How can I come alongside you to help realise the potential that you have?'

6.5.1.3 The Trinity-God/Christ/Holy Spirit

The Holy Spirit particularly was referred to by a number of interviewees. Erena (white) said

I think it (restitution)... from a Christian's point of view I think it's something, when I realise I've done something wrong to harm someone else, to go to the Lord and ask him 'Father is there something that you want me to do?', because Jesus never did anything that he didn't see his Father doing. For us it's the same, it's not to just do something because we think it's the right thing to do, it's to be led by the Holy Spirit, because only that will have true meaning... God says that he wants us to love him with all our heart, with all our strengths, with everything within us we must love him. But then also to love our neighbour as we love ourselves. So it's three relationships.

Erena also spoke for many people involved in the reconciliation process when she delineated a hierarchy of reconciliatory relationships—firstly to God, then to self, then to neighbour, directly following the great commandment. Shanette (white) was very clear that God in Christ leads us in the ministry of reconciliation, and was concerned that the process would not have the best chance of succeeding without this.

Look, I think if we can't lead out, if the church can't lead out in this who can? You know. Since we've been given the ministry of reconciliation through Christ, and I think if it's done without faith, without you know God being the

centre it's not going to last anywhere. Or there's going to be some sort of distortion.

Olga (black) linked the Holy Spirit with 'opening her heart' to forgiveness, and to being a child of God.

...if you have that spirit of God, the Holy Spirit, ja, then you open your heart, and then when you open your heart, when you open your heart you forget about the bad things and so on and so on. You just open your heart saying This is a child of God'. And I forgave Stefaans because the day Stefaans was created by God, I was not there. And also Stefaans, when I was created by God he was not there. So we are the image of God, both of us.

6.5.2 Practice

Turning now to how reconciliation and faith or God are linked, or play their part in the reconciliation journey, I have divided the material from Worcester into the themes of prayer; faith in action; repentance; forgiveness and lament. As I have already noted, it is important that these themes are not taken in isolation, i.e. that other crucial themes such as truth, grace, sacrifice and so on, and are also seen as part of the reconciliation journey theologically. These chapters set out the findings from the fieldwork, and as also already discussed, these 'boundaries' or 'boxes' of themes are merely an attempt to understand and categorise what I found in Worcester, rather than to provide a full or theoretical discussion of the reconciliation and restitution process. These thematised findings, in addition to the current understanding of the field in the literature, will be further discussed in the final chapter.

6.5.2.1 Prayer

Many of the interviewees expressed strongly how important prayer is in their daily lives, particularly in the form of intercession. For some, it was the key component for them of the religious nature of the reconciliation process and in fact life in general, more meaningful than communion or scripture. Many also described prayer as being the thing that keeps them going when times are hard. Olga (black) sums up this feeling.

In the church I have the prayers. Prayer is the most important part of my life. Every day. It is a thing, even if I don't have food I just kneel on my knees and

ask God. So I trust my God, that is why I said everything I do from Pretoria Prison I was praying. All these years I was praying.

As already discussed, prayer played a very important role in meetings and public gatherings.

6.5.2.2 Faith in Action/The Church

There was agreement from everyone I spoke to that the reconciliation process benefits from the involvement of the churches, but that they are not crucial to it. Some people felt that churches should be at the forefront of reconciliation, through outreach and leadership, and also that interfaith and interdenominational involvement is important. Others felt that this must not be an exclusively religious process.

Marthinus (white) said

Ja, so of course reconciliation is not something which belongs to the church, the church should take the lead in it but it needs to happen wherever...well one hears wonderful stories of people that are truly forgiven and who reconciled and then they are not believers, so obviously it can be a human process of the thing as well, personally, for me, forgiveness starts with God and then I would see as he gives his gifts of sunshine and of whatever else, health and whatever to everybody. He could give that gift of desire for forgiveness and the grace to forgive in a person that doesn't acknowledge Him as well, so ja, so I would not want to see the churches or Christians or myself saying but this must be a Christian process because that would exclude people that either are not religious or who don't feel so strongly about their Christian faith or are not Christians at all.

Riaan (white) stressed the need for involvement of people of faith.

I am just glad our congregation is involved because I think the churches play a crucial role in it. Ja I think the churches need to play a role and across religions as well. I am very glad that the Muslim people (are involved)...but that is also incredible because there is so much division between Christian and Muslim and the Muslims are peace seeking people you know just like you and me and so I am excited about that, I am excited I mean different churches in Worcester are also involved, so I think that is good I think.

Neera (black) spoke also about the strong and supportive role that some churches played in the black and coloured communities during the apartheid struggle, and expressed regret that this is no longer the case. This view was echoed by others during informal conversations.

Religion can be part of it because we really have wait for the churches, we

never wait just out of our will. The churches were leading our struggle. They can still take the rope, they lead us. I remember one time here, I am a Methodist and we had meetings in the church...Then the police came and we dispatched, but some remained in the church and then the Minister forces them, sort of came and locked them in and left. As he was going there was block at the exit in the township. There was only one exit, in and out, so they knew him, they stopped him. Somehow the information leaked. They asked him to go back to the church with them and asked him to open the church and he was like no, there is nothing in there. They said open the church, then unfortunately when he open there were a lot of young men there. They were arrested. I don't remember what the charges were, but some were released except one, ended up serving five years. I don't remember whether it was public violence or what it was, but that's how churches were. I mean all our Ministers at the time really; they were part and parcel of what was happening. Sarah: Are they involved now do you think in the reconciliation processes? Neera: Not after '94, no.

6.5.2.3 Repentance

Repentance surprisingly was not mentioned by most of the interviewees. This is interesting, and I wonder whether this is because it is linked to the 'bad' theology of forgiveness which states that the victim must forgive the perpetrator whether or not they repent or ask for forgiveness? This was certainly one of the criticisms of the TRC, and also occurred on the Peace Train, as discussed. Shanette (white) tells a moving story which bears including here in full to illustrate the depth of feeling and complexity which the whole process of repentance and forgiveness can entail, while also stressing that it is actually a simple and ordinary part of everyday life, and one that is found in whatever context. Shanette links this with her faith, and the importance of embodiment in the process-one of the key themes.

I've got a story. We went to a place called Riemvasmark in the Northern Cape. Now this is a terrible story at this place. They were forcibly removed this community, not just somewhere in South Africa, to the North of Namibia, because the government needed the land to do testing of missiles and things like that. They just arrived with their trucks, put everyone on the back of trucks. It was raining, their things got messed up, some dogs were left behind and children's dolls and you know ...And then... and even some were killed by elephants on the way up to the north. And they were just really treated like cattle in trucks and that. But then it went like 25, 30 years that they lived there so there was a new generation that was born in Namibia. Then the new South African government came in and they said 'We're going to try and bring in restitution, we're going to give them their land back. So they brought them all down again. So they brought people down that had never known South Africa. And they came down, there was nothing. Because nothing's been

developed. When the government moved out there was nothing. It was open ground. Then of course the people were dying of hunger and this and that. And so it was 'Okay we'll start this tourism programme'. But they're not all into tourism and stuff. Anyway, so we went to this place just after they had approved millions for development. And we asked to speak to one of the elders of the community. So it was a woman of about maybe 80 or so. And she and another lady of about late 60's, 70's came and they started telling us all these stories. This woman of... she was just... both of them actually, but the older one she was really bitter. She was just like... you know, and there were two of us who were white, one Afrikaaner and me as an English person, and then there was the rest of our team which is coloured. They wouldn't look at us, as I say it's really we're not there. So they're telling the story about how terrible it was, and now this Afrikaaner woman... I had worked with her many years, we've done the reconciliation thing, and I'm thinking why doesn't she use this opportunity? As an Afrikaaner why doesn't she repent, and you know, this is an opportunity. She didn't do anything, didn't do anything and I just felt God saying 'Why don't you do it?' and I'm like 'Look I'm English, we're not responsible', you know. But... and it was just clearly 'But I'm white'. And we might not have been the oppressor but we didn't do anything about the oppression. Anyway I went forward to them and I went on my knees before them, and I said... I just apologised. I apologised for what happened to them, I said it's a terrible story and I said I don't know how it can ever be made right and this and that. And they just started crying, both of them. But the older lady, it was absolutely like it was just broken. Something just broke. And then, and she hugged me, and she cried and she hugged me. Then we finished and we danced and we shared dances and everything, and when someone came to pick her up she was pointing to me and she was just overwhelmed. She could have gone however many years, never ever having that opportunity to forgive. And she spoke out forgiveness that day. And that was because someone was willing to ask for forgiveness and to repent and say this wasn't right. It's, it always seems like this massive thing that we've got to do, we've got to have this great movement of reconciliation, but sometimes it's actually quite simple and basic to get to that point, and obviously there's a process after that we need to work out. There must be so many broken people around, and you know you don't have to go all the way to Riemvasmark to find it, you know, it's here.

I have included this story in full as it illustrates so well the key themes. The dancing after the repentance and forgiveness symbolises a truly embodied reconciliation. Actually going into the other's space to hear their story, to understand more, and then to ask for forgiveness seems to be crucial. The space of encounter thus became the space of reconciliation, and the embodiment of that openness, that vulnerability, allowed a meaningful sharing of self to take place. That meaningful exchange I argue would not have happened if only words had been shared. It was in the kneeling, and the dancing, that a true relationship could be formed-a restitutive action of itself.

6.5.2.4 Forgiveness.

I concentrate here on the aspects of forgiveness which the interviewees found most relevant to their experience. In the section on the Peace Train, I will discuss further a surprising and particular theology of forgiveness which was certainly widely espoused during the Peace Train journey, and maybe more widely, and which was not necessarily helpful within the reconciliation process. Certainly opponents of the TRC's seeming emphasis on forgiveness argue that this is so.

There were differences between interviewees on the need for forgiveness within the reconciliation journey, but more especially on what the aim of forgiveness is. Some felt that the aim is to enable the forgiver to feel better, others that the act of forgiveness will lead to reconciliation. Some felt that it is incumbent on the victim to reach out and forgive as the first act in a reconciliation process. Clearly, this has dangers. Riaan (white) highlighted the freedom and healing that can result from forgiving the other.

It is very important to forgive but the person that was harmed needs to be the forgiver, like Olga with Stefaans. She forgave him and then she actually liberated herself I think. She still suffers, but I think it would have been worse if she didn't do that.

Nobanzi (black) stressed the need to reach out and forgive, but also identified that forgiveness is a process, and can consist of strong emotions such as hatred, which not everyone will be able to overcome.

Sarah: Why do some people forgive and some people don't?

Nobanzi: *Sometimes the others it is hatred because they said what happens to me I won't forget it and those people, some of them didn't come out like sometimes we go to the Priest, we are in one table... If you are not including yourself be part of that, you won't forgive because your heart is still sore inside but when you came out and you said you want to listen then you will at the end you will forgive... If they can't forgive they won't reconcile. They must first take the first step.... We can run the marathon but not all of us will win the marathon.*

While Marthinus (white), like Riaan, talked of the freedom gained from the process of forgiveness, but also identified the further aim of reconciliation.

Firstly forgiveness is to set yourself free so there's liberation for the one that needs to do the forgiving and that does the forgiving, because without forgiving you can't really be free and go on with life. The aim of forgiveness... and then the aim would be the reconciliation.

Shanette (white) makes an interesting point about being both oppressor and victim. This has echoes of Tutu's *ubuntu* theology, 'I exist because you exist; as I am degraded, so you are'. It is surprising that only one of the people I interviewed mentioned the Lord's Prayer as a template or instruction for forgiveness, given the reliance on faith, or religiosity, found in other ways. However, many people referred to the need for Christ, or God, or other scriptural references in relation to forgiveness. Shanette (white) said

Like I said the foundation (of forgiveness) is... God is Christ you know. And I think when there's an understanding or a revelation of... or guidance done for them as individuals, then it's like who are we not to have the grace for somebody else? So I have seen that.... And so they are able to be the oppressor and the victim, and then they are able to extend forgiveness.

Kathleen (coloured) touches on the problem of whether it is possible or right in fact to forgive on behalf of someone else, particularly here speaking as Juan's mother.

*We are taught not to hate, and we are taught to make peace with your enemies. So... but you know I'm sorry to say but I could never make peace with the Nationalist Government. You know Juan had an afro, and they used to take him by the afro and drag him like that.*⁴³⁵

DV (white) had a different view of the need for forgiveness, that is, to forgive oneself first is necessary for healing, and then allows you to go on and forgive another. He also seems to be talking about repentance and the need for apology, which are linked concepts.

If you can't forgive yourself for things you done, you did in the past, you can never forgive someone else. And then you go on with a wound in your heart that keeps on-if you just scratch it, it bleeds then again. So you must forgive yourself and say 'That was wrong that I done, but now I gonna do something about it'... You know, Olga said something very nice. She – and you know it- she said 'Come here my boy'-and that is, that is, that shows you that she has forgive him, and the process can go on.

Erena (white) again linked forgiveness with healing for oneself, but was very clear about the necessity for forgiveness in the reconciliation process.

You can't do it (reconciliation) without forgiveness. If you carry bitterness in your heart, the word says that it will defile many. So it won't only defile yourself, but it will circle out and defile even more people. So without

⁴³⁵ During the apartheid era; *they* being the police.

forgiveness and having an understanding of forgiveness it's going to be very difficult to reconcile.

Like the theological literature on forgiveness, there was much debate among the WHRP members about what forgiveness entails, about who can forgive, and where it comes in the reconciliation process. Guilt at not being able to forgive, or the perception of having to forgive when not able to, was common. Some described a process by which forgiveness led to reconciliation; others felt it was the other way round.

The links between forgiveness, apology, reaching out, restitution, race and repentance or remorse were explored by the interviewees. Differing views resulted, but what seemed clear from them was that forgiveness or forgiving in some form, at some stage, of a reconciliation process is necessary. This is in contrast to one of the prevalent theoretical views of forgiveness in the political arena.⁴³⁶ This is interesting in itself, as the WHRP can be said to be a political as well as a social process.⁴³⁷

Some people were clearly talking about forgiveness from an individual view, but many stressed the importance of forgiveness being public, or witnessed, and affecting the whole community. The need for an embodied forgiveness was also highlighted. 'Seeing' led to forgiveness, and touching made forgiveness feel more 'real'. It was 'important' for Stefaans to be 'in front of the victims' in order for him to receive forgiveness.

6.5.2.5 Lament

The place of lament in the forgiveness and reconciliation journey has sometimes been underplayed. Theologically it is important, and links to repentance and forgiveness.⁴³⁸ Denise Ackermann makes an interesting point about whether it is possible to lament as perpetrator rather than victim.

Can white South Africans, like David, lament, from 'the other side'? Can we in fact afford not to lament? Some whites all too readily 'lament' the loss of past

⁴³⁶ See Villa-Vicencio, *Walk with Us and Listen*.

⁴³⁷ I have discussed this important issue in chapter two. This also underlines the importance of praxis: while from the outside the WHRP may be said to be political, many of the people involved in it are more concerned with inter-relational reconciliation, between each other and their immediate communities.

⁴³⁸ See Swinton, *Raging with Compassion*; Ackermann, 'Lamenting Tragedy', in *Sameness and Difference*, edited by Cochrane and Klein.

privileges while refusing to see the need for deliverance from our murky history and for healing from the wounds that perpetrators inflict on themselves as well as on others.⁴³⁹

The psalms of lament point up the process of anger, despair, alienation and eventual hope in God.⁴⁴⁰ Olga (black) uses the Xhosa word 'Tanzenina' to describe her feelings of lament.

Yes, actually I was born and bred in the Free State, but when I'm talking about myself I have to cry, because I'm still writing a book. And the heading of this book, I said 'Oh God what I'm doing?' then there he will help. Tanzenina. Means that 'What I am doing', because I was struggling through my childhood. I can tell you I'm an orphan. So when I'm struggling I think about my father, about my mother and I cried, and I cried and when I'm crying I just want to go and sleep you know...

6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the two first questions which arose from the overarching research question i.e.

1. What makes up the reconciliation journey in Worcester?

2. How do these factors relate to God?

I have presented the findings relating to these two questions, and discussed them under the thematic headings which are placed most appropriately in those categories. In this way, I have allowed the people of Worcester to speak of their own experiences, and thoughts, about what makes up the process of reconciliation, and about how and why they, and these concepts, are involved. It is worth noting again that these are complex processes, and the themes are not necessarily easily placed in separate 'boxes'. However, using the analysis method I did has given the best chance of doing so. The first question has explored themes such as 'the wish to change', 'looking towards a rainbow future', and creating circumstances such as 'safe space', 'tolerance', and 'peace'. Themes relating to how the practice of reconciliation happens included 'knowing yourself', 'remembering', 'storytelling', and 'understanding the past'. Many of the interviewees identified that the process of reconciliation is 'arduous' or 'fragile'. Ordinary stories of day to day difficulties were

⁴³⁹ Ackermann, 'Lamenting Tragedy', in *Sameness and Difference*, edited by Cochrane and Klein, p. 12.

⁴⁴⁰ See Walter Brueggemann, *The Message of the Psalms*, (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984); Charles Westermann, *Praise and Lament in the Psalms*, (U.S.A.: John Knox Press, 1981).

given as examples of wider difficulties with the reconciliation process and the ability to reconcile on a broader scale in the country, and this ordinariness seemed important in the group process as a marker of the nature of reconciliation i.e. it is perforce part of day to day and 'real' life, and the importance that this is understood as a necessary part of the whole process.

Other findings highlighted some surprising factors. For example, the theme of peace was felt to be important in the black and coloured interviewees than the white interviewees. On further investigation, this may have been due to the much higher levels of violent crime in the non-white areas of Worcester, and so appeared much higher up the hierarchy of reconciliation than for the white community.

Other themes highlighted the importance of relationships in the reconciliation process. I will summarise the core themes after presenting all the findings, but these examples serve to give a flavour of what the analysis found.

I then further explored themes relating to reconciliation and God under the second fieldwork question. These included themes of 'prayer', 'scripture', the Trinity', 'forgiveness', and 'faith in action'. Many of the interviewees talked about their need to rely on prayer in the reconciliation process. Many referred to the intervention of the Holy Spirit as a crucial part of reconciliation and restitution. Some interviewees felt that the Church plays a crucial part in the reconciliation process, others that it needed to be more involved, as it was during apartheid in the struggle. Interestingly repentance was not mentioned much by the interviewees, which may link to a very particular theology of forgiveness I found, and which I discussed earlier in the chapter, and will do so more in the section on the peace train in chapter eight.

An interesting finding was the differing views of forgiveness in a personal versus a political process of reconciliation, which contrasted with one of the prevailing views in the literature. In the WHRP, forgiveness was seen as very important, whereas in the academic literature on political reconciliation, forgiveness is often underplayed. Lament as a theme was consonant with Denise Ackermann's writing on lament, and played an important role in the Worcester context. Again, I discuss in more detail the core findings and their possible meanings in terms of restitution and reconciliation after I have presented all the findings and their analysis. I turn now in chapter seven to present the findings under the headings of the third and fourth questions.

7. Findings II: Further Analysis and Theological Reflection-'Journeying On'

7.1 *Reparation*

*What it cost no one is telling
Can't subtract what might have been,
Can't add up to a sum we understand,
Can't subdivide what once was seen.*

*Can carve a tombstone for the dead,
memorialise with flowers and crosses,
exhume a body, clear a name,
issue receipts for wrongs and losses.*

*But can't repair, and can't restore
an uncut arm, unbruised genital,
untroubled sleep, unscarred face,
unweeping mother, children, faith
or wide unwatching private space.⁴⁴¹*

7.2 Introduction

In this chapter, I look in more detail at restitution itself, and how the themes which arise from the analysis relate theologically. The two fieldwork questions therefore in this chapter are

3. Where is restitution found in the reconciliation journey?

4. How is it theological?

7.3 Fieldwork Question 3: Where is Restitution Found in the Reconciliation Journey?

The big smiles and arm length distance will not contribute to the healing of wounds in our beloved country.⁴⁴²

In chapter three, I have discussed words and concepts-restitution, reparations, restorative justice. Although the traditional concept of restitution as something given to restore or replace materially is clearly a valid position, I argue that restitution is much more than this, and encompasses other gifts as well as material goods.

⁴⁴¹ Ingrid de Kok, 'Reparation' in *Seasonal Fires: New and Selected Poems*, (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2006), p. 139.

⁴⁴² Floris Brown, 'The Scars of Apartheid-The Silent Killer', (unpublished poem, Worcester, 2012). Worcester poet.

Following Swartz and Scott, who argue from a sociological perspective that restitution is expanded to include restoration of dignity, personhood and restitution of means, I take these themes further theologically, and show in this and the following section that key themes such as courage, grace, space, eating together and embodiment make up a much fuller understanding of what restitution is and means, at least in this context. Ingrid de Kok's poem, while acknowledging beautifully the hurt and woundedness of the need for reparation, seems to tell only part of the story. Her 'wide unwatching private space' can, I think, be shown in these findings to have at least the potential for transformation into a hopeful and grace filled *ruimte*.

As in chapter six, the principles and practice, or the why and how questions divide the material. A further section on cautions or difficulties associated with restitution follows. Why should restitution be part of the reconciliation process, and why is it important to include it? What do the people of Worcester think, and then how do they describe it and its components? What does restitution consist of in Worcester? I have delineated what people told me in thinking with them about these questions into principles of restitution, which considers themes of need, justice and dignity; and practice, which includes apology, costly courage, the doing of restitution, eating together and specific examples of restitutive acts. I have placed the themes of charity, compensation and the role of the white community under the heading of 'cautions'. The table of research questions and themes (Table 2 on page 157) summarises the principles and practice themes for this third research question.

7.3.1 Principles of Restitution

7.3.1.1 The Need for Restitution

The need for restitution in general terms in South Africa is a difficult and thorny issue. It is often not addressed, and when it is, the white/ black/coloured communities can be far apart in their views. The idea of the imposition of restitution in the form of a wealth tax for example, or being made a legal requirement in the inequality which remains post-apartheid makes it a subject which causes great anxiety among whites. Calls for restitution or reparations by victim advocacy groups such as Khulumani often go unheeded by the government. In Worcester, I found this similarly wide range of views. Surprisingly perhaps, people differed substantially on the order of restitution

and reconciliation. Some thought restitution would be a consequence of reconciliation, others the converse. This may point to the spiral nature of the process. Juan (coloured) gave a comprehensive account of the need for restitution:

I think restitution will be in a sense first, I wanted to say that the new government also has a very, very important role to play in the process of restitution and for me restitution in the terms of the resources of our country, in terms and here I'm not talking about gold and those type of things, but I'm talking about the land of this country, the need to be equal distribution in order to address that particular injustice. ... It is one of the most explosive areas in our society that if it's not going to be addressed properly also then it's going to create havoc. I think that restitution is addressing the economic inequality, restitution is addressing the economic inequalities about which is still severe in us as a society. We are a very, very unequal nation. ... it needs a proper sayings of their mindset that must transpire into practice where they say, listen, we have been unfairly advantaged during the time of apartheid, let us begin to give. ... Whether it is community centres it is going to build, whether it is for freedom centres like freedom square and so on that came about, whether it is business people giving money, for example my friend and comrade, he was killed in combat in Angola bringing his grave, his remains back so that he can have a proper burial, whether to upgrade that particular graves where stalwarts of our liberation struggles. ... I talk about they create an environment that translates into practice into the positive restructuring of relationships then you can also deal with the issue of restitution, of reconciliation and I think that is the particular things that we need to look at.

Juan touches here on what makes for restitution-memorials; money; but importantly, also the 'positive restructuring of relationships'. This, I argue, is a key point when considering the nature of restitution, and is not often thought about in these terms. It speaks to the embrace of restitution, and to the restitutive action of exchange of gift of self. Riaan (white) despite his struggle with the word itself, has been the driving force behind organising free medical and psychotherapeutic treatment for the bomb victims, as a stated act of restitution.

Restitution is a difficult word. I don't know actually what it is. I know restitution is, I know that is I think giving people something back, people you know that lost something, given them something back whether it is material or something dignity you know. I think that is what I understand but it is difficult word. I think restitution, I think that is what you doing to make up for what happened in the past. If you reconcile then you say okay let's do some restitution and you actually try to .., I want to set the record straight, but you actually try what's been taken away and try and give a bit of it back. You won't be able to give everything back but you know just try and give something back.

Riaan speaks here to the difficulty of defining restitution. More than this, his reference to restitution as a 'difficult' word, is picked up by several people, and relates not only to definition, but to the perceived difficulty of actually doing restitution.

7.3.1.2 'Fighting for Rights' (Justice)

Most of the interviewees did not mention justice itself, rather used phrases such as 'fighting for rights'. Yet they talked of forgiveness, grace, repentance, compensation, charity, peace, and other core concepts in the reconciliation process. This may have been for a number of reasons. The interview questions may not have facilitated a discussion of justice, but this is unlikely given that the interviews were open ended and allowed the interviewee to dictate the direction of the discussion. Other words may have been used, but on careful and repeated analysis the only phrases which seem to be connected with justice were 'fighting for rights' and 'forgiveness mustn't be bound by rules'.

This lack of focussing on justice may be paradoxically related to the high levels of violent and other crime in Worcester, the perception being that this violence may be unrelated to the past injustices of apartheid. The policy of conditional amnesty post democracy, and in the TRC, may also have had an effect on the interviewees not discussing justice. By this I mean that, post democracy, there was a low rate of applications for amnesty by the apartheid government or security forces of apartheid era crimes. Of these 7116 applications, only 1167 were granted. However, those who did not apply claimed they were innocent of any crimes, and in fact, the government has not yet put in place a legal system to try those suspected of gross human rights violations during that time. The net result of this being, therefore, that most alleged perpetrators of apartheid crimes have neither applied nor received amnesty, nor have they been prosecuted.⁴⁴³

Juan highlighted this in conversation in relation to the Worcester context. Doxtader argues that this contributes to continuing trauma of the victims.⁴⁴⁴ In this case, it is likely that interviewees who were on either 'side' during apartheid may not have spoken about justice in relation to reconciliation or restitution-it is another

⁴⁴³ Erik Doxtader, 'Reparation', in *Pieces of the Puzzle: Key Words on Reconciliation and Transitional Justice*, ed. by Charles Villa-Vicencio & Erik Doxtader, (Cape Town: Institute for Transitional Justice, 2004), pp. 25-32.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid.

'thorny' subject for them, and one which either stirs up traumatic memories, or provokes a measure of guilt.

Shanette (white) however spoke about the interplay between justice and grace, and this was perhaps the strongest reference to justice, with echoes of Bonhoeffer's concept of 'cheap grace'.

I think sometimes there's too much grace preached without understanding the law as such. Justice. And I think we need to have an understanding of how severe things have been and that. And there must be an acknowledgment of it. So that grace can be real and worth more than just some wishy-washy thing.

DV (white) refers here to the idea of restitution as law.

You can't tell people, 'Now you in the new democracy-now you must remember your father do something wrong and now you gotta-you get punished for the wrongs he done'. And that's-I think don't think that is the right way to move forward. I think you must do it in a-merit way, you must be a merit-do you know what I mean? You can't just say 'You black and you white and now you must pay for the deeds your father done'. I think it's not right.

This seems to be a widespread view among the white community in South Africa today, as referenced by the reaction to the 'Homes for All' Campaign, and other moves towards some sort of restitution law.⁴⁴⁵

7.3.1.3 Self-Worth

As I have discussed in chapter three, Swartz and Scott build their argument for restitution as a concept which includes dignity and personhood. Shanette (white) speaks here of one of the people associated with the kibbutz, but in the main, dignity as a word was not mentioned by the interviewees. Other phrases such as *self-confidence*, *worth* and *building up* were however referred to, and were recognised as necessary for improving capacity, especially in the black and coloured communities, and for the building of relationships across the racial divides.

And I have seen... when people have reconciled to that how their dignity level changes. We had an amazing story. The first woman, I call her my woman of peace. She would talk to me, she would never look at me. She would always look down on the ground. She really just felt inferior to anything ... her chin was lifted... she had so much dignity.

⁴⁴⁵ Arrison, Weitz, and Snyman, 'Legislating Restitution'.

7.3.2 Practice: Outworking of Principles

Turning now to the practice of restitution, the themes of apology; doing restitution; eating together; and actual examples of restitution are pertinent. As discussed previously, these are not the only concepts relating to restitution, and other themes such as embodiment are discussed elsewhere. This section is divided into components and cautions.

7.3.2.1 Components

7.3.2.1.1 Apology

Leon Wessels made an apology for his role in the apartheid government, post democracy, as noted earlier. Adriaan Vlok, another former apartheid-era Minister, washed the feet of Revd Frank Chikane in 2006 as an act of apology. Frank Chikane had survived an attempted assassination, thought to have been perpetrated by the security forces in the 1980's.

He [Adriaan Vlok] said, 'I take you as a representative and an embodiment of all the other people I should be talking to,'" Rev Chikane said, quoted by the Pretoria News." He then asked for water ... he picked up a glass of water, opened his bag, pulled out a bowl, put the water in the bowl, took out the towel, said 'you must allow me to do this' and washed my feet in my office," Rev Chikane said.⁴⁴⁶

This caused a multitude of reaction-from admiration to outrage. Some thought this was an act of manipulation, others that it showed genuine repentance and apology.

So there were, unsurprisingly, opposing views on apology from the interviewees. Riaan (white) articulates the view I expected to hear in terms of the necessity for apology and raises important issues of trust and how one knows whether the apology is sincere. He also differentiates between the white and black communities' perspectives on the need to apologise for apartheid, and this difference is continued in other issues around restitution also.

⁴⁴⁶ BBC News, 'Feet Washed in Apartheid Apology', (28 August 2006)
<<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/5292302.stm>> [accessed 2 July 2014].

I mean if I like you know told Olga I am so sorry about Apartheid, I mean I personally feel that you should say, anyone, you should say ten times a day to my black South Africans because I mean and even you can say it hundred times a day it won't be enough. ... And once you said sorry and keep saying sorry does anything else come into this equation, to this journey? If you tell me you sorry for stealing my car, how do I know you are sorry? I think it is trust, it is a relationship and it is time and you can't just say you sorry and cheers never see you again, I mean it is a personal thing and the person who has been grieved by the ... why you asking for sorry I mean it is up to that person then to decide whether he or she trust the apology and then go forward and then ja you must keep doing stuff and trying to make up for what happened, that is how I feel. You know that when you do these things you actually benefit, the giver benefit like you know most of the time much more than then recipient and it is just amazing to help these people. We can learn so much from them, so I mean I never actually felt that I had to give more than I received in the process, so it is amazing.

Juan (coloured) conversely felt that apology was not needed for wrongs perpetrated on him during the apartheid struggle by a particular policeman whom he has met since the end of apartheid. He articulated that this man's presence at that event meant that he had changed and adapted, and felt this was enough in order to go forward together in a more reconciled manner. This is interesting when thinking about restitution and embodiment in particular, and what is possible or necessary for the process of transformation and healing.

I said no, I don't think its necessary for an apology. I just think the fact that you have decided, I see your presence here in terms of the community policing aspect that you have actually adapted to what is happening to our country and, but at that particular moment I just felt a huge relief and I just felt free after that. I said I think that we have very much in common in building this new country and I don't want to hear anything, I don't want my relationships with people based on apologies and those types of things but I also talked to him about the fact that others might differ, but that is what has come up now in my mind.

7.3.2.1.2 Doing Restitution/Sharing Resources

The process of doing restitution, or more specifically, how to go about it, concerned many of the interviewees. Stefaans (white) was clear about the need for restitution.

If you ask for forgiveness, you have to turn back and make the wrong right- you have to go back to the community and help, for example, warn children to stop them doing the same thing; or doing physical work in the community build schools or houses... We must give something back..and not just what we speak..actions are more important than words.

He speaks here also to the need to show remorse with more than words, or more than just an apology. Restitution is a way of enabling the sincerity of remorse to be tested, although it is clearly more complex than this (as was discussed in chapter three).

Juan is clear that restitution belongs not only with the government. While the government has made some attempts at restitution, most of the measures recommended by the TRC have not been followed through (21,000 victims of apartheid human rights abuses have received reparations from the government to the tune of R30, 000 each). Ellis writes of a lack of political will to make restitution, and that the politicians should use their power to address the issue.⁴⁴⁷ While it is important that the government acts in this way, Juan (coloured) went further.

We must accept that to make reconciliation and restitution really viable, some instances there will also be a need towards changing of the mindset in those who have been oppressed in the past. Somewhere along the road we need to take each other's hands ... it's not only a government responsibility. Take a look at the power of the business sector here in Worcester, they have the capital and resources to make that change ja. We do not have, our communities does not have that resources to be honest...In terms of becoming proud in terms of your environment, to have an impact in the stability of communities when it comes to education when it comes to those type of things, gangsterism and all those type of things and at the end of the day, if we have that, it will possibly benefit the whole economy of our town.

Riaan (white) addresses the issue of the sharing of resources, and speaks of the importance of an equal relationship based on mutuality, rather than a 'top down' approach.

Yes (asking the other) is very important, because I had a vision of her (Olga) making bread or you know sometimes selling it. So I went to Lynn, Harris' wife and I said what do you think of this idea and she said no, no, no, ask Olga, ask Olga and that is something we also learned with this thing at the church, they taught us you don't go barging in and just give charity or starting with this, you ask the people what they want and you first learn to know them, create trust and a relationship and then they will tell you, I mean you go that way and that is good.

Shanette (white) is not hopeful about the actual transfer of land or monetary resources. It is worth noting that Shanette has dedicated her life to working among one of the most deprived communities in Worcester, having given up a successful

⁴⁴⁷ S. Ellis, Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report, Volumes 1-5, *Transformation*, (Pretoria: Government Printer, 2000) 42, pp.51-72.

career in film in Los Angeles in order to do so. She is living restitution on a daily basis, and alludes to this in describing what she believes restitution is.

This is one of the things I struggle with, because I think what everyone talks about immediately is the return of land, and money and all that type of thing. I don't know how much of a reality that is. The way I look at restitution is giving opportunities back, fast tracking in things like education, community upliftment, those types of things and I think in what we're doing... because I don't have land to give them, I don't have money to give them. But I do have what I inherited, or gained, through my being a privileged citizen. I can impart back in that, and I believe that's how it should happen. Whether it's in the workplace, economics, politics it doesn't matter, education. However we can... whatever I have received I can give back, I can train, I can equip back and ja.

Harris (black) highlights the importance of action rather than words, but also that monetary resources are necessary, and should be a shared resource.

You know the main thing the support, there must be support. Support is the first thing because when you want to do these things, you cannot do these things without any finance sometimes. ... Now the real thing is there if we can have support from both sides, I think things will go well...It's moving: after this we are going to this, then the train is moving, we are not just talking, talking, talking now, we are doing something.

DV (white) felt that money does not solve people's problems, but when questioned further, admitted that it is a good thing for the medics to make restitution in terms of free treatment. He however was not sure what he himself could do to make restitution in actual terms, and did not mention the possibility of giving land or financial restitution. He talked of helping to grow vegetables, or praying for people, and in fact did tell me that he holds a time of prayer and bible study every morning with his farm workers. This is not uncommon among the white farming community in Worcester.

I think in the two or three or four years we're busy with this process, we must already do something right for them (the bomb victims). And actually now the doctors are caring about them and I think that is the right thing to do. Maybe if they get-what is geneus?-get healed. Physically healed, maybe they think about 'Ok, now I'm...', they think they don't and that is why we have the money part coming in; I think they want money for the pain they've got and you can't -I don't think it's the right thing.

Sarah: No. But it does take money to get doctors' treatment.

DV: *Ya, but you mustn't pay someone R100 000 and you feeling now better. You don't feel better. They poor, and they haven't got money to go to hospital to get treatment, so maybe that's the right thing-the doctor gives something of him for this victims, not because he does anything, he just do it for nice-to be nice, and to do something, and I think it's good. And if I was a doctor I*

would also do this. I just-I can't do anything else because I am a farmer. I can help them begin a garden, vegetable garden or something like that, or I can pray for them, I can read out of the Bible for them.

7.3.2.1.3 Eating Together

The peace table captures the essence of the importance of eating together in terms of restitution. The discussions about reconciliation and restitution which took place were enabled by both the eating together, and the sitting together '*across the table from each other in order to have communion facing each other.*'⁴⁴⁸ Different cultural foods from the communities were available to share, and in fact much discussion was had in the planning stage about what to call each table of food.⁴⁴⁹ One of the members of the WHRP said

It will be a highlight of the year, a symbol of breaking bread together which will send a message out to the world that living, staying, believing together and getting into one another's inner chamber will happen by breaking bread together...There is a goodness about the process that 'you can touch it and feel it and must live by it. It is about 'greeting your fellow man in the street.

This has obvious resonances with the Eucharist, and the sharing of bread and wine at the altar. Another resonance is with so called 'koinonia meals', a sharing of food with those 'others' who are unlike us, for instance, those on previously opposed sides during apartheid. These meals are now underway in Worcester, hosted by various members of each community, in order to facilitate reconciliation and restitution through this embodied act of getting to know the other, and enabling the time together as equals in the 'other's space. Shanette (white) describes an event which further stresses the importance of eating together as restitution.

Yes eating together. Oh ja, definitely. We went to Zimbabwe there's a village, it was also at a time where Mugabe wouldn't allow any transportation of food at all, because that's how he controlled the vote. So the government would give food so that they could get the vote. And we took a trailer loaded with maize meal and things...we got to this village and they were dying. You didn't see, say between 15 and about 50, you didn't see that age group. They were dead from HIV. And starvation. And they were cooking us, the whole morning they were cooking the last maize, and over these pots the flies were going and it was just... we saw how they did it, and with their hands and...then they sit us

⁴⁴⁸ One of the WHRP members.

⁴⁴⁹ No consensus as to how to 'racially' describe the food (eg. South African vs. African; white South African vs. Coloured South African) was reached by the organising committee, so the different tables of food were just assigned numbers!

down and no one in their entire village, they're dying of starvation. Nobody's going to eat until we've eaten, and my team wants to say 'No thank you'. First of all a woman comes and crawls on her knees for us to wash our hands, and can you imagine if we had not eaten that? That is what, they were giving their absolute highest honour for us, and we wouldn't have a voice with them...So, I think it's a huge thing, if you can sit around a table and you can pass, and even like here they'll often use spoon, or their hands and they get shocked if you do... and then they laugh, but immediately they connect with you. Ja, so in that way I think it's very big. But in another way it's just a place where you start talking. And also finding common ground. Especially amongst the Afrikaaners and coloureds...And it's like, especially around a braai. I think braaing is a brilliant way of things. Ja, and it's like, instead of you know looking at so many differences, look at how many similarities we have.

7.3.2.1.4 Examples of Restitution: Actual and Wished For

South Africa has made some steps towards certain aspects of restitution, namely some acts of land restitution, and individual payments to some of those who had been active in the antiapartheid struggle, and who had suffered torture, detention or exile.

However, there is much still to be addressed. Restitution of means or finances, land, education, and memorialisation are some of the forms of material restitution. As discussed, material restitution itself is only part of what the wider concept entails. In terms of remembrance and memorialisation, statues to struggle heroes have been placed in public spaces, some street names have been changed, and public holidays such as Reconciliation Day (previously called the Day of the Vow) have been renamed to reflect the new South Africa. In Worcester, a statue of Nelson Mandela was erected in the town square in 2012. However, in Worcester no other attempts at changing street names or other commemorative reminders marking the liberation struggle have taken place. Memorialisation is just one example of what might constitute restitution. Interviewees from all three communities had many further ideas. Riaan (white) talked of his church and his role at work as a Doctor.

Our congregation started a relationship with the NGK which is the traditional coloured church; it is the coloured version of the Dutch Reform Church. ... we just started creating relationships with them and doing this. We had forty days where there were certain topics that we preached about and it was talked about in the Bible Study Groups, we begin with them and we guided them and they struggling and I think restitution for them is like us helping them you know. Some of our Pastors went to go preach there sometimes and you have to help them with that building stuff, you have to get involved with their bazaars and do something for them as well... At work I am trying to get my partners to ... we had a meeting last week where I tried to make a point of if we have a

good year and we have bonuses paid out for the Directors that we make it a practice policy to give a certain percentage of that for the community, you know to give back to the community. I think if the businesses can start looking at stuff like that you know giving back, because I mean we all we work here and our business comes from the people. ... So maybe those are small things that can make a difference.

Harris (black) focussed on education, and the elderly, as well as reiterating Riaan's mention of medical treatment.

There's so many things to do and there's so many things that people want, but if I can tell you, the key is education. ... If I was educated, Doc, I'm telling you, I was supposed to be in parliament. Couldn't because my education is very poor. And the other thing that I've done, I've tried to send my children to school ... You've got all the women and old men who are staying in old age homes where there is no security, there is no nurse, there is no nothing, the place is untidy, it's dirty, it's stinky, it's-you know? And then school children are not going to school, because drugs-those are the avenues that we think, if we can touch on those avenues, it's ok. That's what we want. Everything, even now, the Worcester Hope and Reconciliation did surprise me when you came in as doctors, there are people outside there who are suffering, who can't go to treatments, but the Worcester Hope and Reconciliation, that those doctors can see people-that was wonderful! Free of charge!

Shanette (white), like many people in the WHRP highlighted education and housing.

It's just like I mean this school, if you just compare schools just up the road, it's just ridiculous. But those schools have parents who have money who can invest in the school. You don't have parents who have money here to invest. So I think restitution needs to fall in... how can we stand in the gap? These are people who were stripped, so they don't have an inheritance like whites did. So somewhere the gap needs to be filled for these parents who don't have the money ... The upliftment of the school can service a function. For the rest of the community....So ja I think those are the two, housing and education, the two big ones.

Marthinus (white) tackled the land issue.

So ja, I'm aware, no I'm aware that land is a big issue here within Worcester's sort of districts. I suppose the only... something that would need to happen at some point is that farmers would be willing to sort of bring their workers to be like shareholders on their farms. Either way... ja just... you know I'm not a farmer but just to say 'Listen our family has benefited from this land for a long time' and sort of assume that the children won't be owning the farm, and make sure the children study like everybody else and get a good possibility for a job, and then little by little hand the land back, even if it's just handing it back to this Trust to which they can still have a share.

Olga (black) commented on medical treatment and the socioeconomic situation in general.

I was crying about the Ministers, I was crying about the Doctors. One day we get a Doctor coming in the process. I said that day 'Oh I am very happy because this is my... this is my dream that the Doctors must be come inside.' Then from the 18th the Doctors here, they volunteer for themselves for the 67 victims, you know. Then it is where I get now the psychologist, for free.
Sarah: Okay, and is that restitution? Is that part of what restitution means?
Olga: *Ja, there is more. You know, like the people are living here in the shacks, and when it's raining the shacks are raining. You know like myself, you know. I'm leaking like this. When it's winter it's cold. When it's summer it's hot. When it's windy the wind comes in, you know. You see I'm not secured, even outside. You know, so the skollies [hooligans] are moving up and down.*

So, this list of examples of what constitutes material restitution-medical treatment, education, housing, church involvement, land restitution, socioeconomic conditions-is picked up in the literature around these issues in South Africa in general.⁴⁵⁰ Others I talked to in Worcester also highlighted the changing of street names, the making of public memorials, improvement of graves of struggle activists. Some of these are symbolic, some actual restitution of means. Other forms of restitution, as I referred to as 'expanded' in chapter three, have been discussed under themes such as dignity, eating together, costly courage and so on.

7.3.2.2 Difficulties and Cautions

7.3.2.2.1 Charity Versus Restitution

One of the white participants in the WHRP told me that he had visited the black township every week during and since the apartheid struggle to do charity work, and yet had never known of the violence which took place there at the hands of the Security Forces. This starkly highlights the difference between charity and restitution. Restitution is an issue of justice; charity provides a well meaning but often unseeing short term answer.⁴⁵¹ The power imbalance between giver and receiver remains in a

⁴⁵⁰See Swartz and Scott, 'The Restitution of Personhood'; Arrison, Weitz and Snyman, 'Legislating Restitution'.

⁴⁵¹ Charity of course in the Christian tradition is broader than this.

charitable exchange, whereas the power in restitution is shifted to the middle. Riaan (white) agreed.

I think charity is just, I am very not afraid of charity, but the problem with charity you just give, give. I feel strongly that you must meet one another halfway. She must give and I must give and so I don't want to call it charity because charity is just you know giving and they just receiving.

As did Shanette (white).

No I don't believe in restitution in charity form at all. So you know restitution surely must be the highest for the person. You want the highest, or the utmost for the person. Charity does not provide that. If you teach a person how to give, and you teach them how to nurture, and you teach them self-worth, and that is the highest. So I don't think charity is true restitution.

7.3.2.2.2 Compensation

There were opposing views from interviewees about the issue of compensation. While charity is not restitution, interviewees felt that neither is compensation, although compensation comes closer to what restitution should be.

Neera (black) felt strongly on this point.

And I felt if it was done across the board it would be better. Just like what is happened to that Jewish community if you remember about the Jewish community, about the First and Second World War they still chase all those who were wrong up to this day. To us it is not about chase, at least everybody else who go as a victim, finally should be compensated and it will make a difference... Because people are angry, it is because they thought after '94 it is going to be honey, milk and honey and when that doesn't happen makes them angry. No but we are doing, just be realistic about it and say okay lets compensate everybody. I mean it doesn't have to be much, at least something and South African economy can sustain that. There is a lot of money they (the government) are spending recklessly. They can spend it on people.

In contrast, DV (white)

And as I said in the beginning, I learn a lot from the other side. But I sometimes I feel that some people want to get something out of this. And that is not the way we going to go forward in this process. We mustn't be there to get something of it. We must give something, that-that everyone can heal from the history that is not so very nice.

7.3.2.2.3 Role of the White Community

I have touched on this already, but it is worth looking in some detail at what was said by the people of Worcester. This issue poses one of the major stumbling blocks to restitution in South Africa, and as discussed, various ways of attempting to overcome it have been posited.⁴⁵² Marthinus (white) summarises a commonly held view at the beginning of this extract, but goes on to suggest that restitution is in fact not necessarily detrimental to the white community, as it can be more than material goods which are 'given back'.

So as a white person I think restitution sounds scary because it sounds like we must materially give back what we have been benefited. And give back or give away. Or in a way like re-distribution of wealth type of thing, and that's very threatening. Specially to white people ... Because it's much more than material things. Ja, it's much more than that. So some sort of a token of restitution. Which could be, ja some sort of a project to help you know upliftment of Zwelethemba or whatever... But it can be some sort of a token of restitution giving back even though we would need to say that we can't, we can never give everything back. ... It becomes more obtainable to me to think about it like that, it becomes more realistic... God has worked very hard to forgive and so forth, but I think in a wider community there will be, need to be more practical things. Where those two communities can see the white community, or a good representative part of the white community does want to change and has changed and does feel sorry about what's happened and they want to make amends. So I think there will need to be, ja, acts of restitution... It will need to have, it will need to come from inside (the white community) otherwise I mean if it's something which... it will just feel like affirmative action or those things which have been forced from above, and people obviously feel very negative about that.

Marthinus is clear that restitution cannot be forced, that it must 'come from inside the white community', i.e. that people need to feel that they want to make restitution. This is critical. Neera (black) said that

White South Africans I feel they are not sincere, that is my feeling, my personal feeling they are not sincere, not all of them, not some. Like I can talk about my hometown, they are really not sincere... I feel they are not being genuine, they are not being on, they only interested about their own issue, they just show or pretend.

⁴⁵² See discussion in chapter three.

Again, this is a commonly held view of the white communities take on restitution, from within the black community. Erena (white) stressed that restitution must come 'from the heart'.

What's the heart behind it if I have to give something and it's not from my heart? But I have friends that believe that some businesses, if you have a strong business can give towards projects that helps the upliftment, and I think that's something that people can decide to buy into. But it's hard to say that just because you're white you have to pay more tax.

Unsurprisingly, views differed. There was significant strength of feeling from some people. Floris is a coloured local poet, on the steering committee of the WHRP, who felt strongly that the white community had not engaged enough with the reconciliation process. Conversely, comments from the white community such as the 'need to be patient with Afrikaners', and that whites were victims too provided another perspective.

7.4 Fieldwork Question 4: How is Restitution Theological?

7.4.1 *The Scars of Apartheid-The Silent Killer*

*So much selfishness. So much hatred. So much revenge. How can we bring Restitution & Reconciliation to South Africans if some hearts don't even know or understand what this is all about? Some minds still wandering off and stick to their "Heil Hitler!" ideas and ideologies. Arch Bishop Desmond Tutu's Welfare Taxes could not have come at a more appropriate time for Restitution & Reconciliation in South Africa. Testing the hearts of the evildoers during apartheid times. The legacy and hurts of apartheid. The hurts of bombings. The hurts of border killings still lives with us. Restitution & Reconciliation can only become a success if it is explained and demonstrated to all South Africans...Look at the faces around meeting tables. Who's representing who. All races are not represented. Nothing has really changed in the hearts of many South Africans since 1994. The big smiles and arm length distance will not contribute to the healing of wounds in our beloved country...in conclusion I would like to say that all South Africans can retribute and reconcile their hearts by praying on a daily basis to GOD to help changing our country for the better. As humans we will never be able to succeed. ONLY THROUGH GOD THERE IS RESTITUTION RECONCILIATION AND VICTORY!*⁴⁵³

⁴⁵³ Brown, 'The Scars of Apartheid'.

In this section I highlight what my findings tell us about the theological aspects of restitution. Again I have divided this into principles and practice; the why and how questions. Why is restitution a theological concept? Themes of grace and hope speak to this. And how is it so, or what makes it theological? Themes of sacrifice/the cross; embodiment; and Eucharist or eucharistic space are relevant here. The table of research questions and themes (Table 2 on page 157) summarises the principles and practice themes for this fourth research question.

7.4.2 Principles

Looking firstly at why restitution is a theological concept, the themes of grace and hope capture what the interviewees told me in relation to these areas.

7.4.2.1 Grace/ Gift

Grace was a key concept among the interviewees, and also mentioned widely in informal conversation and public events in Worcester. This may have stemmed from a particular understanding of grace theologically, and also affected by the frequent use of religious language to describe and explain life. Of course grace is not only a theological concept, but it became clear that in the Worcester context, this is what people meant when they talked of it. When questioned more about grace and its role in restitution or reconciliation, most people believed that it played a large role in terms of being a gift from God, freely given and undeserved, which facilitated the reconciliation process, and even helped the understanding of what constitutes restitution. For example, story itself is tangible and a gift. Erena (white) made a link between grace and space.

No, you can't do it (restitution) without having grace. Grace is again having ruimte. Having the space for one another.

Stefaans (white) emphasised the time necessary, interchangeably referring to gift and grace in conversation.

Gift comes, with time, from God.

Nobanzi (black) said that

No, it (the process of restitution) can't be just for money. It is what we started

also that here it is no money. No one, we don't want anyone's money and it is no one like a project which is you must bring money or we will give you, it was a voluntary thing, but with our glorious Jesus name we started it together. I can say it was a big gift. From our Lord who came down and said to our ears you must start this now in Worcester to change the people's life and it is where we can see maybe all these things which happen to the youngsters and those drinking so much, the rape which ... It is the restitution is the gift. Because even no one, like what we did now, Olga also come out of the blue and said I will, I am here, I open all my hands, I will be here in the reconciliation...I think it is grace; it is grace because what also we plan, when we see we know each one belongs to her or his politics, then at the end we sit down and said we know where we came from and it is the grace of our Lord who took us and bring us together, here together.

Olga (black) spoke of God's gift as restitution

So the people must try to share with other people. Those who have something must give to those who don't have, you know. And when you give someone God replaces something you know. When you give the hand, what is given the other hand. God gives something.

Marthinus (white) explained

Grace is, it's underserved and its sort of unpredictable. Isn't it? But one can ask for it, so if one doesn't feel as if you can forgive then I can ask God for the grace needed for that so ja.

Shanette (white) reiterated

I think I said from the beginning I understand the grace of God is given to me. Then, ja. ... It's just giving an extension of giving to us, or giving to me what I don't deserve. ... I don't actually deserve you to say 'I forgive you', because how can you forgive so many atrocities and that. I don't see how it can be done without grace.

7.4.2.2 Hope

There is a move in reconciliation work on the ground, and in the academy, in South Africa to abandon the concept of reconciliation in favour of ideas of social cohesion, and other similar less 'all encompassing' terms, as I have discussed. This school of thought argues that reconciliation has become 'cheap'; that it is too much to expect from such a traumatised nation, and that smaller goals may be more achievable.⁴⁵⁴ This does not seem to be the view from most of the interviewees, for whom hope

⁴⁵⁴ Roundtable discussion at the University of the Western Cape, 2012, Cape Town, resulting in a book edited by Conradie, *Reconciliation: A Guiding Vision for South Africa?*

plays a large part in their reconciliation process (hope is even included, and moreover, linked, with reconciliation in the name-Worcester Hope and Reconciliation Process). Social cohesion was not mentioned by any of the interviewees. This may have been because as a term, social cohesion is not in widespread public use, but it seems more likely that for the people of Worcester, hope and reconciliation are parts of the same process, it is in the journeying that hope and reconciliation are linked. Social cohesion may form a part of this journey, but is not enough. This is a significant finding, and again, like the findings on forgiveness highlights the need to explore these concepts with the people actually engaged in their practice, rather than relying purely on theoretical constructs. Leon Wessels spoke at Reconciliation Day.

We can't give up because failure is not an option..now lets drag our past into the future..lets fight for a better future and stop fighting for a better past...who is going to get tired first? Those that live with hope in their hearts..or those that are giving up hope; those that move towards a better future or those that are giving up. Hope isn't everything, but everything is nothing without hope.

Harris (black) gave this symbolic description of what hope means.

You bring the whole thing, you cut it in pieces. And then it will fit there, it's really fitting there. Ya. These words are making one sentence together. All together. But if you just cut it and cut it, it will give you problems. Because there will be questions here, questions there, and questions there. But if you are making a circle here... And it's one thing, it's that Worcester Hope... hope. Hope.

Olga (black) refers to her 'dream', her hope in God.

But I said God is always there. He is accompanying me to everything I do. It is only God, it's not me. Maybe God uses me to change this world. God uses somebody to serve somebody. Maybe he uses me and Stefaans to change this thing. To be the new South Africa. Maybe, I do not know. But it is my dream.

7.4.3 Practice

Turning now to the how question of restitution as theological, the themes of costly courage; sacrifice; embodiment; and Eucharist are relevant.

7.4.3.1 Costly courage

Many people in the WHRP referred to the need to be brave; to have courage to make restitution, form new relationships, and ask for forgiveness. They acknowledged that these are hard, and bear a cost. Olga's courage in going to face Stefaans in prison in the original visit was much referred to, and how costly this was for her. Travellers on the Peace Train spoke similarly. Likewise, Stefaans' courage in facing the victims was a form of restitution. While courage is of course not explicitly theological, I have included costly courage here as those interviewees who spoke of it referred to it in theological terms, i.e. that their courage came from God, or through prayer. Harris (black) said of the first meeting with Stefaans:

I was willing to do that, and then we went there, I was the first, first person to ask him questions.. Because I didn't really think that this can be the guy, you know. He's very young, ya. He's just little bit taller than your son. And then when we came there he was wearing the uniform of the prison, the orange overall, and then he was dressing the chairs and the tables, and I just thought he's a prisoner, he's making this room for us. And when the authorities of the prison came in, he don't-he didn't go out, he just close the door and pull his chair-just like me and you. I was surprised. And then the prisoner wardens just introduced themselves and we introduced ourselves and then we started asking our questions. It was very painful, you know. To have a person that is now open like him.

7.4.3.2 Sacrifice

Marthinus (white) makes the direct comparison between Christ's blood in the Eucharist and his own blood which may be spilt if caught in gang warfare in Worcester. No one else made this direct link, but it is clear from observing the roles which some people fulfil in Worcester that this is a possibility. Erena (white), Shanette (white) and Juan (coloured) work closely with gang members in the coloured community, and while I was there, an armed police raid took place at close quarters. Risks associated with the process may of course not only be physical, and the emotional and relational risks should not be underestimated. These risks were shown very clearly in the Peace Train, and in Stefaans' own journey. Marthinus (white) explains

The wine which symbolizes the blood of Jesus and we should be, I have thought about it, we should be willing, or how willing are we to have our blood shed, who am I to, its because people do get shot here in Worcester. And

if I should get very involved in the trying to somehow make a contribution in the areas where there is lots of gangsterism, I could even get caught in the cross fire. So to what extent am I willing to put my life on the line for what we are standing for as a process? That is something that I was thinking about recently.

7.4.3.3 Embodiment-'Not Just Words, Not Only Words...I Will Make a Space for You'.

What does embodiment mean? There are various themes-seeing, touching, 'heart', and being with the other in person. *Siyabona*, the isi Xhosa greeting, is translated as 'I see you'. It was striking how many interviewees and others talked in terms of embodiment. While this was often couched in terms of 'seeing', people also referred to the importance of physical touch (hugging, touching, and 'staying together'). There seemed to be something key in the fact that there was a physical reality of relationship: that something that could be seen or witnessed or heard or felt was exchanged. The need for relationality in reconciliation is not a new concept. However, the importance to the people in Worcester of this actual, physical being alongside or together, was marked, and as such, deserves reporting fully. It also links what I heard and observed with the idea of *ruimte*, a space, where people can relate in these ways. What is the space needed to tell and listen to stories? How is this space configured? I will discuss this idea of *ruimte*, and space and how it may itself relate to the Eucharist in the next sections. One of the WHP speaking at Reconciliation Day said

So the church responded and also civil society...build up not only restitution and reconciliation as an embodiment of the heart of this town...we can all participate in carrying this heart forward and build in terms of reconciliation...the process is open to participate for all...in our process we have conversations with people like Stefaans Coetzee, we have realised that for Worcester, for this heartbeat thing, for this external factor, it is imperative for us to create a space where people can honestly come and share...whether they want to ask forgiveness or not...we are honest about being honest.

Nobanzi (black) adds

Sometimes when you see your enemy then you began to talk.

Stefaans (white) said that

Seeing is very important, and hearing in person-so need to make space for people to get together to do that.

Phyllis (black) explains her feeling about Stefaans.

Oh, so like for me personally I am still hurting you see and I haven't even met him, even in Newspapers or TV, I never saw how he looks like, so I can't put a face to the person who tried to kill me, because people were killed.... I definitely want to see him.

Sarah: Ja and then if you see him you might or might not be able to forgive.

Phyllis: *Depends. On how he explains himself to me and whether I accept what he is saying you see, because you remain suspicious. You like maybe he just wants to be released from prison, so he is using us to forgive him so that he can be pardoned you see. So I don't know, it will depend on our contact. If I see his eyes, because I'm fortunate in that I am ... before I became a Pastor's wife I am a child of God. ... So I have a very strong relationship with my creator, so I can see, I have that gift to feel a person. I can feel if you are genuine, I can see through people. So if I see him I will see and feel if he's been genuine.*

Olga (black) relives her meeting with Stefaans.

Yes, forgave him, mmm. I said 'No I forgive'. I stand up, Sarah, and I hug him, and I was crying and I was crying. Everybody was silent and everybody was crying. I decided yes, ... because according to the statement he was being used by the apartheid system. So now every time Madiba is talking about peace in our land, so I learned something from Madiba about that, you know ... So they (the other victims) didn't see Stefaans, that is why they having that anger. You know, because they didn't see him. But on my own I think if they can see Stefaans maybe they can change their minds.

Harris (black) speaks of making a relationship with the other, reaching out and touching.

The one who don't forgive, it's the one who don't know how to forgive. Because nobody went to him. If you are staying there at your home with a long knife, looking for a person what is going to come and stab you, you will stay in the dark. There must be a person who's come and "Hey, please man, put this knife away, put it there". You know? That's the way of coming to a person. You know he was so hurt maybe ten years ago, eleven years ago, don't worry. But when you came and this person say, "Hey, I'm hating these white people" or "I'm hating that guy" and you are a person like me, say "Hey bru, sorry man, I come to see you maybe tomorrow... You just touching him like this, and you feel his hand, he's not used to being touched, he's untouchable! He's always having a knife! You touch him and say, "Bru, can I come tomorrow to your place, man, I want to say something." And then that is the time that you're going to talk to this person. He will say, "Hey, sorry, I didn't understand, but now I understand". ... Not just words, not only words. To touch a person, ya. So that can see that this man is meaning business, so I'll make a space for you, you can come and see me tomorrow, and then you go and talk to that person... And every time you are putting the apples in the bag, the bag is going to be full. You don't take everything out of that, you put it in, and then if the bag is full, and then you can give these people apples, all of them can eat. Yaa.

He makes a link between embodiment and the sharing of resources, in the apples story. He stresses the need to 'put apples in', rather than taking them out .i.e. all need to give, so that the gifts can be shared equally. This is restitution-everyone needs to take part in the giving and then the sharing of resource, and the wish to make restitution stems from the 'reaching out', the touching, and the making space for the other, as he describes in the knife story. Here he further stresses the importance of seeing, in order to be 'happy'. He also feels that it is this seeing, the embodiment, and the actual encounter that matters in healing, rather than the 'law or justice'. This is a key point.

And then when I was a chairperson in that meeting, and then those people said to me it's a good thing that we have done and they believe that we couldn't go all of us, and so on, which we are happy about Olga, and all those things, and we want to see him.. They all said they want to see him. ... We really want to see him. They want to see who is he, you know if somebody killed your mother, or, and he is still or she is still alive, you like to see this person, you know. Like the people who came to the Truth Commission, you know, the police and all these people who went through the Commission, the Truth Commission asking amnesties and Sorry for what I've done. And some of the people said there, "I'm happy now, I saw him. You know. I'm really happy. But the law or the justice can do whatever, but I am ok. You know, some of the- that's why those people want to see him. ... You know, that's my plea, ... So let's go there (to the prison), so that these people can see this man.

Harris touches also on justice here, illustrating the opinion that I encountered several times, that personal encounter of this nature is more meaningful in promoting healing or reconciliation than the legal process. DV (white) links touching with giving.

I think touching somebody is more giving of yourself. I mean, we can sit there and talk, but if I touch you, you feel other-if you touch a woman, or if a woman touch a man or whatever then you know there is something going on there. And it's the same between people that want to talk to each other, just touching, 'Hi I want to say you something' or-gives you a other side of yourself, I think.

Sarah: So, it's more real somehow?

DV: Yeah, yeah.

Martha Nussbaum's work on the symbolism of the Vietnam Memorial and Chicago Millennium Park speaks to this concept of embodiment also. She argues that these memorials, both symbols of reconciliation, act as spaces of encounter for reconciliation. They are ritual spaces, inclusive, that you enter with your body. They

are interrogative as well as contemplative, vulnerable, and cater for diversity.⁴⁵⁵ So the idea of embodied space for encounter, which can be symbolic or actual, vulnerable and shared, involving relationship and reaching out, I argue, is restitutive. These ideas bring us to the concept of eucharistic space, and to Eucharist itself.

7.4.3.4 Eucharist/eucharistic space

As I will discuss in chapter eight, the Peace Train journey enabled a symbolic and ritual space for encounter. This space I argue could be called 'eucharistic'. This is not to say that the Peace Train was a Eucharist, clearly not. The Peace Train illuminated something which was 'eucharistic', the reality of Christ given to us in the messiness, brokenness, shared gift of a communal journey.

In a different way, the symbolism which occurred during the farm workers protests in Worcester when I was there brought Eucharistic elements into the struggle for life, for transformation. During the strikes, a meeting was held, which the Archbishop of Cape Town and 250 local ecumenical clergy attended, to offer practical and pastoral support in the situation. After the meeting, one of the clergy who was there told me that bread and wine had been core to the discussion, and to the difficulties. The farm workers were protesting at their very low wages (about £5 per day). The farmers were protesting that they were unable to make a living wage if they paid their workers any more. They argued that for every twenty slices of bread they produced; only two slices were profit. For every bottle of wine from their vineyards, they made about fifteen pence equivalent profit.⁴⁵⁶

These realities, these contested truths, were centred on bread and wine. The struggle to live was dependant on these elements. Added to this, there was a feeling that the Worcester Hope and Reconciliation Process, because of the strides it had already made towards reconciliation and restitution, was helping to keep the peace in Worcester itself, as opposed to the violent disruption in neighbouring areas (police were using tear gas and rubber bullets to dispel the protestors, one man was killed,

⁴⁵⁵ Martha Nussbaum, 'Reconciliation: The Political Role of the Arts', paper presented at 'Engaging the Other; Breaking Intergenerational Cycles of Repetition' Conference, University of the Free State, December 5-8 2012.

⁴⁵⁶ From personal conversation with local clergy.

and a group of the AWB (the right wing Afrikaaner group which Stefaans had been involved with) carrying weapons were arrested).⁴⁵⁷

One local Minister said, referring to the WHRP, that because of its work, 'the spirit of hope and reconciliation is coming over the mountain', and that they were able to feel the calming impact on the protest.⁴⁵⁸ 'Eucharistic' elements and the space held by the reconciliation process, all combine here to symbolise both the brokenness and the hope of transformation, in a community struggling to live with the other. The fruits of reconciliation and the fruits of the Eucharist, through thanksgiving to transformation, clearly have biblical antecedents. Jesus' table fellowship with 'the other' (e.g. tax collectors); the feeding miracles (broken bread shared); the post-resurrection meals, all speak to the rich symbolism of bread and space shared. Nobanzi (black) refers to the symbolic ritual space to which all are invited.

Restitution, it is also when I talking it, it is restitution because we are in all together. You see it is where we are doing these gathering to inform then we form that restitution and then we name it, it's like a project which we are doing and it is where we came up with the ideas. Okay let we take the farmers in, let we take the Zwelethemba residents in, let we take the businesses man of Zwelethemba, the Worcester, the coloured area. We invite all of those people let us to be one together. We made a prayer; it is two years back, the year we started. We make the prayer, we take some busses from Zwelethemba, from Worcester, it is where we started the restitution, then we make a big prayer in town all of us together with candles.

Riaan (white) speaks specifically about sharing a meal with the other.

I think eating together is part of the process without actually doing the breaking of the bread and eating, I think just eating together, having a meal together like what is going to happen on Friday. I mean if I can just have meal with Harris, I want to invite Linda and Harris to my house one night and just have meal with them, without even talking about you know religion stuff. Just the fact that we are sitting together and we having a meal and we having a conversation, that is pretty close to having holy communion I think.

Shanette (white) gets to the heart of Eucharist and reconciliation, and its symbolic power. She makes an important point also about the need for contextualisation. I will come back to that in the last chapter, but for now, this underlines the need to consider 'eucharistic space' as well as Eucharist itself.

⁴⁵⁷ Snyman, 'Achieving Sustainable Peace in Worcester', p. 8; C. Barnes, 'Spike in Protests is 'Political'', (May 30 2012), <<http://www.iol.co.za/news/crime-courts/spike-in-protests-is-political-1.1307703>> [accessed 2 July 2014].

⁴⁵⁸ Said during a meeting of WHRP.

Breaking bread together and I mean, the Holy Communion is all about reconciliation and ja, its about reconciliation, not reconciliation just between God and people because it's the congregation or the gathering that take that together as a sign of unity. The Eucharist is reconciliation language. The breaking of bread together and that the Eucharist is not only God reconciling with us, with himself in Christ but also that reconciliation, the togetherness of the Holy Communion being celebrated in the congregation or in the gathering, so it is between people as well, there is the unity there which is sort of presupposed... I think symbols are very powerful. ... But I do think, especially in South Africa that with the cultural differences that might be very powerful in the white communities, and even coloureds, but there might be some black people groups that it's meaningless, and it's something that they don't identify with ... We actually had this sort of challenge in America where, you know the brokenness of the native Americans and it was the first time in 25 years that the Native American Chiefs, we took a team from Tahiti and the Maoris and that in their feathers, and we took them and they did the whole evangelism thing and a missionary had worked 20 years, or 25 years and had never had one convert. But that day, the Chiefs just called their people and said 'For the first time we see that Jesus is not a foreign guy, that he is part of our culture, and that he loves us. He loves our feathers, he loves our drums.' And they wanted to make commitment, and they wanted to reconcile with the white Americans that were there and their thing of reconciliation was 'Let's smoke the peace pipe'. And it's like great as a Christian I'm going to go and smoke a peace pipe, you know. But their peace pipe spoke massive amounts more than Holy Communion would do for them.

7.5 Conclusion

Chapter seven discussed the analysis of the third and fourth fieldwork questions, which relate specifically to restitution i.e.

C. Where is restitution found in the reconciliation journey?

D. How is it theological?

Under the third question, themes of 'fighting for rights', 'self-worth', 'the need for restitution', 'apology', 'eating together' and 'the role of the white community' were prominent examples. In discussing these themes, I find that restitution is much more than material foods such as money, although these clearly are seen as part of what restitution means. This echoes Swartz and Scott's argument, that from a sociological perspective restitution is expanded to include restoration of dignity, personhood and restitution of means. There was a range of views among the interviewees about the need for restitution, which is not surprising given the general attitudes in South Africa i.e. differences between the white, coloured and black communities were pronounced.

More surprisingly, there were opposing views about the order of restitution and reconciliation, and a key phrase relating to Volf's embrace of reconciliation was about the 'positive restructuring of relationships' and the gift of self. Surprisingly again, justice as a word was not much used by the interviewees, and I posit some reasons for this, and the interplay of continuing trauma in its downplaying. The peace table event highlighted the importance of the theme of eating together, and koinonia meals as well as the link with the Eucharist are key. Many examples of actual and wished for restitution were given, and some of these have been instituted in Worcester, such as the new statue of Nelson Mandela in the central square.

It is equally important to flag up the difficulties and cautions associated with restitution. The difference between charity and restitution was highlighted here, as was the role of the white community and its potential stumbling block to restitution.

In the fourth question, I take these themes further theologically, and show in this and the following section that key themes such as courage, grace, space, eating together and embodiment make up a much fuller understanding of what restitution is and means, at least in this context. Analysis of the findings led to the inclusion of themes of 'grace', 'hope', 'costly courage', 'sacrifice', 'embodiment' and 'Eucharist/eucharistic space' under this fourth question. The theme of grace was very significant, and I have posited some reasons for this. The theme of hope was key for the people of the WHRP, and highlighted the need for exploration of these concepts in praxis rather than only in theoretical terms. Embodiment was a key theme, in the physical reality of relationship, particularly in the 'seeing' of the other. The space needed for this also seemed crucial, and this linked to the theme of Eucharist and what I termed eucharistic space. The comments relating to the farmworkers protests over the 'Eucharistic elements' of bread and wine were crucial. These themes are discussed further in the next chapter in the Reconciliation Eucharist and the peace train journey.

Juan wrote an article to advertise Reconciliation Day, which describes the WHRP and encapsulates their journey.

The Worcester Hope and Reconciliation Process has all the ingredients of becoming a symbol of hope of our town, region and South Africa, but also a process that can easily fall apart due to its challenging nature. It has provided a small space where people are free to challenge each other's views without the fear of being labelled...A space where you are allowed to say what you want to say and still be regarded and defined as a fellow brother and sister...A process that requires from us to work in a collective to

*challenge the obstacles, to demonstrate tolerance and respect towards each other, tearing apart our own personal prejudices and exercise a responsibility that allow us to create room for dissent, making space for criticism and building bridges....*⁴⁵⁹

Juan writes of providing a space to work collaboratively, to build bridges, to move forward without fear. The summary at the beginning of this chapter starts to clarify what is meant by restitution in Worcester. In presenting the findings, I have mostly relied on the data to speak for itself. Discussion of these themes, such as forgiveness, truth, storytelling, from a theoretical perspective, formed chapters two, three and four. These chapters, six, seven and eight, seek to explore these concepts and the journey of reconciliation and restitution in particular through the experience of those living this journey day to day. Some of my findings are borne out in the literature, others are surprising in their emphasis or lack of it; 'truth' being one example, as I have discussed.

Other main themes and their subsidiaries have become clearer. What is understood by reconciliation and forgiveness is of course crucial to an overall picture of what and where restitution fits in. Other themes which have emerged are potentially more surprising. The concept of 'seeing' seems to be hugely important, as do the themes of listening, understanding, hope, hospitality, process, community, *ruimte*, grace. Several key themes arise from the data, which are necessary for a theological understanding of restitution. Chapter eight presents the case studies of the Reconciliation Eucharist, and the Peace Train, in order to further explore these key themes.

⁴⁵⁹ Juan Kariem, 'Reconciliation- a Test for our Capacity: A View on Reconciliation Day', unpublished article, WHRP, (2012).

8. Case Studies: Reconciliation Eucharist and the Peace Train-'Space for Encounter on the Way'

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents two particularly significant events which occurred during the fieldwork. I discuss these events, the Reconciliation Eucharist, and the Peace Train, in some detail here, as they both serve to highlight and illustrate key themes from the research. In so doing, they also point towards the final chapter, in which I explore a theology of restitution, based on these key themes.

8.2 Reconciliation Eucharist

8.2.1 Introduction: Why Eucharist?

I was not only 'the researcher' in this process, but was also 'Father Sarah', '*Umfundisi*', a 'Psychiatrist' and just 'Sarah'-a person, a wife, a mother.⁴⁶⁰ I had been working and journeying among this group for almost three months, and felt a huge debt of gratitude towards them, for their openness, hospitality and friendship. Over the last few weeks in Worcester I had been trying to think of a present for them which would express these feelings. So it seemed fitting and right, and in fact the best gift I could offer, to hold a Eucharist for the WHRP and any in the communities I had been working with. The timing of this Eucharist also was such that it was held during the time of the farm workers' protests, and directly before Reconciliation Day itself. The symbolism of both these was not lost on people who came.

The Eucharist would also allow me to check directly with the people concerned some of the themes and ideas which seemed to be emerging from observation and interview. These themes-eucharistic space, inclusivity and diversity, dialogue, journey, sharing the peace, embodiment, body of Christ, lament, blessing and sending out, doing Eucharist/performing restitution, grace, encounter, and sacrifice-have been largely discussed earlier in these chapters. Others I include here.

⁴⁶⁰ My family also attended some events with me.

8.2.2 Preparation

I was concerned to make the Eucharist as theologically inclusive as possible, within the bounds of my Anglican priesthood, and as such, discussed the idea with key members of the WHRP, and other local clergy, and sought permission from the Anglican parish priest. I also wanted to embody and symbolise racial and community inclusivity, in terms of space, people and Eucharistic elements. To these ends I asked the kibbutz if I could use their hall in the coloured community; DV, as a white Afrikaner, to bring the wine from his farm; and Nobanzi, from the black township, to bake the bread. Symbolically this had huge symbolic resonance with the reconciliation process itself, particularly in terms of race, Eucharistic elements and space. At meetings of the WHRP in the preceding weeks, I invited all to attend, and to take as much part in the liturgy as they felt able or comfortable with. In the event, many non-Christians attended, as well as the majority of the WHRP who have Christian belief. About 40 people attended the Eucharist. 9 of the interviewees came, and the other people were members of the Worcester Hope and Reconciliation Process, members of the kibbutz Christian community, my family, and a few others from Worcester who had heard about the service locally. There was a spread of people from the black, coloured and white communities. I received apologies from the local Anglican priest, who I had discussed the service with and who had hoped to be able to attend. Several members of the local Dutch Reformed Church clergy attended.

8.2.3 The Liturgy of the Eucharist

I wrote a liturgy which had a reconciliation focus using, for instance, the Litany of Restitution by Sharlene Swartz as the confession. Several members of the WHRP read the gospel reading, and during the prayers, people were invited to journey around different prayer tables and write their own prayers (in whatever language they felt most comfortable using) and light candles on specific themes, i.e. for the WHRP; Reconciliation Day and the Peace Train; prisoners; those who go hungry; farm workers and farmers given the unrest at that time; those who are wounded in body, mind or spirit; those who mourn; and all people and places which need hope and reconciliation. This movement round the room to different prayer stations was of course both physical and symbolic of our journey together towards God. Most people

there had not experienced intercession in this way before, and were visibly moved by being invited to actively take part. I drew the prayers together by praying the prayer Stefaans had written for the occasion after I interviewed him earlier in December. This again was a powerful and moving experience, and I felt it was very important for him to be included in the Eucharist in some way. Clearly his involvement was a potentially sensitive issue for some of the people there, and I addressed this by asking if I could read his prayer at that point.

Stefaans' prayer is below:

*Father, we thank you for your grace and mercy.
Help us to realise that forgiveness heals and sets us free from our past to
enable us to be free to create a better future as a nation.
Father we ask You to take us by the hand and lead us down this new path. Not
only here in South Africa, but that people all over the world will realise that
the ultimate gift of forgiveness was freely given to all and that all has the
responsibility to impart this free gift to others.
Give us the Godly strength to open our hearts to a more excellent way.
May we love and forgive as we are loved and forgiven.
We pray this in Jesus' name
Amen.⁴⁶¹*

The gospel I chose was the story of the Emmaus Road, Luke 24:13-18, which was read by two of the members of the WHRP. The 'sermon slot' I called 'time for reflection together', and after preaching a short homily, invited people to share their thoughts about the passage, and particularly its relation to the process of reconciliation they are engaged in. I used a metaphor of journeying from yesterday's sorrow, through today's hope, to tomorrow's love; linking these three stages with the Emmaus journey and then with the reconciliation journey in Worcester. People responded with much discussion, and confirmed and repeated what I had found through interview and observation. In this way, the concepts of relationality and a more equal dialogical sharing were embodied. The idea of journeying towards reconciliation, that it is a long process, that it involves suffering as well as hope and love, that not everyone is at the same place on the journey were some of the key themes that people picked out. Others spoke of the need to get to know each other again, of the beauty of eating together, of the rarity still of finding all races together in one room as we were then. Compassion and forgiveness were highlighted, as were prayer and the gift of God's grace in the process and in that time together in the service. Spoken words gave way to singing-

⁴⁶¹ Stefaans Coetzee unpublished prayer.

traditional praise songs, in isiXhosa and English. In fact, throughout the service, singing broke out naturally at moments of transition or stillness in the liturgy.

The 'sharing of the peace' was one of the key moments in the liturgy. This was something I had introduced into meetings of the WHRP and bigger gatherings, and had been embraced by people as a way of, not only greeting each other in God's name, but symbolising their common purpose of peace and reconciliation. Not only was the symbolism important, but so was the actual and physical shaking hands or hugging each other. The embodiment of what being reconciled means in this way seemed to touch people's imaginations and 'sharing the peace' under God was much appreciated, for these reasons.⁴⁶² It also speaks to the idea of restitution as something shared and 'real', felt and seen by all. The space for this embrace, this encounter, was shared and the relationality tangible.

The Eucharistic prayer used had a focus on peace and reconciliation, and all were invited to share in the bread and wine. People communicated each other round the circle, or if they were not receiving, shared a moment of quiet as the elements were passed on. This method of giving and receiving the body and blood was designed to be symbolically and actually as inclusive and 'equal' as it could be. The bread baked by Nobanzi from the black township, and the wine grown by DV in his white family vineyards, also represented a sharing of gifts, given and accepted as equals. The body and blood of Christ were given and received, both tangibly and symbolically, with a powerful reminder of the past hurts transformed into present move towards equality and reconciliation. The diverse body of Christ, as the community present, shared in these gifts as symbols of relationship and restitution.

Pain, lament and hurt could all be brought to the communion table. This enabled Olga's lament, the pain of apartheid trauma, the hurt of the resignation of the Chair of the WHRP, personal, private and communal hurts, to be brought and dealt with in the Eucharist, in the sharing of the bread and wine. Public and private dialogue was brought to the altar and taken back out again transformed, out of the space into life. The blessing and 'sending out' were another crucial part of this Eucharist. People throughout my time had looked to me for different things-as 'expert', as 'teacher', as

⁴⁶² Cilliers presents a reflection on liturgical implications of embodiment, especially within the 'black African' culture, citing the importance of music, dancing and a bodily response to worship (also relating it interestingly to *ubuntu*, in the necessary relationality). 'Africans dance themselves into existence, together'. This underlines what I found in this Eucharist. Cilliers, '*Fides Quarens Corporalitatem*: Perspectives on Liturgical Embodiment', p. 57.

psychiatrist, as *umfundisi*. I had been asked to open meetings with prayer, asked for my advice, asked to speak on promotional videos and so on. The blessing therefore felt an important ending to all this and I adapted carefully to try to encapsulate what the process meant for people, and how to continue it. The blessing follows:

*God, may we be instruments of your peace today
In a country still divided
May we be your reconcilers
In a country of hurt and pain
May we be those who care for each other
In a country which is struggling
May we be those who heal and restore
And the blessing...*⁴⁶³

The blessing and the 'sending out' to 'go in peace to love and serve the Lord' were picked up in the speeches after the service. Many people stood and thanked me, and reiterated the themes already discussed-of sharing the peace, of grace and gift, of love and hope. The order of service can be found in appendix 8.

8.3 Reflection on the Reconciliation Day Eucharist

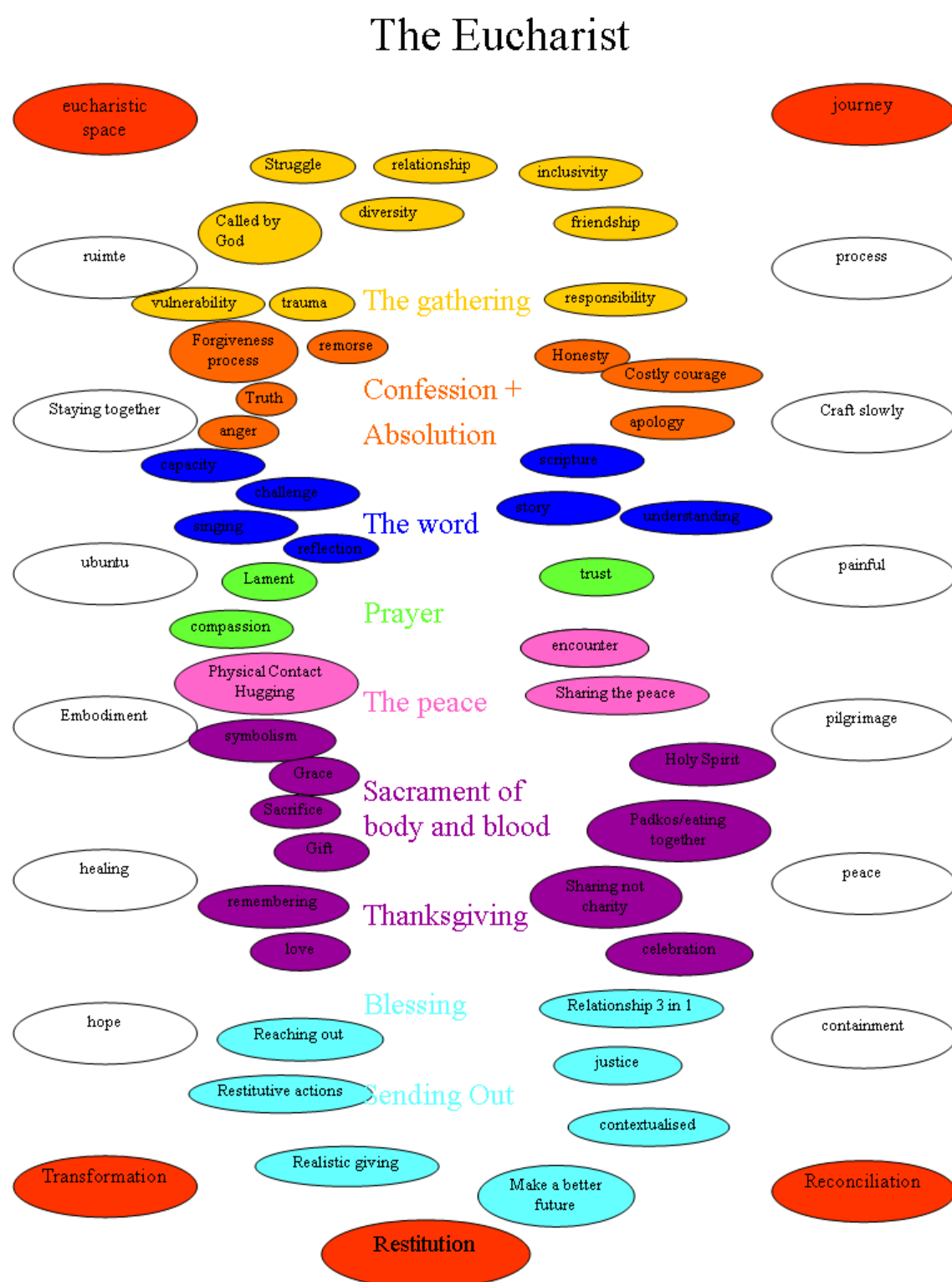
Interestingly, during the Reconciliation Day event the following morning, parts of this Eucharist were quoted by some of the speakers. It had been my intention when planning the timing of the Eucharist for the afternoon before Reconciliation Day, to make a link between the two: Eucharist as reconciliation and celebration and remembering, as restitution itself, but I was surprised by the many links that those present made with these themes, such as sorrow, hope and love, as parts of our journey together.

The theme of 'doing Eucharist, performing restitution' was clearly demonstrated in this service, this liturgy, this space. During the process of analysis, both while in Worcester and after the fieldwork period, it became clearer that the liturgical structure of the Eucharist was a model, and in fact, an embodiment of the themes that were emerging from the data. Each of the component parts of the liturgy were able to hold the themes and sub themes in a way which helped conceptualise the process of restitution and reconciliation. Also, the overarching movement in the

⁴⁶³ Christine Sine, A Liturgy for Peace. <<http://mike-collins.blogspot.co.uk/2007/06/liturgy-for-peace.html>> [accessed 7 July 2014].

liturgy towards the final 'sending out' mirrored both the idea of the Peace Train as pilgrimage, and the reconciliation journey itself. The following diagram presents these themes as they interact with the Eucharistic liturgy.

Figure 1: A diagrammatic representation linking themes from the fieldwork with the liturgy of the Eucharist.



Key to Figure 1

Colour	Research Theme	Eucharistic Liturgy
	Eucharistic space, journey, transformation, reconciliation, restitution	Overarching themes common to both fieldwork and Eucharist
	Ruimte, staying together, Ubuntu, embodiment, healing, hope, process, craft slowly, painful, pilgrimage, peace, containment	Core themes with some overlap with the Eucharist
	Called by God, relationship, diversity, trauma, struggle, vulnerability, responsibility, inclusivity, friendship	Gathering
	Forgiveness process, truth, remorse, anger, honesty, costly courage, apology	Confession and Absolution
	Reflection, capacity, singing, challenge, scripture, story, understanding	The Word
	Lament, compassion, trust	Prayer
	Sharing the peace, physical contact, hugging, encounter	The Peace
	Grace, sacrifice, gift, symbolism, remembering, love, Holy Spirit, Padkos/eating together, sharing not charity, celebration	Sacrament of body and blood and thanksgiving
	Reaching out, restitutive actions, realistic giving, relationship three in one, justice, contextualised, make a better future	Blessing and Sending Out

8.3.1 An explanation of Figure 1: A diagrammatic representation linking themes from the fieldwork with the liturgy of the Eucharist.

Although this diagram of the Eucharist is shown in a linear fashion, i.e. to be read from the top downwards, as the journey through the Eucharistic liturgy begins with 'gathering' and ends with the 'sending out', the actual journey of restitution and reconciliation takes a more spiral form. In the diagram, the elements of the Eucharistic liturgy are shown down the middle of the diagram, with the corresponding themes from the fieldwork data alongside them. These are the themes which I have explored earlier in these chapters six and seven, in relation to the reconciliation journey that the people of Worcester are engaged in. What I have done in this diagram, is to link them to the various parts of the Eucharistic liturgy, in order to further test and clarify the Eucharistic model of restitution.

The themes on either side of the diagram, headed by 'eucharistic space' and 'journey', are the overarching themes which are at once part of the eucharistic journey, and also major themes in the reconciliation/restitution process. The three words at the bottom of the diagram relate to the 'end point' in both the Eucharist and the reconciliation process, i.e. transformation, reconciliation and restitution. Restitution embodies both reconciliation and transformation.

All the themes link to their corresponding colour, or part of the liturgy, but also have considerable overlap with each other and some with other parts of the liturgy also. For example, 'truth' relates clearly not only to confession but also to the word, and sacrament of body and blood. Each stage of the process and Eucharist is necessary. Embodying the reconciliation process as restitution enables as transformative outcome as is possible. Importantly, like the Eucharist, this restitution process is not a 'one-off'. We do not come to the Eucharist once only, and then find it unnecessary for the rest of our faith journey. We come to it again and again, each time bringing our hurt, broken relationships, wish for Christ's love and forgiveness, and our need for reconciliation with God. Each time, we are sent out 'to love and serve the Lord' in a more reconciled state. Likewise, the reconciliation process is not linear, we do not pass that way once only, and we come to it again and again. Each time we bring our wish for healing, our broken trust, our search for truth and justice, our plea for mercy. And each time we make some restitution, each time we embody

reconciliation, each time we share our selves with the other, we enter again into a process of transformation and real reconciliation.

The Eucharist highlights what is needed in the reconciliation process. It is a form of pilgrimage of reconciliation, in which a key moment is the sharing of the body and blood of Christ, in an embodied symbol of gift, of sharing something actual, material, and of God. This is the moment of restitution, and this embodiment was highlighted by the people of Worcester in the fieldwork data again and again, as already discussed. It was in the 'seeing and touching' that forgiveness and reconciliation could start to take place, could start to mean something real. It was there as restitution in the wish for 'staying together', for sharing of resources, in sharing of food, of home, of each other: as it is there in the physical act of the giving and receiving of Christ's body. The importance of community was also highlighted by many, and clearly this also is key to the Eucharist as the body of Christ, who meet together in this act.

8.4 The Peace Train

*My faith in prayer made me take up this opportunity by taking up the challenge of this journey. I believe the eyes is the window of your soul.*⁴⁶⁴

8.4.1 Introduction: a Journey of Encounter

The Peace Train embodies much of the process of restitution and reconciliation. It highlights both the transformative and potentially traumatic nature of the reconciliation journey. It demonstrates the importance of detailed and sensitive preparation, of time for 'laying the ground rules', of the necessity of safe space, of containment. The communal nature of journeying alongside, or with, others, was important. The train itself acted as a symbol, but also was more than symbolic; it was an actual, material, agent of restitution. It provided, it was itself, space, or *ruimte*. It allowed for a carrying of a diverse constituency, departing from sometimes very different platforms, and with differing destinations. Yet it managed to hold all of these differences together in the nature of its forward movement, its gift of space, of time, of hospitality, of communality. Even the white slippers all the passengers were given played a part (more later). Eating together in the dining car, being served, sharing

⁴⁶⁴ One of the bomb survivors.

story and space, and a will to take part despite the risk, travelling to somewhere unknown, were key components.

The train took twenty-eight hours to reach Pretoria from Worcester. It travelled through South Africa's heartland; desert, bush, scrub, ordinary towns and farms along the way. Some of it was beautiful, some of it bleak, a passing backdrop to an extraordinary intentionality. Reconciliation and restitution do not happen by chance. The drama of the Peace Train embodied and underscored the need for journey, for a process, for the authentic space which is able to contain the confusion, messiness and potential for creativity. In conceiving what occurred on the Peace Train, and the resulting meeting with Stefaans in Pretoria prison, in these ways, it becomes possible to view what was happening as a form of pilgrimage.

8.4.2 The Peace Train as Pilgrimage

Pilgrimage entails an intentional journey, in a travelling out of the ordinariness of life to find a new understanding, or to be transformed, or to encounter the divine. Once the encounter has occurred, the pilgrim travels back home, changed by what (s)he has found, and carrying the extraordinary back into day to day life. Yet, not the same. Pilgrimage as spiritual discipline surely leads to and includes change in material, embodied ways too.⁴⁶⁵ The Peace Train, like the Pilgrimage of Pain and Hope, enabled the travellers to experience a sense of the sacred in their communal encounter.

8.4.3 Preparing and Setting Off

Some confusion reigned prior to setting out on the twenty-eight hour journey. There was no one agency in charge, which caused some uncertainty about roles and expectations. For example, preparation of the survivors for the journey, in terms of psychological and emotional stressors was insufficient. This demonstrates the importance of providing containment and a safe space in reconciliation, both

⁴⁶⁵ Trevor Hudson writes of the experiences of his parishioners as they undertake a 'pilgrimage of pain and hope'. This was a journey of experience, embodying compassion and communal life. The white pilgrims spent eight days immersed in the struggles and joys of their neighbours in the black township. This was a shared experience of encounter, reflection and transformation. Trevor Hudson, *A Mile in My Shoes*, (Nashville: Upper Room Books, 2005).

highlighted by participants in the Peace Train, and in observation and analysis of what factors were enabling of this particular reconciliation journey.

In order to facilitate the necessary containment (of course, and importantly, this was partially provided by the physical container of the train itself), we held groups to address issues of psychological preparation, psycho-education (the nature of anxiety, panic attacks, and so on), and prayers were held before each group met.

*The journey upwards certainly has “condemned” our mind-sets into the uncertainty. But my full and sincere appreciation to the Worcester Hope and Reconciliation Process volunteers, Correctional Services personnel, Khulumani workers for diligently displaying what civil service and real care means.*⁴⁶⁶

*The nearer the destination, the more the reality-that this is indeed not a jolly ride, but something that will change our lives– and probably impact on the whole Worcester Community.*⁴⁶⁷

The issue of forgiveness was important on the journey. Before leaving the station at Worcester, prayers for the Peace Train, the victims, and Stefaans were said, as they were at every stage of the journey there and back. Not all, but most of these prayers included exhortations that forgiveness 'is laid upon every Christian' and that the victims were being 'told' it was their 'duty' to forgive the perpetrator. Clearly, we are asked as Christians to forgive our enemies. But on the Peace Train journey, there seemed to be little cognisance taken during these prayers that forgiveness itself is a journey, that it is not easy, and that it must not be 'cheap'. I found myself stressing this point during the groups we held to prepare the survivors for meeting the perpetrator, by physically walking up and down the train demonstrating forgiveness as an embodied journey, one which it is possible to move backwards and forwards on, and one that may take a long time.

8.4.4 The Encounter

The encounter between Stefaans, the perpetrator, and the forty seven bomb survivors took place in a large hall in Pretoria Central Prison, where Stefaans has been held for the last sixteen years. The media (TV cameras, newspaper reporters) were present in force, as were tens of prison staff there to observe the dialogue. The time opened with

⁴⁶⁶ One of bomb survivors.

⁴⁶⁷ One of bomb survivors.

prayer, and a prison choir sang worship songs. As at other gatherings during my time in Worcester, spontaneous singing broke out at times of intense emotion. When Stefaans was brought into the hall, 'Be Still and Know that I am God' was being sung, and some of the survivors were already distressed. All the survivors were given the chance to speak. Some asked Stefaans questions, others told him how angry they were, some forgave him, and some said how difficult that was for them to do. The following quotes speak for themselves. Stefaans said

Before I am going to speak today I want to say that I will not blame anyone on the way you will feel about me today. I hope that God will bring peace in your hearts. We [the bombers] were cowards. I wanted to cause as much as possible harm. That is why we chose a special day such as Christmas Eve as we knew that everyone would be happy on that day and when we kill people on that day it would cause a lot of pain and heart ache. I know that for the past years you did not really celebrate Christmas because of me. I also know that there were young children that did not understand what was happening. I myself did not know what the exact plans of the bombing were. What I wanted to do was to kill as many people as possible and for that I am very sorry... And later on I heard that some children died. And the death of these children convinced me to surrender. If it was not for these children I would have continued to kill people. For the first ten years of my sentence I believed what I have done was right. In prison I have done some programmes with the social workers and a restorative justice program. It was for the first time that I then realised what I have really done. I also know that no book can describe what I have done. That is why I wanted to meet with you and to say that I am very, very sorry for what I have done to you.

I do accept that some of you would not be able to forgive me. I hope that this meeting will assist you on your healing process. I was 17 years old when I committed the crime. The question can be asked why I was so angry. What I know is that I was motivated by hate. I wanted to kill as many as possible people I am truly sorry. ...Forgiveness is a process, it takes time. One of you said you are a survivor. I think you are wrong. You are a winner because you are facing your demon today. If you get a second chance you must do your very best and when I am released one day I promise you that I will make the best of my second chance.

Apartheid did not give us the opportunity to stay together. By not staying together we do not know each other. We must reach out. The white paper of the constitution of human rights must not be on paper, it must be in your heart. It cannot be in your heart if you are still separated. Some people kill with bombs and other people kill with their hearts. So if we want to look forward to our country for a future with our children we have to mix. We have to be genuine and not only pretend. In prison I was forced to live with black people but I saw they have the same dreams that I have. They have the same hopes.

And from some of the survivors:

*If it depends on me you may leave this hall a free man now.*⁴⁶⁸

I can see you have regret and that you have made an effort to change. I want to dedicate Psalm 23 to you and I want you to know that I forgive you.

*I desperately want to forgive you but every time I think about forgiveness, I feel a burning feeling of hatred.*⁴⁶⁹

During the encounter, many survivors became very distressed. Many were beyond words, and needed physically supporting and holding. At the end of the encounter, a queue of survivors lined up to hug Stefaans. The need and the wish for embodiment of reconciliation was clear. Words, hearing what Stefaans had to say, being able to tell their stories to him, were important. But many people said that it was the touching, seeing, holding that was healing. The sharing of a common humanity, the physical demonstration of remorse and forgiveness, were in this way very powerful.

The meeting between Stefaans and the survivors was not the only space for encounter in the Peace Train journey however. The whole journey, the Peace Train itself, proved to be a space of and for encounter. The community which travelled together became a 'body of Christ' in this setting, a space in which something extraordinary occurred. But it was in the very ordinariness of the eating, travelling, chatting, preparing or debriefing, laughing and crying together, that made up this encounter. The relationships which were formed or reformed on the journey, the messiness, pain and anger were contained by the train itself. But importantly, they were also contained and boundaried by the community itself, in its relationality, its care for the other, its willingness to be vulnerable and open, its diversity.

8.4.5 The Way Back

On the train on the way back to Worcester, the mood was much lightened. Survivors spoke of feeling valued for the first time. *'I slept so well because my heart is now clear'* and *'I have got to this old age and for the first time because of this train I feel like somebody'*, two of the survivors told me.

⁴⁶⁸ Quotation from a man who was ten years old at the time of the bomb.

⁴⁶⁹ Quotations from bomb survivors.

People appreciated being served, fed, and held (and given comfortable slippers), by the train and the process. The experience of journeying, of being a part of this community trying to reconcile, of being valued, listened to, given space, was key, and could be argued, was a part of restitution itself. The gift of space for encounter, of radical vulnerability, of willingness to embrace, of the spirit of *ubuntu* made this journey itself a restitutive act. One of the survivors said

I would like to say that Worcester and South Africa needs us, but also the likes of Stefaans Coetzee – whose courageous stand and willingness to face the people he has wronged has for me, become a symbol of true remorse. I respect Stefaans' raw honesty... that defines sincere remorse. I respect all the survivors for contributing to the success of the dialogue – those who have kept a diligent, respectful silence; those who have said they are not ready to forgive, and those who forgive him.

8.4.6 Symbolism of Padkos⁴⁷⁰

The Worcester Dutch Reformed Churches, prior to the Peace Train, organised food parcels for all the survivors for the journey. This in itself was a symbolic act of reconciliation, but also by the fact of it being actual and material, an act of restitution itself for the hurts of apartheid. One of the survivors told me

This white bucket of food is for me not only a symbolic gesture, but proof that God's children are not that far removed from each other as believed-we must only pull the loose ends together.

8.4.7 Reflection on the Peace Train

The Peace Train was a remarkable act of reconciliation and restitution. In summary, there are several key principles from the findings:

- pilgrimage-journey together, time apart, to place of encounter, back, transformed to ordinary life
- embodiment-people needed to see and touch Stefaans...words were not enough
- breaking bread together-being served, hospitality, communion of the faithful
- community-body of Christ
- process-forgiveness and reconciliation are different for all of us, and the place of lament needs to be recognised

⁴⁷⁰ *Padkos* means 'snacks for the journey' (Afrikaans).

- sharing the peace-meetings in Worcester, peace table
- being open to the other-being able to be heard, and to share stories
- re-memembering together
- doing Eucharist, providing a eucharistic space

The Peace Train encapsulated the journey of reconciliation, but more significantly, it illuminated several key points relating to restitution itself. Pilgrimage, encounter, embodiment, messiness, containment, symbol and embrace-all these point towards a tangibility, an action, an actual movement towards the other which was reciprocated and thus shared. In the hall at the prison, words were not nearly enough.⁴⁷¹

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the 'Reconciliation Eucharist' and the 'Peace Train' as case studies. The key principles arising from the themes include pilgrimage, seeing (embodiment), eucharistic space, community as body of Christ, breaking bread together-Eucharist, re-memembering of story, 'the peace', gift as grace. Restitution seems to be a 'doing' thing, but this I think includes the sharing of story itself-as tangible gift. It is also part of a process, and a process which needs to be contextualised. A re-reading of the Eucharist in terms of the restitution process will itself need to be a metaphor if it is to be of use in wider terms. The idea of eucharistic space is a potentially useful concept and my theology of restitution needs to take that into account. I have reflected on and summarised both the Reconciliation Eucharist and the peace train under those sections and discussed the core findings and their analysis, and therefore it is not necessary to reiterate these summaries here. These reflections bring me towards a theology of restitution arrived at from the research findings. Chapter nine explores what such a theology of restitution looks like.

⁴⁷¹ 'If' words are not enough', it is pertinent to refer to literature on embodiment, although not written in relation to restitution. An extended discussion therefore is not appropriate here, but it is worth pointing towards some of this work. See Janet Trisk, 'Embodied Subjects', *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 40, 117, November (2003), pp. 40-51; Mark Anthony Godin, 'Discerning the Body: a Sacramental Hermeneutic in Literature and Liturgy' (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Glasgow, 2010); Jeremy Punt, 'Pauline Bodies and South African Bodies: Body, Power and Biblical Hermeneutic', *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 136, March (2010), pp. 76-91; Marcia Mount Shoop and Mary McClintock-Fulkerson, 'Transforming Memory: Re-memembering Eucharist', *Theology Today*, 70, 2 (2013) 144-159 <DOI: 10.1177/0040573613484750> [accessed on 19 February 2014].

9. Conclusion: A Theology of Restitution-'Arriving, and Planning the Next Journey'

*South Africa our Land
let us join hands town to town, save our land
let us fight for joy love peace hope respect
let us create a new path hand in hand
a platform for us all to interact
let us start with the road inside of us
seeds of positivity boiling through
let us look for the diamond without rush
inside the person standing next to you
we owe this to our beautiful country
we owe this to our free societies
we owe this to our sick and elderly
raising GOD's CHILDREN in communities
Leon: 'Who's going to get tired first?'
let us stand firm, before our bubble burst!⁴⁷²*

9.1 Introduction

I write this on the eve of what is Reconciliation Day in South Africa, a public holiday to commemorate and celebrate reconciliation. It is also the day of Nelson Mandela's funeral. And it is the day a year ago I said goodbye to the people of Worcester, after the Reconciliation Day event in the town hall. It therefore seems apposite to be considering what restitution and reconciliation mean for those people of South Africa, in the light of this research. This chapter discusses the conclusions, and asks how these may affect future processes and the praxis of reconciliation, both in that context, but also more widely.

My thesis is that restitution is a necessary part of the reconciliation process. I have asked

- 1. How adequate are the current understandings of restitution in relation to the reconciliation journey?**
- 2. What would a theology of restitution based on a broader understanding look like?**

Towards the end of my time in Worcester, as I reflected and started the analysis process, certain themes were starting to crystallise. When asked what the word

⁴⁷² Brown, 'South Africa Our Land', (unpublished poem: Worcester, 2012).

restitution means, people had, of course, differing definitions. Some people were uncomfortable with the word itself. Others said they did not know what it means. Some thought it was about making something right again, or putting back what had gone wrong. Ideas about the need for better education, giving back land, making memorials, changing street names to reflect the 'new South Africa', were put forward as actual means of restitution. Some people thought it was an integral part of the reconciliation process; others were stuck on the difficulty of the word or actuality of it. A secondary question of where it comes in the process raised its head. Again, there were differing opinions. Reconciliation will follow restitution. Or reconciliation needs to happen first, in order for people to realise the need for restitution.

What was clear, however, is that acts which are recognised by the participants as restitution in the Worcester Hope and Reconciliation Process are happening. And that these acts are associated with a feeling of real commitment to move forwards together. Maybe the problem with 'restitution' as a concept is that it is word based. Restitution by its very nature is not 'word', but 'action'. It is embodied, material, and tangible. Restitution in Worcester is both ordinary and extraordinary. It is often small simple acts of mutual coming together and deciding what is needed, for example, going together to find the milk pudding, described in chapter five. And at the same time it is these small things which can seem to open the gates of grace. When acts of restitution occur, they can transform the experience of this community which is struggling with the past hurts of apartheid and the 1996 bombing, and with the present realities of continuing inequalities such as in education and income. Restitution appears in the midst of the messiness and often continuing conflicts, sometimes almost unnoticed. Yet in the reality of Worcester today, these deliberate acts of restitution are few and far between.

The white community does not generally perceive the need for restitution, or at the least, seems content to stop at the listening and sharing stories stage of the process. The black and coloured communities in general either perceive the need for restitution and are not confident enough-or too gracious-to raise it as an issue.

Reconciliation is the word which is used with much greater ease. Forgiveness is higher in people's psyches across all the communities, but even with forgiveness, there are differing opinions about where or sometimes even if it comes in the process. Forgiveness is 'preached' often as an imperative-something that is expected of the victim that they should give because of their Christian faith. When forgiveness comes

hard, there is an unhelpful perceived and often actual pressure to do so.⁴⁷³ Maybe what is needed is a re-envisioning of what restitution means. Without downplaying the very acute need for material restitution, an added theological understanding of restitution in terms of the 'big' theological concepts of grace, hope, and space, may allow for a more authentic look at what restitution means in Worcester.

Viewed in this light, restitution in Worcester becomes a more truthful and integral response to the woundedness and divisions of the past. Restitution in Worcester may be messy, and is almost certainly not clear cut, nor black and white. Sitting in the middle of the spiral that is the WHRP, restitution may be able to play a key role in helping to bridge the gaps, to occupy the space which is waiting for it.

So how does the reality of this process in Worcester fit with peoples' experience of God? The use of religious language was commonplace among people when talking of reconciliation and restitution and forgiveness. But I think it was more than just 'language'. The concept of grace was repeatedly mentioned. Grace as undeserved gift from God was often seen to be integral to the process. As was prayer, the Bible, and church as community. People were clear that churches ought to be involved-and pleased that they are-but some wished for more involvement than they are currently. The number and breadth of church leaders involved in the WHRP is testament to their willingness to be a part of the process. What was also remarkable was the lack of real understanding from some white ministers of the causes and resulting problems of the apartheid era.⁴⁷⁴

The concepts of embodiment, eating together, grace as gift, and *ruimte* seemed to be core to the reconciliation/restitution process. The idea of eucharistic space emerged from these core themes, and the obvious link to the Eucharist itself. Looking to the Reconciliation Eucharist and Peace Train illuminates the answers to these questions. The pilgrimage of the Peace Train can be seen as an embodiment of Eucharistic symbolism. Being able to take the messiness, the hurt, the lament to the communion table allows these wounds to be dealt with liturgically, in a eucharistic

⁴⁷³ See discussion of the Peace Train, in regards to pressure from some of the speakers and chaplains to forgive Stefaans.

⁴⁷⁴ From personal discussion with clergy in Worcester, and at conferences in South Africa. For example, a discussion with a DRC Minister who still holds that the 'doctrine' of separate development of the races (apartheid) is correct.

space.⁴⁷⁵ The embodiment of the isiXhosa greeting, 'Siyabona', or 'I see you' leads into a walking together of *ubuntu*.

The reality of the Peace Train as this eucharistic space is reflected back again in the Eucharist itself. Restitution can be illuminated in the Peace Train encounter and back again to the Eucharist, illuminated by its reflection again and again like the spiral diagram. In chapter three, I conceived restitution as relational, radical, embodied and embracing. But, as I argued, these ideas, although coming close to a conceptualisation of restitution as more than a legal transaction, or even to do with personhood and dignity, were not able to capture the essence of restitution. I explored therefore with the people engaged in the process of living restitution in Worcester what it meant, and felt like, for them. The findings from this qualitative research bear these four ideas out. Restitution, for the people of the Worcester reconciliation process is relational, radical, embodied and about embrace. But it is also about encounter in a particular space-a space which is about grace, about symbol, about communion, about eating together.

Words are not enough to make reconciliation, rather, 'truth touched with our bodies'.⁴⁷⁶ What is actually going on, or indeed needs to occur, in the interaction between the self and other; between victim and perpetrator; between oppressed and oppressor, to make the 'embrace' of reconciliation as full, as transformational as possible, as relational, as enacting change in praxis? And that is the horizontal dimension: what about between humanity and God? Restitution seemed to encompass all of those, but there was still a gap. How are these changes seen and felt, and how does restitution operate to enact these transformational and embodied them?

What I found in the literature did not seem to answer these questions, so I took the question of restitution to the people engaged in trying to enact it. What did the people of Worcester think was going on? What were they feeling, or maybe more pertinently, doing about it? This final chapter then looks further at the key findings from the fieldwork in Worcester, and seeks to explore them theologically. The key principles which were derived from the findings include embodiment, eucharistic

⁴⁷⁵ Cas Wepener's work on ritual and liturgy in reconciliation is relevant here, and his concept of a reconciliatory movement through rituals of space, time, objects, sound, identity and action speaks into my conceptualisation of eucharistic space. Wepener, *From Fast to Feast*.

⁴⁷⁶ Barbara Brown Taylor, *An Altar in the World*, (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2009), p. 62.

space, community as body of Christ, breaking bread together-Eucharist, remembering of story, 'the peace', gift as grace.

The use of Eucharistic language in general conversation when talking about the reconciliation process was remarkable. Breaking bread together and sitting at the same table were often mentioned, but almost in passing. There seemed to be a level of engagement with the 'ordinariness' of faith, which people found helpful and restorative, and particularly in the messiness of the reconciliation process.

People in the process responded intuitively to the introduction of 'the peace' and found it helpful. I wonder whether this was at least partially to do with the fact of touching and seeing each other as they embraced or shook hands. The isiXhosa word for greeting is translated as 'I see you'. This concept of seeing seemed to be very important in the process. Words took secondary place. Sharing food, seeing, touching, 'staying together', made more sense to people. Restitution speaks to this as an incarnational, embodied, grace-filled act.

Trauma, both from the apartheid era and the bombing, is still a very live issue for the people of Worcester. The damage resulting from this has led to reduced capacity and a split between 'black and white-ness', with little ability to exist 'in the middle'. Likewise healing is linked in peoples minds very closely with reconciliation, and this may have a knock on effect in terms of their thinking about restitution. By this I mean that restitution as a concept is more difficult to grasp at the best of times, and in these circumstances maybe much more difficult, if not impossible. Worcester's psyche is damaged and it seems that the first stages of this process of reconciliation may need to take a very long time. So the sharing of stories, really hearing each other, is still only at the beginning of the process. But the space is being created, acts of restitution are happening, and glimpses of transformation are occurring.

In this chapter, then, I look further at these themes, proposing a new way of understanding restitution theologically within the reconciliation journey. This concludes the thesis, and considers how to bridge the praxis and theory of restitution. It also points forward to further work in other contexts.

9.2 A Theology of Restitution

9.2.1 Introduction

In this section, the core of this final chapter, I set out my proposed theology of restitution, based on the broader understanding discussed. As I have already started to discuss, looking at the Eucharist as a model for the restitution/reconciliation process is illuminating in terms of a theology of restitution. Two questions arise from this. The first is why sacramental? The second question arises from the first, that is, why Eucharist? Why not other of the sacraments, such as baptism, or especially in this context penance and reconciliation? In this chapter I explore these questions, in relation to a sacramental theology of restitution. As I have argued, restitution can be conceptualised as radical, relational, embodied and as embrace. How then does a sacramental view add to this? There have been recent moves to legislate for restitution, to 'make' people give to those who have been oppressed, for instance, Tutu's wealth tax, Sharlene Swartz's and others' suggestions of enacting law or 'moral obligation' to produce restitutive actions. But viewing restitution as an obligation will not necessarily help those involved to make steps towards reconciliation. Socioeconomic justice may be achieved, or at least moved towards, by these morally obliged restitutive actions. And that may be good enough. It is also, of course, easier to be enabled to consider reconciling with your neighbour when you are not hungry or cold, or when your children have shoes for school, and there are employment prospects. And that you feel equal as a citizen, empowered and self confident, when your dignity has been restored.

But why would you then want to form a relationship with that other who has been compelled, either by external means (law) or internal means (moral obligation), to give you something to promote equality in these ways? Society, community, will then be more 'equal', but not more connected, nor transformed. Both 'sides' may end up feeling better about the other, about life and the ability to live, but will not have come together to mutually share in the restitution process, at least, not out of freedom, but out of this sense of external or internal obligation. That is not a way forward *together*. It is a way to heal the past, to promote justice, but not freedom to live better with the other, to work together for a transformed society. This brings another question to the fore, that is, why is there a need to go beyond this secular reality? As I

have shown, there is a secular ritual or liturgy in the Peace Train, in the TRC, and in other reconciliation events. Surely we could stop there, and view restitution as a virtuous, altruistic act? But in Christian theology, there is an apologetic dimension to this act. It is in the sacrament of the Eucharist where ultimate sense is made of these secular realities. In a Christian theology of reconciliation, we are able to be freed to give of ourselves to each other because we have first been made free. We are enabled to receive and give the gift of restitution to each other because we first share it with God. This is why viewing restitution sacramentally is helpful, to enable us, in theological terms, to live the gospel better together.

The question of 'Why Eucharist?' rather than baptism or the other sacraments, becomes clear in relation particularly to the research findings from Worcester, but also in theoretical terms which I discuss in this chapter. For instance, Sam Wells, Cas Wepener and Denise Ackermann's various accounts of the relation of reconciliation to the Eucharist bear this out in terms of reconciliation itself.⁴⁷⁷ Themes from the research findings such as the importance of eating together, being in communion with the other, sacrifice, and embodiment directly speak to the Eucharist. The 'body of Christ' as something tangible, material, as well as being to do with fellowship and community, can be directly related to the idea of restitution as being necessarily 'more than words'. My empirical research thus relates to such a theology of restitution, which arises directly from the themes that the people of Worcester highlighted and experience in their lives, as they attempt restitution and reconciliation. Equally, while the Eucharist illuminates restitution, so a theology of restitution arising from the fieldwork can contribute to our understanding of the Eucharist. It is felt profoundly by the people I worked with in Worcester that reconciliation without restitution is at best, only partial. Grace filled relationships, in which a sharing of gift embodies the action of restitution and then reconciliation, are inherently Eucharistic. While all that we have comes from God, in the Eucharist we offer ourselves back to God through the money, bread and wine of the offering, through our gifts of word, music and dance in worship, and crucially, as I argue, at the moment of administration of the body and blood of Christ, we share these tangible gifts that we bring, and our very selves, with the God who has enabled us through his grace to embody the transformative love he share with us. These are physical enactments of responsive self-giving. Similarly in

⁴⁷⁷ See Ackermann, 'Becoming Fully Human'; Samuel Wells, *God's Companions: Reimagining Christian Ethics*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006); Wepener, *From Fast to Feast*.

the dismissal, we are sent out, having given ourselves back to God, to give ourselves, more reconciled through the restitution we have just shared, to each other in the world. While of course restitution must be contextually responsive, a Eucharistic understanding of restitution and a restitutionary understanding of Eucharist arrived at through my empirical work, enables a theology of restitution to inform and transform praxis-in the journey towards reconciliation with God and each other.

So if reconciliation/restitution and the Eucharist can be viewed together in these ways, how does this relate to firstly the vertical, then the horizontal aspects of reconciliation and restitution? I explore therefore reconciliation with God (vertical) in a Eucharistic context, without an emphasis on restitution; and then with such an emphasis. Where is embodied restitution found in Eucharistic liturgy? In this context, I discuss the offertory, the administration of communion, and the 'sending out'. Secondly, reconciliation with each other, the horizontal dimension, throws up further questions. In vertical reconciliation, i.e. between humanity and God, it is us, humans, who have done wrong, who thus need to be reconciled to God. God reconciles us to himself. However, in horizontal reconciliation, i.e. with each other, and relation to the Eucharist, who has done wrong, and to whom? Do those who are not present also bear some responsibility? And again, to whom? i.e. to those purely in the Church context, or those others outside it? These questions bring us into the realm of public theology, which I discuss in conversation with William Cavanaugh and others.⁴⁷⁸ The corresponding questions to those concerning vertical reconciliation about what reconciliation looks like in a Eucharistic context with and without an emphasis on restitution are also pertinent. What and where, moreover, does embodied restitution look like, or appear in this context?

It is necessary, however, before turning to these more specific arguments, to begin by looking at the broader question of restitution as sacramental, as I have started to discuss. To do this, I turn to Louis-Marie Chauvet, and his work on sacrament and symbol. I then place this in the wider arena of liturgy and political or public theology, and discuss this bridging into restitution and Eucharist, in terms of the need for the move from secular reality towards the sacred. I then turn to the Eucharistic

⁴⁷⁸ For a good overview, see Scott and Cavanaugh, *The Blackwell Companion to Political Theology*, Chapter 6. Also, see Lisa Stephenson, 'Prophetically Political, Politically Prophetic: William Cavanaugh's "Theopolitical Imagination" as an Example of Walter Brueggemann's "Prophetic Imagination"', *Journal of Church and State*, 53,4 (2011) <DOI: 10.1093/jcs/csr010> [accessed on 18 February 2014].

framework, placing reconciliation in that context without an emphasis on restitution, before looking in detail at the place of restitution in the Eucharist. I thus conclude this section with a re-reading of the Eucharist, in relation to restitution.

9.2.2 Sacrament and Symbol

Before looking at the particular nature of the sacrament of Eucharist and restitution, it is necessary to discuss what it means to view restitution as sacrament, in more general terms.⁴⁷⁹ In order to do this, I follow Louis-Marie Chauvet in his exposition of the sacraments. Chauvet is one of the foremost Roman Catholic sacramental theologians of the twentieth century, and his work, especially regarding sacrament as symbol, speaks closely to my thinking around the sacramental nature of restitution within the reconciliation journey. Sacraments are signs of holiness, of the divine. 'Sacred' literally means 'set apart', and sacraments are actions concerning people or objects which are set apart for God. In the metaphor of 'journey' that I have been using, sacraments are not only pointers or signs on the way, but, crucially, they are in and of themselves, fruits of the divine. They are grace filled physical means of union with Christ, and thus God's gift of his love. Classically, sacraments point beyond themselves, and it is this that God brings about through their celebration.

There are, then, several definitions of Sacrament. The 1604 Anglican catechism states that a Sacrament is 'an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us, ordained by Christ himself, as a means by which we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof.'⁴⁸⁰ Ann Loades writes of

⁴⁷⁹ For general discussion of sacraments, Ross Thompson, *The Sacraments*, (London: SCM Press, 2006).

Also see James F White, *Introduction to Christian Worship*, 3rd edn (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2000), pp. 175-202; Geoffrey Rowell and Christine Hall, eds, *The Gestures of God: Explorations in Sacramentality*, (London: Continuum, 2004); David Brown and Ann Loades, eds., *Christ: The Sacramental Word* (London: SPCK, 1996); Rowan Williams, *On Christian Theology*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000).

⁴⁸⁰ The Catechism of the Church of England, and of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, is found in all editions of 'The Book of Common Prayer,' between the Baptismal Service and the Order of Confirmation. It was a part of the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. (1549), headed 'Confirmacion,' but has undergone several modifications. The Preface to the Commandments with their full text was added in 1552. The explanation of the Sacraments was added in 1604 by Bishop Overall, at that time Dean of St. Paul's and Prolocutor of the Convocation.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/creeds3.iv.xii.html?bcb=0> [accessed 15th February 2015]. Also see the section on sacrament in *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought*, ed. by Adrian Hastings, Alistair Mason and Hugh Pyper, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 634-637.

‘sacramentality’ as follows,

We might learn to grace one another through life, as God graces us, not least by learning the habits of intradependence: ‘Abide in me as I abide in you’. Certainly of crucial importance in political and institutional life would be the re-learning of habits of hope, trust and covenant, well beyond the boundaries of the conventionally ‘religious’ or sacramental.⁴⁸¹

So restitution could itself be envisaged as an outward and visible sign of God’s grace, the outworking of an internal process of repentance, forgiveness, will to be in relation, derived firstly from divine gift. This is underlined in White’s understanding of sacraments. He argues that:

1. God acts in the sacraments. The outward or visible form depends on human interpretation, but the fruit, the *res*, depends on God, and is his grace.
2. God acts in the sacraments in self-giving. We receive this gift, and are thus enabled to give ourselves to others.
3. Through the sacraments, God’s self-giving occurs as love made visible. ‘Those who abide in love abide in God, and God abides in them’ (1 John 4:16). God continues to make visible, to show us in the sacraments what he has shown us in the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. God makes his love visible in this way, as we make our love visible for each other through sign-acts-of embrace, gift, and action.
4. God’s self-giving as love is made visible through relationships of love within the community. The sacraments are witnessed by, take place within, a community. They are vertical-from God to humans, but enable us to establish relationships horizontally with each other, as ‘the body of Christ’. Marriage, baptism, ordination, Eucharist and the others are manifested among the community, the relationships nurtured and strengthened by these sacraments. The fruitful action of the *res*, God’s self-giving love, is manifested by the *sacramentum*, the outward expression of this love made visible.⁴⁸²

Restitution, viewed in these ways, then, as gift, as sign of God’s love spilling over freely to enable us to share this gift and relationship with ‘the other’ is sacramental. It

⁴⁸¹ Ann Loades, ‘Finding new sense in the ‘sacramental’, in *The Gestures of God: Explorations in Sacramentality*, ed. by Rowell, Geoffrey, and Christine Hall, (London: Continuum, 2004), pp. 161-172, (p. 172).

⁴⁸² White, *Introduction to Christian Worship*, p. 199.

is first and foremost from God, then for us to share with the world, in signs, in actions, in symbols, witnessed by and for this community, the body of Christ.

Looking at this in more depth, we turn to Chauvet's work as enabling a fuller exploration of restitution as sacrament, in its corporality and its symbolism. Chauvet delineates the history of the meaning and outworking of sacraments in his books, *The Sacraments: The Word of God at the Mercy of the Body and Symbol and Sacrament*.⁴⁸³ It is not necessary to discuss these in their entirety, but I will explore them as they pertain to restitution in particular. Chauvet makes the point that God, sacrament and humankind are inextricably linked, and there is a movement between all three. Depending on our view of the saving action of God and the human action of the Church, the nature and direction of the interconnection of sacramental action is found.⁴⁸⁴ For Chauvet, the salient point of the sacraments is 'the gratuitous communication of God with the believers.'

It is in the very nature of the church to confess that the sacraments it celebrates in faith in the nature of Jesus Christ have a spiritual efficacy called 'grace', a beautiful term.⁴⁸⁵

He illustrates this by describing the moment of administration of communion, the dialogue at the moment of receiving the body of Christ, as 'the most forceful expression of this grace'. The reply of 'Amen', rather than a discussion of feelings or intellect, but a simple assent to the reception of the bread, 'comes from the mouth and the heart, of course, but also from the whole body since it is manifested by the opening of the hands into which the pure gift of God is placed.'⁴⁸⁶ This is extraordinarily relevant to my thesis that restitution has a particular place and function within the Eucharist, a core point which I will discuss fully later. For now, though, Chauvet begins this discussion from the position of God's free and gratuitous gift, through this 'sacramental grace'.

Chauvet has a broad view of the sacraments, focusing not only on the seven sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church, but defining sacrament as 'everything that pertains to the thankfulness which the church expresses to God.'⁴⁸⁷ Restitution as

⁴⁸³ Louis-Marie Chauvet, *The Sacraments: The Word of God at the Mercy of the Body*, trans. by Madeleine Beaumont, (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2001).

⁴⁸⁴ Chauvet, *The Sacraments*, p. xxiv.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid, p. xiii.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid, p. xiii.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 30

'thankfulness' for the freedom to live without being either oppressor or oppressed, or as acknowledgement of gift shared between 'me' and 'the other', starting with God's gift to us, moves us far away from the usual notion of restitution as required, or an obligation. Restitution as sacrament in Chauvet's terms (although Chauvet is not talking of restitution itself) fits this 'definition'.

So what of Chauvet's view of sacrament in relation to symbol? This is a key argument in terms of my view of restitution and sacrament. Chauvet posits that the concept of 'symbol' is highly relevant to understanding of the human person. He treats symbol anthropologically, and starts with the Greek translation of *symbolon* as 'to throw together', or 'meet', 'exchange', 'hold in common'.

The ancient *symbolon* is precisely an object cut in two, one part of which is retained by each partner in a contract...When, years or even generations later, the partners or their descendants come together again to 'symbolise' their two portions by joining them together, they recognise this act as the expression of the same contract, of the same alliance. It is thus the agreement between two partners which establishes the symbol; it is the expression of a social pact based on mutual recognition and, hence, is a mediator of identity.⁴⁸⁸

This has clear resonance with the act of restitution, in the way I am envisaging it-as mutual coming together in a relational, tangible way, to enable connection or reconnection forwards into a shared future. The issue of mutual recognition is crucial here for restitution. It is in the understanding that the other is recognisable, that although we have separate and different identities, the symbol (restitution) can be brought into being through this reconnecting. Restitution, of course, may be many things. It may encompass money, skills, education, dignity, or memorial. But each of these can also said to be symbolic, of a reconnection and a moving towards the other in reconciliation.

Chauvet goes on to relate this symbolic action to the idea of what a sacrament is-in the bread and wine, oil or water. Through these symbols Christian identity is mediated. In celebrating these sacraments through the actions of these symbols, the Christian community is able to 'weave and reweave' relationships and communal identity. Reconciliation between God and between each other is thus possible, and enacted. Chauvet stresses that it is in the exchange of symbol that meaning is

⁴⁸⁸ Louis-Marie Chauvet, *Symbol as Sacrament: A Sacramental Reinterpretation of Christian Existence*, trans. by Patrick Madisa, S. J. and Madeleine Beaumont, (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1995), p. 112.

mediated, that there is no hidden meaning in the symbol itself.⁴⁸⁹ For restitution, this means that it is this actual coming together to make restitution that is important. I would however argue that for justice to be enacted, not only is the free sharing of symbol as sacrament important, but the actual tangible nature and effect of the symbol also matters. So it is both/and-the exchange and the materiality of the symbol which defines restitution.

Chauvet develops his sacramental theology through the Easter mystery, rather than the incarnation. Judith Kubicki argues that he thus challenges our presuppositions about God and about the sacraments, and highlights the materiality of the rites, the Church's institutional actions, rather than the hypostatic union.⁴⁹⁰

Chauvet writes

the sacraments appear not as the somehow static prolongation of the incarnation as such but as the major expression, in our own history, of the embodiment (historical/eschatological) of the risen One in the world through the Spirit, embodiment whose 'fundamental sacrament' is the church visibly born at Pentecost. The sacraments are thus situated in the dynamism of a secular history reread as a holy history. The theological affirmation of sacramental grace is understood in the wake of the church's faith in the power of the risen One continually raising for himself, through the Spirit, a new humanity.⁴⁹¹

The Easter mystery is key to Chauvet's thinking, and the resurrection especially provides eschatological hope for humanity who can thus be called to reconciliation through symbol and sacrament. Celebrating the sacraments through this symbolising activity leads to transformation of the body of Christ, the *ecclesia*, but also, importantly, of the whole community of God's people, not just within the Church. God's reign is universal, and extends beyond the boundaries of the Church. The Spirit is in the Church, which then may be sacrament for the whole world. The Christian community, then, is called through sacramental symbols, to heal and reconcile, living out the gospel, the paschal mystery. God encountered through the materiality of the sacraments, is the God who heals our world. We become that sacramental sign of God's reconciling love, when we celebrate the sacraments, when we exchange these

⁴⁸⁹ Chauvet, *Symbol as Sacrament*.

⁴⁹⁰ Judith M. Kubicki, CSSF, 'Sacramental Symbols in a Time of Violence and Disruption: Shaping People of Hope and Eschatological Vision', in *Sacraments: Revelation of the Humanity of God: Engaging the Fundamental Theology of Louis-Marie Chauvet*, ed. by Phillipe Bordeyne and Bruce T. Morrill, (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2008), pp. 171-186, (pp. 175-176).

⁴⁹¹ Chauvet, *The Sacraments*, p. 160.

symbols. Restitution means exchanging these symbols in the grace-filled sacrament of God's love for each other.

So, sacraments are exchanges, signs, of God's love. Restitution can be said to embody signs of, firstly, in theological terms, God's reconciling love, and then our love for each other. Restitution viewed sacramentally becomes a sign, a symbolic action, towards reconciliation, and of itself, the outward and forward movement, and signifier, of reconciliation itself.

9.2.3 Liturgy and Political Theology

If restitution can be viewed as sacramental, where does this sacramental outworking take place? This exchange of symbol, this outward working of grace, is the work of the people. But this is not only a secular reality-it originates in God, and it is only in God that restitution can be sacramental. It is in the liturgy, public and communal. It is an ethical, formational, encounter between God and humanity, between you and me, self and other. Looking at liturgy, then, as the work of the people and for the people, I turn to William Cavanaugh's political theology in order to explore the place of restitution within this sacramental and just encounter.

A sacramental theology of restitution, as I will argue, is placed at the heart of the Eucharist. But restitution sits, likewise, at the heart of a just politics. Without socioeconomic justice, and renewal of the values associated with personhood, as developed by Sharlene Swartz, restitution is lacking. Furthermore, liturgical practice which ignores what is happening outside the church doors is hollow. So, a sacramental practice of restitution must take into account, in fact, be embedded in, the political. The Eucharist is concerned with real bodies, which come already broken, to be yet again broken, blessed and shared, and sent out, reconciled, ready to envision and live out reconciliation yet again. Restitution, I argue, has an integral part to play in that liturgy of sacramental worship, within and from a reconciling God. But the bodies coming to share in the act, the symbol of restitution, come from a political world, and go back out into that political world, after their encounter with this reconciling God, and each other. However, to stop there is to miss the point of the liturgy. Following William Cavanaugh, I too argue that Christianity and modern

politics both are stories of conflict and reconciliation. The way they are told, however, is very different. In this difference lies the Christian political task.⁴⁹²

The early Christians chose the Greek word *leitourgia*, meaning people and work, to describe their Eucharist. Public works, done for sake of the community, or friends and neighbours, gradually became 'service'. Cavanaugh argues that the Eucharist becomes the body of Christ. This body is necessarily political, existing in time, space, catholicity, and sociality. As such, it is the only political body that can deal with our world and its conflicts. It requires us to re-imagine space and time, to re-imagine how we can interact with the other. The Eucharist gives us the means to do this, and I argue, to make tangible, material, this body through restitutionary practice, in order to reconcile with each other. The real world and the world of the liturgy, the Eucharist, in particular, are not different. Cavanaugh writes

In the liturgy, we enact a politics of reconciliation that makes the Church a counter performance to the politics of the world. This politics is evident in the very act of gathering.⁴⁹³

Cavanaugh traces this argument through Augustine's *City of God*, and the place of the Church in the public square.⁴⁹⁴ Further to this, the idea of Church as pilgrimage, or enacting 'stational liturgies', moving into and through the world, is pertinent to my finding of eucharistic space in Worcester, and the Peace Train in particular.⁴⁹⁵ These stational liturgies, popular manifestation of the liturgy in the fourth to the seventh centuries, involved moving around entire cities from church to public place, processing in between. I will return to this idea of moving space or platforms of liturgy, in the final section, as it illuminates my argument of restitution as sacrament in Eucharistic terms-in and of the public/political sphere of the body of Christ.

⁴⁹² William T. Cavanaugh, 'Discerning: Politics and Reconciliation', in *The Blackwell Companion to Christian Ethics, Part III: Re-encountering the Story*, edited by Stanley Hauerwas and Samuel Wells, (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004) <DOI: 10.1111/b.9781405150514.2006.x>, pp. 196-208.

⁴⁹³ William T. Cavanaugh, 'Discerning: Politics and Reconciliation', in *The Blackwell Companion to Christian Ethics, Part III: Re-encountering the Story*, edited by Stanley Hauerwas and Samuel Wells, (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004) <DOI: 10.1111/b.9781405150514.2006.x>, pp. 196-208, (p. 202).

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid. And see also Augustine, *The City of God* (New York: Random House, 1950), XIX, 21–3. There is not scope here to discuss this, but see Stephen W. Martin, ' Sacramental Imagination and Ecclesial Transformation: A Proposal for Rethinking Public Theology's "Public" in South Africa', *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 139, March (2011), pp. 42-57.

⁴⁹⁵ William T. Cavanaugh, 'The Work of the People as Public Work: The Social Significance of the Liturgy', *Institute of Liturgical Studies Occasional Papers*, 6 (2008) <<http://scholar.valpo.edu/ils-papers/6>> [accessed 16 February 2014], p.1.

The reconciliation that we enact in the liturgy every Sunday is breaking out of the walls of the church building, as it were, and forming a different, fully public, space. This is not a withdrawal from politics, but the enactment of the politics of reconciliation that we celebrate in the liturgy.⁴⁹⁶

Similarly, Alexander Schmemmann argues that dividing the world into secular and sacred is because of sin, and a profound distortion. He terms the Eucharist, 'not a religious or cultic act, but the very way of life.'⁴⁹⁷ In the Eucharistic liturgy, the Church enacts, realises the body of Christ-a body based on reconciliation not violence and division.⁴⁹⁸ Moving now to look in more detail at the practice of restitution in the body of Christ, I argue that it is in the Eucharist that restitution, viewed sacramentally, is best placed.

9.2.4 Restitution and Eucharist

The following quotation from Vincent Donovan's mission to the Masai people of Kenya speaks of the passing of the piece of grass, a traditional Masai symbolic action which delineated the wish for a peaceful end to a conflict.

We had tried to teach these people that it was not easy to achieve the Eucharist. It was not an act of magic achieved by the saying of a few words in the right order . . . If the life of the village had been less than human or holy, there was no Mass. If there had been selfishness or hatefulness and lack of forgiveness . . . let them not make a sacrilege out of it by calling it the Body of Christ. And the leaders did decide occasionally that, despite the prayers and readings and discussions, if the grass had stopped, if someone, or some group, in the village had refused to accept the grass as the sign of the peace of Christ, there would be no Eucharist at this time.⁴⁹⁹

Here, Donovan speaks of the contextualisation of the Eucharist, the Mass, to this ancient Masai tradition. But this description also underlines an important point about embodiment and symbol. Words went so far, in the readings, and prayers, and discussions, but it was the symbolic action of passing the grass, and the actual, material touching and exchanging of the grass that made the difference to whether or

⁴⁹⁶ Cavanaugh, 'Discerning: Politics and Reconciliation', in *The Blackwell Companion to Christian Ethics, Part III: Re-encountering the Story*, edited by Stanley Hauerwas and Samuel Wells, (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004) <DOI: 10.1111/b.9781405150514.2006.x>, pp. 196-208, (p. 207).

⁴⁹⁷ Alexander Schmemmann, *For the Life of the World*, (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1988), p.15.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁹ Vincent J. Donovan, *Christianity Rediscovered*, (London: SCM Press, 1982), p. 127.

not reconciliation, or Eucharist, could happen. This is a key point in my argument about restitution, and its embodiment, as well as its sacramental nature.⁵⁰⁰

So, what of restitution and its place in the Eucharist? Understanding Eucharistic practice as the giving of God's self, and the returning of ourselves by 'presenting our bodies', is a key turn in restitution and Eucharist. The sacrament is betokened in the physical elements of bread and wine. Embodiment thus becomes more important in this physicality, which speaks towards a new account of restitution within the Eucharist. This in turn allows a broader understanding of the place of restitution within reconciliation. I discuss this by looking at three areas, after a brief initial discussion of Eucharist and reconciliation in general. Although the sacrament of reconciliation holds clear resonances with the reconciliation process, as does baptism (forgiveness, being made 'clean' in new life, belonging to 'the body of Christ'), I argue that restitution itself finds its place best within the Eucharist. Themes which arose in my fieldwork, such as sacrifice, eating together, and being in communion, are what led me to explore this potential relationship with the Eucharist further. Furthermore, any discussion of Eucharist in the context of restitution must proceed from within reconciliation itself, which could be said to be the point of both Eucharist and this broad view of restitution.

Clearly it is not possible to be more than brief in this initial overview, but it will set the scene for a more detailed look at the three themes most pertinent to restitution within the Eucharist—those of the body of Christ, gift, and the administration of the bread, the body of Christ. Other highly relevant Eucharistic themes, such as the offertory, will be highlighted. Although there are clearly many directions a consideration of Eucharist and reconciliation could take, I concentrate more on those themes which assist in understanding the place of restitution itself within the Eucharist. William Crockett argues that

We cannot celebrate the eucharist, therefore, without translating our worship into discipleship. To celebrate the memorial of the Lord's death until he comes means to accept living under the sign of the cross in the world, identifying with the victims of a fallen creation, and seeking to bring about a

⁵⁰⁰ For an interesting discussion of African communalism and Eucharist, but I go further on the importance of materiality. Izunna Okonkwo, 'The Sacrament of the Eucharist (as *Koinonia*) and African Sense of Communalism: Towards a Synthesis', *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 137, July (2010), p. 88-103.

transformation of those conditions in society that victimise others.⁵⁰¹

As I have intimated in earlier chapters, it seems that a Eucharistic model lends itself to what is going on in the restitution-reconciliation journey. The components of a communion service bear looking at in some detail, as they too, in themselves, may help to define the restitution process occurring in Worcester. Owen Cummings quotes John Macquarrie, who expands

The Eucharist sums up in itself Christian worship, experience and theology in its amazing richness. It seems to include everything. It combines Word and Sacrament; its appeal is to spirit and to sense; it brings together the sacrifice of Calvary and the presence of the risen Christ; it is communion with God and communion with man; it covers the whole gamut of religious moods and emotions....the Eucharist seems to be inexhaustible.⁵⁰²

While this description is indeed thorough, Macquarrie does not refer to reconciliation directly, although of course the doctrines of atonement and salvation cover similar ground. It is interesting that he privileges the doctrine of incarnation, especially in the light of my proposed model of restitution, and against Chauvet's view of the primacy of the Easter mystery. For Macquarrie, the incarnation links directly to Christ as humanly present in the mystery of the Eucharist.⁵⁰³ Restitution is perhaps the most 'human' part of the reconciliation journey-potentially mundane, at least 'ordinary'. George Herbert's poem 'Prayer' speaks of 'heaven in ordinary' – the ordinariness of the bread and wine symbolised in the extraordinariness of the transformation of restitution and reconciliation.⁵⁰⁴

I now turn to briefly consider the elements of the Eucharistic liturgy, in order to take us into a more in-depth discussion of the body of Christ, and the moment of administration of that body. Clearly, there is not space here, nor is it relevant to my thesis, to include a substantial discussion of Eucharistic theologies. While there is much of relevance to my general argument particularly in liberation theology and its view of Eucharist in relation to social justice, I confine my discussion here to

⁵⁰¹ William R. Crockett, *Eucharist: Symbol of Transformation*, (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1989), p. 262.

⁵⁰² Owen F. Cummings, *Eucharistic Soundings*, (Dublin: Veritas Publications, 1999), p. 107.

⁵⁰³ See John MacQuarrie, *A Guide to the Sacraments*, (London: SCM Press, 1997), pp. 101-156, for further discussion.

⁵⁰⁴ George Herbert, 'Prayer I', from *The Temple* (1633)
<<http://www.ccel.org/h/herbert/temple/Prayer1.html>> [accessed 4 July 2014].

restitution and its outworking within the Eucharistic liturgy.⁵⁰⁵ I therefore set my argument within a brief general overview of Eucharistic liturgy, before a more detailed discussion of those elements to which restitution relates most closely. To do this, I follow Sam Wells in his delineation of the Eucharistic liturgy, and relate this ethical and liturgical discussion to the place of restitution within these.⁵⁰⁶

9.2.5 The Eucharistic Liturgy

9.2.5.1 Gathering

The people of God come together in the Eucharist in a public setting, in order to worship, bring their brokenness, and commit to engaging with the liturgy of Word and Sacrament. The Church is thus defined in this space and time as the body of Christ ready to work. This time and space is not a one-off occasion, it is necessarily repeated time and again throughout the liturgical year. But time and space are not enough. The action of gathering God's people together is a precursor to the continuing and continual sacramental movement from God to his people, and their joyful and penitent recognition of that and engagement with it. Importantly, though, this sacramental movement is not only from God to his people, it enables this sacramental gift to be shared between individuals and among communities.

9.2.5.2 Preparation

The people of God then enter into the practice of the fourfold movement of confession. This begins with preparation or invitation. God's engagement with humanity does not begin with sin; rather in the free and abundant gift of himself. Thus the invitation or preparation precedes confession of sin. In this preparation we are invited to retell our story through 'the inspiration of your Holy Spirit' in order that we

⁵⁰⁵ William T. Cavanaugh, *Torture and Eucharist: Theology, Politics, and the Body of Christ* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998); Margaret Scott, *The Eucharist and Social Justice*, (New York: Paulist Press, 2009); Horton Davies, *Bread of Life and Cup of Joy: Newer Ecumenical Perspectives on the Eucharist*, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1993); Andrea Bieler and Luise Schottroff, *The Eucharist: Bodies, Bread and Resurrection*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007); Elizabeth Newman, *Untamed Hospitality: Welcoming God and Other Strangers*, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Brazos Press, 2007).

⁵⁰⁶ Wells, *God's Companions*.

come before God in the hope of seeing ourselves clearly. The words of the prayer of preparation also remind us that God's love for us is infinite and sets us free.

9.2.5.3 Confession and Absolution

After the prayer of preparation there is silence. Confession as a corporate act should not be formulaic. The silence allows us time to examine our hearts as we enter into the space of confession. In properly allowing for contrition we come naked before God. While this individual space is at once necessary, we come to the Eucharist as members of the body of Christ. The Eucharist schools us in repentance and confession. So we proceed to corporate confession as another reminder of our communal responsibility towards each other: 'We have sinned against you and against our neighbour'. There is opportunity for individual penance and confession in other sacramental liturgy. In the Eucharist, however, our coming together is crucial-liturgy is the work of the people rather than one individual. As we re-narrated our story in the prayer of preparation, so now corporate confession enables us to retell our communal story and ask God for forgiveness through Christ. In terms of restitution, the last part of the prayer of Confession is important: in this, we ask that we may 'do justly, love mercy and walk humbly with you our God' (Micah 6: 8). This prefigures the 'sending out' at the end of the Eucharistic liturgy. In both there is a forward movement of action, and expectation of transformation.

Absolution confirms God's mercy towards us. It reminds us of Baptism, in which we are adopted by our Father 'from whom every family in heaven and on earth takes its name' (Ephesians 3:15). We are justified by God in the power of the crucified and risen Christ. Absolution is therefore a Trinitarian action, as the third person of the Trinity, the Holy Spirit, sanctifies our ongoing Christian life. In the action of absolution, God reconciles us to himself. Our sins are forgiven and in the absolution we are empowered to continue to participate in the liturgy.

9.2.5.4 Service of the Word

As I have highlighted previously, words are not enough. However, this is not to say that we do not need them. The part of the Eucharistic liturgy in which we focus on the Word contains the elements of listening, internalising and responding to God's

narrative in Scripture within the framing narrative of liturgical tradition. Hearing the Word is the way we understand the meaning and authority of salvation and revelation. Through the liturgical cycle of readings we come to learn and engage with the diversity of God's action in the world and the singularity of his purpose. Storytelling is key in reconciliation and in the teaching of Jesus. However, attending the Eucharist is not like hearing a bedtime story or going to school. We are not meant to be lulled into a too-comfortable familiarity, nor do we 'graduate' from the Eucharist having absorbed its message or meaning. The Liturgy of the Word changes us, and both makes us vulnerable and enables us to bear witness to these stories when we leave the church. Hearing 'the other's' story in a reconciliation process is likewise transformative and an irreplaceable stage in the process. Both are a way of remembering which must be attended to within the work of the liturgy or the work of reconciliation in order for wholeness to be possible.

While so far in the service of the Word we have been listening and internalising, we now respond. The Creed requires us to say Amen to what we have just heard. It is a declaration of our faith and a description of God's embodiment in Christ, and another corporate act of worship that illustrates our embodiment as God's people in his church. There is of course much to be said about the Creed. Confessions of faith are not only found within the liturgy of the Church. Importantly when discussing reconciliation, confessions of faith such as the Barmen Declaration made in 1930s Germany, the *Kairos* Document in 1980s South Africa and even the latest *Kairos* Statement discussed earlier, are creeds which rightly take the work of the liturgy to the people.⁵⁰⁷ Following William Cavanaugh's argument that Church and politics are necessarily boundaried but engaged with each other underlines, at this point in the liturgy, that the Eucharist is a real-world event.⁵⁰⁸

The prayers of the people, or Intercessions, follow the Creed. These are a recognition of our need for God and also a plea for his intercession in our lives. The Intercessions are about hope; they bring the congregation's needs, individual and communal, to the Father. They also act as a rehearsing of suffering and thus of themselves enable some coming to terms with and embodying of lament. Lament in its anger, fear, pain and yet hope.

⁵⁰⁷ De Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa*.

⁵⁰⁸ Cavanaugh, 'The Work of the People as Public Work'.

9.2.5.5 The Peace

The sharing of the Peace is the bridge between the service of the Word and the Sacrament of the Eucharist. There is, of course, debate about where in the service the Peace is located. Suffice to say, placing the Peace after the service of the Word allows the understanding that it is in Christ that we are reconciled (having heard God's word and listened to the Sermon) and therefore the sharing of Christ's peace is the proper precursor to sharing in the celebration of his Holy Mysteries. It also underlines the fact of reconciliation freely offered to us through God's embodiment in Christ. The fact that the Peace is shared after the Intercessions also enables peacemaking to be linked to compassion. Justice without this compassion is unlikely to have the necessary restorative character which is necessary for reconciliation. It is also located after the Confession, in which we acknowledge our wrongdoings or failings to God and each other: in the Peace, we shake hands on forgiving each other. Likewise, restitution is an embodied action which makes tangible the inner workings of repentance, confession and forgiveness. In the Peace, the space necessary for encounter is created. Miroslav Volf's embrace of reconciliation, which I discussed in chapter three, speaks exactly to this moment.

9.2.5.6 The Offertory

The liturgy now turns to the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Although this is often referred to as Communion, it would be wrong to exclude the service of the Word from this. The whole is needed for a celebration of the Eucharist. Sam Wells describes Gregory Dix's fourfold movement of taking, blessing, breaking and sharing,⁵⁰⁹ which is normally only associated with this part of the service, as having already been enacted in the service of the Word.⁵¹⁰ In his view, rather than the elements of bread and wine being shared, it is the body of Christ as the congregation that has been taken, blessed, broken and shared in the service of the word-through listening, confessing, responding and ultimately being sent out. The Offertory, then, is the beginning of this second movement. The gifts that were once scattered are reunited and brought to the

⁵⁰⁹ Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 2nd edn. (London: Dacre Press, Adam & Charles Black, 1945).

⁵¹⁰ Wells, *God's Companions: Reimagining Christian Ethics*.

table by the people. These gifts of bread, wine and money are all elements to be offered back to God.⁵¹¹ The Offertory, the bringing of gifts, is done in public by members of the congregation, not by the celebrant. This is not to say that the human need for competition and envy is indulged at this moment, rather that all are equal in the eyes of God and each has something to offer. In the early Church, individual offerings were also received from the clergy celebrating.

Importantly, the offering underscores the world's need, and at this point in the liturgy reminds us again that we are the body of Christ in the world, not just in the church. Reconciliation is of course between God and people, but also between God and his Creation. War, ecology, poverty, race, gender, and all other sources of tension and conflict are brought into focus at this point. The world does not break into the Sacrament; the Sacrament exists for and of the world, and is of itself transformative. The offerings of the world are not an exchange for this but an outpouring of thanksgiving in response to God's gift for us. In the Eucharist, we remember this outpouring and practice it.

Traditionally, the Offertory consists of bread, wine and money, but these gifts are also traditionally accompanied by a congregational hymn. It is worth therefore addressing the issue of music in the liturgy here. This is another pertinent area of discussion, but for this argument, it is enough to highlight it contextually.⁵¹² In South Africa, music and dance play a vital role, not only in liturgy, but also in public life in general. During the TRC hearings, which some have likened to liturgical spaces, hymn singing broke out at times of great pain or suffering.⁵¹³ In Pretoria prison, during the encounter with Stefaans and the bomb survivors from Worcester, singing and dancing played an integral and natural part of the proceedings. It brought a note of embodied emotion, of a way of bringing what could be brought to a very painful space. It enabled a sharing of self amidst brokenness. The space of encounter in the prison took on a liturgical sacredness-this really was the work of the people; the actions of embrace, seeing, embodiment between perpetrator and victims became sacramental.

⁵¹¹ For further discussion of the politics of the Offertory, and especially as it links to gift exchange, see Bieler and Schottroff, *The Eucharist*, pp. 69-126; David N. Power, *Sacrament: The Language of God's Giving*, (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1999).

⁵¹² For further discussion, see Jeremy Begbie 'Music, mystery and sacrament', in *The Gestures of God*, edited by Rowell and Hall, pp. 173-187.

⁵¹³ Personal conversation with TRC Commissioner, 2011.

They brought their music directly to the place where the bread and wine were later to be blessed, and performed it there deliberately and carefully. Some of their music was decidedly secular. The elders in that community pointed out to me that the purpose of such a procedure was to make an actual judgement on a very important area of their lives. The time of the Eucharist was the time for that judgement. They were not ashamed of that dance in their own lives, so they wanted that part of their lives to be offered with the Eucharist.⁵¹⁴

Music, like dance for this community in Kenya, is as much offertory and embodiment of our gifts. Music in liturgy is about more than words and serves more than one purpose: in the context of the Offertory, it represents a congregational response to the generosity of God. Music, then, in the liturgy, is an offering of gift, talent, relationship and communal act which highlights the necessity and importance of bringing our whole lives before God in the Offertory for transformation in the Eucharist. We share with God what we have been given by God, and bring it back to him in these tangible, embodied gifts, of goods, of means, of symbol, and of self. The offertory must be, by its nature, seen, communal, a journey (the offerings are brought from west to east, to the altar), and 'more than words'. This is what the people of Worcester told me, what I observed, about restitution.

9.2.5.7 Eucharistic Prayer

The Eucharistic Prayer leads us into thanksgiving, remembering, inviting and then sharing. In terms of reconciliation, these four aspects are key, as they are in the Eucharist. It is in the exhortation to 'lift up our hearts' and the invitation to give thanks to the Lord that we embark on a process of reconciliation. This may seem contrary to the setting of conflict and suffering with which we start these processes, but the very fact of arriving at this space can counter the obstacles hindering the beginning of such a process. The Eucharistic Prayer is not the beginning of the Eucharistic liturgy, as we have seen. Likewise, the space for the reconciliatory encounter has been prepared in advance, and the necessary time has been taken to arrive at this point. So in both Eucharist and reconciliation there has been a journey of telling and hearing story, listening to and acknowledging woundedness, truth-telling and remorse. The Eucharistic Prayer rehearses God's life among us. The memory of God's covenant with the Jewish people, his saving purpose in the Exodus and his promise that their

⁵¹⁴ Donovan, *Christianity Rediscovered*, p. 125.

exile would end are invoked in the words of institution to define the identity and mission of Christ and God's covenant with, saving purpose and promise to end the exile of, all of humanity. These are words of remembering, but of course in the Eucharistic prayer there are actions of remembering. Gregory Dix's seminal 1945 work *The Shape of the Liturgy* remains arguably the best exposition of why the liturgy is the shape it is.⁵¹⁵ The four actions of taking, blessing, breaking and giving have each their power and purpose within the Eucharist, and their parallel in any meaningful process of reconciliation. I expand these here to bear on restitution.

- Taking-responsibility has to be *taken* for our own part in any conflict through truth-telling, we have to *take* the risk of vulnerability, we have to *take* what 'the other' brings to the process.
- Blessing-the action and acceptance of grace-has to begin its transformative work in hearts and lives to prepare the ground for actual restitution and consequently meaningful and lasting reconciliation.
- Breaking-old habits and ingrained notions of identity, grievance, bitterness, grudge, the old narratives that perpetuate a conflict. Breaking the will to hate our enemies instead of forgiving them. In a reconciliation process, deadlocks and stalemates need to be broken.
- Giving-giving back (restitution) and for-giving.

9.2.5.8 Post Communion Prayer

The post communion prayer from the Methodist Worship Book emphasises the physicality of the 'bread of heaven', and our need to actually 'touch and see'.

God of glory,
 We have seen with our eyes
 And touched with our hands
 The bread of heaven.
 Strengthen our life together
 That we may grow in love
 For you and for each other;
 Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.⁵¹⁶

This prayer goes to the heart of the actual and concrete nature of the bread of heaven,

⁵¹⁵ Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*.

⁵¹⁶ The Methodist Worship Book, (Norwich: Methodist Publishing, 1999).

the body of Christ. Why is this so? Why emphasise so strongly the touching and seeing? David Brown makes the point that in using actual elements, the bread and wine, rather than just words, in the Eucharist, we are remembering that Christ had an actual body, and that throughout Christianity's 'long history', there was a concern 'to guarantee the believer's continuing engagement with Christ's humanity.'⁵¹⁷

Moreover, I would argue that it is precisely this 'engagement with Christ's humanity' in the touching and seeing of his body, that helps to allow us to take seriously and truly believe in God's great reconciling movement towards us. Likewise, it is in the touching and seeing of the restitutionary element, the land, the computer help, whatever it may be, that allows us to take seriously and truly believe in the wish for reconciliation and a continuing relationship with 'the other'. The post-communion prayer asserts again the need for restitution; the need to share, to both give and receive, what we have shared in the body and blood of Christ, with those outside the Church's doors.

9.2.5.9 The Blessing

The Blessing reminds the congregation, the body of Christ, of its purpose: that is, to be a blessing to the world. The Blessing is not, however, only about the future, but it confirms what we have received in the gift of the sacraments. The fact that the blessing comes at this point, just prior to being sent out from the liturgical space into the rest of the world, crystallises what we have experienced, participated in, and go forward to experience.

9.2.5.10 The Sending Out

Like reconciliation, the Eucharist is a process. It is not a one-off event. We come back week by week to re-experience and continue the transformative nature of the sacrament. Reconciliation also is about the continuing restoration and experiencing anew of connection with 'the other'. So we are sent out after the Eucharist to 'love and serve the Lord' afresh. We do not keep the gifts for ourselves. We are asked to share them in the service of the God who gives us everything. Restitution is about sharing

⁵¹⁷ David Brown, *God and Grace of Body: Sacrament in Ordinary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.390.

gift: of money, education, equality of opportunity and personhood, in order that we may continue to form and transform our relationships. It is about being sent out 'in the gift' of God's spirit. In the aftermath of the Reitz affair, Jonathan Jansen had a meeting with the parents of one of the students concerned, which he described as 'eucharistic'.⁵¹⁸ One can imagine the parents being sent out of that room 'to love and serve the Lord'.

Clearly, much more could be said about the Eucharist: its scriptural origins, history, traditions, aspects of its meaning and shape.⁵¹⁹ I have, however, in what I have highlighted, attempted to provide a framework for the restitutive action within the liturgy, in order to relate my thesis of restitution as eucharistic, and more particularly, in the next sections, where restitution and Eucharist are most closely encapsulated: in the body of Christ, the administration of Communion, and the concept of gift.

9.2.6 The Body of Christ

This is my body, broken for you. Take, eat, in remembrance of me.
This is my blood of the new covenant, shed for you for the forgiveness of sins.⁵²⁰

What does it mean to be the 'body of Christ' and to share in this body: a body, which is real, actual, and not only a metaphor? Bodies are hurt, healed, and blessed.⁵²¹

William Cavanaugh sees the body of Christ as existing in public, not in a private space.

We are the body of Christ. Although we are many, we are one body, because we all share in the one bread.⁵²²

⁵¹⁸ Jonathan Jansen in public conversation, 'Engaging the Other' Conference, University of the Free State, December 5-7, 2012.

⁵¹⁹ The following authors provide a good overview: John Macquarrie, *A Guide to the Sacraments*, (London: SCM Press, 1997); Paul Bradshaw, ed., *The New SCM Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, (London: SCM Press, 2002); Robert Jensen, *The Church and the Sacraments, Cambridge Companions Online*, (2006) <<http://dx.doi.org.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/10.1017/CCOL0521471184.013>> [accessed 1 July 2014]; Stephen Conway, ed., *Living the Eucharist: Affirming Catholicism and the Liturgy*, (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2001).

⁵²⁰ Common Worship: Services and Prayers for the Church of England, (London: Church House Publishing, 2005).

⁵²¹ For further discussion of the 'body of Christ', see Godin, 'Discerning the Body'; Bieler and Schottroff, *The Eucharist*; Brown, *God of Grace and Body*.

⁵²² Common Worship.

The themes of gathering and scattering-salvation and sin-coincide in the body of Christ. The *Didache* gathers us together in salvation in the Eucharistic prayer

As this broken bread, once dispersed over the hills, was brought together and became one loaf, so may the church be brought together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom.⁵²³

Reconciliation between individuals and communities, likewise, is communal. In order to be meaningful and lasting, it needs to be embodied, communal, public, and ongoing. It is a process, a journey, a movement. It means getting to know 'the other', accepting difference and the causes of differences, and making a commitment to continue on the road together beyond the initial encounter and any endorphin-fuelled goodwill arising from it.

Issues of diversity and identity also come into play. Paul writes in 1 Corinthians, that the eye and the hand are different, and that the body cannot be eye without ceasing to be the body.⁵²⁴ Just because we come together as the body of Christ, we are not assimilated into sameness. We keep our identity within this diversity. The concept of *ubuntu* likewise gives us to understand our lives as necessarily communal, existing for each other, but not the same. Being in relationship does not mean becoming 'the other.' However, Paul also stresses this need for the other in the body-the eye cannot say to the hand, 'I have no need of you'.⁵²⁵ In the ongoing encounter of restitution, the sharing that is necessary does not annihilate difference; rather it celebrates a coming together of otherness in the shared acknowledgement of the need for communality.

In 1 Corinthians 11, Paul discusses the failure to 'discern the body'-the body as ecclesial and sacramental. As Cavanaugh puts it, 'to eat one's own supper, to turn the Eucharist into a private affair, is to refuse life and persist in death.'⁵²⁶ Not to share in restitution as part of the body, the community, leads to an unreconciled future.

Looking in more detail at this moment of giving and receiving the bread and wine, the body and blood, we come to 'Eucharistic presence.' This is potentially a huge subject. Transubstantiation, transignification, symbol, and substance are but some of the words at the forefront of theological and philosophical ideas regarding the

⁵²³ *Didache*, 9, in *Early Christian Writings*, trans. by Maxwell Staniforth, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), p. 231.

⁵²⁴ 1 Cor 12:17

⁵²⁵ 1 Cor 12:21

⁵²⁶ Cavanaugh, 'The Work of the People as Public Work', p. 6.

nature of the consecrated elements. However, these discussions are not relevant to this thesis, and therefore when I discuss the idea of 'Eucharistic presence', it is not these arguments I am rehearsing. More interesting in terms of restitution and its place in the Eucharistic model is what John Macquarrie refers to as 'multiple presence'. He writes

The presence of Christ in the eucharist is a multiple presence. Since the eucharist always includes a reading from the Gospel, Christ is present in that word. Since it is Christ himself who presides at the eucharist, he is present also in the human minister, the priest, who rehearses the words and actions which Christ used at the Last Supper.⁵²⁷

Macquarrie here is referring to Christ's universal presence as *logos*, the word, or as the Triune God universally presenting creation. He argues that in the Old Testament for example, this universal presence of God was to be found especially intensely in the temple, or in the Ark of the Covenant or in the *shekinah*. In the Eucharist, he posits that the presence of Christ is to be found both in the liturgy of the word and the liturgy of the Eucharist. In the Word, the climax of Christ's presence is in the reading of the gospel; and in the Eucharist, in the consecrated elements. Furthermore, Macquarrie refers to the two ritual gestures of the elevation of the gospel book and the Eucharistic gifts as the expression of Christ's particular presence in each part of the service.⁵²⁸

This understanding of 'particular presence' has some overlap with my model of the consecrated elements representing the material, actual gift of restitution. However, I would argue that it is especially in the physical nature of the bread and wine, 'the body and blood of Christ', that the 'particular presence' of Christ can be seen, touched, and tasted. This embodiment is what allows us to make real for ourselves the *logos*, and in so doing confirms beyond doubt the movement towards reconciliation. This outward and visible sign of God's grace, given and received, thus puts restitution at the heart of the reconciliation process. Without the body, the consecrated elements, there would be no Eucharist. Without restitution, true, or as full as possible, reconciliation would not happen.

This body of Christ, though and importantly, is at once, both community/church and the sacramental body. Augustine illustrates this beautifully

You are on the table and you are in the chalice, you along with us are this. We are this together. We are drinking this together because we are living this together..Since what is realised is one reality, you too must be one by loving

⁵²⁷ John Macquarrie, *A Guide to the Sacraments*, (London: SCM Press, 1997), p. 126.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, chapters 10-14, pp. 101-156.

one another, by keeping one faith, one hope, one indivisible love.⁵²⁹

Jesus did not command us to remember him with words alone. Of course, one cannot argue that Jesus gave us physical elements to use to remember, to give thanks, to be healed and reconciled with, purely in preference to words alone. The Eucharist has at its root the Passover meal; the remembrance of the many times Jesus sat and ate with tax collectors and sinners; the offering and acceptance of peace and hospitality. However, the symbolism of food in the Eucharist is more than these. It is also the embodiment of Jesus in his incarnation; the acknowledgement of human need to touch, to experience with our bodies, in order to believe. Thomas needed to put his hands into Jesus' side in order to believe (John 20:27). So in the Eucharist, we are given the chance to do the same: to touch Jesus' body in order to believe to receive the sacrament of grace which is being offered.

In linking this to the reconciliation journey, we see that it is in the embodiment of the 'word', the remorse, the sorryness, the confession, that the wish for reconciliation can be believed. Restitution as outward and visible sign of this inward process or belief takes the form within the Eucharist of these consecrated elements. When these actual objects are given, experienced, touched, received, then the belief in a relationship that is truly healing can be trusted. A 'sending out' towards reconciliation can then take place.

In this model of restitution and Eucharist, the term 'body' is a crucial element. David Ford's idea of 'the Eucharistic self' is helpful here, as is the discussion in Elaine Graham et al's book, *Theological Reflection*, of 'writing the body of Christ'.⁵³⁰ In brief, and as it relates here, Ford argues for a 'habitation of a Eucharistic self' in order to 'be responsive to Jesus Christ and other people, and coping with their responses in turn'.⁵³¹ He discusses an 'apprenticeship' model of participating in the Eucharist, which is complexified by the 'multiple apprenticeships within each life, all coexisting within what Bourdieu calls the 'socially informed body'.⁵³²

⁵²⁹ Augustine, 'On the nature of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, Sermon 272, http://www.earlychurchtexts.com/public/augustine_sermon_272_eucharist.htm [accessed on 15th February 2015].

⁵³⁰ Further discussion in Graham, Walton and Ward, *Transforming Practice*; David Ford, *Self and Salvation: Being Transformed*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

⁵³¹ Ford, *Self and Salvation*, p. 165.

⁵³² Ibid, p.140ff. See also Pierre Bourdieu and Loic Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 124.

Chauvet writes, 'It is bread-as-food, bread-as-meal, bread-broken-for-sharing that reveals the true being of bread'.⁵³³ Christ is revealed in the breaking of the bread, and his very being is the gift. We cannot keep him to ourselves though: we receive him and give him way, time and again, in the action of the Eucharist. Likewise, we cannot keep the reconciliation that God gives us for ourselves-it is to share through the material act and symbol of restitution with those others who are not us.

9.2.7 Administration of Communion

Administration of communion absolutely requires the presence of both parties; the celebrant and the communicant. Or, if the bread is being shared around a circle of communicants, it requires the agreement of all present. It is done in public. It is a visible, visual, tangible, physical act whereby the gift is proposed, ratified and accepted. The gift is shared by agreement between those present, and the acceptance or rejection of the gift is within the power of the communicant. This is not a contractual obligation, it is a gift proposed and accepted through grace.⁵³⁴ It is only in the outpouring of this grace that the sacrament which is this gift can take place. Restitution occurs through this gift and in this space.

David Power uses the metaphor of gift to explore sacrament and ritual. He stresses that in this 'gift exchange', it is God's gift which comes forth for humanity. We do not simply exchange gifts with God, like presents at Christmas. It is God's gift and His sacrament, given to us through the incarnation. He quotes a Christmas post communion prayer to illustrate

God, who touch us by this participation in your sacrament, work the effects of its power within our hearts, so that we may be made fit to receive your gift through the gift itself.⁵³⁵

Power looks to anthropologists Mauss and Malinowski, and their work on gift economies in 'archaic societies', relating this bartering of goods, to the global and market economy of today, where gifts (especially of money) are not free. They

⁵³³ Chauvet, *Symbol and Sacrament: A Sacramental Reinterpretation of Christian Existence*, trans. by Patrick Madisa, S. J. and Madeleine Beaumont, (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1995) , p. 407.

⁵³⁴ For more discussion of gift, see Stephen H. Webb, *The Gifting God: A Trinitarian Ethics of Excess*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

⁵³⁵ David N. Power, *Sacrament: The Language of God's Giving*, (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1999), p. 277.

presuppose certain ideas of democracy and productivity. Other gifts though are given freely, and are ongoing into the future-motherhood as an example. 'The accent is on the giving'.⁵³⁶ Importantly, the gratuitous giving of gift does not mean fusion between giver and gifted; it does not mean a total identification with one another; or the merging into one another. This has echoes with Volf's embrace of reconciliation. In God's sacramental giving

What is given is the seed of participation and mutuality. It is a being together, a loving together, a covenantal relation by which both God and people pledge and work for the enhancement of the same gift.⁵³⁷

Restitution, then, is gift in these terms. It is not an exchange of presents; rather, it is free flowing and of itself enables both the space for identities not to be lost, and the continuing forward in time for relationship to blossom.

In the Eucharist, that exchange when the celebrant affirms '[this is] the body of Christ' and the communicant confirms it is so ('Amen') there is a vital, relational quality to their agreement to be participants in that embodied sacrament. Sharing, justice, and agreement as to the rightness and acceptability of the gift, are the elements in the transaction that correspond to a meaningful restitution. As celebrant, I can be challenged and informed about the sacramental nature by the communicant, his or her body language, his or her spoken response: for instance, on one occasion when I said 'The body of Christ', a parishioner repeated while making eye contact with me, 'The body of Christ', rather than 'Amen'. The equality of this encounter and the confirmation of my affirmation allowed me to reimagine this sacramental space. We are both enabled to move out again from that Eucharistic space, challenged, transformed and energised towards reconciliation.

If you are the body and members of Christ, it is your mystery which is placed upon the Lord's Table, it is your mystery which you receive...Be what you see and receive what you are.⁵³⁸

The equality and willing involvement of both/all parties is key to the ongoing success of the process; this is risky. Charity, by way of contrast, is handed down from the giver to the needy, according to the inclinations and decisions of the giver; it requires

⁵³⁶ Power, *Sacrament: The Language of God's Giving*, p. 280.

⁵³⁷ Ibid., p. 281.

⁵³⁸ Augustine, 'On the nature of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, Sermon 272, http://www.earlychurchtexts.com/public/augustine_sermon_272_eucharist.htm [accessed on 15th February 2015].

no discussion with or agreement from the recipient. In the case of restitution, both parties gain some power, and also, importantly, both take some responsibility for the nature of the restitution and the ongoing reconciliatory relationship.

Issues of power and responsibility are crucial in the reconciliation journey, as they are in the Eucharist. I have alluded to this already in terms of liberation theology. In relation to restitution, the communal nature of the reconciliation journey is highlighted, and the 'body of Christ' something which is shared and both parties recognize and take responsibility for their part in it. This interestingly also speaks to the concept of *ubuntu*. 'I exist only because you exist'; we are humans together, and need to recognize our common humanity. Also, in St Augustine's words we see the vertical and horizontal natures of reconciliation and restitution in partnership together: restitution as grace, or gift, first and foremost from God through Christ, given and received as ours by us, in our common humanity with Christ. Herbert McCabe writes in *The New Creation*

(Christ's) risen body is the foundation of the new human race. Already, moreover, we can belong to the new creation, not yet physically but sacramentally; our bodies make contact, real contact, with the risen Christ through mysteries, symbols in which he is present to us.⁵³⁹

So, if restitution is integral to the reconciliation process, what would such a theology of restitution look like? I turn now to address this.

9.3 Train Theology

Through the research findings from Worcester, which led me to explore, not only the literature on restitution and reconciliation, but also current thinking on sacrament and Eucharist, I have come to understand a theology of restitution as necessarily based on sacramental thinking. It cannot follow the legal or the charitable model. An understanding of the radical, relational, embodied and mutually empowering (embrace) nature of sacramental restitution is key to any process which seeks to heal what is broken or wounded, restore or atone for what has been taken or damaged, and build a platform for forward movement and a stable basis for an ongoing process of

⁵³⁹ Herbert McCabe, *The New Creation*, (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 1964), p. xii. I should note that when referring to 'real presence' or the concreteness of the body of Christ, I am not making a case for transubstantiation, rather that it is the actual, physical presence of the symbol rather than just word which is crucial in my argument.

reconciliation. A rereading of the Eucharist in these terms aids understanding of a broader view of restitution, and hence a theology of restitution. The emphasis must be on the transformative moment of restitution at the heart of the Eucharist. In the administration of Communion, the giving and receiving of the body of Christ, restitution is proposed and accepted in a grace-filled encounter that becomes, as often as it is celebrated, a platform for renewal and reconciliation.

The Eucharist, according to William Cavanaugh, 'confuses the boundaries between those who serve and those who are served. The Eucharist does not simply motivate us to do good things for poor people; it questions the very distinction between us and them'.⁵⁴⁰ Eucharist, *leitourgia*, is about service, as we have seen. Justice, seen from within the body of Christ, which is where it must be seen, theologically, is not about distributing goods in competition and scarcity. It is about radical sharing out of God's abundance, and a sharing of suffering. Restitution as sacrament, as Eucharistic, joins justice and gift, and transforms relationship in a radical and embodied way. Only when restitution as sacrament has been encountered can reconciliation happen. It is in and as and of this body of Christ that restitution is revealed.

The Peace Train provided such a sacramental, eucharistic space for the community that was formed on that journey. It was not a Eucharist, but was able to mirror the reality of Christ given to us in the Eucharist, which then is able to reflect back this reality into the Eucharist. In this way, restitution can be illuminated in both the Peace Train and the Eucharist. The Peace Train involved risk and vulnerability, it was a radical undertaking, and it was embodied. There were no guarantees of success, as there may rarely or never be when we undertake any venture towards reconciliation. But in that dedicated space, full of hope, work was done, liturgical work-of, by and for the people. The journey itself was a place of encounter; all movement was towards the possibility of reconciliation. Those who travelled were invited and empowered to be a part of the body of Christ, taken, blessed, broken, shared and sharing in a truly restitutive process. This body of Christ is not only the Church. Applying restitution theology to real life is going to involve finding imaginative, creative embodied ways to stimulate these transformative encounters, to

⁵⁴⁰Cavanaugh, 'The Work of the People as Public Work', p. 15.

create these sacramental spaces within the movement of people's lives, to take the liturgy and make it live, to keep offering and to keep accepting the gift of grace.

9.4 Where to next?

This research has been based in the South African context. Further consideration of reconciliation and restitution in other arenas will be necessary. The application of this theology of restitution in praxis, however, is generalisable. Other settings, other processes, between individuals, church communities, other bodies, can I hope, make use of it to further reconciliation work between people. Restitution, as I have shown, has been poorly understood and acted upon. This new theological conceptualisation of restitution can help by bridging this poor understanding, and lack of actual restitution; and the real need for restitution within a reconciliation process. I have argued that restitution as embodied reconciliation is more than, and has a different emphasis to, 'embodied praxis for change'. I agree that it encompasses change, equality, relationship, grace, justice. But it is also about the willingness to inhabit a different space, and what we can see from there. It is both our response to God's gift of grace, and our willingness to stand in that space of vulnerability, not just with God, but with 'the other'; both of us giving and receiving in a radical departure from how we 'usually' see each other. Like Zacchaeus, it is about needing to truly 'see' Jesus, and then, each other.

So restitution needs to start with grace, not law, and the outworking of grace as sacrament. Justice must be an integral part, but as a response to grace, God's gift, which is found in sacrament. This particular sacrament of restitution, I argue, is found in a eucharistic space of encounter, embrace, relationship. Restitution is in the living together. Since I left Worcester, one of my interviewees (white), has sold his house in the centre of town, and moved into a shack in *Zwelethemba*-as an act of embodied restitution.

The Church can play a major role in this work-in fact, is best placed to do so. But, this theology of restitution is not, as I hope I have shown, just for churches, and church people. The body of Christ existed in the Peace Train. The body of Christ can exist in an old age home, in a school, in a work place, in a village or council estate. Bread is what people need to live. The hunger that is assuaged by bread is both physical and symbolic. It is embodied in justice; in the world, and in the Eucharist.

The concept of eucharistic space enables this embodiment of bread, of body, to be shared, to be connected, in life and in the Eucharist. People need to find ways of connecting and reconnecting with the other. It is not enough to confine these concepts within the Eucharist, only for those within the Church, when the rest of the world is hungry. Division, conflict, and poor relationships are everywhere. The embodiment of reconciliation through restitution can, must, be applied in these non sacred settings. Liturgical space, eucharistic space, different platforms, can be created. Places of radical encounter which stem from gift, from freedom to take risk, from acknowledgment of our relatedness, can be created by concrete, material and symbolic acts of restitution-as a starting point for these broken relationships.

Words are generally not enough. Making spaces to eat together, to listen, to importantly, really see the other across the table enable us to walk alongside each other. Providing space for liturgy-the work of the people-does not only need to happen in church. But, as a body of Christ, church is a good place to start. Reconciliation needs to be promoted through the Church. We have been given a 'ministry of reconciliation'. We, after all, have the liturgical space of encounter already there.⁵⁴¹

We have the actions of reconciliation. We have taking, blessing, breaking and giving. We through God's grace and abundant love, his gift for us, can share these. We can, in doing so, act out and embody restitution and reconciliation, in public liturgies in which confession, lament, and sacrament lead to transformation.⁵⁴²

9.5 Conclusion

I end where I began this chapter, with Nelson Mandela. I was asked to give the tribute at Coventry Cathedral to commemorate Nelson Mandela after his death in December 2013. This thesis concludes, then, with people-where it started, with Olga's story-and

⁵⁴¹ Although Cas Wepener's argument for such ritual and liturgical space is based in the family of Dutch Reformed Churches and their internal need for reconciliation, I concur with and extend his assertion that churches should engage with this strongly in every context in which reconciliation is needed. Wepener, *From Fast to Feast*.

⁵⁴² Robert Schreiter writes that the Church should engage with the 'public discourse of rebuilding society', morally but also in concrete ways e.g. by creating places of safety and trust, where truth can be told; by providing a voice for those who are unheard; by modeling the healing process through forgiveness; and should herself be a key and hopeful factor in the process. Schreiter, 'Reconciliation and Peacemaking: The Theology of Reconciliation and Peacemaking for Mission', in *Mission, Violence and Reconciliation*, ed. by Mellor and Yates, p. 24.

places them at the heart of the reconciliation journey. On one of my visits back to South Africa, my family and I went up Table Mountain in Cape Town. Table Mountain is spectacular-and a special place. You can see for miles-and you can see Robben Island just off the coast, where Nelson Mandela and other prisoners of apartheid were kept. It was very hot that day on the top of Table Mountain, and there was a very elderly black man dressed in a woollen suit and hat. He was having difficulty going up a set of stone steps, so my mother, who is also elderly, gave him her hand and helped him up. At the top, he doffed his hat to her, and said, 'Madam, I have waited all my life for this. To be helped and my hand held, by you, a, white person-as an equal-is extraordinary. Do you know I am 94? And now I can die happy!' And they both laughed, and they both had tears in their eyes.

During the apartheid regime, this could not have happened. These two people would not have been allowed to be in the same place-as equals. So what happened that day was extraordinary. High on top of a mountain, a place which has witnessed great transformation, a bringing of light out of the darkness of apartheid. A *ruimte*, a eucharistic space, a restitutive action. A seeing, an experiencing, an embodiment of a different image of what humanity could be together-in the hope of reconciliation for all.

10. Appendices

10.1 Appendix 1: Information sheet

Information Sheet

Date 5/10/2012

Title of project

A theology of restitution: Is restitution a key part of the process of forgiveness and reconciliation?

I am inviting you to take part in a research project. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take the time to read the following information carefully.

What is the purpose of the project?

The purpose of the project is to find out how people understand restitution, and to ask how crucial it is to the process of reconciliation. To do this, I would like to interview people in Worcester who are taking part in the reconciliation process, and find out what they think about restitution, reconciliation and forgiveness. I plan to be in Worcester for 2-3 months in order to do the interviews, attend meetings of the group, and attend reconciliation events.

Why have I been invited to participate?

I would like to interview 12 people in Worcester who are all involved in the reconciliation process, and I would like to ask you to be part of this project because of your involvement in it.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and will be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

What will happen to me if I take part?

I will interview you (this will be a conversation which will take about an hour). You will also be asked to come to a meeting at the beginning and at the end of my time in Worcester (a focus group) together with other people involved in the project, so that I can ask you all together what you think about the project. We will arrange between us a convenient time and place at which to hold the interview.

Confidentiality

The data gathered in this study will be anonymised. If however, this is not possible due to previous media attention, I will provide an alias for you (a different name), or if you would still be identifiable, I will make sure that you have the opportunity to see and approve any data about you (including quotations) before it is used in this study or any future publications.

What will happen to the results of the research project?

The results will be reported in my PhD thesis, and may be published in book or article form some time in the future. I will provide everyone who participates in the project with a summary of the research findings, and will make the full thesis available on request.

Who is organising the research?

I am doing this research as part of my PhD in Theology and Religion at Durham University, UK.

Who has reviewed the project?

The project has been approved by the Ethics Committee in the Dept of Theology and Religion, Durham University.

Contacts for Further Information**Revd Dr Sarah Hills**

Email: sarahandrichard89@btinternet.com

Cellphone in South Africa

UK address

Revd Dr Sarah Hills

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Palace Green

Durham DH1 3RS

Tel: 0191 3343959

Email: robert.song@durham.ac.uk

Thank you for reading this information sheet.

10.2 Appendix 2: Consent Form

PhD Consent Form

Title of Project:

A theology of restitution: Is restitution a key part of the process of forgiveness and reconciliation?

Name, position and contact details of researcher:

Revd Dr Sarah Hills

PhD student at Durham University, Dept. of Theology and Religion

Cell phone number:

Name and contact details of PhD Supervisor:

Dr Robert Song

Dept. of Theology and Religion

Durham University

Abbey House

Palace Green

Durham DH1 3RS

Tel: 0191 3343959

Email: robert.song@durham.ac.uk

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.	Yes/No
I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason.	Yes/No
I agree to take part in the above study.	Yes/No
I acknowledge that the data gathered in this study will be stored securely and for a period of no more than ten years, and may be used for future research.	Yes/No
I agree to the interview / focus group / event being audio recorded.	Yes/No
I agree to the interview / focus group / event being video recorded	Yes/No
I understand that the data gathered in this study will be anonymised. If however, this is not possible due to previous media attention, I agree to my name being given an alias, or that I will be able to see and approve any data about me before it is used in this study or any future publications.	Yes/No
I agree to the use of direct quotations taken from recordings of my comments in interviews/focus groups,(attributed to me using my first name) in any emergent publications.	Yes/No

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Name of Researcher

Date

Signature

10.3 Appendix 3: Letter of Introduction

Letter from Revd Dr Sarah St Leger Hills

17.8.2012

Dear

Greetings!

I hope you will allow me to introduce myself and the work I am doing involving forgiveness and reconciliation, and to let you know about my plans to come to Worcester in October this year. I am an Anglican priest in Sheffield, UK. I am originally from Grahamstown, although grew up mainly in Northern Ireland. I trained and worked as a Psychiatrist before I was ordained...and all of these experiences have led to my interest in reconciliation. I am now doing a PhD in the theology of reconciliation at Durham University, and as part of this, I would be very pleased to be able to talk to people in Worcester involved in the reconciliation process. Deon Snyman suggested that I make contact with you. Deon and I have worked together over the years, and Di Oliver has also been tremendously helpful (also she and my mother worked together in the Black Sash), and I have spent some months working in St George's Cathedral, Cape Town, two years ago.

I am especially interested in how forgiveness and reconciliation relate to each other, and what the role of restitution might be. I am particularly thinking about areas like what 'sorry' means, what part 'grace' has in the process, and how people might be enabled to go forward together, in their journeys in faith and life generally.

So I very much hope to be able to meet you, and talk further about these areas, and to learn from you. I would like to be able to assist in any way I can in this process. My family and I will be coming over from October til December. Richard is a Family Doctor in Sheffield, and is doing some research at UCT, and our boys Matthew (13) and Jack (11) will have to do some school work when we are there!

Please do contact me if you would like to know more about what I am doing. And I very much look forward to meeting you!

Thank you.

Very best wishes and blessings

Sarah

Email: sarahandrichard89@btinternet.com

10.4 Appendix 4: Table of Interviewees

Name	Age	Address	Race	Personal Information
Phyllis	50	Zwelethemba	Black	Married Head teacher at a primary school Injured in bomb Not active member of WHRP
Harris	66	Zwelethemba	Black	Married U/E Part of WHRP-steering committee-core member and <i>Khulumani</i> Much struggle involvement and detentions etc Went to see Stefaans the first time with Olga
Neera	52	Zwelethemba	Black	Married Owns a bus In exile during the struggle Not part of WHRP
Nobanzi	50	Zwelethemba	Black	Lives in Married Head teacher of a nursery school Core member of WHRP-steering group V active in community work Baked bread for Eucharist-and buttered!
Kathleen	81	Worcester	Coloured	Lives in Widowed Juan's mother Not part of WHRP Was v active in struggle
DV	55	Lives on farm near Worcester	White	Wine farmer Part of WHRP Provided wine for Eucharist
Riaan	42	Worcester	White	Medical Doctor Married Part of WHRP
Olga	53	Zwelethemba	Black	Widowed Core member of WHRP-steering committee

				and <i>Khulumani</i> Made first visit to Stefaans Won IJR Reconciliation prize 2012
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Name	Age	Address	Race	Personal Information
Marthinus	38	Worcester	White	Married Teaches Xhosa as second language Part of WHRP
Shanette	46	Worcester	White	Single Works at the kibbutz-drama and community work Not part of WHRP
Irena	58	Worcester	White	Married Social worker, with gangs and women's refuge etc Founded kibbutz Not part of WHRP
Juan	50	Worcester	Coloured	Divorced U/E, previously community worker Very involved in struggle, detentions etc Administrator for WHRP

10.5 Appendix 5: Interview Schedule

Demographics:

Name:	
Age:	
Place of residence:	
Racial group:	
First language:	
Other information:	

Questions:

- How long have you been involved in the project?
- Have you got a specific role in it? What?
- Why did you get involved in the process?
- What do you think the aim of the process is?
- What does reconciliation mean to you?
- What is forgiveness?
- What is restitution?
- What images come to mind when you think of restitution?
- For you, what would be the single most meaningful thing that could be done that would signify restitution? E.g. cook a meal/plant a seed/give training
- What is the most crucial thing that has happened so far in this process?
- What needs to still happen in this restitution process?
- Is this a religious process?
- For you, is there a bible passage/word/part of a church service that signifies what the process is about?
- What keeps you going/helps when it is hard in this process?
 - scripture? which?
 - prayer?
 - church/worship?
 - community?
 - friends/family?
 - Restitution Foundation?
 - other 'professionals' / leaders / mentors?
 - God?
- Is there anything I have left out?
- Anything else you would like to tell me?

10.6 Appendix 6: List of Data Collected

Interviews

- 12 in Worcester
- Interview with Stefaans

Fieldwork

- Diary
- WHRP minutes and other papers
- DVD of Olga Reconciliation Award
- DVD made for Peace Table and Reconciliation Day
- Video material from ipad of various events in Worcester
- Audio material from Peace Table, Reconciliation Day, group meetings with Leon Wessels at the kibbutz, peace train
- Photographs
- YouTube video of Peace Train
- Press cuttings, local and national papers-farm workers strikes; Olga's award; peace train
- Field work notes from all the events
- Field work notes from conversations with Desmond Tutu, John deGruchy, Ernst Conradie's roundtable discussion at UWC, Sharlene Swartz, Deon Snyman, Leon Foot
- Conference proceedings and notes from Bloemfontein
- Emails and other correspondence about and during field work
- Articles and poems written by members of the WHRP

10.7 Appendix 7: Extract from Analysis of Field Notes

During a WHRP meeting, discussing the planning of the Peace Table, one of the members spoke, 'It will be a highlight of the year' and a 'symbol of breaking bread together which will send a message out to the world that living, staying, believing together and getting into one another's inner chamber will happen by breaking bread together', he said. He feels there is a goodness about the process that 'you can touch it and feel it and must live by it'. It is about 'greeting your fellow man in the street.' He talked about the logistics for the peace table (I asked Deon later why 'peace table'? and he said that they use peace rather than reconciliation or restitution because it is an easier word for people in the wider community to grasp, and has not got difficult connotations for the white community which restitution may have-note re Eucharist). The WHRP member talked of sitting mixed up at the tables so people 'have communion facing each other'.

There will be 4 speakers, school children dancing; someone singing 'God save Africa' and the food served will represent the diversity of South African cultures. Floris will read his poem. It will be the biggest gathering of people sitting down to eat together in Worcester (140 people invited).

Descriptors:

breaking bread together; goodness that you can touch and feel; greeting your fellow man; restitution difficult for whites; table for sitting round together; communion facing one another; food diversity of South Africa; God save Africa

Categories:

- What part of religion is important in the process?
- Does the Eucharist have a meaning in the process?
- What does reconciliation mean to you?
- Anything else?

Once the broad themes had been categorised, from within the interview questions, the next stage of the analysis was to organise the material into further sub- themes. I have included here an example of one of the categories where this has been done.

10.8 Appendix 8: Service Sheet from Communion Service for the WHRP:

Communion Service for the Worcester Hope and Reconciliation Process



December 16 2012

Welcome

Words of gathering

One: The Lord be with you

All: **And also with you**

One: Praise the Lord

All: **Praise him you servants of the Lord**

One: Blessed be God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit

All: **Blessed be his name, now and forever.**

Confession

A Litany of Restitution

One: O God of all people, we come humbly before you

All: **In you we place our hope**

One: We ask for courage to face the past

All: **Our hope is in you**

One: For the actions and attitudes of restitution

All: **Our hope is in you**

One: With words that do not result in action

All: **We are no longer satisfied**

One: For excuses and reluctant leadership
All: They are not enough

One: With government programmes alone
All: They are not enough

One: For accusations, fear and blame
All: We repent Lord

One: For our forgetfulness and short memory
All: Forgive us Lord

One: For demanding that those who have been hurt bear so much
All: Forgive us Lord

One: For those us who have grown up after Apartheid
All: We offer you our privilege

One: For those of us who were complicit with Apartheid
All: We have considered our ways

One: For those of us who were dishonoured by Apartheid
All: We open our hearts to true sorry-ness

One: Grant us, Lord God, a vision of South Africa
All: As your love would have it

One: A South Africa where the weak are protected
All: And none go hungry or poor

One: A South Africa where the riches of creation are shared
All: And everyone can enjoy them

One: A South Africa where different races and cultures
All: Live in harmony and mutual respect

One: A South Africa where peace is built with justice
All: And justice is guided by love

One: Give us the inspiration and courage to build it
All: Through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

(with acknowledgment to Alan Paton)

Absolution

Reading The Emmaus Road Luke 24: 13-28

Time for Reflection together

Prayers

Sharing the Peace

The Eucharist

One: Blessed are you, Lord God of the Universe.
You are the giver of this bread, fruit of the earth
and of human labour.
Let it become the bread of Life.

All: Blessed be God, now and forever.

One: Blessed are you, Lord God of the Universe.
You are the giver of this wine, fruit of the vine
and of human labour. Let it become the wine of the eternal kingdom.

All: Blessed be God, now and forever.

One: As the grain once scattered in the fields and
the grapes once dispersed on the hillside
are now reunited on this table in bread and wine,
so Lord may your whole Church soon be gathered together from the corners of
the earth into your Kingdom.

All: Blessed be God, now and forever.

One: "Peace I give to you. My own peace I leave with you. Peace, not as the world
gives, but of God."
Let us present ourselves, as living gifts, to God's work of peace.

All: God is with us.

One: Let us open our hearts to God.

All: We open them to God and to one another.

One: Let us give thanks to God.

All: It is right to give God thanks and praise.

One: We thank you, Almighty Father, because for us you have raised your Son, our
Lord Jesus Christ,
from the dead. In him you sent us peace and freed us from death. He has
become our forgiveness,
our hope, and our life. Because you raised him
and gave him glory, we give you thanks
and join in your whole creation in a hymn of praise, saying

**All: Holy, holy, holy
Lord God of Hosts
Heaven and earth are full of your God,
Hosanna in the highest.
Blessed be he that comes in the name of the Lord.
Hosanna in the highest.**

One: We thank you, almighty Father, from the very beginning you promised us
peace. Despite our sins and our guilt you have worked to unlock our hearts.

You sent your only Son to free us from bondage with a new covenant of freedom. He has moved among us teaching and healing, and we have known him in the breaking of bread. For we remember how, on the night before he died, he took bread and wine, gave you thanks and praise, and said:

This is my body broken for you, and my blood, shed for you and all my people so that sins may be forgiven. Whenever you do this, you will do it in memory of me. And now, Lord, we remember and celebrate how your son climbed the cross,

how he suffered and died to free us, and how he rose from the dead so that he might bring us peace

and the gift of the Holy Spirit as a sign of the glory which awaits us.

Let us proclaim our salvation:

**All: Dying you destroyed death,
rising you restored our life.
Lord Jesus, come in glory.**

One: Send your Holy Spirit, Lord, upon these gifts and this meal. May we share this living bread and this living cup as a people together to your glory.

All: Amen.

One: We pray together

All: Our Father in heaven

Hallowed be your Name

Your kingdom come, your will be done

On earth as in heaven.

Give us today our daily bread.

Forgive us our sins, as we forgive those who sin against us.

Save us from the time of trial, and deliver us from evil.

For the kingdom, the power, and the glory are yours, now and forever.

Amen.

One: The bread which we break

Is it not a sharing of the body of Christ?

All: We, who are many, are one body, for we all partake of the one bread.

Blessing

Sending Out

One: Go in peace to love and serve the Lord

All: Amen.

To all the people of the Worcester Hope and Reconciliation Process with sincere thanks and many blessings from Revd Dr Sarah Hills. You are a beacon of hope for South Africa and the World.

*May the road rise up to meet you.
May the wind be always at your back.
May the sun shine warm upon your face;
the rains fall soft upon your fields and until we meet again,
may God hold you in the palm of His hand.*

Traditional Irish Blessing

(Liturgy adapted from 'A Peace Liturgy/Service' on 'More Coherent' Website.)

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