Chapter 11

Ideological Frames of Reconciliation

1. Introduction

This chapter identifies and examines various underlying ideological frameworks that appear to provide a conceptual logic for integrating the five principles of reconciliation within different conceptualizations of reconciliation. These ideological frames are ideal-type conceptual constructions which provide systems of meaning for ideas around reconciliation. The underlying logic of how the various principles of reconciliation are linked to the creation or re-establishment of social order is explained by these ideological frameworks.

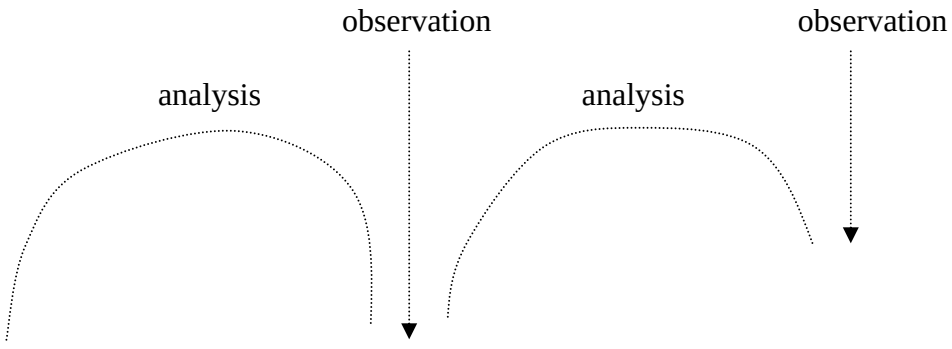
The principle of national (top-down) versus local (bottom-up) approaches to reconciliation is then discussed with reference to these hypothesized ideological frameworks. Each framework provides a different understanding of why a top-down or bottom-up approach should be supported. The level to which different stakeholders subscribe to the various ideological frames is examined to see what light it sheds on patterns of conflict and agreement.

2. Ideological Frames of Reconciliation: The Conceptual Framework

This chapter explores whether the various principles examined in the previous chapter can be better understood when synthesized into ideological frames of reconciliation. These ideological frames are semi-coherent frameworks which provide a link between different principles. It is a way of looking at broader world views which provide an internal logic to the way that people piece together their various orientations in terms of their positions regarding the various principles identified in the previous section.

In other words, the views expressed regarding where a person fits on the different principle continuums is somehow connected. The explanatory variable is a bigger framework of meaning that people bring to bear on the question of rebuilding relationships. These are frameworks of meaning that embody the basic beliefs of people regarding the way that social order is built and maintained. I will refer to these frameworks as ideological frames of reconciliation.

Diagramatically, this was presented earlier in this chapter (and in Chapter 7) as follows:



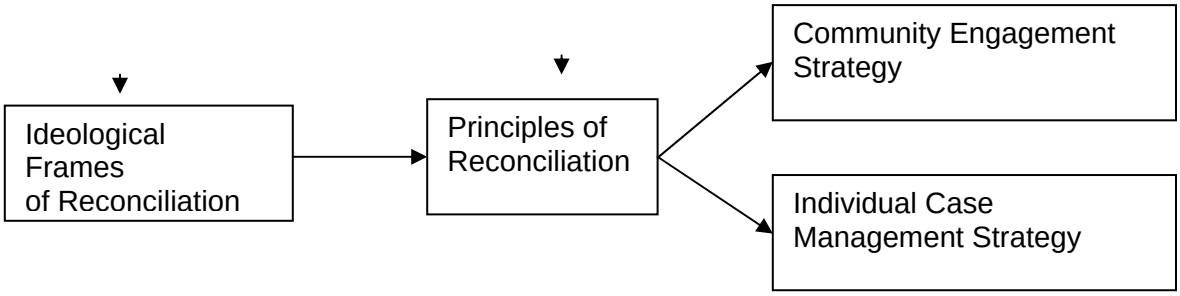


Figure 7.1. Construction and Analysis of Ideological Frames and Principles

In Chapter 2 the three dimensions of reconciliation were also linked to ideological frames:

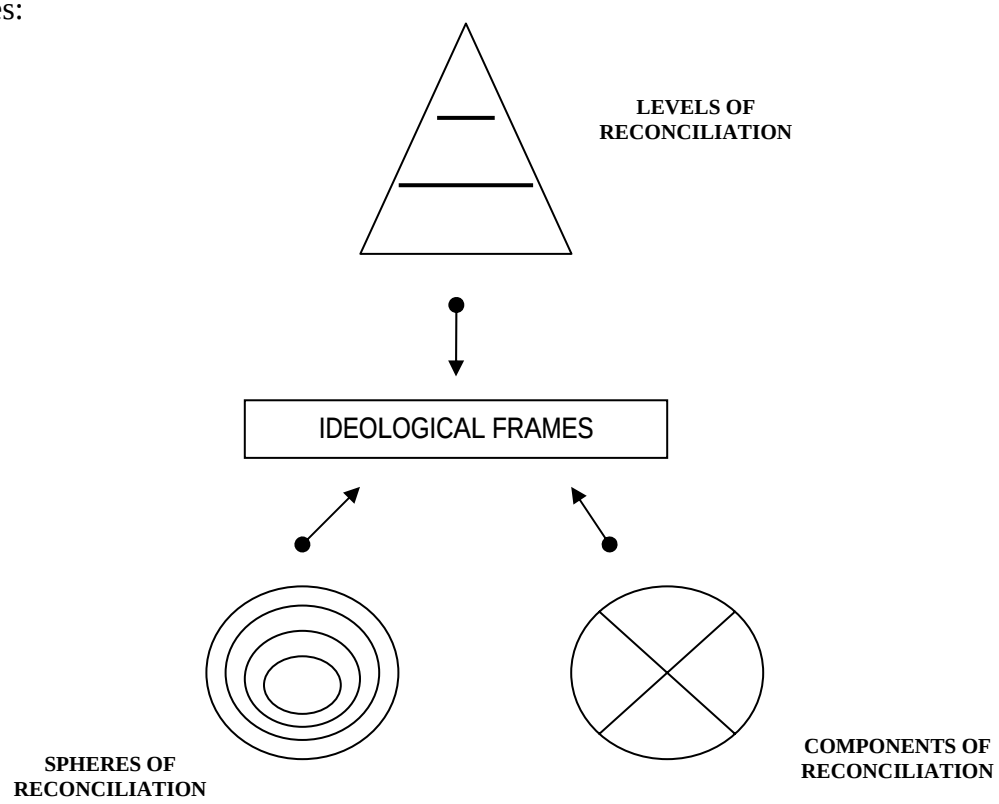


Figure 2.11: Ideological Frames of Reconciliation

The term ideology (rather than conceptualization or paradigm) was used because the ideological frames take on a particular shape in response to a political context. They are not simply inherited or de-contextualized belief systems, but rather frameworks that have been developed in response to particular socio-political circumstances in order to make sense *and justify* that particular system of meaning. They serve a political purpose in that they attempt to influence the conflict transformation agenda in a manner that serves particular interests or needs.[1]

Ideological frames identified below should be viewed as ideal types. They do not exist in practice. Each ideological frame embodies certain abstract characteristics that are not necessarily present in this form in any one individual's understanding of reconciliation. These frames are rather systems of meaning that arise from a particular school of thought or system of beliefs.

In practice, individuals borrow from a number of different ideological frames to construct a personal belief system. People construct their world of meaning by borrowing from what they find around them. They piece it together in a way that gives them a sense of control or meaning and they present it in a way that appeals to the audience and elicits a sympathetic response. Some of the ideas that are used to build these ideological frames are part of the international legal, religious or political discourses. Others rely more on local political histories or traditional cultural norms and

[1] Nader (1990), for example, talks about justice ideologies because they serve a broader political purpose. They are part of a political strategy of the society concerned in engaging or resisting external control, e.g. the resistance of an indigenous society to colonial control. There is thus an element of choice rather than the ideology being simply a cultural inheritance.

values. These ideological frames are thus not mutually exclusive. Their constituent components overlap with one another, and individuals can believe in two or more of them at the same time, albeit through maintaining some level of internal dissonance.

Individuals' belief systems are not necessarily internally consistent or consistent over time. They are constructed to serve material and psychological needs.

These ideological frames can overlap in different ways. Two ideologies could, for example, have the same approach when dealing with unification versus autonomy, but differ deeply on the issue of top-down versus bottom-up.[2]

3. Ideological Frames Identified in the Data

Presented below are a number of analytically distinct ideological frames of reconciliation that could be posited as underlying the various viewpoints expressed in the interviews. I will briefly discuss the basic framework of meaning that they propound, and describe their relationship to the different principles discussed earlier.

Some of the dominant ideological frames tentatively identified among respondents were:

a) Reconciliation as Building a Human Rights Culture

b) Reconciliation as Building Non-Racialism

c) Reconciliation as Inter-Communal Understanding

[2] Some of the ideological frames are more prescriptive than others depending on the specific principles in question - they provide clear answers to certain strategic choices, while other are more open-ended. On a different principle, however, another ideological frame may provide more prescriptive answers.

d) Reconciliation as Moral Conversion

e) Reconciliation as Community Building

f) Reconciliation as Individual Healing and Rehabilitation

a) Reconciliation as Building a Human Rights Culture

Human rights appears to be one of the key modern paradigms for building a new society. The essential argument is that a legal framework that outlines peoples rights must be developed, institutionalized, and popularized.

The main element of the reconciliation framework that it targets is the values regulating conflict. This ideological frame is mainly geared at constructing a value system and institutional structure which makes certain forms of conflict behavior unacceptable and subject to penalties. While the underlying basis may be a recognition of the common humanity and the rights that arise from this, the focus of the ideological frame is on the legal ramifications as codified in the constitution and legislation.

Human rights is the ultimate contract: A human rights frame is centrally based on a contractual understanding of social order. Reconciliation does not require positive bonds between individuals; it merely requires them to respect the rights of fellow citizens. The social contract that underpins a human rights approach is, however, something that is seen as something semi-sacred, a value system that reflects the common underlying natural rights of all people. It is thus not just an intellectual construct to regulate society, but also a value system that should be popularized and internalized by all.

The human rights frame is structural in its orientation, looking to the legal system as the basic framework that needs to be strengthened and whose values need to permeate society. The only real space for agency in this picture is as human rights education or human rights advocacy in cases where the formal legal system does not (yet) provide adequate protection to marginalized groups.

This ideological frame is also essentially confrontational. There is little scope for compromise or creative solutions which meet different needs, values or interests. The solution to any particular problem does not need to satisfy any party. The strength of the outcome is the way that it re-enforces abstract principles and guides future behavior (mainly by acting as a deterrent). Whether people are angered or traumatized by the process and outcome is of little consequence. The procedural implications fall under a legalistic framework that is mainly influenced by a retributive paradigm. Creating a human rights culture requires that abuses of human rights are exposed, that individual guilt is determined and that the perpetrator is punished. Punishment is mainly seen as a symbolic public statement of rejection of human rights abuses and as a deterrent to similar behavior by others. A central strategic consideration is also to build public consensus regarding what forms of behavior are punishable.

It is also an ideological frame that is more focused on the national picture. The basis of social order is the national legal framework that is not pliant to local conditions. The same principles apply in every community and in every conflict.

It is a frame that is often hostile towards the attempts of certain groups to maintain autonomy on the basis of identity, as it does not recognize these markers as

valid legal categories. It individualizes social relations and attributes responsibility for actions to individuals actors, thus minimizing any consideration of collective guilt. The individual is the building block, and the rights of the individual national citizen rather than the group are the guarantor of social order.

The Reconciliation through Human Rights frame was a major component of the perspective of most of the TRC interviewees. While it was always tempered with other ideological frames, it became a central pillar of the TRC's approach to reconciliation. A few quotes illustrate the strength of the human rights discourse.

> The ideal would be a formal criminal process. I believe in a normative order that is maintained through enforcing rules. [TRC]

> People find protection in their own culture and religion - this causes problems. Protection should rather come from a human rights culture. [TRC]

> The ability to become something we are not is the challenge. We must concretize the values that must be upheld. We need something dramatic, but focusing on external provision (rather than internal) is dangerous. A society that is human rights based is reconciled. [TRC]

> To take reconciliation further we need human rights promotion by the state, even using retributive processes. [TRC]

> This is what reconciliation is essentially about - a process whereby two sides come to realize that they have to live together. This coexistence has to be based on respecting the other party's right to be here, i.e., it is based on human rights. [TRC]

A second group who made significant use of a human rights frame were community leaders, particularly ANC, and to a lesser extent the IFP. While not as clearly visible in their explication of reconciliation, it was seldom completely absent.

> Reconciliation requires a human rights culture. This is about preventing future abuses, especially by police. People need to know what their rights are and how to protect them. The TRC has little to do with this. [D, L]

> Political leaders implicated in human rights abuses should step down because we can no longer trust them. They do not represent the values of our new society. [D, L]

Linked to the human rights discourse was also that of conflict resolution - a value system that provided alternatives to violent confrontation.

> People have begun to see that violence is not a solution. Now they are starting to see other means of achieving goals. They see that sitting at a table and talking is also possible. … We must help people see that differences don't have to lead to violence. We must help them understand the need for negotiations. The problem was that people understood violence as the only way to deal with political differences. [K, L, IFP]

b) Reconciliation as Building Non-Racialism

Responding to the history of racial separation and domination in South Africa, a strong element of the reconciliation vision is that of non-racialism. While recognizing the existence of separate racial identities, this ideological frame views them as constructed realities that deny the humanity of individuals belonging to certain groups.

This ideological frame focuses on the goal of an overarching national identity that eradicates race-specific identification. While not very coherently formulated in terms of substance, it is also subject to strategic divisions. The relationship between race and ethnicity is also approached in different ways, with different approaches giving ethnicity varying levels of recognition. Ethnicity is, however, treated with suspicion as it is seen as a screen for racial identification.

The process of building non-racialism hinges on the strategy of de-legitimizing race-based identification and political mobilization (and to some extent also ethnicity-based mobilization). This is done essentially through analyzing the connection between race and ethnic identity formation and political structuring and the (resulting)

dehumanization of certain categories of people. This dehumanization (particularly as practiced through apartheid) makes it possible to deny rights and opportunities to these categories of people. It is thus a process that focuses on the role of political parties and the bases of political organization which contribute to the marginalization of people.

Central to the non-racialism frame is also the goal of restoring the dignity and self-esteem of certain categories of people which were denied by the apartheid system. It is also argued that the divisions created by such a system dehumanizes even those who benefit from it.

A strong sub-theme within the non-racialism frame is one of nation-building - focusing on the nation state as the primary source of identity for South African citizens. The central tenet of this strand of the ideological frame is its vision of national unity. It does not recognize the validity of claims by sub-national groups to autonomy and attempts to discredit political mobilization on the basis of such ethnic and racial identity (and regional identity to some extent). The only legitimate identity is that of the nation state - nationalism.

The nation-building frame is one that is also, by definition, focused on the national level. Local processes and particularities are mainly just seen as vehicles within which the nation-building agenda can be pursued. Their local peculiarities are mainly seen as different manifestations of the racial/ethnic forms of oppression.

This (nation-building) framework is also biased towards a structural perspective of social change. The political system is seen as the embodiment of the national consciousness, and political parties the vehicles of different visions of national identity.

Social change is seen as being facilitated by political leaders who should ideally embody the new non-racial political consciousness and who should demonstrate this unity and "brotherhood" in their relationships with each other.

The nation-building frame is also more closely linked to confrontation than to harmony. The process of moving a society from race-based identification to non-racial nationalism requires people to be converted to a new form of consciousness and for some to give up certain privileges. This process is unlikely to be cordial and is likely to be resisted by those in positions of privilege (whites). It thus requires a process of confronting whites with their responsibility for past abuses and the illegitimacy of their privileges, and (if guilt proves insufficient motivation) also threatening them with punishment if they do not confess, show remorse and relinquish these privileges.

Non-racialism is not directly biased towards a contractual or an "ubuntu" view of social relations, except to the extent that it is connected to an envisaged/idealized nation, especially one which is imbued with an African cultural identity. An African nationalism is thus strongly ubuntu oriented.

The ideological frame of non-racialism is also one that is predominantly found among TRC staff and community leaders, particularly ANC-aligned leaders. Non-racialism was a central tenant of the ANC position over a number of decades. It has thus become a key component of the discourse of the left (TRC staff and ANC community leaders).

> Reconciliation is not about shaking hands and making up. It is a fight for equal humanity and status, something we have not yet reached. [TRC]

> The most important role of our work (at the TRC) and the report is that it should be a reminder of the inequality and the costs of the system of apartheid. [TRC]

> The main reconciliation process is political. Racial and ethnic based political parties need to be broken down. This will happen through coalitions that intersect racial boundaries. [TRC]

ANC-aligned community leaders also saw the ideal of non-racialism as a key ingredient of a reconciliation agenda:

> When we were deeply involved in the struggle (for liberation) we saw it as a nation-building revolution. The goal was to ensure the creation of a common culture and community. We wanted to overcome the divisions that exist in society. [D, L, ANC]

> We need to see each other as people. We will do this through building a non-racial South Africa. [D, L]

Many NGO staff also come from a background of involvement in the struggle against racism:

> Reconciliation means a melting pot. We have to be one though abolishing our racial identities. [NGO]

c) Reconciliation as Inter-Communal Recognition, Understanding and Partnership

In contrast to the above conceptualization, this ideological frame takes for granted that ethnic identification is a key organizing principle in social (and to some extent political) life in South Africa. The problem that it defines as needing to be addressed is the differing experiences of ethnic groups of the apartheid years and the lack of communication and understanding that resulted from forced separation (as well as "natural" cultural patterns of association).

The goal of reconciliation is to build a sense of over-arching partnership between groups, a sense of shared destiny based on mutual cooperation and understanding. The specific objectives of a reconciliation process are thus to build understanding and respect for the values of the other group and to understand what their motives and beliefs were which resulted in the conflict behavior of the past. The goal is thus to grant and receive recognition, and to build mutual understanding so that both groups can let go of hatred and distrust and focus on building a cooperative future.

Rather than dissolve boundaries, this conceptualization re-emphasizes these boundaries, stressing the need for respecting differences and space for some form of autonomy (good fences make good neighbors).

While the axiomatic principle in this ideological frame is the issue of autonomy, it correspondingly also stresses the innateness of ubuntu as a principle of in-group social relations and contract as a principle for inter-group relations. The sense of connection and altruistic orientation that characterize in-group relations are seen as a positive outcome based on that group's shared culture (and sense of shared destiny). The relationship between groups is, however, seen as something that has to be constructed and calculated on the basis of potential mutual benefits.

The basis of social order from this ideological perspective has to be guaranteed by a structure which provides protection to (minority) ethnic groups. The positive attitude of other (majority) groups is never seen as sufficiently secure (especially in the light of the past conflicts and animosities) without some form of structural protection. The integrity of the divisions and minority protection is secured by both the political and economic systems.

The social order does, however, require more than these protections. It has to be enhanced through positive relations which (while being made possible by protective measures) have to be actively promoted. There is thus a lot of scope for intervention work to build and maintain these relations, mainly at the level of leadership, but also among other levels of society.

It is an ideological frame that sees confrontation as a danger to the construction of positive inter-group relations and thus deeply threatening to group survival. Confrontation may be accepted within the group, but positive inter-group relations are

seen as dependent on respectful/dignified relations and consensual forms of decision making.

The local is seen as the national writ small. The identity of the group is one that is not attached to the local community, but is rather of a regional or national nature. The primary identification of group members is seen as connection to other group members spread around the country, rather than with people who may be their neighbors. Local dynamics are seen primarily as being framed by the constraints of national political developments. Local leaders may have more space to maneuver, but essentially operate within the same framework as national leaders, and may be constrained by their accountability to these national leaders.

While receiving some sympathy from certain TRC interviewees, the only group that expressly maintained this ideological frame were the National Party leaders. Their belief systems were quite narrowly circumscribed by this frame. The IFP leaders who saw the need for leadership pacts as a way to re-unite followers also less directly embraced this frame.

> We must work together on mutual concerns, and not interfere in each others' communities. Different cultural groups will always mix with their own people. Group formation around language and culture is natural. All that needs to be done is to improve the trust amongst different groups. [D, L, NP]

Reconciliation does not mean that Afrikaners should change their identity. It is a question of how we deal with the issue as Afrikaners. How do we survive and find a place in the new political setup. We need to be recognized in terms of being Afrikaners. … The NP is moving towards becoming a coalition of Afrikaners and other identity groups. It is natural for a group's identity to have political expression. Politics is about identity groups not ideology. Each group has its central values that can be shared with others in a coalition. Group identity is central and should be respected by all parties. A group's identity can change but this is a very long process. [D, L, NP]

We must brings things into the open. It is very important in promoting contact and understanding among race groups. For example, white children previously did not grow up among other race groups, don't understand them and are thus racist. [D, L, NP]

We have to find each other, to construct a commonly accepted value system, to develop a system in which we can listen to each other and meet each other halfway. We have to build a relationship were we can compete against the rest of the world in the world system. [D, L, NP]

d) Reconciliation as Moral Conversion[3]

This ideological frame is one of moral judgment of inhumane behavior based on principles defined by a religious paradigm. This religious frame is, among respondents, generally fused with the other conceptualizations, but is essentially based on a vision of human community that views relationships as based on moral imperatives or moral judgment of the correct way of treating others. It is thus a way of relating that is guided by altruism (mediated by a supernatural force) rather than shared interests.

The specific goal is again an overarching sense of community (or "brotherhood'). It is a common humanity understood as resulting from a shared creator. This subjection to a greater being is seen as making certain attitudes and behaviors offensive to that being.

On a strategic level there is thus a need for a moral conversion. This entails the creation of an awareness within all people (especially those who had committed offenses) that everyone has a duty to relate to all others as children of God. This is interpreted as both a directive to treat with love (i.e., requiring more than not abusing them) even those who have offended (often interpreted as requiring victims to forgive their victimizers). For the perpetrator, the process is fundamentally about confession and repentance for actions that offended God.

The essence of this ideological frame is a relational view of society - mainly a relation of subservience between the individual and God, and consequently a relation of

[3] It should be kept in mind that this ideology is an ideal type. Specific political interpretations of religion in the South African context such as contextual theology or Christian Nationalism are, in terms of this analysis, a mixture of Moral Conversion and other ideological frames.

brotherhood between individuals in society. The core relationship for this paradigm is between the individual and God. For some, this relationship is something that is complete in itself, i.e., moral conversion is only characterized by a change in one's inner spiritual being (confession is something that is simply between the individual and his/her God). For others, this spiritual conversion is the instrument for a transformation of social relations. It is argued that one can not make good with God without making good with those you have wronged.

This ideological frame is fundamentally anti-structural. It sees the basis of social order as morality. A fundamentalist version may argue that the church is the structure that would facilitate this national morality.

The moral conversion frame is largely confrontational in its orientation. Rather than confrontation with the goal of rejecting and marginalizing the subjects, the goal is to make them repent their ways and convert to a new path (at least within the Christian paradigm that is the dominant religious strand in the TRC and the communities studied). Such condemnation of behavior would, however, also serve as a form of education to the wider audience regarding appropriate morality. Repentance and conversion would, moreover, serve as a further public confirmation of this morality.

On the question of Unification versus Autonomy this ideological frame is essentially neutral, but its discourse may be used to support unification as an illustration of brotherhood among "God's children". Alternatively, the overlap between religion and ethnic identity may lead to it being seen as a value differentiation which justifies demands for autonomy.

This ideological frame is also neutral on national versus local orientation. Social morality is seen to operate essentially in the same way whatever the context.

The moral conversion frame was broadly spread among respondents. Each respondent category demonstrated some level of commitment to this discourse. Victims and ex-combatants talked about reconciliation in terms of forgiveness and confession. All groups referred, to some extent, to a religious paradigm of morality that was generally Christian in nature. The only clear resistance came from IFP and NP leaders who sought to distinguish religious processes of confession and forgiveness, which they saw as essentially personal, from public processes of building inter-group relations.

The language of morality, however, pervaded the understanding of most respondents:

> We need to break with the past through critical reflection. We should not end up with grudges and low intensity hatred. It is a matter between people who defended apartheid and those opposed to it. It is a moral issue. [D, L, ANC]

> Reconciliation is about changing a man's heart. If not, it will just remain as something in the sky. At the innermost level a person must say from the heart that they are sorry. To bring about reconciliation in Nigel one has to change the heart of most of the people. The TRC can not do this

> because it is impossible for them to judge the honesty of people applying for amnesty. [D, L, ANC]
>
> At the deepest level, and as a Christian reconciliation happens through God - the spiritual experience of forgiveness from God allows one to embrace others who have also sinned. [TRC]
>
> A victim testified at the hearing. He was an old man, had a hard life, was tortured and imprisoned. At his funeral a few weeks later, a priest told how this man had told him that before the TRC hearing, if he had died and gone to heaven and found perpetrators there, he would have asked God to rather send him to hell. Now, after the experience of the hearing he would accept them. Now he was ready to die. [TRC]

e) Reconciliation as Community Building

The focus of this ideological frame is that of building healthy relationships between people who interact on a daily basis (where these have been destroyed by past and present conflicts). The identity that needs to be cultivated is the day-to-day community (mainly viewed as residential-geographical, but to some extent also that of work).

The goal is to build relationships between individuals within communities that meet their more immediate needs. This frame focuses on the breakdown of community that results from conflict and the reconstruction of attitudes of trust and reciprocity that are required to sustain community life. This conceptualization requires the building of

community relationships through clearing up suspicion, developing channels of open communication and local accountability.

This is essentially an ideological frame that sees the strength of local community bonds as determining the stability of the social order. It sees the social fabric of society as one that is constructed at the local level. National agendas are treated with suspicion as they intrude on the "natural" ordering that occurs between people who are dependent on one another in constructing and sustaining their local order.

This localized order is one that is essentially built on reciprocal rather than contractual relationships, although contractual relationships are also seen to contribute to the sustainability of the community.

The community building frame is essentially agency oriented in that it sees the relationships as the primary factor which facilitates the changes in structure that are needed. It moreover sees these structures as imposing on or constraining the development of community.

Similarly to the moral conversion frame, community building approaches conflict between the individual and the community in a confrontational way with the aim of re-integrating that individual into the web of social networks that they have violated. The perpetrator is threatened with exclusion (social and/or physical) from the community if they do not admit their guilt and commit themselves to making amends.

When it comes to conflicts between groups within the community where one group can not be easily defined as the perpetrator group, the orientation shifts to the principle of harmony. While extensive efforts may go into dealing with conflict, the

unity of the community is seen as the prime goal (rather than the needs of the parties) and this unity is what must be preserved at all cost. Consensus building, compromise and subservience to authority are all seen as preferable to continued *intra-community* strife.

This ideological frame is essentially neutral on the issue of unification versus autonomy.

Victims, ex-combatants and NGOs were the ones who most strongly maintained this ideological frame. The importance of reconstructing broken relationships, of regaining social acceptance, of clearing up suspicions which complicate social bonds, are the building blocks in regaining a sense of control of their lives for many individuals who are dependent on their neighbors, family, and community for survival and self-esteem.

> Reconciliation is about re-connecting relationships and rebuilding trust. I can not stay in a community where there is no trust. Talking to others makes one feel less alone - regain the sense of community. [K, V]

> The hostel dwellers are afraid of being in the location after dark. I used to work with them and be friends. We have not renewed the friendships. When we see each other in the street, we greet and pass on. This is not as it should be. [K, V]

Reconciliation means accepting and understanding each other, being able to mix freely. If we do not get to do things together we will not get to know what they are like inside. [K, EC, ANC]

National reconciliation is not possible without local. Presently they are attempting to build from the top down. This will not succeed. It must be dealt with first in terms of real issues where people cooperate on concrete concerns. This needs to be supported at national level, but not controlled from there.
[D, L, NP]

Those directly involved in the fighting should be the ones who reconcile. Reconciliation should not be left in the hands of leaders. [K, EC, ANC]

Interpersonal work is needed to initiate the process. We should focus on deep changes in small groups rather than superficial changes in large groups. [NGO]

e) Reconciliation as Personal Healing and Rehabilitation (Reconciliation as Therapy)

Another strong influence in the debate on reconciliation is an ideological frame focused on healing. While it mainly focuses on the needs of victims to become functional (and

possibly even healthy) individuals, it is also often linked with a similar concern for perpetrators as individuals who have been damaged by their environment.[4]

The argument put forward by this frame is that a healthy society is based on healthy individuals. Individuals can be assisted to process and come to terms with the past. Rather than focusing on improving relationships, the focus is on internal change which improves the ability of the individuals (or group) to engage in healthier relationships. Central to this paradigm are the processes of acknowledgment, story-telling and grieving.

This ideological frame is only indirectly an ideology of social order. Its target is mainly the individual, but because of this psychological focus it also tends to interpret social change (and health) as being the sum of individual traumas and recoveries/rehabilitation.

This conceptualization is premised on an agency view of social change. Therapeutic intervention processes are seen as the primary need that allows individuals to re-engage in social relations. Without such healing, social development is stifled and social order is precarious.

The focus of this ideological frame is also on the local rather than the national context. The relationship between the individual victim and their friends, relatives and other social support structures are deemed central in the healing process, and it is within the local setting that the various support structures which may play such a role are mainly located.

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[4] While this is mainly an approach that focuses on individuals, there is also a parallel line of argument

The Healing frame is one that engages both with harmony and confrontation. These are perhaps best seen as two stages of a recovery process. Initially individuals who are at an early stage of recovery need to avoid confrontation because of their vulnerability. There is a need to retreat to a safe space, and only when some sense of security has been re-established is it possible (and psychologically necessary) to re-engage with that which is seen as threatening. The enemy (whether real or imaginary, internal or external) has to be confronted in order for the individual to overcome it (or live with it).

The type of relationships that this ideological frame is concerned with are those that fall within the ubuntu rather than the contractual framework. The healing process is largely one of rebuilding relationships in which trust, empathy and understanding are possible.

The Healing frame is mute on issues of autonomy and unification.

The strongest proponents of this ideological frame were TRC staff (particularly those with a psychological background) and some NGO staff involved in providing services to victims. Victims also often spoke of their psychological need to overcome the past, and some leaders (particularly ANC-aligned) also felt the TRC process should be geared towards the healing of victims.

> The Reparations and Rehabilitation Committee views the psycho-social support as essential to the reconciliation process …. [TRC]

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regarding the psychological health of a group that needs to cope with victimization, loss and grief.

At the intra-level there has to be reconciliation between personal and broader experience. It is the psychological equivalent of re-integration. It is not a cozy concept. There must be room for anger, frustration and ugly scenes. But there is no room in the TRC created for this, because its concept of reconciliation is too flowery religious. [TRC]

We need mechanisms that allow people to move from personal positions that the past induces (e.g., the anger of Hani's wife). Central in this mechanism should be enabling people to dialogue. Creating the space to deal with the past is the first step. A second step is taking them beyond this position. [TRC]

Before looking at reconciliation, we need to ask whether we have really given everyone the chance to talk. If not, is it really possible to engage in reconciliation? If this is still underneath, can we move forward? If we take the analogy of the wound that has to be opened up to clean out the sepsis seriously, we must ask whether this has been sufficiently dealt with. Before reconciliation there must be a pre-reconciliation phase that focuses on cleaning the wounds. [TRC]

> The TRC has mainly focused on the political and social transformation aspects of reconciliation because it has been a mainly political struggle. The spiritual, psychological and cultural aspects of reconciliation still need to be addressed. [NGO]

4. Linkages between Ideological Frames and Principles

The ideological frames outlined align themselves along different lines depending on which principle is being contended. The Human Rights and Inter-Communal frames are, for example, both in favor of structural interventions that are top-down in orientation. On the principles of Unity versus Autonomy and Harmony versus Confrontation they are, however, divided. All the ideological frames are similarly in agreement on some principles and divided on others. A table showing these ideological frames in terms of the principles identified provides an overview of the areas of probable contestation and agreement among different ideological frames.

Table 11.1: Connections between Ideological Frames and Principles

	PRINCIPLES				
	Main Factor Bringing about	**Locus of Reconciliation Initiative**	**Basic Nature of a Reconciled**	**Form of Relationship in Reconciled**	**Best Way of Pursuing Social**

	Reconciliation		Society	Society	Change
Human Rights	structural	top-down	unification	contract	confront
Non-Racialism	structural	top-down	unification	community	confront
Inter-Communal	structural	top-down	autonomy	contract & community	harmony
Moral Conversion	agency	---	---	community	confront
Community Building	agency	bottom-up	---	community	harmony & confront
Healing/ Therapy	agency	bottom-up	---	community	harmony & confront

Different ideologies are divided around different principles. The principles of a top-down versus bottom-up approach to reconciliation is one that divides the Human Rights, Non-Racialism and Inter-Communal frames (top-down) from the Community Building and Healing frames (bottom-up). These are also frames that argue for a structuralist intervention and which take sides in the debate over unification versus autonomy.

5. Stakeholder Divisions over Ideological Frames

Different ideological frames were prevalent among different stakeholders. The following table indicates the ideological frame possessed by each stakeholder group.

Table 11.2: Ideological Frames and Stakeholders

STAKEHOLDERS

	Community					TRC	NGO
	Victims	**Ex-Combatnts**	**NP Leaders**	**IFP Leaders**	**ANC Leaders**		
Human Rights				***	******	******	
Non-Racialism					******	******	******

Inter-Communal			******	***		***	
Moral Conversion	******	******			******	******	******
Community Building	******	******		***			******
Healing/ Therapy	******				***	******	******

****** indicates broad acceptance of this ideological frame within this interviewee category

*** indicates some acceptance of this ideological frame within this interviewee category

This table shows which ideological frames particular stakeholder groups appear to possess. The most widely held ideological frame was that of Moral Conversion. This reflects the power of religious discourse around the question of reconciliation. Even those who did not possess this view of reconciliation (NP and IFP leaders), still strongly upheld religious notions of forgiveness and confession. They simply did not see these as applicable to the reconstruction of relationships.

The similarity between victim and ex-combatant conceptualizations of reconciliation are quite striking. These two groups find themselves in quite similar positions in society - marginalized from the political process and somewhat separated from their communities. They are both faced with problems of psychological, social and spiritual dimensions that are so severe that it sets them apart from others in their communities. They do not feel heard by their own leaders or by the processes of the TRC.

The table does not refer to differences between respondents in the two communities. This is because no clear differences were identified. While the dynamics in the two communities were quite distinct, the understanding of what reconciliation means - the ideological frameworks - appeared fairly consistent within respondent categories.

The one group whose conceptualization of reconciliation is not adequately captured by the frames presented is that of the IFP leaders. This may be because they draw from a framework of meaning that is not encapsulated by any of the hypothesized frameworks, or because the data-gathering process did not adequately collect information about their underlying framework of meaning.

The most isolated group - which had minimal overlap with the ideological framework of others - was the NP leaders. Their dominant ideological frame (Inter-Communal Understanding) was only shared, to a small degree, by IFP leaders and TRC staff. The NP leaders did not appear to draw on other ideological frames that characterized other groups. (The small number of NP leaders sampled may, however, also have biased this result by not giving a fuller spectrum of NP perspectives.)

The TRC drew from the widest range of ideological frames, with only the community building frame being absent from its repertoire. As was the case in the previous chapter where TRC support for competing principled approaches were found, this indicates both the diversity within the TRC as well as the lack of a clear, coherent position on reconciliation.

6. Conclusion

This chapter has examined some possible frameworks that could help explain the variance in different stakeholders' understanding of reconciliation. In relation to the context of community reconciliation in South Africa, respondents presented a plethora of different views. This analysis has attempted to draw out the common strands in these views - the common principled contentions and the frameworks of meaning that people draw from when making sense of the process of promoting reconciliation. These serve to illustrate how strategic positions are embedded in deeper frameworks of understanding that relate to question of social order and touch on issues of human nature.

The divisions between community and TRC perspectives are presented as tensions within a much more complex terrain of ideological disagreement. While this tension is clearly present in the competing strategies, and identifiable in the various principles of reconciliation, the ideological frames presented in this chapter show the multiple lines of divisions that create agreement and tension depending on the issue in question and the stakeholders' allegiance to particular ideological frames. Ideological frames provide a common language of meaning for some stakeholders while isolating others in the debate about the purpose and process of reconciliation.

The TRC's ambiguity around its own sense of purpose is reflected in the analysis of the competing ideological frames in which its staff believed. This allowed them, on the one hand, to build some commonality with almost all the stakeholders, but also gave it an incoherent vision. This lack of vision is very likely an important reason why it

initially created unrealistic expectations, and then fell back on a narrow interpretation of its mandate when dealing with victims and engaging communities.

The strategic contestations that were addressed in Chapters 8 and 9 are given new meaning when examined in light of the principled divisions and the underlying ideological frames described above. The variety of perspectives by different groups can be re-interpreted in terms of the different ideologies that these groups bring to bear on the issue. This re-interpretation will be taken up in the next chapter when the issue of justice is examined in more detail.