Chapter 2

Reconciliation: The Theoretical Context

1. Introduction

In this chapter the theoretical literature relating to reconciliation is reviewed. After looking at the ways in which the concept of reconciliation is treated by different conceptual frameworks of conflict resolution, the issue of relationships as a theoretical concept and its implications for intervention processes are unpacked. Second, a generic definition of reconciliation is developed that encompasses the competing interpretations within a broader framework. Third, the various substantive components of a reconciliation process (justice, truth, healing and security) are spelled out and examined.

Finally, the significance of this framework is discussed in relation to the different levels of reconciliation (national, community and inter-personal) as well as the relationship between these levels. In order to highlight the strain between top-down and bottom-up approaches, the debates about the causal connections between the different levels as well as the policy tensions regarding their prioritization are examined.

The chapter thus identifies three key dimensions of the reconciliation process: spheres of reconciliation referring to different aspects of relationships (identity, values,

attitudes and behavior), components of reconciliation referring to the different social needs of parties in conflict situations (justice, truth, healing and security), and levels of reconciliation that differentiate different societal levels of intervention (interpersonal, community and national). These dimensions form the theoretical framework within which the central research question of the dissertation is explored: the tension between top-down and bottom-up approaches to reconciliation.

2. Reconciliation and Conflict Resolution/Peace Building

The place of reconciliation within the broader conceptual framework of conflict resolution and peace building is contested within the theoretical literature. In part this arises from a divergence in the use of key conceptual terminology. But it also appears to be the result of deeper divisions regarding the understanding of the key sources of conflict and the underlying nature of human identity and social relations. While there is a growing consensus regarding the centrality of group identity and human needs[1] among many theorists, the way in which this is approached leads to different conceptual frameworks.

[1] Human needs refers to a theoretical assumption that humans have certain ontological needs that need to be accommodated by society and social structures. They form the basis for human motivation in opposing and transforming existing structures. See, for example, Burton (1990).

Central in this debate is the question of locating the causes or roots of violent protracted conflict.[2] Simply (or simplistically) stated this is a question of structure versus relationship. Both can be (and often are) defined in relation to identity and human needs. Structure is seen as an essential cause of conflict because it denies certain groups access to power, resources or other human needs. Relationships can similarly be seen as the basic cause of conflict because conflict requires two groups to have mutually exclusive definitions of their identities and for them to perceive their differences as conflictual.

The conceptual frameworks developed by Mitchell (1981) and Kraybill (1996) demonstrate these contrasting approaches.

[2] The debate is also relevant in analysing and addressing less serious forms of conflict, but the focus here is on conflict that is variously defined as deep-rooted, protracted, violent, intractable, or identity-based.

a) Structure as Cause

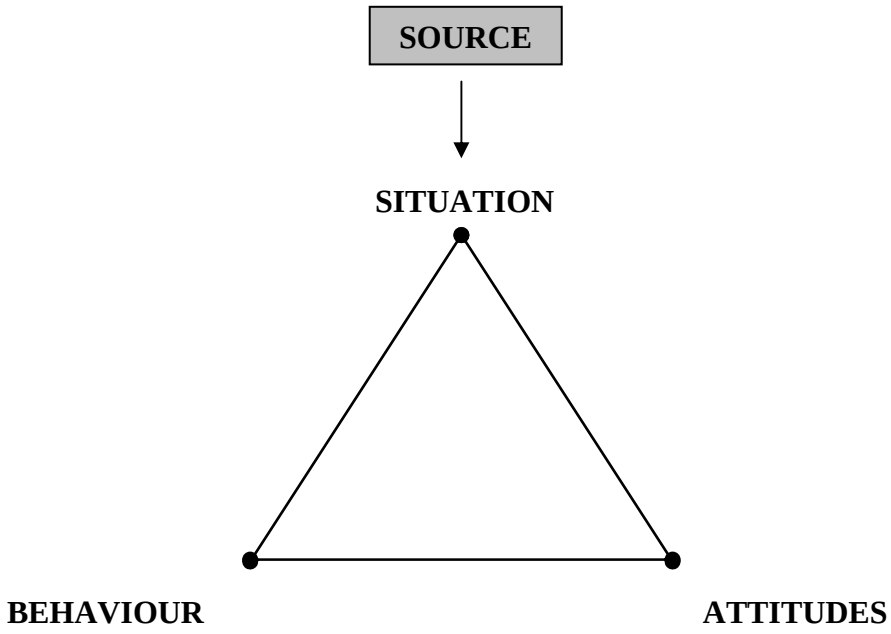

Figure 2.1: Structure as Cause of Conflict

Mitchell's framework[3] (1981, p. 17) locates the sources of conflict within the conflict situation - "any situation in which two or more social entities or 'parties' …… perceive that they possess mutually incompatible goals." Social structure is identified as a key source of goal incompatibility because it determines the distribution of valued resources and positions.

Conflict attitudes are given a less central position within this framework, being relegated to the position of an exacerbating factor. Conflict attitudes are thus defined as

[3] Mitchell developed this framework based on ideas developed by Galtung (1969)

"Common patterns of expectation, emotional orientation, and perception which accompany involvement in a conflict situation" (1981, p. 28)

Mitchell draws a distinction between expressive and instrumental approaches to conflict. His view is that the main sources of conflict arise from the realistic pursuit of goals, rather than from the psychological processes determining a party's emotions, attitudes and perceptions (fear, hostility, anger or aggression shared by large and small groups of individuals). Mitchell, however, recognizes that:

> Conflict attitudes often become key factors in later states of disputes, and in the continuation (and even extension) of the conflict when the original situation has altered so that it no longer seems sufficient reason for continuing. (p. 28)

Deutsch (1991, p. 47) also makes a similar point:

> Some conflicts appear to take on a life of their own. They continue even though the issues which initially gave rise to them have been forgotten or become irrelevant.

Mitchell examines the development of group identity as a component of the psychological dimensions of conflict. The development of a positive own-party image and a negative enemy image are seen as processes that meet various psychological needs

(such as cognitive consistency and stress reduction), especially for individuals and groups involved in conflict situations.

In discussing different types of social relationships, Mitchell emphasizes the central role of a party's goals in defining what sort of relationship exists between it and another party, incompatibility being characterized by enmity and congruent goals by alignment (p. 24).

Similar to Mitchell's framework, Dugan (1996) also builds a conceptual model which places relationships in a secondary position vis-à-vis structural concerns. Her "nested view of conflict" is portrayed by the following diagram:

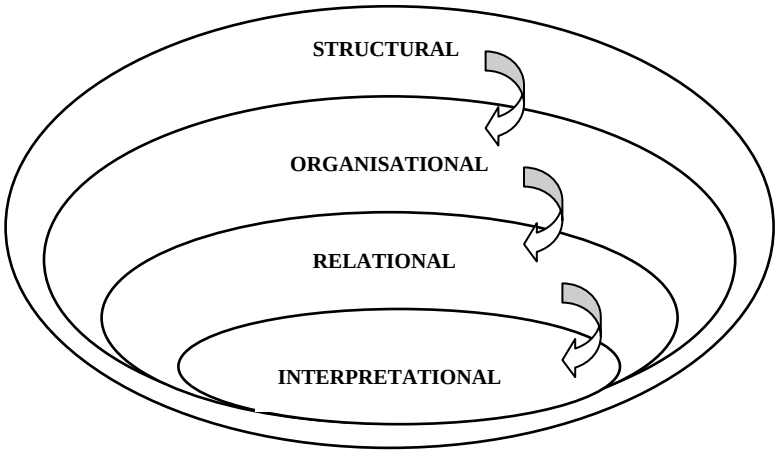

Figure 2.2: Nested View of Conflict

Each sphere represents a more complex type as one moves to the outermost circle. Each type contains elements of the other conflict types embedded within it. Accordingly,

structural conflicts (either systemic or sub-system/organizational) give rise to relational and interpretational manifestations. While Dugan recognizes that relational conflicts can exist without a broader context of a structural conflict, a conflict that has structural dimensions is seen as giving rise to relational conflict, rather than vice-versa.

b) Relationships as Cause

In contrast, the framework presented by Kraybill (1996) places much greater emphasis on the relational component as a cause of conflict.

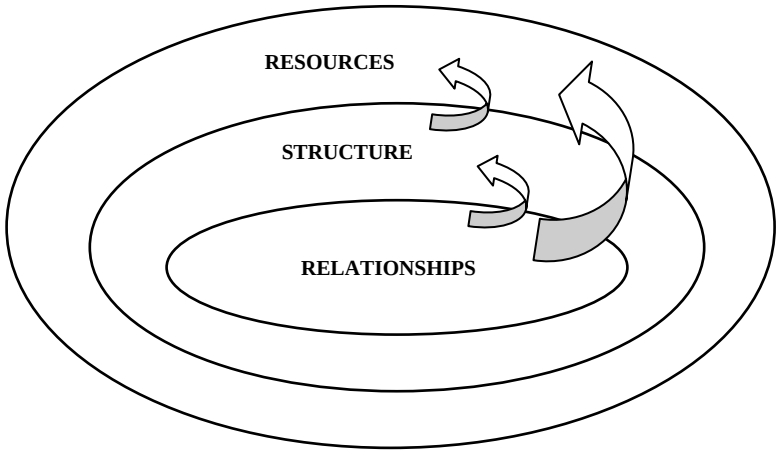

Figure 2.3: Relationships as Cause

This framework

> places human relationships at the center of the peace-building task. Structures - by which I refer to the human institutions which formalize power to make decisions and mobilize resources[4] - are here viewed as an outgrowth and expression of the nature of the relationships between people. ….. problems in these outer spheres are mere symptoms of underlying causes in the inner sphere. (Kraybill, 1996, chapter 6)

He goes on to argue that:

> Resources and structures are secondary expressions of the relationships which lie at the center of conflict; problems in these outer spheres are mere symptoms of underlying causes in the inner sphere. They are painful and extremely costly symptoms to be sure, and sometimes they are the only place accessible to efforts to begin addressing the central problem. But if the problem of alienation and exclusion at the relationship level is not somehow addressed, discussions about structures and resources are incapable of leading to shalom.

This emphasis on reconciliation as the key dimension of intervention contrasts starkly with that of Mitchell and Dugan. Rather than engage with the question of whether these deep issues of identity and relationship are primary or secondary, it may be

[4] This definition of structure seems to parallel Mitchell's understanding of the term and provides a

more useful to examine the need for separate relationship-focused intervention that could complement structurally oriented conflict resolution processes.

c) Relationship and Structure as Equal Foci of Peace Building

Galtung (1995) proposes a peace-building orientation that is based on three pillars: reconstruction (repair physical damage), resolution (development of acceptable structures) and reconciliation (cultural change related to the human dimension of the conflict). While Galtung focuses on structures as the causal component, each of the three pillars are needed to support the overall objective of building peace. Rather than a model that prioritizes one, they are interdependent components of the broader process, none of which can be pursued in isolation of the others.

Such a complementary approach steps beyond the question of causality and looks at different dimensions of conflict intractability. There appears to be some agreement about the need to address all aspects, and the inability of one-dimensional intervention to bring about lasting change.

Rather than speculate about the primacy of one or the other, this study will assume that reconciliation and other conflict resolution processes (a generic term for processes that bring about a change in the structural causes of conflict) are interdependent. Reconciliation can not proceed indefinitely if the fundamental structures that are perceived as causal factors are not also transformed. In practice, it is also unlikely that any intervention is purely aimed at impacting simply on one sphere (either

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useful general definition.

structures, resources or relationships). Conceptually, these are, however, defined as separate processes.

d) Implications for Intervention

Each framework (structure or relationship as causal) has its own implications for intervention - resolving the conflict and building peace.

From a structure-as-cause perspective the fundamental goal is to change the structure, or to change the perception that the structure impedes the attainment of certain valued goals (e.g. through redefining the goals in such a way that they are not perceived as incompatible). The question of relationships would not necessarily have to be seen as unproblematic, but it would be a secondary process - either one that needs to be addressed in order to create the conditions for addressing the *real* issues, or as a *post-conflict* problem to mop up any residual animosity.

Dugan (1996) recognizes the need for a multi-level intervention for conflicts that involve conflicts that have structural causes: different strategic foci on each of the embedded spheres that are contained in the conflict.

From the relationship-as-cause perspective, any intervention must directly address relationship issues in order to bring about lasting peace. One can start by addressing the resources or structures (and these are essential components that need attention), but the most fundamental challenge is that of restoring (or building new) constructive relationships. Conflictual relationships need to be transformed into constructive ones. Reconciliation can be seen as a movement along a relationship continuum from the negative towards the positive end.

For Kraybill there are broad categories of intervention which fit each sphere of the conflict: bargaining to address resource distribution, transformation to address the structural realm, and reconciliation to address relational restoration (or transformation).

While Galtung (1995, p. 47) leans towards a structural approach, he cautions:

> Against starting with resolution only: this is looking backward. The conflict produced the violence; it is essential to uproot, or at least soften those causes. What is forgotten are the new conflicts produced by the violence. People have been deprived of their lives and their livelihood. Their goal was to destroy them; a contradiction, to put it mildly. More likely than not this contradiction will loom higher on people's minds in the aftermath of a war than whatever were the roots of the original conflict.

All these perspectives recognize the need for processes that deal with issues of relationships at some level. For two groups who have to live side by side and co-operate on a daily basis, deeper forms of social transformation that go beyond conventional conflict resolution are required - processes that address individual and public socio-psychological attitudes regarding the former enemy and the traumatic events that transpired during the conflict.

e) Reconciliation as Continuous: Not Pre- or Post-Conflict

A number of theorists also emphasize the need to address reconciliation at every stage of the conflict. Juan Gutierrez of the Gernika Gogoratuz Peace Research Centre speaks of the horizon of reconciliation - the commitment to overcome the legacy of the past and address resolution and reconstruction in the pursuit of a common destiny. In a proposal by Gernika Gogoratuz (1996) it is argued

> UNESCO's founding statement sets forth "…that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed". Peace is born in the mind when reconciliation horizon opens, and commitment to reconstruction and resolution is created.

The process of reconciliation can only be initiated if there is a will to overcome the legacy of the past and parties can engage in conceptualizing the meaning of a reconciled society. Shriver (1995, p. 178) similarly lays much emphasis on the ability of:

> … the politically excluded to include excluders in their own political vision and then to proceed politically to weaken the powers of exclusion… [and] … hold out the possibility that the latter may yet become their civic, political friends.

The hope or anticipation of a new moral community is an essential precondition motivating parties in the painful process of social reconstruction. Once the process of

reconciliation starts, this vision becomes a mutually constructed one, developed through the process of reaching agreement on each of the other conditions.

Burgess (1992), commenting on the role of the church in bringing about reconciliation, identifies the need to draw the victimizers into the process by holding out the prospect of re-incorporation. "Without confession, there can be no forgiveness; it may be just as true, however, that without forgiveness, there will never be confession." (p. 625)

At some point in the reconciliation process the vision of a reconciled society also needs to become real for those who would be classified as victimizers. The acts of apology, repentance and confession are themselves also expressions of a belief in the possibility of a new reconciled society. Victimization of the enemy only made sense in a context where the culture of violence and dehumanization of the enemy gave legitimacy to these actions. They lose their legitimacy once a new society is envisioned or anticipated - one where the humanity of the enemy is respected.

3. The Meaning of Relationship: Spheres of Reconciliation

In addressing the question of resolving the relational element of the conflict these theorists, however, do not provide sufficient guidance as to what exactly needs to be changed. While there is some agreement that relationships are an appropriate focus of intervention, what is meant by a relational conflict (or the relational component of the conflict) is somewhat ambivalently defined. Relationship can be defined as a spiritual or

socio-psychological variable (e.g. partnership versus friendship) or as a structural characteristic of interaction (e.g. interdependence versus independence). The meaning of relationship thus requires further clarification.

a) Relationship as a Theoretical Construct

Part of the confusion may be cultural. The terms we use to describe various relationships are clearly culturally embedded. Relationship categories that we use are abstractions that make sense within a particular cultural setting: community, friendship, lovers, partners, allies, competitors, enemies - these are types of relationships that carry different meanings in different societies. They call up different expectations of the attitudes and accompanying forms of behavior in each culture. Forming a relationship across cultural boundaries thus requires negotiating its constituent attitudinal and behavioral components.

Looking at the way the term is used in the literature, four spheres of a relationship can be abstracted: identity, values relating to interactions, attitudes, and patterns of interaction.

i) Identity

A central aspect of many approaches to the concept of a relationship, is the question of identity. This sphere of a relationship can be approached from a number of angles. Firstly, it is used to refer to the strong dividing lines that differentiate identity groups - the various internal markers that allow for internal cohesion of a group. This is in contrast to the overlaps or commonalities that may be found among groups, such as

identification with a particular entity (or identifier) that encompasses both parties. This super-ordinate identity does not necessarily mean a breaking down of sub-identities.

Secondly, part of the concept of relationship in the literature is also determined by the question of each party's own identity in relation to the other. How a group (or an individual) defines itself is often deeply connected with how it defines the enemy or any "other" group that is "not-us." . If an antagonistic relationship has existed over a number of centuries, the sense of who one is, is often deeply affected by how that group has interacted with the other (especially if strong memories of victimization are involved). A change in relationship thus implies a change in the way a group defines itself and the enemy. A definition of a group is built around that which differentiates it from others. This differentiation is often presented or experienced as a positive-negative contrast to build up a relative sense of self-worth.

ii) Values Relating to Interaction

A second element implicit in the reconciliation literature is the different types of values regarding interaction and sense of connectedness on which a relationship is based. In-group and between-group interaction is based on values inherent in a culture or on those developed in relation to a specific interaction. These values determine things like what are acceptable forms of behavior, what are legitimate expectations, and what are appropriate ways of dealing with conflict and disagreements. Sometimes these values are codified (such as International Human Rights Declarations or apartheid laws), but often they are implicitly understood as conventions of behavior.

iii) Attitudes

A third dimension of relationships is the commonly identified variable of attitudes between conflicting parties. In conflict situations there are typical attitude changes that accompany an escalation of conflict, such as mistrust, anger, stereotyping, etc.

Mitchell (1981: 29) classifies these in terms of two broad categories:

> (i) Emotional orientations, such as feelings of anger, distrust, resentment, scorn, fear, envy or suspicion of the intentions of others.
> (ii) Cognitive processes, such as stereotyping, or a refusal to accept non-conforming information in an endeavour to maintain a consistent structure of beliefs about the outside world (and especially about an adversary).

One can also look at the attitudes of parties to the relationship itself. Mitchell (1984: 70) distinguishes between legitimized relationships and non-legitimized relationships.

> Classifying relationships into those which are legitimised and those which are not returns us to the question of criteria. In seeking legitimacy, how one categorises a particular relationship involves no recognition of some quality *inherent in the relationship itself*. Characterising a relationship as 'legitimised' or 'non-legitimised' involves an assessment of the views, feelings or attitudes of the entities involved. (emphasis in the original)

iv) Patterns of Interaction

The various patterns of conflictual and cooperative behavior examined in the literature on conflict resolution are themselves also a component of the relationship. These patterns of interaction include issues such as the level (and quality) of communication, the presence and level of coercion or violence, the exchange of goods and services.

Patterns of interaction also impact on the way that images of and attitudes towards other parties are re-enforced. Stereotypes depend on lack of interaction and exposure. Mistrust depends on isolation and parties' inclination not to take risks. These behavior patterns have to be changed for change in any other sphere to become possible. Negative behavior by one party reinforces negative attitudes by the other party, and negative attitudes fuel negative interaction. Conversely, positive behavior can show a party's willingness to take risks. Reciprocal positive behavior then feeds into a progressive trust building process, and ultimately a cooperative pattern of interaction.

b) Spheres of Reconciliation

Reconciliation involves a change of relationship between groups divided by conflict - a movement towards a more cooperative relationship. Firstly, at the heart of any fundamental reconciliation, many authors argue, is the recognition of the humanity of the other party, a recognition of their right to exist. Inherent in such a change is the reconstruction of individual group identities and definition of oneself in relation to the other party. Group identity and self-image needs to be defined in such a way that it does not negatively reflect on that of the other party. Secondly, reconciliation is understood to also involve the creation of a new moral order based on consensus around values that encourage cooperation. Thirdly, an attitudinal aspect is identified - the need to adjust

attitudes to overcome the fear, anger and vengefulness which characterizes a conflict situation. Fourthly, patterns of interaction between adversaries are also identified as requiring a re-orientation towards mutually beneficial outcomes and an engagement in risk-taking forms of interaction in order to build trust in the realization and repetition of mutually beneficial patterns of interactions.

Reconciliation thus has to address the four spheres of relationship identified earlier: identity, values guiding interaction, attitudes and patterns of interaction. Using Dugan's conceptual tool of an embedded model, reconciliation can be represented as four concentric circles.

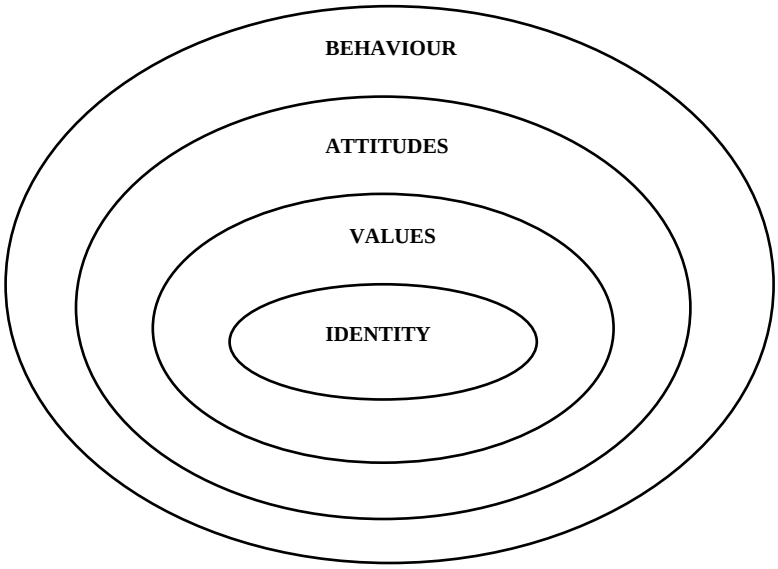


Figure 2.4: Spheres of Reconciliation

The outermost circle is that of patterns of interaction (essentially cooperative versus conflictual). The second circle represents attitudes that can be negative or positive

towards an enemy. The third sphere is the value system guiding interaction - the basic understanding of what constitutes fair or appropriate forms of behavior between groups and individuals. A change in this sphere implies a change in the underlying attitudes and patterns of interaction. Fourthly and most fundamentally is the sphere of identity (both self and enemy). If there are clearly defined self and enemy identities in a conflict situation, especially ones that deny the humanity or the right of existence of the enemy there is little scope for changes in values, attitudes or behavior.

One can thus talk of different spheres of reconciliation as well as the extent of the change at each sphere.

i) Reconciliation and Patterns of Interaction

Patterns of interaction are often the most visible face of reconciliation. They may be superficial indicators and temporary phenomena, but because of their observability, they are important indicators between parties of their respective underlying attitudes and values, and can convey intentions regarding future orientation. When mutually beneficial patterns of cooperation become firmly entrenched and their continued repetition are seen as fundamental to the promotion of the interests of both parties, their significance becomes even greater.

Breaking conflictual behavior patterns can similarly be beneficial. Breaking cycles of revenge, attempts to increase communication (both sending and receiving information), risk-taking, and other de-escalatory moves can be the beginning of a reconciliation process. These behavior patterns (especially communication processes)

are also essential in facilitating other forms of change at any stage of a reconciliation process.

ii) Reconciliation and Attitudes

Attitudes are also often very discernible. Hatred, fear, distrust and the desire for vengeance are clear manifestations of conflict relationships. The transforming of these into respect, trust and forgiveness (or even neutrality of emotion) are common indicators of reconciliation.

A peace-building process requires the reversal of the attitudes that characterize a conflict situation. These attitudes can be addressed through a range of intervention techniques. Some conflict resolution approaches, for example, explicitly address some of these factors during a conflict resolution process, particularly trust-building and undermining stereotypes. Interventions by third parties may also focus purely on attitudinal factors. Cultural sensitivity training is an example of an intervention focused on inter-group attitudinal change.[5]

Kraybill (1996: chapter 6) outlines the building of trust as a process that is gradually developed:

> Trust takes time and effort to build, and the only way to build it is through taking risks. In the beginning, trust may be low, so risks that are taken are low too. But as trust grows, bigger risks are taken, leading to

[5] Cultural sensitivity training is sometimes simply about changing the attitudes between two groups. It can, however, also focus on deeper value changes, i.e. changes in values about how to understand and respect people who are different.

increased trust. Where people live in a state of shalom, risk and trust expand in an on-going cycle, and the relationship moves to an ever deepening plane.

iii) Reconciliation and Values Guiding Interaction

Werbner (1995) contrasts two conceptions of human relationship: that which is conceived as a social contract and that of a moral partnership. The former (using the ideas of Locke) rely on a civic culture and a dependence on citizens' individual rights and obligations. The latter (using Burke) sees enduring relationships between the living, the dead and the yet to be born, arising from an deeply seated sense of connectedness.

Brummer (1994) similarly identifies three basic types of relationship that imply three different forms of reconciliation: manipulative, contractual and fellowship. Restoring a manipulative relationship implies not addressing the structural dimension of the conflict. Restoring a contractual relationship means basing the connection between the parties on certain rights and duties towards each other. In creating a relationship of fellowship, both parties choose to serve the interests of the other and not primarily their own, or identify themselves with their partner by treating the partner's interests as their own. Brummer argues that these fellowship-based relationships are the ones that play an essential role in defining our identity.

Both Brummer and Werbner identify different value frames on which relationships are based. Leaving out the manipulative type (as it contradicts the peace-building framework discussed earlier), the distinction between fellowship (moral partnership) and (social) contractual relationships is one that relates to the values upon

which the relationship is built. These values may be embedded in cultural belief systems (e.g. modern western individualism versus traditional small-scale society communalism) or an expression of a differentiation of in-group versus out-group relations.

In this sphere of relationship, change (towards reconciliation) means building a new value frame where one had not previously existed (e.g., moving from interaction based purely on power to one that is guided or circumscribed by certain values), or changing from one value frame to another (e.g., developing a sense of fellowship where interaction was previously based on a self-serving partnership).

Repairing the social fabric requires the construction of a new basis for social order. Rather than simply the establishment of new social, political and economic institutions, this requires a new social contract or a new moral order. Tavuchis (1991: 103), for example, emphasizes the role of collective apologies in producing an official record which serves as a public representation of the collectivity's moral self-image. Jose Zalaquett (1994, pp. 9-10) also views the role of culture and values as central in preventing future conflict:

> Building or reconstructing a morally just order entails building a political culture and setting in place values, institutions and policies that will guard against the recurrence of the type of atrocities committed in the past.

Groups generally appear to have different value systems regarding interaction with members of their own group versus those values which define acceptable out-group

interaction. On the one hand, these sub-sets of values can be changed, but a more fundamental change in the relationship would arise from a change in the definition of group boundaries, i.e., changing identity.

iv) Reconciliation and Identity

Broadly speaking, changing the identity sphere of a relationship may mean redefining the boundaries which distinguish (or characterize) groups, developing a new evaluation of difference as not being better or worse, or building new over-arching unifying sources of identification which lessen the importance of (what would then be defined as) sub-group differentiation.

A meaning that is often given to the term reconciliation is that of "reconciling people with their history." The meaning of this is captured by Correa (1992, p. 493):

> Men and women not only need to reconcile with each other, but also need to reconcile themselves as a people. They need to reconcile their own history as a nation. History is their mirror and, in order to reconcile themselves, they first need to recognize themselves in that mirror.

The images of self and enemy become distorted, simplified and rigid when parties are embroiled in conflict. At one level these images are about the question of attitudes between parties, but they also relate to the question of a party's identity - how it understands its history and the boundaries between itself and others. These images need to be re-evaluated through confrontation with the facts of the past, and through assessing

the fundamental basis upon which a group defines itself as separate from and/or connected to other groups.

c) A Definition of Reconciliation

Many approaches to reconciliation define it as an outcome - an end state that is probably only partially achieved in any situation involving violent protracted conflict. A more promising approach to defining the term is to refer to the process of promoting reconciliation - the procedures that address the various needs of the parties and the relationship-building initiatives required to move parties closer to an ideal end state.

The conceptual problem this presents is to decide what to include as part of the actual reconciliation process, rather than the pre-reconciliation process. If reconciliation refers to a change of values, identity and attitudes (as defined above), the process of change is an ongoing one. Just as it will never reach an ultimate end-state of perfection, it also does not start from a pure state of alienation or enmity. There is always movement along the spectrum within different spheres of a society or even within different sub-components of a single relationship.

The processes that can be focused upon as reconciliation processes would be most usefully (theoretically) confined to ***all initiatives which bring together, or engage, both sides in a pursuit of changing identity, values regarding interaction, attitudes, and patterns of interaction that move them to a more cooperative relationship***.

4. Dimensions of Reconciliation

Through the above discussion one key dimension of the reconciliation process has been explained: spheres of relationship that can be changed (identity, values, attitudes and behavior). Two other dimensions of reconciliation that need to be examined in some detail in this chapter are: substantive components of reconciliation (justice, truth, healing and security); and social levels of reconciliation (national, community and individual).

These three dimensions are presented here as analytical tools to highlight certain aspects of the reconciliation process, particularly for the research goal of examining the competing interpretations of the TRC's intervention in local communities. Their utility in relation to the research are spelled out in Chapter 7. Firstly, in this chapter, a clear understanding of the meaning of the three dimensions needs to be developed.

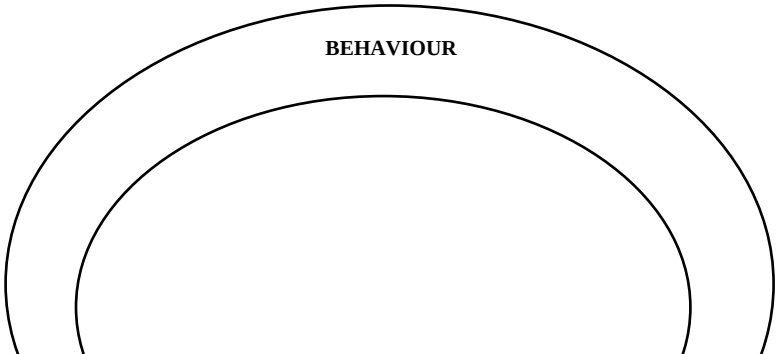
In brief, the three dimensions each refer to a different way of dissecting the process of reconciliation. The first dimension has already been identified as spheres of reconciliation. In one sense this dimension can be viewed as the manifestations of reconciliation. The different spheres refer to the depth of the reconciliation among parties, each sphere being embedded in a deeper one. Superficial reconciliation, for example, being simply manifested by a change in behavior, while more transformative changes affect the value bases or identities of parties (and, as a consequence, also the behavior and attitude spheres).

The second dimension is the substantive components of reconciliation. This dimension refers more to the issues involved in the process of facilitating reconciliation. Conflict disrupts society and undermines certain social needs. Four key needs identified in the literature around reconciliation (and discussed later in this chapter) are justice,

truth, healing and security. These concerns need to be addressed in a reconciliation process. Addressing the needs of one party can not be done in isolation. These needs can only be addressed through interaction and exchange. The analytical separation of these different components allows the dissertation to focus more closely on one dimension, justice, mainly as a way of illustrating how its nature, treatment and effects are differently conceptualized by competing reconciliation approaches (specifically top-down and bottom-up approaches).

The third dimension is that of social levels. Reconciliation can happen at the individual, community or national level. The debates that are central to this dissertation are: whether one level should take precedence, whether they are interdependent and whether focusing too exclusively on one level may in fact undermine processes at other levels. The tension identified is mainly between top-down and bottom-up approaches to reconciliation. The top-down approach views reconciliation as a process that should primarily be addressed through interventions at the national public, or among political elites. The bottom-up approach, in contrast, favors interventions aimed at changing relationships at the community and interpersonal levels.

Diagramatically these three dimensions are most appropriately understood in terms of a cone. The horizontal cross-section of the cone reveals the concentric circles of the different spheres of reconciliation:



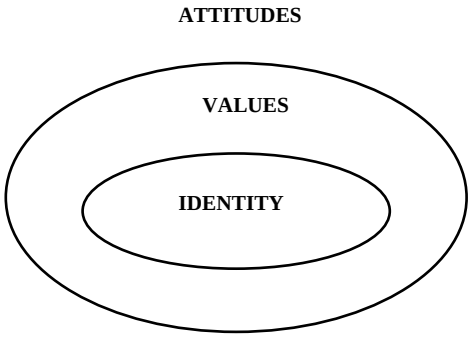


Figure 2.4: Spheres of Reconciliation

Reconciliation can also be examined in terms of substantive components of reconciliation. Diagramatically this could be presented by a circle with radiating lines that separate out the different components of reconciliation:

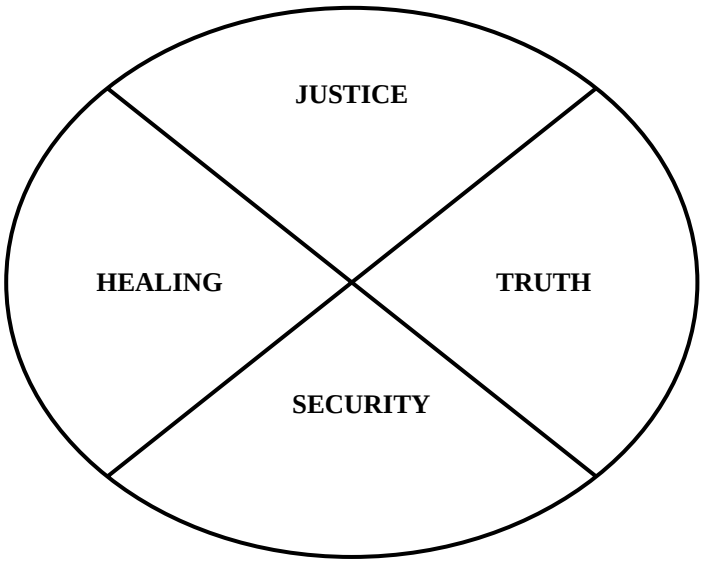


Figure 2.5: Components of Reconciliation

These two figures can be joined into one representation of two dimensions of reconciliation:

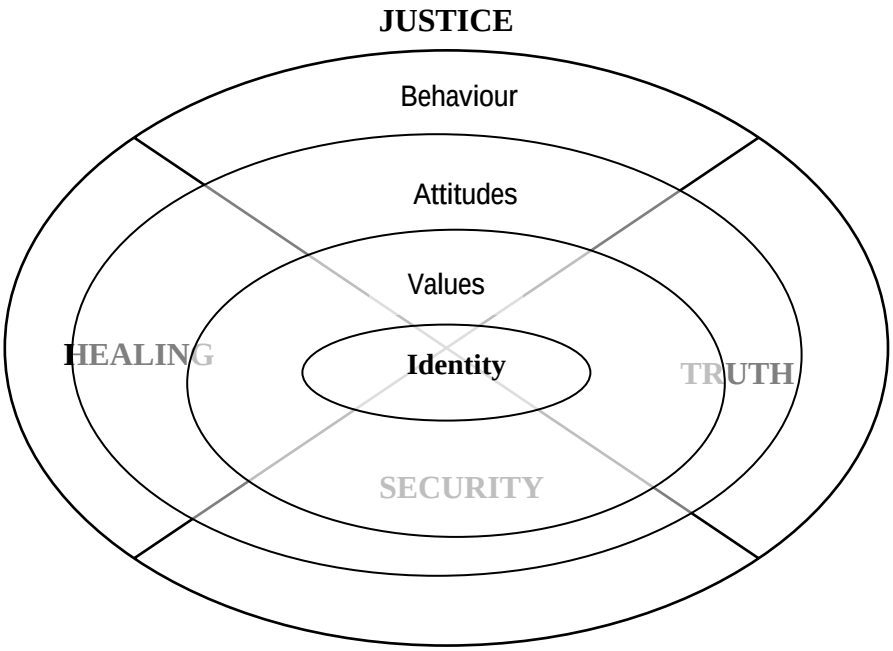
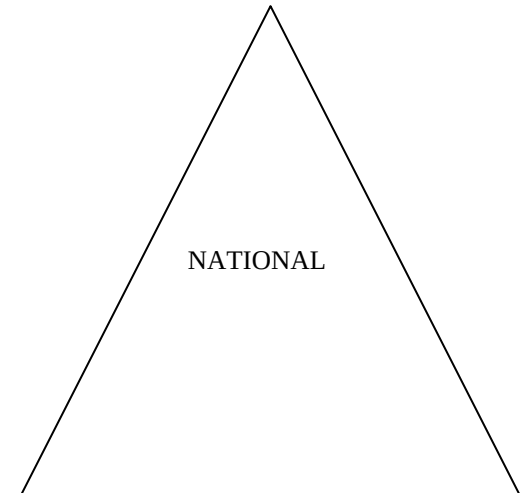


Figure 2.6: Spheres and Components of Reconciliation

The third dimension is one that gives the above circle a vertical dimension. Levels of reconciliation (interpersonal, community and national) divide the diagram in horizontal slices:



COMMUNITY

INTERPERSONAL

Figure 2.7: Levels of Reconciliation

These three figures (2.4,2. 5 and 2.7) can be combined into a three-dimensional diagram that provide a generic picture of reconciliation.

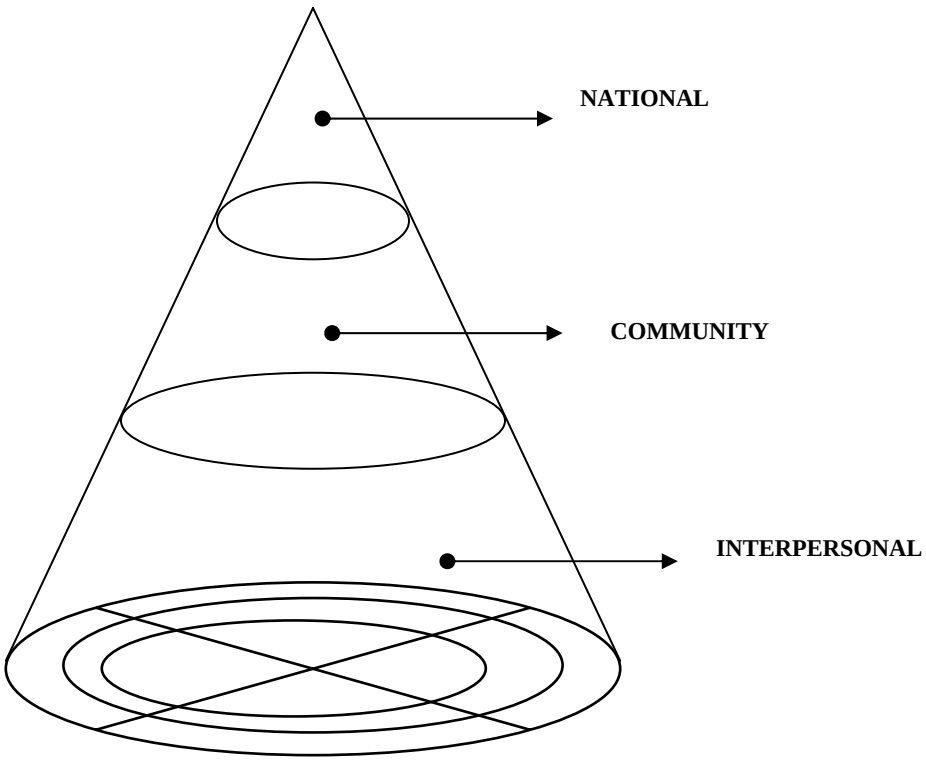


Figure 2.8: Three-Dimensional Model of Reconciliation

5. Components of Reconciliation: Substantive Issues of the Process

The first dimension of reconciliation identified above was that of spheres (identity, values, attitudes and behavior). The second dimension was that of components of reconciliation, which will now be examined in more detail.

a) Components of Reconciliation: Addressing Social Needs

The components of reconciliation are the issues that need to be addressed for reconciliation to be furthered. These issues are the non-structural substantive concerns that parties have regarding the way their relationship is composed or managed. These concerns are issues that affect both sides of a conflict and that can only partially be addressed by each party in isolation. For one party to move to a resolution of these concerns means that the other party would be affected or would have to make an input. Rather than being defined as preconditions of reconciliation, which implies a cause-effect connection and a view of reconciliation as a product/outcome, these factors are treated as substantive continuums along which the parties can move.

Substantive components of reconciliation are essentially the relationship issues that are disrupted by conflict dynamics. In order to improve relationships a reconstruction of certain mutually dependent social needs is required. Without

addressing these needs to some extent a functional community that is based on some form of acceptable interdependence is not possible.

The literature on reconciliation identifies a number of these substantive components of reconciliation. There are a number of commonalities in the views of different authors, but also some areas of disagreement.

Lederach (1994) develops three ways of looking at reconciliation: reconciliation as relationship, reconciliation as encounter, and reconciliation as social space. The last of these refers to the place where the traditionally paradoxical concepts of justice, peace, mercy and truth intersect. Diagramatically this may be presented as:

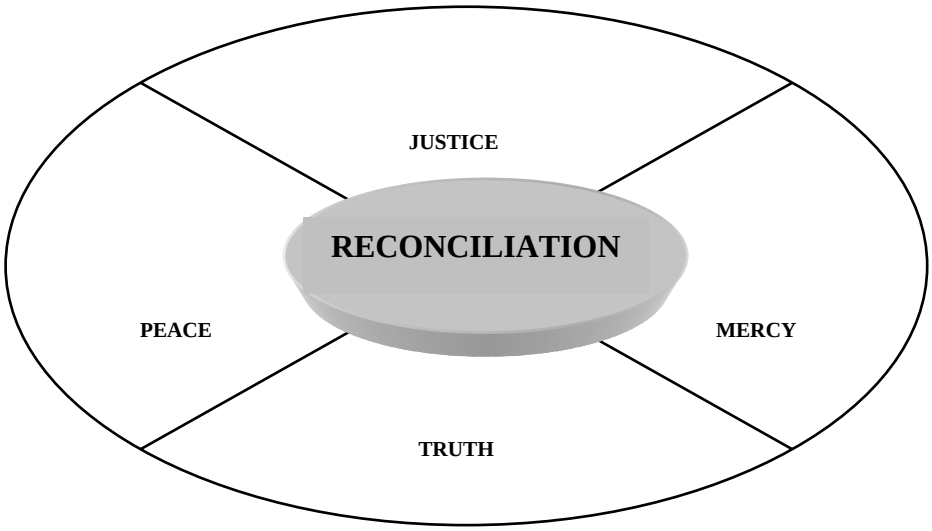


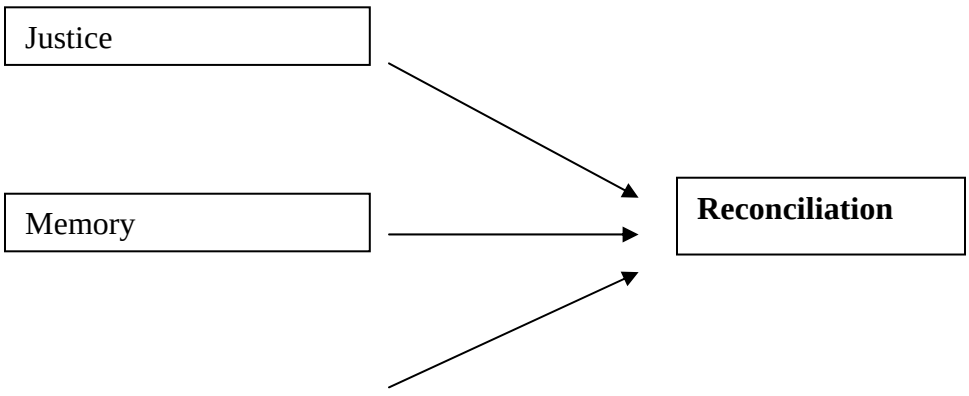
Figure 2.9: Lederach's Components of Reconciliation

Justice encompasses the ideas of equality, right relationships, making things right, and restitution; truth refers to acknowledgment, honesty, revelation, and clarity; mercy refers to acceptance, grace, support, compassion, and healing; and peace refers to harmony, unity, well being, security, and respect. Reconciliation is thus treated here as outcome, one that is a more broadly inclusive term than defined in this dissertation, as it is seen by Lederach as incorporating conflict resolution processes.

Shriver (1995, p. 217) infers a model of a reconciliation process that relies on justice, memory and hope for community. He argues:

> No 'new integration' will ever be possible between enemies in a struggle over social justice without their mutual achievement of a new memory of the past, a new justice in the present, and a new hope for community in the still-to-be-achieved future.

Thus a diagrammatic representation would be:

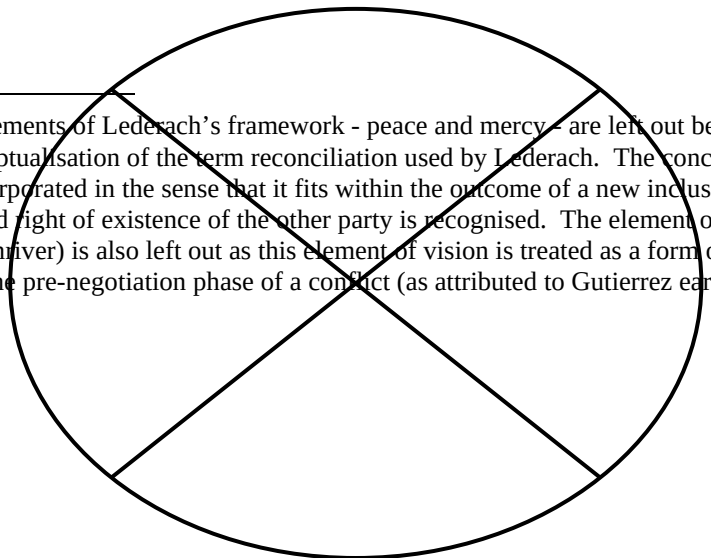


Hope for Community

Figure 2.10: Shriver's Components of Reconciliation

As implied in the above diagram, Shriver's model is one that sees the processes of addressing the three substantive components as necessary elements in achieving a "new integration" (reconciliation).

Restructuring these concepts and adding some new elements, a more complete model of components of reconciliation can be constructed to match both the definition of reconciliation and that of substantive components presented earlier. The components that fit the definition of a substantive component developed above are: memory and justice (present in Shriver's model and also found in Lederach's diagram[6]), and two components drawn mainly from the interpersonal arena of victim-offender mediation: security and intra-party healing (which are also indirectly present in Lederach's framework). The following presents an attempt to map out the key components that would have to be addressed in the process of promoting reconciliation.



[6] The other two elements of Lederach's framework - peace and mercy - are left out because they reflect a broader conceptualisation of the term reconciliation used by Lederach. The concept of mercy is, however, partially incorporated in the sense that it fits within the outcome of a new inclusive moral order where the humanity and right of existence of the other party is recognised. The element of hope for community (used by Shriver) is also left out as this element of vision is treated as a form of intervention that is present during the pre-negotiation phase of a conflict (as attributed to Gutierrez earlier in this chapter).

JUSTICE

HEALING **TRUTH**

SECURITY

Figure 2.5: Components of Reconciliation

This conceptual framework lists the components of reconciliation as justice, truth/memory, security and healing.[7] These are the key issues raised in the theoretical and international literature that have to be addressed as part of a process which promotes reconciliation. The manner in which they are addressed is fundamental in determining the sphere and extent of reconciliation - how much change will happen and in which sphere will it happen.

Reconciliation is a process that involves movement along a number of continuums, the main ones being identified in Figure 2.5. Reconciliation could be seen as the sum of the parts, but the parts are (probably) not independent. Improvement in one aspect of a relationship would most likely lay the groundwork for improvements in other

[7] See for example Ortega (1994) on Nicaragua and Licklider (1995) on the USA after the civil war.

aspects. (This interconnectedness is explored in more detail in the next chapter when dealing with the link between justice and reconciliation.).

Reconciliation can thus be identified as a process that brings about change in four key substantive social needs that parties have in terms of building cooperative relationships. First, parties need a sense of justice being fulfilled and/or re-established , and that injustices are being corrected. Second, they need a sense that the truth about the past is being revealed and recognized. This truth must then also be remembered rather than banished to the past. Third, they need a sense that their vulnerability is decreasing, and that their mutual security is assured. Fourth, they need a sense that healing is taking place through the acknowledgment of victimization, the restoration of dignity and the management of trauma.

This model does not prioritize one component over the others. It could be argued that different conflicts lead to differential disruption of these "social needs" and thus require different emphases in their reconciliation programs. Alternatively, different cultures could value these elements differently and thus emphasizes one over the other. Different groups in a conflict setting would, very likely, also have different priorities regarding the issues that they would like to see addressed in a reconciliation process. The scope for conflict among theorists or among stakeholders in a conflict-ridden society about the best way to promote reconciliation thus starts to become clear. These differences will be explored in more detail once the substantive components are more clearly developed in the next section.

The component model of reconciliation (Figure 2.5) could also be integrated with the earlier model dealing with spheres of reconciliation. Diagramatically this could be viewed as a circle, composed of different strata (the outer circle being the sphere of identity) each sphere supporting the next inner sphere of the relationship. Radiating from the center of the circle are the four components that affect each sphere of the relationship. This diagram attempts to demonstrate two key dimensions which define a reconciliation process.

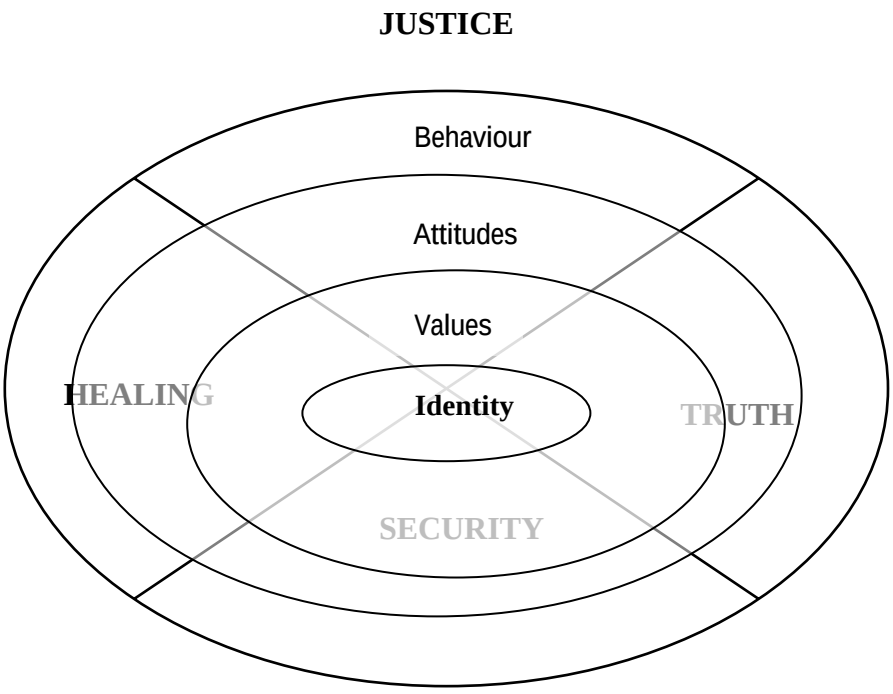


Figure 2.6: Spheres and Components of Reconciliation

6. Components of Reconciliation: An Overview

The following is a brief review (drawing from available literature) of the four components mentioned in the generic model developed above. It provides some clarity about what is meant by treating them as components of a reconciliation process, and indicates their significance regarding building relationships in the context of political transition after extensive human rights abuses. The complexity of (and space for contention about) the meaning of the concepts is also implicit in this discussion.

a) Reconciliation and Justice

Various authors examining the concept of justice have concluded that it is a universal characteristic of human behavior, either arising from human nature or from the fact that we live in social communities[8]. From an anthropological perspective, Nader and Sursock (1986) contends "An examination of the comparative literature certainly argues for the universality of the justice motive." They quote Lerner (n.d., p.1) who concludes from a review of the psychological literature

> … the awareness of injustice elicits corrective activity with such regularity that it appears for all intents and purposes to have the characteristic of a biologically based reflex of tropism. And this reflexlike action to an injustice is often of sufficient strength that all other considerations are set aside.

After a review of the anthropological literature, Nader and Sursock (1986) conclude that "the justice motive may be a need as basic as shelter, for example, and as such, an essential requirement for understanding the human condition" (p. 230). The link between this justice motive and reconciliation has also been widely asserted:

> The experience of justice is a basic human need. Without such an experience, healing and reconciliation are difficult or even impossible. Justice is a precondition for closure. A full sense of justice may, of course, be rare. However, even 'approximate justice' can help. (Zehr, 1990, p. 188)

In serious conflict situations it is common for parties to develop a sense of injustice regarding the behavior of the other - arising out of situations where one party (or a whole community) feels that they have been wronged - that the other party has caused a serious injury that is undeserved in terms of the norms on which their relationship is (or should be) based.

This sense of injustice is separate from the broader question of distributive justice or the justness of the structure that determines the distribution of power among the parties. Correcting this (structural and distributional) injustice lies at the heart of conflict resolution (i.e. structurally-oriented) processes. In relation to reconciliation, the

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[8] Lerner (1980) argues that people have a need to maintain the belief that they live in a just world.

concern is rather for the sense of injustice that arises from the conflict dynamics - the hurt that parties inflict in the pursuit of their conflict goals.

The impact of a serious breach in the relationship among individuals or groups stirs up emotions beyond those involved in situations of a conflict of interest. The psychological experience of injury resulting from one party acting outside established rules and norms is distinct from that of a simple conflict of interest - it leads to a desire for retribution or vengeance (Peachey, 1989, p. 303).

An examination of the process by which the sense of justice is restored is essential in many conceptions of how reconciliation needs to come about. The question of how justice is defined by the parties and how a common understanding of appropriate forms of justice are developed is essential in bringing about effective reconciliation. How justice is understood also reflects on the type of society that is created or sustained by the intervention process.

Justice is an interactive process requiring the participation of both parties. The desire for retribution is common among people who feel that their suffering was completely unjustifiable. Providing immunity from criminal and civil claims for those who committed serious human rights abuses leaves a serious level of resentment among victimized groups. Letting go of the hatred of victimizers requires a process that deals with this sense of justice. Whether this would be addressed by some form of punishment, restitution by the victimizers or the state, or through some form of forgiveness in response to an expression of contrition depends on a range of factors.

Very often the options for justice are presented as an all-or-nothing choice between harsh retributive measures or impunity. Neither of these have ultimately proven satisfying, implementable, or contributory to long-term reconciliation. One or other extreme have inevitably led to one side resenting the process, obstruction to the implementation of justice, and failure to bring about meaningful progress in building relationships.

This dichotomous view of justice is, however, one-dimensional and based on formal western definitions of the concept. It also does not address it as a dynamic process that is responsive to inputs and variable depending on context. While it may be variable in nature, the centrality of the importance of the sense of justice to building sustainable relationships is, however, according to the literature on transitional justice, indisputable. (The meaning of justice as a factor in reconciliation processes is discussed in much greater detail in the next chapter.)

b) Reconciliation and Truth/Memory

Central to many parties' understanding of reconciliation is the need to reveal the "truth". Parties express the need to have a full picture of what in fact happened. While uncertainty about responsibility and motives remains and information about the location of missing victims or their graves is not made available, these questions remain obstacles to any prospect of reconciliation.

Becker (1990, pp. 133-149) thus links the concepts of truth, justice and social transformation:

To advance the process of social reparation, it will be necessary to publicly establish the truth of the victims' experiences. Truth, in this case, means the end of denial and silence. It means facing pain, loss, and conflict that have been intentionally avoided in the belief that if things are not mentioned they cease to exist and that wounds not reopened will allow social peace. Establishing the truth is necessarily linked to demands for justice, but the process cannot and must not end there. Clarifying responsibilities for what has happened is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for obtaining truth. At both the individual and collective levels, the capacity for being moved ethically and emotionally must be recovered.

In the South African context it has also been argued that

To seek the truth is not of necessity an act of revenge, nor does it need to deteriorate into a witch-hunt. To know the truth is to counter the deceit, the cover-ups, which characterize much of oppression in South Africa. In this sense, truth is the beginning of reconciliation. To perpetuate the living of a lie makes reconciliation impossible. (Boraine, 1994, p. x)

Forgiveness (an element of reconciliation), argues Shriver (1995, p. 7),

begins with a remembering and a moral judgment of wrong, injustice, and injury. ….. Absent a preliminary agreement between two or more parties that there is something from the past to be forgiven, forgiveness stalls in the starting gate.

Finding out the truth is part of a process or remembrance. Remembrance in a reconciled society implies a joint memory of the past. The losses experienced by the various sides must come to be seen as the losses of the society as a whole. A common memory is an essential feature of a group for it to have a common identity.

> Where common memory is lacking, where men do not share in the same past there can be no real community, and where community is to be formed common memory must be created …. The measure of our distance from each other in our nations and our groups can be taken by noting the divergence, the separateness and lack of sympathy in our social memories. Conversely the measure of our unity is the extent of our common memory. (Niebuhr, 1941, p.9)

> A society cannot reconcile itself on the grounds of a divided memory. Since memory is identity, this would result in a divided identity. ….. It would thus be important to reveal the truth and so build a moral order. (Zalaquett, 1994, p. 13)

The secrecy that often veils the violent actions of both sides also needs to be lifted. Jelin (1994, p. 50) advocates for a certain kind of memory:

> [The] human rights movement is an ‘entrepreneur’ attempting to promote a certain kind of memory. Its adversaries belong to two political streams

> with alternative ideological projects : there are those who want to glorify the behavior of the military as heroes …, and there are those who seek to heal society's wounds and conflicts through forgetfulness and 'reconciliation', concentrating their efforts on the (economic and political) urgencies of the present and trying to 'look toward the future.' …. [The goal of the human rights movement] is a political and ideological task that stems from identifying remembrance with the construction of a political culture and identity.

She goes on to argue that:

> only when the incorporation of historical events becomes an active and dynamic process can it feed into the construction of a democratic culture and collective identity. In this sense, there is a double historical danger: oblivion and void fostered by politics and its complement, ritualized repetition of the traumatic and sinister story, of tragedy reappearing constantly without the chance for new subjectivities to emerge. (p. 53)

Pursuing the truth about the past can thus mean very different things and serve very different purposes. It is a contentious quest that can serve unity, domination, empowerment, or a range of other goals. Assuming that the full picture of the past is not achievable, the prioritization of uncovering certain types of actions or the actions of certain sections of the population could become very contentious.

c) Reconciliation and Security/Empowerment

Reconciliation is a process that ultimately makes parties vulnerable. It requires them to lower their defenses and demonstrate a certain level of trust. While this process of trust-

building is necessarily one of taking gradually increased risks, it requires a certain level of security - guarantees that the past abuses will not be repeated. Isolation is a form of protection both from emotional and physical threat. These risks need to be addressed in terms of guarantees regarding the behavior of the other party. This would be relevant both for their general behavior but also specifically with regard to direct reconciliation interventions.

In countries where the conflict has been characterized by human rights abuses, the need for overt mechanisms to prevent these in future would, for example, be a basic requirement. Measures that are meant to protect some groups who may feel vulnerable could, however, very easily be construed as threatening to another. Measures to shield victims from libel actions during a reconciliation process could thus be viewed as an infringement on the rights of those whom they accuse of abuses. Simply classifying one group as more vulnerable than another could also be contentious.

d) Reconciliation and Healing

Societies (and individuals) that have experienced severe violent conflict are left scarred by the memories of violence and suffering. A remaining sense of injustice and victimhood identity obstructs any true reconciliation between social groups. Victims (which often includes large sections of a society) need to undergo a process that allows them to let go of the past, and to build a new identity that incorporates this history but is not overwhelmed by it. Montville (1989 & 1993) argues that the sense of victimhood can only be relieved through the experience of profound psychological processes by the

victim group as a whole. These processes are, however, dependent on broader reconciliation efforts that involve acknowledgment, apology, forgiveness and mourning.

Similar to the other components, healing can be seen as both a prerequisite for reconciliation as well as an outcome of it. Rather than being a circular definition, it could be argued that a certain level of healing has to happen within victimized groups (and individuals) before they can fully engage in a reconciliation process. This internal healing is, however, not complete until the relationship among former enemies is healed.

Healing is also a relevant concept in relation to the offender. The offenders need rehabilitation and their feelings of guilt and shame need to be addressed. Zehr (1990, p. 49) refers to a study which concluded that criminal offenders are characterized by tremendous fears and that their greatest fear is of worthlessness.[9] They consequently utilize various psychological defense techniques to avoid guilt and maintain their sense of self-worth.

7. Reconciliation as Interactive Process

The substantive dimension discussed above should not be understood as simple zero-sum resources that are subject to static positions taken by different parties. They have a dynamic, interactive nature that needs further examination.

a) Reconciliation Requires Interaction

[9] This study was done by David Kelley (1985) "Stalking the Criminal Mind: Psychopaths, 'Moral Imbeciles,' and Free Will," Harper's, August

As defined earlier, the reconciliation process is essentially that engagement or interaction between the parties where they seek to build a more cooperative relationship through bringing together, or engaging, both sides in a pursuit of changing values, identity, attitudes and interaction patterns that underlie their relationship. The interactive nature of the process is widely recognized by authors in the field.

Justice, truth, vision, security and healing can in part be pursued by each party in isolation, but are unlikely to contribute to reconciliation unless they are pursued (to some extent) together. Addressing each component could just as well contribute to the deepening of conflict as to its transformation. They have to be addressed in a way which takes the other party's needs into account. This would therefore imply an active engagement with the other party, a negotiation around the steps involved in achieving individual as well as joint needs. Such a process of engagement already represents an embryo of reconciliation and assists in further building understanding among the parties.

A process which addresses each component thus needs to treat them as negotiable issues. This does not, however, imply that they can be compromised at will. They each require a process that seeks to build common ground and respect for the needs of the other side.

The interactive nature of reconciliation is also stressed by Scheff (1996) and Estrada-Hollenbeck (1996), who argue that direct victim-offender interaction provides the vital opportunity for the exchange of information and the expression of emotions that are vital in bringing about re-integrative shaming and forgiveness.

Montville (1993, p. 112) also stresses the interactive nature of the reconciliation process:

> … healing and reconciliation in violent ethnic and religious conflicts depend on a process of transactional contrition and forgiveness between aggressors and victims which is indispensable to the establishment of a new relationship based on mutual acceptance and reasonable trust.

b) A Stage Model of Reconciliation

A number of authors writing on reconciliation have also postulated the need for a sequential series of steps or stages. Reconciliation is thus a journey that takes parties through various experiences and forms of interaction in order to bring them to a new social space.

Kraybill (1996) develops a "stage model" in an effort to identify the key stages of such a process. He recognizes that reality would not necessarily fit such a neat model. It merely provides an indication of the tasks that need to be addressed as part of the reconciliation process. Essentially the model outlines the following stages after an injury has occurred:

1. Withdrawal to safety
2. Truth-telling
3. Truth verification
4. Build new framework of meaning and identity
5. Re-connect/return to risk

6. Restorative negotiations
7. Apology and forgiveness

Montville (1993) also argues for specific steps that need to be followed:

1. acknowledgment by the oppressor of their wrongs and requesting forgiveness
2. victim forgiving the aggressor
3. both sides mourning their losses
4. establishing a new equilibrium and relationship of mutual respect and security

Zalaquett (1994, p.11) also argues in a similar vein:

> … forgiveness and reconciliation are … conclusions of a process rooted in moral reconstruction. The common factors of all processes of forgiveness in major religious traditions are that a wrongdoing is known, that it is acknowledged, that there is atonement and the victimizer resolves not to do it again, and that reparations are made.

According to these authors, reconciliation thus requires different processes or interventions to happen in a particular order. There is also reference to specific actions or psychological processes that need to be addressed. The significance of these actions (particularly apology and forgiveness) in terms of addressing specific needs and building a new relationship needs further examination.

c) Apology and Forgiveness as Interactive Exchange

Apology and forgiveness are terms that are often used interchangeably with reconciliation. Where these events happen it is often understood to indicate that reconciliation has in effect been achieved. They are thus treated as symbolic manifestations of an underlying change in the relationship between parties. They are, in essence, symbolic acts. Sometimes they are clearly empty symbols - open to manipulation, or purely expressions of a hope for change that never materializes. For most parties in conflict they are, however, still very potent symbols that are crucial in crystallizing any change. They are also problematic in cross-cultural settings were they are used or interpreted differently depending on the party's cultural frame[10].

Apology is particularly significant as an act which acknowledges the legitimacy of the norm that was violated (Tavuchis, 1995). It calls forth an overarching moral bond between the offender and the victim and expresses regret for endangering that bond. Forgiveness similarly refers to a violation of a bond, and re-establishes it by accepting the offender back into the moral community. Forgiveness in this sense does not replace punishment or reparation; it supplements it. Both terms refer to a bond between people that is dependent on trust and respect. A relationship that would, for example, be purely contractual and based on bargaining power would not gain anything from such symbolic gestures.

[10] Wagatsuma and Rosett (1986, p. 469), for example, spell out the difference between US and Japanese understandings of apology. In the USA the central importance of apology is the indication of the state of mind of the apologiser, which is subject to manipulation and insincerity. This make apology a dangerous foundation upon which to build a legal structure (or important social ties). In Japan apology is an indication that an individual wishes to maintain or restore a positive relationship with another. Its

Repentance and forgiveness also contain elements of identity change. To repent is to split oneself into two parts , the part that is guilty of an offense and the part that dissociates itself from the delict and affirms a belief in the offended rule (Goffman 1971). It is thus a process of confirming a change in one's identity, a distancing from who one was at the time of the offense To forgive, in turn, implies that the victims do not define themselves in terms of the offense that was committed against them.

For Shriver (1995, pp. 8-9), forgiveness is a step in the pursuit of reconciliation which is seen only as "the end of a process that forgiveness begins." Forgiveness in a political context is defined as "an act that joins moral truth, forbearance, empathy, and commitment to repair a fractured human relation." Apology and forgiveness imply a moral re-evaluation of the past that must logically be based on a mutual knowledge and understanding of what has happened.

Rather than looking at reconciliation as an end product, this study examines it as a process towards such an end product. The pursuit of forgiveness is thus synonymous with the reconciliation process. Apology and forgiveness are generally addressed within the framework of pursuing justice. This is explored in more detail below.

d) Justice as Interactive Process

The issue of justice can be used to clearly demonstrate the dynamic relational aspect of the various substantive components of the reconciliation process. The following discussion demonstrates how the preceding discussion of the nature of the reconciliation process impacts on our understanding of the nature and dynamics of each component.

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significant is as an acknowledgement of the authority of the hierarchical structure upon which social

Developing an understanding of justice as process, rather than product, illustrates how this insight promotes a new approach to the substantive components as an element of a reconciliation process.

Justice is not a single product, but a human objective over which the parties need to engage and negotiate. Shriver (1995, p. 32), for example, argues that:

> … justice is a search as well as a single event…… Their failure to see social justice as requiring *deliberation* among all concerned parties sometimes ensures the triumph of injustice. Courts of law; mandates that compel enemies into direct communication with each other; and other processes of negotiation that require time, energy, and vulnerability to learning on all sides - such processes facilitate the discovery of genuine justice and the experience of real forgiveness. Neither is an instantaneous given.

The issue of justice can, however, be very divisive. What is seen as justice by one side can often be perceived as revenge by the other. The pursuit of justice can result in an escalatory spiral, as each party demands retribution for its injuries and perceives the other side's actions in pursuit of justice as new sources of injustice.

Boundaries defining the types of offenses that can be dealt with using different forms of justice need to be established as part of the peace-building process. Retribution

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harmony is based.

has at times been seen as an acceptable form of justice by the parties for offenses that were beyond the acceptable norms for conflict behavior by both sides (e.g., certain war crimes tribunals that are not simply seen as victor's justice). Torture, rape, genocide and other extreme forms of human rights abuses are possibly accepted by both sides as crimes requiring retribution as long as this can be done in an even-handed and legitimate manner. Less serious offenses may be seen as requiring less vengeful responses, while certain acts of war may be considered as justified in the context of war. (The Geneva convention, for example outlines certain guidelines).[11]

Certain proponents of retributive approaches argue that retribution is essential in achieving lasting peace and placating those who are justifiably angry. Boesak (1995, p. 242)), for example, argues that:

> It is equally imperative for a democratic, post-apartheid government to espouse justice and uphold courageously an ethic of vengeance, knowing that ultimately their judgement falls under the judgement of the eternal God. If these redemptive measures are ignored, all of us in this beautiful land will be consumed by the rage of people too long oppressed.

The limitations of fulfilling expectations of justice in the context of political transitions have been noted by a number of authors (van der Merwe, 1994, Zalaquett,

[11] The act of war may itself, however, be defined as a very serious crime, as in the case of revolt/treason, or as in the crime of aggression under international human rights law. The perpetuation and defence of an inhumane system, such as apartheid, may also be seen as a crime against humanity.

1988), and the implications for a continued cycle of counter-vengeance are obvious. The question is whether a form of justice can be found that condemns past crimes and provides reparation in a way that inhibits its repetition.[12]

Conceptions of appropriate forms of justice are, however, malleable. Studies have shown that alternative dispute resolution processes which divert cases from the criminal justice system to mediation programs are able to direct victims' goals away from simple demands for retribution. Once the victim enters into a mediation process, their attitudes towards the other party and their perception of an appropriate outcome can change significantly (Peachey, 1989).

A shift from the desire for retributive to restorative justice can thus be brought about by third party intervention. Perceptions of appropriate forms of justice can particularly be influenced by information regarding the offender and their motives. While a number of factors regarding the type of offense and the pre-existing relationship between the parties shape the victims' attitudes, these attitudes change in response to a process that facilitates dialogue and provides new information (Peachey, 1989).

In a study by Weiner et al (1991) it was also found that the presence and type of confession made by a public figure alter public perceptions of the confessor's moral character and causal attributions for the negative action as well as their own willingness to forgive.

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[12] See, for example, Shriver's (1995) discussion of how this dilemma is addressed in Aeschylus's drama, The Eumenides

8. Levels of Reconciliation

We now come to the third dimension of reconciliation - social levels. Reconciliation has thus far been treated in the abstract - applicable to any context of analysis. Within the ambit of national political transition, another dimension of the reconciliation process has

been examined in the literature: social levels of reconciliation. The reconciliation process has been examined in terms of the social level that it attempts to transform: national, community and interpersonal.

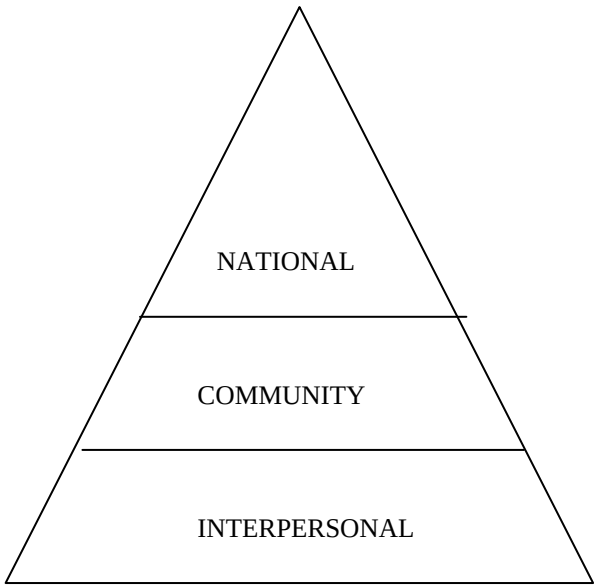


Figure 2.7: Levels of Reconciliation

Different factors come into play in addressing these levels - both in terms of one's understanding of the meaning of reconciliation as well as the factors that should be considered in bringing it about.

> Reconciliation between populations has features similar to reconciliation between persons but contains an additional element: the identification of individuals with a group, a people or a nation, an identification which may imply that a whole people may be held collectively responsible for the miseries of another people which has a corresponding feeling of suffering collective injustice. (Siesby, 1996, p. 1)

Reconciliation between two groups (national and community) and between two or more individuals will have different considerations. Healing at an individual level can be more easily defined (in psychological terms) while healing of a group is a somewhat problematic concept in social psychology. The role of group leadership and their relationship with individual followers in actions such as apology and forgiveness is also more complex than an analysis of the individual level.

National level reconciliation is generally addressed in terms of relationships among racial groups, ethnic groups or ideological divisions - usually with regard to the party-political manifestations of these categories. Promoting national reconciliation is thus seen as changing the ways that political leaders relate to each other, how they mobilize support, and how sectors of society identify themselves in relation to these

categories. It is a process of promoting constructive inter-party interaction, improving attitudes among party leadership (and between ethnic groups), building consensus around democratic and human rights values, and generating a sense of a unified national identity.

The individual level refers to the same generic spheres of relationship, but focuses on how this is played out within a local community. It focuses particularly on those victims who are set apart from their own groups by the extreme forms of victimization that they have experienced. While it is recognized that, to some degree, all members of a conflict-ridden society are victims of conflict (especially groups who have been systematically discriminated against), there are always numerous individuals who have been subjected to more extreme forms of suffering. They find themselves not only alienated from the enemy, but often also from their own group. Their victim identity is not only in relation to their group membership, but is also of a very personal nature.

Relationships between individuals more generally are, however, also transformed by an intense conflict that pervades a community. When the broader conflict in a society manifests itself at the local level, it impacts on the social fabric of that community. It has an effect on the relationships among community members, irrevocably altering their form and content. The sense of trust and connectedness of people, their interdependence, and sense of community is severely undermined. This can have an impact on the relationships within families, among neighbors, and between local leadership and their followers. Local community reconciliation means reconstructing these local relationships: the patterns of interaction, the attitudes towards erstwhile enemies, the

values regarding community interaction, and the identity of the community as an organic whole.

9. Competing Approaches and Ideological Frames of Reconciliation

This chapter has identified three dimensions of the reconciliation process. A holistic model that recognizes all aspects in each dimension is perhaps desirable, but specific conflict situations are likely to give rise to reconciliation models that prioritize specific elements within the various dimensions. It is argued here that these competing models/approaches to reconciliation (among theorists and among stakeholders in the conflict) can more usefully be understood as competing ideological frames.

Different theorists and practitioners focus on different components when they talk about reconciliation. These can be seen as mutually compatible aspects of the reconciliation process. In practice, people may (and often do) however, disagree on which aspects to prioritize or which to regard as necessary and/or sufficient. While the four components (justice, truth, healing and security) are likely to be required in all reconciliation processes, different sides to a conflict are likely to prioritize them differently. Sometime a group may try to deny the relevance of one component completely (e.g., defining justice as incompatible with reconciliation).

Similarly, the different spheres of reconciliation are also subject to competing prioritization. Some groups in conflict or some practitioners may feel that existing identity groups should be treated as a given basis for social organization (e.g., different

ethnic groups who have been in a conflict), and that reconciliation interventions should focus on changing the value frame for intergroup behavior. Others may feel that the strength of group identification is what undermines reconciliation, and that intervention should thus be focused on reducing group attachment, or building cross-cutting lines of affiliation that intersect these groups.

Disagreement about the social level at which reconciliation should be aimed can be just as controversial. Some argue for an approach that focuses on the national level, while others favor a community-centered or individual transformation approach to reconciliation. A division between top-down (elite-centered) processes and bottom-up (grass roots) approaches are particularly apparent.

The competing approaches to reconciliation can thus be analyzed in terms of their differential prioritization of the different components, spheres and levels of reconciliation identified in Figure 2.8 .

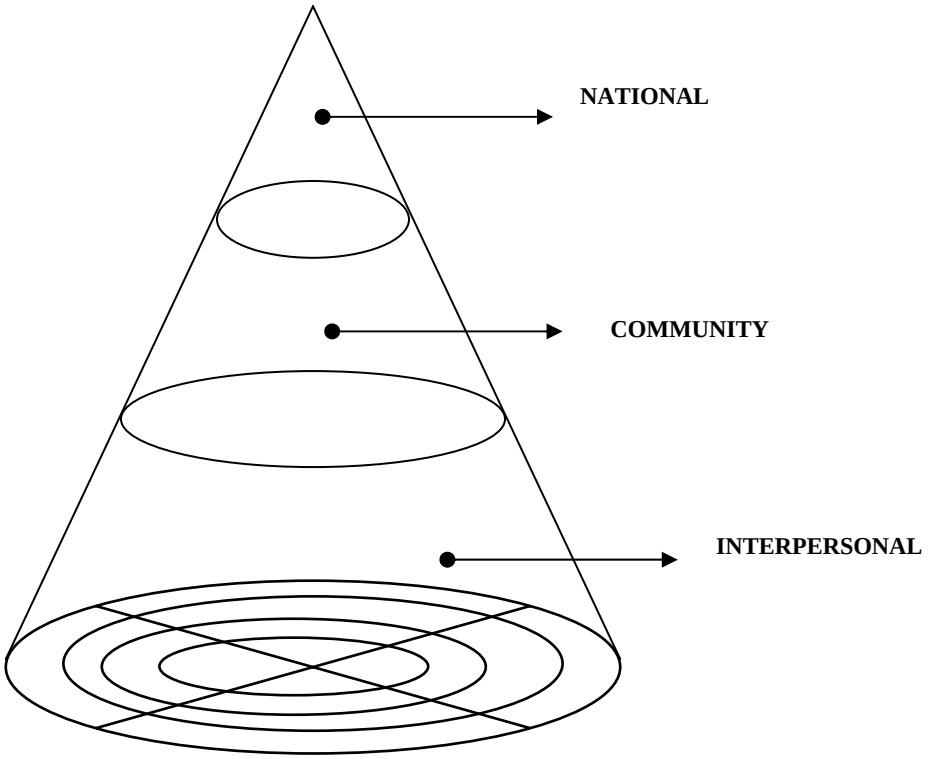


Figure 2.8: Three-Dimensional Model of Reconciliation

Some of these differences in approaching reconciliation have been characterized as distinctions between religious, political or psychological approaches. Each conflict situation, however, appears to generate specific religious, political or psychological models. Rather than examining generic religious approaches, it may thus be necessary to identify a specific religious response(s) to a specific conflict. Different political parties may also have competing responses to a certain conflict situation.

Each reconciliation approach determines which components should be treated as essential (justice, truth, security and healing), and defines the type/form of change that would have to characterize that component. It defines the sphere of change that should be pursued (identity, values, attitudes and behavior), and possibly contains assumptions regarding how these spheres are linked. It also outlines the social level (interpersonal, community, national) at which the intervention should be focused.

These competing programs, models or approaches may be more effectively understood as ideological frames. Ideological frames are referred to here as a system of values and theoretical arguments that provide a broader framework for understanding reconciliation as an element in the process of maintaining and transforming the social order. Such systems provide insights into underlying motives of stakeholders and incorporate a range of demands, positions and justifications within a unified logical framework.

Deep-rooted conflict situations contain groups with different value systems, different interests, and different needs. Sub-groups within these stakeholder groups are also likely to have their particular experiences of the conflict, and as a result, their particular reconciliation needs. Groups and sub-groups are thus likely to argue for different approaches to reconciliation. These approaches are based on a mix of their value system, their material interests and their psychological reaction to the conflict experience. People draw on available religious, political and cultural frameworks to construct a system of meaning that makes sense of their surrounding, and which prioritizes their needs in the reconciliation process.

The term 'ideological framework' is used because groups do not simply accept pre-existing frameworks of meaning, but combine available frameworks and adjust them to suit their particular goals and needs. It is 'ideological' because it arises from situational interests rather than universal principle.

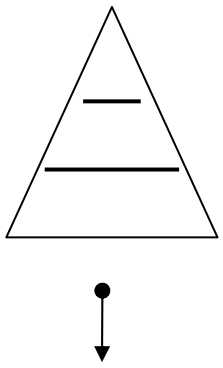
An agenda for reconciliation in a particular conflict is thus likely to be characterized by competing claims about the intervention strategies that should be pursued - each approach being characterized by a different central component(s), a different understanding of the nature of this component, a different sphere of relationship which it attempts to address, and/or a different social level prioritized for intervention.

The generic model presented in Figure 2.8 is thus one that hides the numerous possibilities of division among various ideological frames. While innumerable possible differences are contained in the three-dimensional understanding of reconciliation

developed in this chapter, the one that is identified as the key research issue is that between different levels of reconciliation.

Ideological frames of reconciliation are thus systems of ideas that bring together a set of prioritizations and interpretations of the three dimensions that have been identified. A common example of such an ideology framework that is gaining general recognition is that of human rights. This ideological frame prioritizes justice (and to some extent truth) over the other components of reconciliation. It focuses on the value system of a society - primarily through pursuing the introduction of a human rights culture within political society. It is focused mainly at the national level (or sometimes the international) where it attempts to bring about reform of legislation and changes in orientation among political leadership. This, of course, is a simplification. Human rights advocates in different societies operate in very different ways, and with different ideological orientations. This research does not attempt to pursue universal ideal types, but rather to examine the emergence of local ideological frames that draw on these global belief systems as well as local political culture.

Diagramatically, these ideological frames of reconciliation could thus be seen as particular systems of drawing together elements and interpretations of the three dimensions of reconciliation:



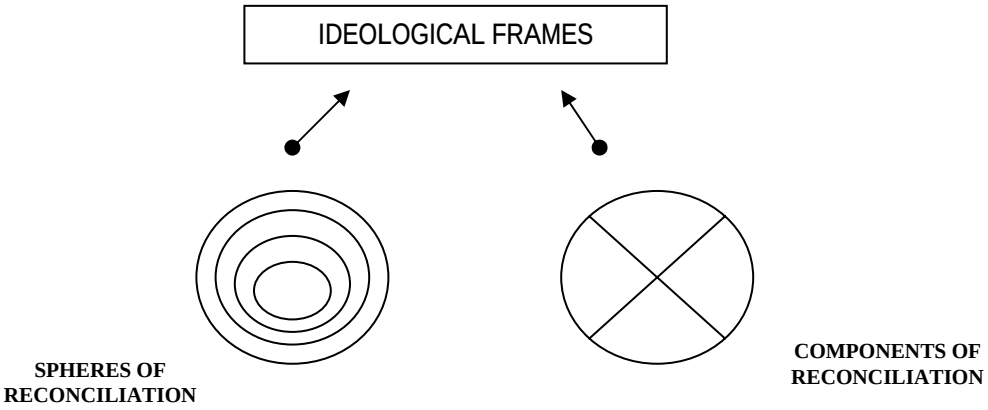


Figure 2.11: Ideological Frames of Reconciliation

Differences in bottom-up approaches (which focus on interpersonal and community levels of reconciliation) and top-down approaches (which focus on the national level) are explored in greater detail in the next section.

9. Top-Down Versus Bottom-Up Approaches

A central difference between various approaches to reconciliation that is identifiable in the literature is that between top-down and bottom-up approaches. This is essentially a difference in prioritization and a disagreement regarding the causal connections between different societal levels.

Before addressing the two contrasting approaches, this section will firstly present a range of ways that the linkages between the various levels have been conceptualized in the literature.

a) Connections between Different Levels

Conflict resolution literature is sharply divided into spheres covering interpersonal and inter-group conflict. Even though the division is largely artificial and a result of academic disciplinary boundaries, studies examining the links between these two processes are severely lacking. The importance of these links has however been noted:

> you need to heal the sociopolitical context for the full healing of the individuals and their families, as you need to heal the individuals to heal the sociopolitical context. This is a mutually reinforcing context of shared mourning, shared memory, a sense that the memory is preserved, that the nation transformed it into a part of its global consciousness. The nation shares the horrible pain. The survivors are not lonely in their pain. (Danieli, 1992, p. 575)

Werbner (1995, p. 112) points out that sometimes the local understanding of conflict can be very self-referential and become insulated from the national or global context, while at other times it becomes suffused by the these broader contexts. He stresses that it is important to examine "the extent to which there is interpretation from one scale to another, so that the same concerns may come to dominate throughout the different scales".

A number of ways in which the different levels of reconciliation can be linked have been noted in the literature.

i) Individuals as Group Symbols

Individual experiences of conflict and of conflict resolution are often very personalized. Even when they are clearly part of a national deep-rooted conflict, individuals have their specific needs and goals. These victims of war, however, also become symbols of the struggle waged by the respective sides. Their experiences of victimhood are taken up as belonging to a wider society. Their experiences of reconciliation and expressions of forgiveness are potentially extremely significant in affecting the ability of society to deal with its past via a vicarious process of dealing with psychological healing and reconciliation. Where these victims have expressed outrage at public reconciliation attempts (e.g. Argentina and El Salvador) it has called into question the morality or sincerity of the process (Jelin, 1994).

ii) Individual Reconciliation Dependent on National Reconciliation

This relationship between the individual and broader society also operates in reverse. The individuals sometimes want their grievances to be recognized as politically significant. To compensate a person for his/her suffering without recognizing the political and institutionalized nature of their suffering would, most likely, limit their acceptance of such as a sincere or adequate restoration (Danieli, 1992). The individual has, in other words, constructed the meaning of their victimization within the national political discourse and will only accept interventions that deal with it on this basis.

Addressing individual human rights abuses is thus a process that needs to combine the private and the public in a manner that is sensitive to individual suffering and individual needs while also taking into account its contextualization in the public political realm and the impact that it may have on this realm.

iii) Dispute Transformation

The term "dispute transformation" comes from the dispute processing literature, an area of study mainly pursued by legal anthropologists and sociologists of law. It examines the way in which disputes arise, how they are defined by the parties, and how third parties and other stakeholders then influence the way in which they develop and get resolved. The transformation of a dispute refers to the "change in its form or content as a result of the interaction and involvement of other participants in the dispute process" (Mather and Yngvesson, 1981, p. 777). It is thus a manipulation of individual cases - "how they are defined and transformed", in pursuit of the goals of groups, specifically "the maintenance and change of legal and other normative systems" (ibid., p. 776).

iv) Role of Belief Systems

The group's norms and values also play a more subtle role in influencing how individuals deal with their conflicts, and how they approach the question of reconciliation. Certain belief systems push individuals towards reconciliation - it is a valued goal that is motivated both by guilt and social pressure. This belief system can be cultural, overtly based in a group's religious beliefs, or it can be located in the socio-political ideology to which the individual subscribes.

The individual victims and victimizers are thus not independent actors. While they have their individual needs and particular coping strategies, they are constrained and acted upon by their own groups and by a broader set of stakeholders and social processes. At the same time, the actions of the individual victims and victimizers are significant in impacting on the success and legitimacy of broader social initiatives related to

reconciliation. This is particularly relevant in a setting where care for individual rights and needs forms part of the new moral order that is being created.

b) Top-Down and Bottom-Up Approaches: Competing Levels of Reconciliation

Reconciliation processes at the different levels are often interdependent, but can also be competing agendas. The focus on inter-group rather than intra-communal or interpersonal reconciliation dynamics is perhaps the key differential between top-down versus bottom-up approaches. While not being mutually exclusive concerns, these approaches respectively focus on the national group and the individual or community as the consumer or target of reconciliation. They should thus be seen as ideal-type categories. They are abstractions that typify the extreme ends of a continuum along which different interventions could be placed.

The top-down approach is one that views community reconciliation as a process that is promoted through the creation of a broader climate within the national political arena where leaders representing major sections of society come to some understanding, make commitments, or build public consensus on values and facts using mass media. Rather than a direct participant in change, the individual or community is expected to vicariously experience the change and absorb its effects through their public representatives. They may participate in contributing to the process in pre-determined formats within set agendas (such as voting, participating in public hearings, etc.), but the target of their input is the national level society.

Community level reconciliation is thus, according to this framework, addressed through the contextualization of local conflict dynamics within a broader political

narrative that explains the conflict in terms of the divisions found at national level. This national narrative is one that attempts to construct a new value system based on abstract values which promote a sense of national unity based on redefined parameters of political identity.

This top-down approach stands in contrast with bottom-up perspectives which prioritize the reconstruction of local social networks and local political relationships through understanding the specific local dynamics, renegotiating interpersonal relationships, and addressing concerns regarding individual local perpetrators and victims. The bottom-up approach avoids the use of events and individuals as symbols of broader processes or categories of people.

A bottom-up approach to reconciliation means that the process must address the needs of each individual or each community as a unique event. The local conflict dynamics can not just be seen as the direct outflow of national intergroup divisions. The local situation is infused with specific local divisions, local patterns of events, local personalities involved in the conflict and unique individual victims.

This bottom-up approach also assumes a certain level of autonomy within this level of society. Change at a national level may be a necessary condition for change at the local level, but it is not seen as sufficient. Inversely, change at the national level is not seen as sustainable (or meaningful) unless change also happens locally. The promotion of a national agenda of reconciliation is seen as one that may even override the local process through imposing processes that interfere with local reconciliation needs.

10. Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the need to examine reconciliation as a significant component of the peace-building process. Rather than simply seeing it as a pre-negotiation phase or a post-conflict consolidation exercise, reconciliation is a process that is relevant at every point of the process.

Reconciliation is a generic term that is defined as promoting constructive relationships among parties through changes in identity, values, attitudes and behavior. Reconciliation is promoted through engagement with substantive issues that address the social needs of parties affected by conflict. The most notable of these are: justice, security, healing and truth. Reconciliation requires that these issues are addressed through a process of negotiation and interactive exchange.

The term “reconciliation” is subject to different or competing interpretations. Different stakeholders in a conflict situation are likely to define reconciliation in a way that prioritizes and legitimizes their particular reconciliation needs. These ideological frameworks can be differentiated in terms of the different spheres, components or levels of reconciliation that should be addressed.

Reconciliation at different societal levels are interdependent, but sometimes also at odds. Top-down versus bottom up approaches to reconciliation can entail quite contrasting intervention processes. Approaches which focusing on different societal levels may generate interventions that deals with different aspects of the relationship

(identity, values, attitudes and behavior), may require different substantial concerns that should be prioritized, and may give quite different substantive interpretations of the meaning of these components.

Through focusing on one substantive component, namely justice, the next chapter will explore the implications of how this component can be subject to very different interpretations when viewed through the lens of a top-down versus a bottom-up approach to reconciliation. Similar analyses could also be conducted on the other three components of reconciliation, but are excluded because of the limited scope of the study and the particular relevance of justice concerns in the "post-transition" South African context.