

EXAMINING THE RECONCILIATION PROCESS IN SOUTH AFRICA:
IMPLICATIONS FOR ZIMBABWE

BY

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
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Abstract

The primary aim of the study is to explore the reconciliation process of South Africa, analyse the strengths and weaknesses and draw lessons for Zimbabwe if the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission is going to be operational. Data was collected from a sample of 30 people. Interviews were held with 14 key informants from the South African embassy, academics and the civic society. The two focus groups consisting of eight people each from the Institute of Peace, Leadership and governance were conducted. Data was categorized according to themes presented in descriptive form and narrative interpretations were made in the discussions. Data was analysed qualitatively. Conclusions were drawn like that the reconciliation in South Africa is not realised largely because of the inequality that exists. If Zimbabwe is to operationalize the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission it is most likely to fail because public participation would be minimal. The research devised recommendations like that the atrocities of Gukurahundi and atrocities that occurred between 2000 and 2008 need to be addressed and if it means compensation it must be done. The researcher recommended that further researches may be conducted to have more information on the Zimbabwe reconciliation if the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission become operational so that they are informed before they embark on its work.

Declaration

This Dissertation is my original work except where sources have been acknowledged.

The work has never been submitted, nor will it ever be, to another University in the awarding of a degree.

STUDENT

DATE

Signature

SUPERVISOR

DATE

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Dedications

This research is dedicated to my husband Clemence and my two sons, Tanatswanashe and Carlton King.

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Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
AU	African Union
EFZ	Evangelical Fellowship in Zimbabwe
EPOIZ	Ecumenical Peace Observation Initiative in Zimbabwe
IDEA	Institute for Democracy and Reconciliation Commission
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations
NPRC	National Peace and Reconciliation Commission
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
SAPC	South African Communist Party
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
ZimRights	Zimbabwe Human Rights Association

CHAPTER 1

1.1 Introduction

If Zimbabwe is to operationalize the National Peace and Reconciliation commission lessons should be drawn from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa. Zimbabwe's history comprises of collective violence and serious human rights abuses hence a National Peace and Reconciliation commission in a post transition Zimbabwe might be a significant means of achieving reconciliation thereby reducing past tensions. The implications of the South Africa reconciliation process would help map a strategy for Zimbabwe's National Peace and Reconciliation commission.

Since 1974, numerous truth commissions have been established either to support an ongoing peace process or to promote democratic reforms and reconciliation in postconflict society (Hayner 2002). Commissions were established in Chile, Argentina, Guatemala and South Africa. Out of these examples the researcher seeks to extract lessons from the South African TRC so as to counter the challenges that Zimbabwe can confront should it attempt to establish and operationalize the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission. The study therefore focuses on the lessons that Zimbabwe can draw from the South African reconciliation process.

1.2 Background

After the British seized the Cape of Good Hope area in 1806, many of the Dutch settlers

(the Boers) trekked north to find their own republics (Migyikra 2008). The discovery of diamonds (1867) and gold (1886) increased competition for wealth, immigration and intensified the subjugation of the native inhabitants at the Cape of Good Hope (<http://www.southafricatruavelnet/historylen-apart1.htm>). The Boers resisted the British advances but were defeated in the Boer War of 1899-1902 which gave birth to the Union of South Africa which advanced the policy of apartheid.

The policy that encouraged the separation of races was introduced in 1910 through laws that disadvantaged the blacks. Black workers were supposed to do manual work while the white workers secured better positions. The blacks had no political influence and this led to the emergence of liberation movements. Resistance organizations were formed and they became more militant. South Africa developed fully into a police state after the Soweto uprising of 1976 when thousands of pupils demonstrating against Afrikaans as a compulsory school subject, were brutally shot, and the unrest spread over the whole country (Migyikra 2008:51). This situation continued until 1989 when De Klerk admitted that they had failed. Eventually the first democratic elections were held in 1994. When South Africa emerged from apartheid to democracy there was a need for reconciliation hence the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. In 1995, the commission was mandated to promote national unity and reconciliation and co-existence of parties and to uncover the fate of the victims of gross violation of human rights that had occurred during apartheid. The reconciliation process in South Africa has

implications for Zimbabwe since the people also experienced human injustices at great magnitude.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

There are past hurts and injustices that need to be addressed hence the birth of the National Peace and Reconciliation commission in the new Zimbabwe constitution. Gross inhuman abuses were done. People were killed, raped and kidnapped. Violence was the order of the day. Violence can be silent and loud, silent violence refers to the threats, the coercion, the insults and the deep scaring that has no physical marks and the loud violence refers to the physical harm to people and their property (Moyo, 2008). When one looks at Gukurahundi atrocities that left more than 20000 Ndebele speaking civilians dead are worse than massacres committed by the white Rhodesian government (Tshuma, 2011). Hence there is need to establish and operationalize the National Peace and Reconciliation commission because victims of the Gukurahundi deserve a decent burial like those of the Rhodesian forces. At least this would bring satisfaction to the victim's relatives thereby fostering reconciliation. From 2001 to September 2006 the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum has recorded over 1200 cases of human rights violations by the law enforcement, agencies, including 363 cases of torture, and 58 cases of deaths (www.wikipedia.org/Wikipedia.org/wiki/Humanrights). This study therefore seeks to examine South African Reconciliation process and draw lessons for Zimbabwe.

1.4 Research Objectives

Objectives are statements of specific outcomes that are to be achieved (Johnson 2010).

The objectives of the study are to:

1. explore the reconciliation process in South Africa
2. analyse the weaknesses and the strengths of the South African Reconciliation process
3. draw lessons for Zimbabwe from the reconciliation process in South Africa.

1.5 Research Questions

Research questions are important because the literature review, methodology and the data analysis is guided by them. They guide the researcher to be focused on the research (Fisher 2004). The study seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. How was the reconciliation process in South Africa conducted?
2. What were the strengths and weaknesses of the reconciliation process in South Africa?
3. What lessons can Zimbabwe draw from the reconciliation process in South Africa?

1.6 Research Assumptions

1. It is assumed that Zimbabwe has lessons to draw from the reconciliation process in South Africa.

2. It is also assumed that the researcher will get constructive information from the interviewees.

1.7 Significance of the study

Zimbabwe needs a reconciliation process that would ensure maximum accountability for the committed atrocities with a view to facilitating sustainable reconciliation. The memories of the Gukurahundi left permanent scars. Also the elections of 2000, 2002, 2005 and 2008 were all conducted in an environment in which many people were killed (Machakanja 2006). More so the families and relatives of those who disappeared need to know what happened exactly to their loved ones and have a sense of who is responsible (Machakanja: 2006). This way a sense of belongingness may be embraced that would eventually leads to a sustainable reconciliation. Furthermore, there are also strong views that the alleged violence and political murders of the past years as well as the massacres of the early 1980s cannot simply be swept under the carpet (Machakanja, 2006). Hence there is need for Justice to be done as a tool of national reconciliation and if forgiveness is to be done it must be done publicly so as to heal the scars of the past.

This study will therefore examine the reconciliation process in South Africa and the lessons that can be drawn for Zimbabwe. The study will help Zimbabwe not to repeat the same mistakes that the South African TRC did if it is to establish and operationalize the National Peace and Reconciliation commission. Hence the study becomes important in

the mapping of the strategy to be used in Zimbabwe. If Zimbabwe's reconciliation process is going to be a success story lessons must be drawn from the reconciliation process in South Africa.

The research will bring an understanding on issues of reconciliation to the civil society that will eventually leads to a sustainable reconciliation. It will also contribute concepts to the existing literature on reconciliation. The researcher will also gain deeper insights on issues of reconciliation so that the researcher can become part and parcel of the National Peace and Reconciliation commission to be set up in Zimbabwe as laid out in the new constitution of Zimbabwe.

1.8 Delimitation of the study

This study is going to focus on the views of Zimbabweans based in Harare Metropolitan province only regardless of there being ten provinces in Zimbabwe and also on the views of South Africans working at the South African embassy and those working at the University of Western Cape in Cape Town. Conceptually the study will focus on South African reconciliation process and the lessons that can be drawn for Zimbabwe.

1.9 Limitations

Some of the issues were sensitive therefore some people were not willing to open up because of the politicization of the reconciliation process. The researcher failed to go to South Africa because of money constraints.

1.10 Definition of Concepts

1.10. 1 Examine

In the context of this study the word examines refers to the study and analyzing of the reconciliation process in South Africa.

1.10.2 Implications

The term implications refers to the reasoning involved in drawing a conclusion or making a logical judgement on the basis of circumstantial evidence and prior conclusions rather than on the basis of direct observation (Vocabulary.com). It can also refer to a meaning that is not expressly stated but can be inferred (Vocabulary.com), hence in the context of this study the word implications refers to lessons on what should be done and what should be avoided in order to achieve a sustainable reconciliation.

1.10.3 Reconciliation Process

Reconciliation process is when the perpetrator is punished by the court for their previous harms thus becoming retributive (Veitch 2007). In South Africa, the reconciliation entailed therapeutic methods, such as confessions and testimonials aimed at change and redefinition of relationships (Veitch 2007). However reconciliation is a complex term mainly because it is both a goal that is something to achieve and a process that is a means to achieve that goal (The International IDEA Handbook Series). Hence reconciliation process refers to the means to the work. In the context of this study

reconciliation refers to the building of a relationship between the perpetrator and the victim. This reconciliation would be entailed by forgiveness, truth and justice.

1.11 Structure of the study

In order to improve readability of this dissertation the research is divided into five chapters.

Each chapter is summarized as follows:

Chapter 1

This chapter shall introduce the study giving background to it and layout statement of the problem, the objectives of the research and the research questions. The significance and the delimitation of the study shall be carried in this chapter.

Chapter 2

This chapter shall look into the existing literature showing the theoretical framework, relevance of the theory, elements of reconciliation, the reconciliation process and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Chapter 3

This chapter presents research methodology and research methods both primary and secondary data. The limitations are also presented in this chapter.

Chapter 4

This chapter presents presentation of data from both primary and secondary data sources.

Data interpretation and analysis is also presented in this chapter.

Chapter 5

This chapter would look at conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

A literature review is an account of what has been published concerning on a topic approved by scholars and researchers (Saunders 2009). It therefore forms the base on which a research is built. It helps to develop an insight into research and patterns that have been done before. Citations are viewed as the explicit linkages between articles that have common aspects. Citing an author is done on the basis that they cite papers they consider to be relevant to the development of their research (Chandy and Williams 1994). The chapter opens with the theoretical framework and then moves on to relevance of the theory followed by an analysis of the reconciliation process and the truth and reconciliation commission in South Africa.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

There have been several works on reconciliation as a peace building tool. This research is going to be informed by John Lederach's four part model drawn from Psalms 85:10 which encompass mercy, truth, justice and peace. Lederach mentions that there are a number of insights from Psalms 85 about reconciliation. He points out that the Psalmist produces a deeper insight into the idea of reconciliation as a locus, a meeting place.

Psalms 85 suggests reconciliation as a social space where different but very interdependent energies are brought together and given a voice. Hence if this in fact the

case, then the primary practical and operative task of those working for reconciliation is to help create the social space and the mechanisms by which truth, mercy, justice and peace can meet together (Lederach 1997).

Lederach therefore concludes by these remarks,

Psalm 85 suggests that conflict has revelatory and reconciling potential when the four different energies are embraced. If we legitimate their concerns, provide them with voice respond to their fears and needs, placing them in a dialogical rather than an adversarial framework they are less likely to be driven underground or to extremes. If we create the social space that brings truth, mercy, justice and peace together within a conflicted group or setting, an energy is crystallized that created deeper understanding and unexpected new paths leading toward restoration and reconciliation.

This therefore shows that Lederach's model of reconciliation encompasses four elements which are truth, justice, mercy and peace. In support of Lederach, Adami & Hunt (2005:13) supports Lederach's model by highlighting that once the truth is spoken and recorded, it becomes a testimony in the collective memory of a nation and the world, it is fixed in history. Also Villa-Vicencio (2000:26) points out that the most important thing is not getting to a so called ultimate truth but it is all about having people on opposing sides begin to see each other's truth with empathy and understanding that would eventually allow reconciliation to take place.

Apart from truth, Lederach in his model mentions justice as another element of reconciliation. Justice usually refers to a situation where victims are compensated for their suffering and perpetrators paying for what they would have done. According to

Lederach (1995) justice should get rid of oppression and the sharing of resources should be improved. Furthermore, justice involves:

“The pursuit of restoration, of rectifying wrongs, of creating right relationships based on equity and fairness. Pursuing justice therefore involves advocacy for those harmed, for open acknowledgement of the wrongs committed, and for making things right. Mercy on the other hand, involves compassion, forgiveness and a new start. Mercy is oriented toward supporting persons who have committed injustices, encouraging them to change and move on” (Lederach, 1995).

This shows that the kind of justice that Lederach purports is restorative and then accompanied by the other three elements. Hence to support the idea of restorative justice, Oduro (2007) points out that reconciliation is not about punishing the perpetrators or knowing the truth but it should be more of taking steps to address the situation of the victim through the restoration of the physical, psychological, social and economic well beings of the individual affected by past wrongs.

However, justice is often assumed that it takes truth and punishing the guilty party for it to be achieved. Mercy on the other hand refers to forgiveness meaning that if one punishes the guilty mercy therefore leads to leniency in the sentence (Adami and Hunt, 2005). However according to Lederach the resulting justice in this case is illusory. Hence one needs to pursue justice in ways that respect people and at the same time to achieve restoration of relationships based on recognizing and amending injustices (Lederach, 1995). Therefore reconciliation to be sustainable it should in cooperate truth telling, justice and forgiveness of perpetrators.

Apart from justice, forgiveness is another element in reconciliation. However concerning forgiveness Jelin (2012) notes that forgiveness has remained a difficult element in the reconciliation process with some arguing that it is primarily a religious concept that has no place in secular processes. To support this thought, Noite-Schamm (2005) notes that the possibility of forgiveness without repentance is introduced to the world through the New testament story of the prodigal son therefore in the paradigm introduced by Jesus, the forgiver is able to forgive because they themselves have been forgiven, forgiveness that is offered as a gift to the perpetrator, regardless of the perpetrator's remorse, takes reconciliation to another level.

In the South African context the elements of Truth, Justice and forgiveness were considered through the establishment of the TRC which had the element of restorative justice which included compassion and mercy. Tutu (1999) held that there is need for people to forgive each other despite that they are victims or perpetrators. However that reconciliation to be sustainable it should involve truth telling, justice and forgiveness of perpetrators. When this happens the end result is not only reconciliation, but peace as well.

From the discussion above, it seems that all the elements of this model are supposed to be in balance in order for reconciliation to become a reality. These elements therefore cannot operate independently from one another.

Truth without justice would be an offence to the victims. Justice without truth might result in historical revisionism which would open the way for new conflicts. Mercy, which is sometimes translated as forgiveness, would be meaningless without acknowledging truth and justice, resulting in impunity for perpetrators. Peace is essential ingredient for other elements to become reality. Justice is mentioned as another important element of reconciliation. It usually refers to a situation where victims are compensated for their suffering and perpetrators paying for what they would have done. (Lederach 1997:29)

Hence for reconciliation to be sustainable these elements should be taken note of since they are interlinked.

2.3 Relevance of the theory in the context of the study

Lederach's theory of reconciliation is relevant to the study because when one looks at the South African reconciliation process and its implications for the Zimbabwean reconciliation process it becomes crucial to highlight issues of truth telling, justice, mercy and peace in order to cultivate reconciliation. The South African process was anchored on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's function of bringing people together through the provision of the four principles of truth telling, justice, mercy and peace as accordance with Psalms 85.

The TRC in South Africa implemented the element of truth telling in their bid to foster reconciliation. The establishment of the TRC pointed to Lederach's model of reconciliation that encompasses truth telling. The importance of allowing the truth to be heard was important for the country to move forward. Reconciliation cannot take place if

one part remains ignorant about its past while another part has never had its suffering acknowledged.

In South Africa the truth element was relevant to reconciliation in that many families discovered what happened to their relatives and in some cases they would find their remains and give them proper burial. This kind of a closure enabled reconciliation to take place. There is need for today that the victims need to be healed so that they will not think of revenge and violence. The traumas of the past do not just disappear with the passage of time instead psychological restoration and healing can only take place when the survivors are provided with space to be heard and the details of the traumatic event to be revisited in an environment that is safe.

Lederach is also supported by Hamber (1999) who highlights that when countries are attempting to overcome a violent past, it is better to deal with the past through investigations, truth recovering, justice and support for victims and survivors of violence than to ignore it. This is so because ignoring it would bring resentment which will eventually lead to revenge and violence. Hence Lederach's model of truth telling becomes relevant to the reconciliation in South Africa. If Zimbabwe is to operationalize the National Peace and Reconciliation commission Lederach's theory therefore becomes the backbone of the reconciliation process

Apart from truth telling, the element of restorative justice is relevant. There is need for restorative justice in South Africa. Restorative justice is reflective of the African notion of 'Ubuntu' which says one is human only because the other person is human so if they undermine another's humanity, they dehumanize themselves. It characterizes Justice as community restoration, the rebuilding of the community to include those harmed or formerly excluded (Yamamoto 1997:52).

Along the same thought Skelton and Frank (2001) also point out that the use of the term restorative Justice might be new to South Africans, but the spirit of restorative is not. They go on pointing out that, at the outset, it is important to establish that while the term restorative Justice may be relatively new to South Africans, the spirit of the concept is strongly embedded in the history of African society through the notion of Ubuntu (Skelton and Frank: 2001) This is supported by Boraine (2000) who describes Ubuntu as an African worldview, which is both a guide for social conduct as well as a philosophy of life. Therefore more than applicable to issues of justice, Ubuntu describes the individual's status in relation to others through the idea that a person becomes a person because of the other people. Ubuntu embodies ideas about interconnectedness of people to each other, the importance of the family group over the individual, and the value of benevolence towards all others in the community (Skelton and Frank 2001:104). This therefore shows that the idea of doing no harm to perpetrators but restore relationships existed before the use of the term restorative. Hence the use of the restorative Justice by

the TRC in the reconciliation process makes the model of Lederach relevant since there was need to restore relationships.

In Zimbabwe it is important that after the torture that has been experienced relationships are restored hence the element of restorative Justice becomes relevant. Although some people in their wisdom and in their desire to continue in power will think that the past will take care of itself by natural process of time restorative Justice should take its course if reconciliation is to be established in reality. It is therefore noted that there is need for forgiveness so that there is coexistence of parties in Zimbabwe if reconciliation is to be achieved. There is also need for truth telling and Justice to take its course if reconciliation is to become a reality in Zimbabwe.

2.4 Reconciliation Process

2.4.1 What is Reconciliation?

The word reconciliation has various interpretations therefore the meaning is therefore rather broad. It ranges from a narrow definition of a mutual agreement simply to lay down arms to a broader understanding including the creation of trust and forgiveness and a comprehensive reconstruction of social bonds between victim and perpetrator (Skaar 2006). This therefore illustrates that there is a split view on the definition and in the implementation of the concept.

The word reconciliation according to the Webster's Encyclopaedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language (1996) originates from the two Latin words

reconciliar meaning ‘put together’ or ‘to unite’. Galtung (2001) also refers to the Latin origin when he cites reconciliation as made up of the two concepts of closure and healing, closure in the sense of not reopening hostilities and healing in the sense of being rehabilitating (Galtung 2001). Furthermore, the Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) and Bloomfield make reconciliation an umbrella term consisting of the “over-arching process which includes the search for Justice, truth, forgiveness, healing and so on” (Bloomfield 2006). Thus becoming relevant for the focus of this study. Bloomfield’s view is also shared by Lederach(1997) who sees reconciliation as a locus, a meeting place for the four different concepts of truth, mercy, justice and peace.

In addition to the above, Bennink and Bartal (2004) highlight that reconciliation “consists of mutual recognition and acceptance, invested interests and goals in developing peaceful relations, mutual trust, positive attitudes as well as sensitivity and considerations for the other party’s needs and interest”. Thus if one takes this perspective then reconciliation is seen as an outcome, a goal which can be achieved.

To add on, reconciliation in its simplest form is restoring friendship and harmony between rivals sides after resolutions of conflict, or transforming the relations between rival sides from hostility and resentment to friendly and harmonious relations (BarSiman TOV 2004). Ifat (2004) further defines reconciliation as a cluster of cognitive and emotional process through which individual, group societies and states come to accept relationships of cooperation, concession and peace in situation of former conflict. Since

in this study attention is given to acknowledging the past and the rebuilding of relationships Karen's definition becomes more relevant since she views reconciliation as a "societal process involving mutual acknowledgment of past suffering and the changing of destructive and behaviour into constructive relationships toward sustainable peace" (Karen 2003). From these definitions, this study therefore assumes reconciliation as a building of relationships between the perpetrator and the victim that comes when the minds of people are transferred from violent and negative attitude into peaceful and constructive ones.

2.5 Elements of Reconciliation

2.5.1 Justice

Rosoux (2009) points out that reconciliation is about justice. It should include distributive, retributive and restorative justice. McCandless also notes the importance of justice in reconciliation. He points out that working justice-reconciliation conceptual framework is on that practices justice concerns (of means, ends and relational) in a process of constructive intergroup relationship building. It recognizes that the two share a dynamic interdependent relationship, mutually informing and benefitting each other. Assefa (2001, 181) similarly makes remarks that reconciliation necessitates the transformation of unjust relationships to more just ones. Along the same thoughts about justice and reconciliation Lambourne (2004:24) also supports this where she highlights that reconciliation values the justice which restores community rather than the justice

which destroys it. Hence justice becomes one of the most fundamental elements if reconciliation is to be achieved.

Retributive justice is a process whereby the guilty is accountable to his deeds and be punished for his or her wrong doing. Concerning retributive justice towards achieving reconciliation Rosoux (2009) argues that the practical requirements of administering retributive justice on the grand scale render it impossible. However he goes on to point out that instead retributive justice should work along with restorative justice for the desired results of reconciliation to be achieved. Similarly Nguyen (2008) supports that retributive justice should be carefully pursued, in combination with restorative justice and other reconciliation efforts, to enhance its contribution to effective reconciliation. Retributive justice therefore discourages future wrong doing and victims when they see their perpetrators being punished they gain a level of satisfaction.

The full weight of law must fall upon offenders, accepted standards of legal process must be adhered to and the guilty must be punished (Bloomfield, 2006). However, although the offenders must be punished there are other definitions of justice – not contradictory to the retributive one, but complementary to it, and essential for reconciliation and peace building, such as restorative justice. With this complementary element he further says the kind of justice that would be formed would be restorative in distinction from a sole focus on retributive justice. Which, when used alone, could indeed threaten, if not to destroy, then at least to impede and undermine, community

building, peace building and relationship-building (Bloomfield 2006). This therefore shows that retributive justice should work together with restorative justice to achieve maximum results of reconciliation.

Reconciliation without justice, in the sense of accountability and punishment of perpetrators is untenable, especially at individual and social levels. Those in support of retributive justice notion of reconciliation suggest that failure to prosecute and punish offenders of human rights abuse in times of transition creates a culture of impunity and is detrimental to the rule of law and reconciliation at the interpersonal level (Gloppen, 2002). However it seems that for retributive justice to work at its best it should be complemented with restorative justice.

In the South African context the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was committed to restorative justice rather than retributive justice. Heleta (2010) highlights that, by allowing a restorative justice system to replace the old inefficient one, (retributive justice) the streets will be safer and the characters of individuals strengthened. By allowing systems of restoration to take their course South Africa would be safer. Hence there is need to look at reconciliation as restorative justice. Restorative justice is a process to involve, to the extent possible, those who have a stake in a specific offence and collectively identify and arrest harms, needs and obligations in order to heal and put things right as possible (Zehr 2002:37). Going along with this thought is Molenaar (2005) who says that, reconciliation in the form of restorative justice connotes

restoring relationships through acknowledgement of the offences and compensation to victims for the harm done.

Reconciliation is not so much punishing the perpetrators for wrongs in the past knowing the truth, but taking steps to address the victim's situation through the restoration of the physical, psychological, social and economic well-being of the individual damaged by past wrongs (Oduro, 2007). Restorative justice has in recent years, attained fashionable status as the type of justice that represents an approach to promote and achieve reconciliation in transitional societies (Bloomfield, 2006). At the same time Gandhi (2010) points out that the restorative justice, creates a space within the perpetrators of crimes might re-join the community, they can be helped to regain something of their lost humanity and re-establish their connectedness. Restorative justice therefore emphasizes not on the crucial trials and perpetrators being punished but on the victims' side through restoration, reparation and the idea of compensation.

In South Africa the Truth and Reconciliation Commission used restorative justice. Tutu (1999:51) says that the central concern is not retribution or punishment but, in spirit of Ubuntu, the healing of breaches, the redressing of imbalances, and the restoration of broken relationships. This kind of justice seeks to rehabilitate both the victim and the perpetrator, who should be given the opportunity to be reintegrated into the community he or she has injured by his or her offence. This is far more personal approach, which sees the offence as something that has happened to people and whose consequence is

rapture in relationships. Thus one should claim that justice, restorative justice, is being served when efforts are being made to work for healing, for forgiveness and for reconciliation.

In addition to restorative and retributive justice, Lederach also mentions the importance of transitional justice to achieve reconciliation. The role of transitional justice in reconciliation is a crucial element of achieving durable and positive peace (www.ukc.library.uu.nl). Thus to achieve sustainable reconciliation transitional justice should be taken note of. Transitional justice is defined as a range of justice approaches that societies undertake to reckon with legacies of widespread or systematic human rights abuses as they move from a period of violent conflict or oppression towards peace (Quin and Hovil, 2005). Furthermore, according to the International Centre for Transitional Justice, transitional justice refers to the set of the judicial and non-judicial measures that have been implemented by different countries in order to redress the legacies of massive human rights abuses. These measures include criminal prosecutions, truth commissions, reparations, programs and various kinds of institutional reforms (<http://icj.org/about/transitional-justice>). Hence transitional justice is important in reconciliation in that if abuses remain unaddressed it is more likely that it will generate mistrust between different groups and in the different institutions of the state and this will slow down reconciliation.

To add on to the above, Lambourne (2004) concluded that, transitional justice mechanisms that do not seek to reconcile the retributive and restorative aspects of justice and to promote some form of acknowledgement or truth, in addition to transforming political institutions and socio economic distribution, most likely will not create the required transformation in relationships necessary to support sustainable reconciliation. This therefore shows that for reconciliation to be sustainable it must be wholesome meaning that retributive, restorative and transitional justice should be taken note of.

In the South African case it is questionable whether the TRC managed to consider transitional justice in its approach. Some measure of discontent is seen when the cadres of Umkhonto WeSizwe rose up demanding their reparations. The failure to disburse on reparations and other factors could have undermined victims, trust and assurance in both the TRC and the South Africa's new political epilogue. Therefore transitional justice may take generations to achieve reconciliation since moving beyond past atrocities and the rebuilding of the affected societies is a multi-dimensional process.

To add on to transitional justice, Lederach and Rosoux (2009) mention the importance of distributive justice if reconciliation is to be achieved. Distributive justice according to Lederach is all about fair location of resources among different members of a community. However, some believe that the distribution procedures and outcomes are important. Some believe that for distribution to be considered as just it is the final

outcome that should be taken note of, while on the other hand others think that what is important are the rules that would have been followed in determining that distribution.

Maiese (2013) points out that, in his theory of justice, John Rawls claims that one's place of birth, social status and family influences are matters of luck that should not unduly influence the amount of benefits that one receives in life. He maintains that the job of distributive justice is to limit the influence of luck so that goods might be distributed more fairly to everyone's advantage (Maiese, 2013). Nozick quoted by Maiese (2013) on the other hand believes that, distributive justice is to limit the influence is a matter of setting down rules that individuals should follow in acquiring and transferring resources and benefits. The aim of distributive justice is not to achieve any particular outcome of distribution, but rather to ensure a fair process of exchange.

These different views show that issues of distributive justice are central to reconciliation. However Lederach (1997:29) insists that linking justice to reconciliation is not limited only to principals of distributive justice such as equal share or equality of outcomes in a peace agreement, but it represents the search for individual and group rights, for social restructuring, and for restitution.

In the South African context Tutu (2000:23) argues that all south Africans had to continue living alongside one another and could not afford to alienate the perpetrators as this had to the danger of leading to renewed violence. Hence the desire to build South Africa on the principles of justice and reconciliation amongst others.

2.5.2 Truth telling

According to Lederach (1997) truth is one of the necessary conditions for reconciliation and is supported by Chapman (2001) who also highlights that knowing the truth about the perpetrators and the causes of the conflict is a key requirement for reconciliation. It was the idea that the South African truth and reconciliation model leaned on. Truth seeking seeks to look for what happened and who was involved. Lederach (1997) defines truth seeking as an opportunity for people to express to and with one another the trauma of loss and their grief at that loss and the anger that accompanies the pain and the memory of injustices experienced. Thus what is important to Lederach for reconciliation are truth mercy, peace and justice.

Concurring with Lederach is Asmal (1997) who says that reconciliation is attained when the truth about the past is told and acknowledged by both parties involved, leading to a closure of the ledger book of the past. Such a process results in an ending of the divisive cycle of accusations, denial and counter accusations, but more a setting of them through a process of evaluation (Asmal, 1997). Hence if reconciliation is understood in this way, victims and perpetrators will thus be willing and ready to make known the truth about what transpired and accept it. Dawson (2001) argues that people find it difficult to forgive and reconcile, unless there has been an open acknowledgement of the injuries and losses. This means that a shared acknowledgment of truth is an essential condition for reconciliation. It is important since there is acceptance by the perpetrators that they

are responsible of the injuries and losses experienced by the victims. This would therefore allow the perpetrators to ask for forgiveness formally.

On the other hand, other scholars reject the element of truth as a form of reconciliation challenging the idea that reconciliation can be achieved when there is acknowledgement of shared truth. Ignatieff quoted by Oduro (2007) says that at best, all that a truth commission can achieve is to reduce the number of falsehoods that can exist without being challenged. In short, a truth commission cannot overcome a society's divisions. Thus he believes that reconciliation cannot be achieved by the discovery of truth only, whether reconciliation occurs at an individual level depends on how the individual responds to the truths being revealed and acknowledgment and the context in which the truth was revealed (Oduro 2007).

2.5.3 Forgiveness

After justice and truth, Lederach's model includes the need for forgiveness in reconciliation. In support of this, Gandhi (2010) says that psychological research also supports the role of forgiveness in trauma recovery and social healing. To add on to this, Montville also notes that, even the most brilliant negotiator can at best make a temporary deal between adversaries, unless she advances a genuine process of healing the wounds of history. However it is not easy to let go of the past but human beings have the ability to do so. Rigby (2014) says that it is this capacity to let go of the past, to forego of the

quest for revenge, which is at the heart of forgiveness. Hence forgiveness is a crucial element if reconciliation is to be achieved.

However, questions are asked over forgiveness whether one is supposed to forgive and forget or is supposed to incorporate memory then forgive. Gandhi (2010) says that:

It is sad that only those who remember can forgive and that memory and not forgetting is the necessary condition for forgiveness. A forgetful person cannot forgive because he or she cannot remember. Without remembering, forgiveness as a conscious act is impossible. The slogan, is therefore no longer forgive and forget, but remember and forgive. Collective turning from the past does not mean ignoring or forgetting the misdeed, but recognizing the humanity of the commissioning agent.

This shows that according to Gandhi the process of forgiving incorporates remembering. Nelson Mandela quoted by Gandhi (2010) also remarked that South African people must remember their dreadful past in order to be able to deal with it, forgive when it is necessary, but never to forget. In the same manner, Tutu (1999) also noted that there is no future without forgiveness, but to forgive, one must know what happened to others, it must be remembered. This therefore means that one cannot utterly forget the atrocities happened to him or her instead he or she must remember but be able to forgive. Hence forgiveness becomes one of the key elements in reconciliation.

Furthermore, Govier (2002) goes on to separate doers from deeds arguing that people do not forgive those who have committed evil deeds as such, because only persons can be forgiven. No deed ever expressed remorse, apologized, asked for forgiveness, or faced

the challenge of moral transformation. It is persons who forgive or do not forgive (Govier, 2002) However, whether deeds are separated from deeds or not the underlying factor remains, forgiveness should take place for reconciliation to be attained.

Forgiveness played an important role in proceedings done by TRC in South Africa. The TRC managed to draw its meaning both Christianity of which most people in South Africa are Christians and from the African Concept of Ubuntu. Tutu (1999) held that forgiveness should take place regardless of being a perpetrator or a victim. Wielenga (2010) says that Tutu called people to forgive regardless whether remorse was shown, in the belief that forgiveness is pivotal if a nation is not to fall into an endless cycle of revenge. Although this led to reconciliation during the TRC's endeavors but they are some who feel that white South Africans did not show enough remorse.

2.5.4 Peace

Govier and Verwoerd (2002) argue further that reconciliation involves the building or rebuilding of trust coming together after a rift – a rift that has caused tension between two feuding partners due to actual or perceived wrong doing. Oduro (2007) goes on to say that for these scholars, reconciliation involves mending relationships of people as a result of a broken trust and hence repairing the broken trust. They argue that reconciling disputed narratives of events of harms is important but not necessary for individuals and groups to reconcile, because as they note, people may agree to come together but will

still differ on contested events. For Govier and Verwoerd (2002), the essence of reconciliation is trust building or rebuilding which depends on the nature and context of relationships that are constructed between antagonistic individuals and groups. Seekings (2005) also sees reconciliation in the context of overcoming mistrust and relationships. However she takes the debate further when she states that if relationship can be reestablished that allows for progress to be made towards a sustainably more decent society, then it would be content to say that some degree of reconciliation had occurred. She therefore argues that although promoting relationships and the rebuilding of trust are important it must not end there but should be seen in the progress of the society in question. Its structures should at least reflect reconciliation (Seekings, 2005).

Therefore, for sustainable reconciliation to take place there is need for people emerging from a divided society to overcome hostility. They can only overcome hostility when they are prepared to forgive and begin to look with a positive mind thereby develop trust that the perpetrators would not behave in the same way again.

2.6 The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

The South African Parliament opted for a version of the “Latin American Model” a Truth Commission unlike the Nuremberg model which emphasised on Trials before a Tribunal. A truth commission was opted for as an alternative to the prosecution of individuals before a criminal tribunal. This type of a model was pioneered by some Latin America countries, notably Argentina, Chile, El Salvador and Uruguay. The South African TRC was established in 1995. It was a constitutional compromise that sought to stop continued bloodshed. The Commission was mandated to uncover the fate of the victims who experienced gross violation of human rights during the apartheid era. The explanations, circumstances, factors and the context of the violation, then the perception of the victim and the perception of the perpetrator were very important. These were done in form of investigations and establishments of facts. It was supposed to look at the causes of killing, abduction, torture and other violations of human rights. The commission was to make recommendations to the government on how to prevent the future gross violations of human rights (TRC Report Vol.1: 1998).

The difference between the TRC in South Africa and other commissions was the issue of amnesty. The TRC was to grant amnesty to people who fully or honestly revealed all the relevant truth relating to acts associated with a political objective (TRC Act 34 of 1995). Unlike other countries like Chile and Rwanda the South African approach was “amnesty in return for the truth” and not collective amnesty. Retributive Justice was given a low priority causing the family of Steve Biko and other victims of apartheid to

oppose an amnesty in South Africa (Villa Vicencio 2003). However, the commission sought to heal wounds and bring reconciliation among the people.

2.7 Why Zimbabwe needs a National, Peace and Reconciliation commission? It is assumed that the National Peace and Reconciliation commission will be an important device if it is used in Zimbabwe as the nation moves towards democracy.

This assumption comes as a result that there have been serious human rights abuses. These were experienced shortly before the parliamentary elections of June 2000 and during the invasion of white owned commercial farms. Human rights abuses have also occurred during the Matabeleland massacres of 1983, the so called Gukurahundi. The extent to which these acts of violence are to be considered by the commission still have to be debated.

It is believed that the National Peace and Reconciliation commission would be effective in Zimbabwe if it is adopted mainly because through an official truth body, an accurate record of the country's past will be established and uncertain events clarified, that the silence and denial of human rights violations will be dealt with and the truth exposed (Hayner 1994:25). As the victims would be exposing their suffering they will be reclaiming their human worth and dignity (Sarkin 1999:799). Hence the aims of the commission promote reconciliation and reduce the tensions that have resulted from the past violence.

2.8 Establishment of the Commission

Commissions can be established in a number of ways, most of them done by presidential decree, for example in Argentina, Chad and Uganda and some by peace accord for instance Guatemala and others by the national legislature like in South Africa. However if a commission is to be created, a minimum requirement is that it must be independent from the government. Everything to be undertaken like the interpretation of the written mandate, in developing its operating methodology for research and public outreach, and in shaping its report and recommendations (Hayner 1994:179).

In the Zimbabwean context the Constitution spells out how the commission will be established and it also gives the composition of the commission. According to the constitution of Zimbabwe Act No. 251 it points out that:

- (1) For a period of ten years after the effective date, there is a commission to be known as the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission consisting of –
 - (a) A chairperson appointed by the President after consultation with the Judicial Service Commission and the Committee on Standing Rules and Orders plus eight other commissioners.
- (2) The chairperson of the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission must be a person who has been qualified for at least seven years to practice as a legal practitioner of Zimbabwe Constitution (Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment No. 20 Act 2013).

(3) Furthermore, according to the constitution Act No. 252: The National Peace and Reconciliation Commission would be expected to ensure post-conflict justice, healing and reconciliation and to mediate disputes among communities, organizations, groups and individuals (Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment No. 20 Act 2013).

2.9 Conclusion

In as much as Zimbabwe would want to establish the National Peace and Reconciliation commission, if it is to be successful there is need that the model be designed in response to the critical factors in and unique needs of Zimbabwe. However, there are a number of lessons that Zimbabwe can draw from the South African TRC model since there is no standard model that can be transferred as it is from one situation to another. Each situation is dealt with separately.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

Rajasekar (2006) defines research methodology as a systematic way to solve a problem or a science of studying how research is to be carried out that is the procedures by which researchers go about their work of describing, explaining and predicting phenomena. He further defines it as the study of methods by which knowledge is gained aiming to give the work plan of research. Thus the scope of the research methodology is wide. It does not look at the research methods only but also take note of the logic behind the methods used in the context of the research study. Thereby explaining why a particular method has been used so that the results of the study are able to be evaluated either by the researcher or others. Therefore methodology is much more practical in nature.

3.1 Research Design

A research design refers to a detailed plan that shows how the information or data is going to be collected and how the instruments are to going to be employed (<http://www.businessdictionary.com>). In this study, qualitative research method was used. Qualitative research provides the individual's own accounts of their attitudes, motivations and behaviour. It offers richly descriptive reports of individual's perceptions, attitudes, beliefs views and feelings, the meaning and interpretations given

to events and things (Hakim 1997). Hence qualitative data is relevant when it comes to define feelings and attitude. Qualitative research thus became useful in this study since it is examining the reconciliation process in South Africa and the lessons that Zimbabwe can draw. Hiatt (1986) describes qualitative research as focusing on discovering and understanding the experiences, perspectives and thoughts of participants, thereby exploring meaning, purpose or reality.

3.2 Population

According to Saunders, Lewis, Thornhill (2009) the population is complete set of group members under study. The population includes all individuals whom the researcher is interested into obtaining information from and makes inferences. Information of this population is gathered by a sample. It is difficult to study all the members of a population therefore few participants were chosen to make sure that the sample represents the population. The researcher therefore interviewed two people from the South African Embassy, two from the Evangelical Fellowship in Zimbabwe (EFZ), two from the Ecumenical Peace Observation Initiative in Zimbabwe (EPOIZ) and two from the Zimbabwe Human rights NGO forum. Two academics from the University of Zimbabwe from the faculty of Political Science and two from the University of Western Cape from the History Department were also interviewed. One person from the ZimRights and one from the Early Warning Department in the government were interviewed. Two focus groups were held consisting of eight people each from the Institute of Peace, Leadership and Governance, Africa University.

3.3 Sample selection

Saunders, Lewis, Thornhill (2009) defines a sample as a subset of the population. The main function of the sample is to allow researchers to conduct the study to individuals from the population so that the results of their study can be used to derive conclusions that will apply to the entire population (www.Explorables.com). The researcher drew her sample from the students of the Institute of Peace, Leadership and Governance because they have the knowledge about reconciliation that the researcher is looking for. Two people from the South African embassy were chosen because since they are South Africans they have vast knowledge on the subject matter since one interviewee is the first secretary political and the other one is the second secretary political. The researcher intended to interview two people from the Zimbabwe Peace Project but failed to have access since they were afraid of their security.

The researcher then interviewed one person from the Zimbabwe Human Rights Association (ZimRights). This was important to the research since it is the duty of the organization to inform the citizens about human rights and empower them to defend their own rights. Two people from the Ecumenical Peace Observation Initiative in Zimbabwe (EPOIZ) were interviewed. These were relevant because the organization was formed to promote peace in the run up to, during and after the country's election. Two people were also interviewed from the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe (EFZ) since they have a department on peace. Two from the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO forum

were interviewed because they have an arm for transitional justice therefore their views concerning the reconciliation in South Africa and the implications for Zimbabwe was of paramount importance. The researcher also had a privilege to interview one person from the Early Warning Department in the government. The information was very useful since they are the people who advice the government on what to do or not. Two academics were interviewed from the University of Zimbabwe instead of four because the other two were not in office the time that the researcher carried the interviews. The two academics from the University of Zimbabwe were well versed with the information that the researcher requires since they are from the faculty of Political Science. The researcher was supposed to interview four staff members from the Institute of Justice and Reconciliation in South Africa but failed because the Emails were not replied probably because of their busy schedule. However, the researcher managed to hold telephone interviews with two academics from the University of Western Cape in South Africa who are in the History Department. These provided the researcher with vast information on the reconciliation process in South Africa. One of them was a researcher in the investigative unit during the reconciliation process therefore provided information from her experiences.

3.4 Purposive Sampling

According to Patton (1990) some examples of the kinds of purposive alternatives available include, stakeholder sampling, extreme or deviant case sampling, typical case sampling, criterion sampling, theory guided sampling, maximum variation sampling,

critical case sampling and expert sampling. All these types show how purposive sampling can be considered. A purposive sample therefore is the one that is selected based on the knowledge of a population and the purpose of the study (Babbie, 2001).

However, in this study the researcher used expert sampling. The researcher used her own 'expert' judgment about who was supposed to be included in the sample frame. The choice for this type was influenced by her prior knowledge that the researcher has since she knows their portfolios. The researcher interviewed two people from the South African Embassy, two from EFZ and two from EPOIZ. One person from the ZimRights was also interviewed. Two academics from the University of Zimbabwe from the faculty of Political Science were also interviewed. They have vast knowledge on the subject because of their educational background and these are issues that they deal with on a daily basis in terms of their curricular. Two from the Zimbabwe Human rights NGO forum were also interviewed. Two academics from the University of Western Cape from the History Department were interviewed through the telephone. One from the Early Warning Department in the government was also interviewed.

3.5 Sample Size

The sample size for this study was thirty people. The researcher interviewed two people from the South African Embassy, two from EFZ, two from EPOIZ and two from

Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO forum. One person from the ZimRights and one from the Early Warning Department were also conducted. Two academics from the University of Zimbabwe from the faculty of Political Science and two from the University of Western Cape from the History Department were also interviewed. Two focus groups were held consisting of eight people each from the Institute of Peace Leadership and Governance at Africa University.

3.6 Research instruments

3.6.1 Key Informants interview

The researcher held interviews with the key informants. These people were knowledgeable on the subject. Two people were interviewed from the South African embassy, two from EFZ, two from EPOIZ and two from the Zimbabwe Human rights forum. Four academics were interviewed, two from the University of Zimbabwe from the faculty of Political Science and two from the University of Western Cape from the History Department. One key informant from the ZimRights and one from the Early Warning Department in the government were also interviewed.

3.6.2 Focus Groups

At the simplest level, a focus group is an informal discussion among a group of selected individuals about a particular topic (Wilkinson 2014). Broadly speaking, focus groups are “collective conversations” which can be small or large (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis).

According to Kitzinger (1994) focus groups are group discussions which are arranged to examine a specific set of topics and the group is focused because “it involves some kind of collective activity. In most cases people who are involved in a focus group usually have the same background or concerns. At most a focus interview would involve about eight people. A focus group discusses with the moderator and they do not focus on reaching a consensus on the topic being discussed. Rather, focus groups encourage a range of responses which provide a greater understanding of the attitudes, behaviour, opinions or perceptions of participants on the research issues (Hennink 2007:6).

Hennink (2007:6) further highlights that a successful focus group discussion relies heavily on the development of permissive, non-threatening environment within the group, where the participants can feel comfortable to discuss their opinions and experiences without fear that they will be judged or ridiculed by others in the group. Hence the environment of a focus group is important since the research participants would want to be comfortable so as to air out their views freely. In addition to the above, a focus group allows the researcher to unveil some aspects that mostly remain hidden if a conventional in depth interview method is applied, thus focus groups instead create data from multiple voices (Madriz 2003). In a focus group the research participants is therefore given an opportunity to define what is important in order to understand his/her experience.

In this study focus groups have been used because they are useful in exploring and examining what people think how they think, the way they do about issues of importance to them without pressuring them into making decisions or reaching a consensus (Kitzinger 2005). This method became useful since the study sought to examine the reconciliation process in South Africa thereby finding out what people think about the reconciliation process in South Africa was of much importance. Furthermore, this method was important in this study because the researcher understood a wide range of views that people hold about the reconciliation process in South Africa and the implications for Zimbabwe. Thus in this study it was important for people to air out their thoughts, understandings and perceptions in their own words thereby providing the researcher with rich and detailed information. Hence in this study two focus groups were held such that the researcher acquired as much information as possible.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Saunders, Lewis, Thornhill (2009) defines research ethics as standards of conduct which one observes when conducting research. Principles of ethics to be followed include confidentiality, integrity, objectivity, openness, carefulness, respect for intellectual property and honesty. This is done to ensure that what comes from the study is reliable, objective, truthful and original. Therefore the study assured confidentiality of information shared. The information shared would not be traced back to respondents. Hence comprehensive coding and pseudonyms were used to ensure anonymity. A letter

from the Institute of Peace, Leadership and Governance increased confidence to people such that the researcher was able to access more information.

3.8 Data Collection Plan

When doing a research it is essential for the researcher to think about how or she is going to gain access. According to Renganathan (2009) gaining access refers to the researcher's ability to acquire consent to go wherever he/she wishes to interview the people, obtain and read whatever is required for the study and to do all this whatever period that satisfies the research purpose. To gain access to the South African Embassy, academics, EFZ, EPOIZ and to the Zimbabwe Human Rights forum, the researcher used the letter with the official letter head of Africa University Institute of Peace, Leadership and Governance. The letter was used as a channel in building contacts. Thereafter telephone calls were used to make appointments with the interviewees based on their time availability.

As for the focus groups the researcher gained access since the students are fellow students with her. Therefore the colleagues felt obligated to help the researcher. However, to all these people the researcher assured confidentially of the information provided.

3.9 Data Collection Tools

3.9.1 Document Analysis

For this study document analysis was used. The researcher used memoirs and autobiographies. Desmond Tutu and Nelson Mandela's memoirs and autobiographies were used in this research. These were followed by the use of literature from books, internet, journals and the TRC report.

3.9.2 Semi Structured Interviews

This is most common qualitative data collection method. Flick (1998) highlights that semi structured interviews use open ended questions. The researcher used this method because open questions give people the opportunity to talk openly and freely within the area under study. The semi structured interview is a technique designed to elicit a vivid picture of the participants' perspective on the research questions (Flick 1998). The researcher used interviews because the method was useful in examining the reconciliation process in South Africa and more so it allowed people to give their opinions on the lessons that Zimbabwe can extract. Thus with this type of a method people gave their personal feelings and opinions.

3.10 Data Analysis Procedures

Data analysis is the process of systemically applying statistical or logical techniques to describe and illustrate, condense and recap and evaluate data (Shamoo, 2003). Thus data

analysis is a discussion on how the data collected is going to be analysed. Analysis therefore demands reading of all the data so as to provide contexts for everything relevant.

Data analysis started informally when conducting interviews when recurring themes became evident. Once written records were done, they were followed by an analysis that involved the coding of data. Coding is defined as marking the segments of data with symbols, descriptive words, or category names (<http://qualiresearch.com>). The “code” usually can be a word or phrase that shows how the associated data segments inform the research objectives. With qualitative data the researcher used content analysis to categorise information from secondary documents. The researcher went through the descriptive responses from the respondents as they answered each question in order to understand the meaning of what they were communicating. Therefore, the researcher used thematic content analysis approach whereby data is recorded, coded and grouped depending with the theme that will be coming out from the data collected.

3.11 Summary

This chapter described the research methodology of this study, explained the sample selection then followed by a description of the procedure used in designing the instruments and collection of the data. Data analysis procedure has been discussed as well.

CHAPTER 4

DATA, PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents data from both primary and secondary data. Data interpretation and analysis is also presented in this chapter. Research findings are going to be discussed with reference to the literature review. Thematic approach is going to be used. It seeks to present findings on reconciliation process of South Africa, strengths and weaknesses of the process and draw lessons for Zimbabwe.

4.1 What is Reconciliation?

4.1.1 Rebuilding of relationships

Reconciliation can be defined as the rebuilding of relationships. Out of the fourteen interviews eight defined reconciliation as the rebuilding of relationships between the perpetrator and the victim, eight from the focus groups also had a view that reconciliation entails a relationship after a conflict. The victim and the perpetrator need to reach an agreement so that a conducive atmosphere of reconciliation is created. The relationship buildings are a result of forgiving each other and forget conflicts of the past. This view is supported by Oduro (2007) who sees reconciliation as the rebuilding of relations resulting in former enemies live peacefully together with respect towards each other.

4.1.2 A restored mutual trust

Two of the people interviewed pointed out that there must be a restored mutual trust in reconciliation. Renewed relationships require high levels of trust between the parties that were involved in the conflict. Where there is mutual trust, fears, mistrust and hatred are all removed hence resulting in reconciliation. Therefore reconciliation involves the removal of suspicion and respect for one another is promoted. This view is also supported by Govier (2002) who highlights that reconciliation involves people mending their relationships after a broken trust hence there is need to repair the broken trust. Thus the essence of reconciliation is based on trust building whereby there will be no regular reference to the wrongs of the past.

4.1.3 Change of attitude and behaviour

Eight people, three from the focus groups and five from the interviews pointed out that a restored mutual trust in reconciliation can only be witnessed when there is a change of attitude and behaviour. When the one who used to see one race as superior no longer sees that way but treating all people as equal. No trace of violence should be seen. Change of behaviour can be witnessed when people are no longer willing to kill (Bloomfield 2003). This therefore shows that a change of attitude and behaviour is a sure case for proving the existence of reconciliation and hence that's what reconciliation is.

4.1.4 Reconciliation as both a process and a goal

Two people from the interviews conducted highlighted that reconciliation is not time bound therefore it is a process. In support of this view Oduro (2007) mentions that the pursuit of reconciliation is a long term process and the outcome of this process should be a unified society. Hence a process refers to the means to achieve the goal which is reconciliation in this case. Furthermore, those who held this view also pointed out that reconciliation is voluntary therefore cannot be imposed. Since it cannot be imposed then it is conditional meaning that unless certain acts from the parties are done reconciliation is impossible. Therefore those who hold this view concluded that reconciliation then must be seen as a long term process that may take decades of generations.

From the discussion above, it is noted that the majority seems to consider reconciliation as the rebuilding of relationships. However, reconciliation can be said it is a process whereby the society moves from the divided past to a shared future, meaning that there is need for the past to be addressed. Although meaningful reconciliation is a difficult and complex process it must be grasped because avoiding it will only sow seeds of later, greater conflict or failure.

4.2 Reasons for the establishment of the TRC

4.2.1 Gross inhuman abuses

Out of the fourteen people interviewed ten mentioned that the TRC was established as a result of gross inhuman abuses that had happened during the apartheid era. Ten from the focus groups also pointed out that the TRC was established to deal with issues of violence and human rights abuses. The respondents argued that during apartheid era people were abducted, raped and even killed for no apparent reasons therefore there is need to deal with the past. This view is in line with what Tutu said in the TRC report where he said, “in our case dealing with past means knowing what happened. Who ordered that this person should be killed? Why did this gross violation of human rights take place” (TRC Vol 1:07). This then shows that only a truth commission could have these questions answered and therefore needed to establish one.

4.2.2 The need to establish a culture of respect for another human being

Two from interviews and three from the focus groups alluded to the need of establishing a culture of respect for another human being as one of the reasons for establishment of the TRC. Under apartheid racial discrimination was dominant. The respondents pointed out that black people were forced to live in the outskirts where there was no water and shelter thus not fit for human beings to live. Marriages across the colour line were prohibited. Moreover there was separation of educational facilities. In support of this

view, the TRC report highlights that African children were subjected to teaching that was deeply inferior in quality to that of white counterparts (TRC report Vol 1).

Therefore it was as a result of this discrimination that the TRC was established.

4.2.3 Managing the transition

Seven respondents mentioned that the TRC was established because there was need to manage the transition from apartheid to democracy so that people are assured that violence of this nature would never happen again. In addition three from the civil society pointed out that transitional process made the people feel that there was sense of justice.

This is in the line with what Mr Dullah Omar, former minister of justice said “.....a commission is a necessary exercise to enable South Africans to come to terms with their past on morally accepted basis and to advance the case of reconciliation”

(<http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/>). This therefore shows that the transition from apartheid to democracy needed to be managed so as to achieve reconciliation after people felt that justice had taken its course.

From the discussion, it is noted that since twenty people out of the thirty participants mentioned the gross inhuman abuses it therefore suggest that the major reason for the establishment of the TRC was to deal with the gross inhuman abuses that had happened in the apartheid era. However, societies have moments of ‘madness’ that is a society

clouded with violence and atrocities and South Africa was not an exception. These incidents of violence created a perpetrator and a victim in South Africa. Therefore to move forward there was need for a reconciliation process hence the need for the establishment of a TRC.

4.3 The Composition of the Commission

Almost 90% of the interviewees and the participants of focus groups alluded to the fact that the South African parliament established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission through the promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No 34 of 1995 comprising of 17 commissioners who were South African Nationals. The respondents further mentioned that the commission was made of lawyers, judges, human rights activists, church institutions, and representatives of the civil society. This is line with what the TRC report says. It mentions that the commissioners comprised of the civil society, human rights activists, lawyers and the religious representatives (TRC report Vol 1). The report further mentions what the participants also highlighted that the commissions were publicly selected and interviewed by an independent selection panel comprising representatives of civil society, religious bodies and all political parties in the country. Nelson Mandela appointed Archbishop Desmond Tutu to be the chair of the commission and Alex Boraine to be the deputy chair. Ten of the interviewees managed to mention the committees that were allocated to the commissioners and four managed

to give names of the commissioners allocated to the committees. The TRC report also mentions the names of the commissions under every committee as follows:

a) The Human Rights Violations Committee

- Archbishop Desmond Tutu (Chairperson)
- Mr Wynand Malan (Vice Chairperson)
- Ms Yasmin Sooka (Vice Chairperson)
- Dr Alex Boraine
- Ms Mary Burton
- The Revd. Bongani Fuca
- Mr Richard Lyster
- Dr Fazel Randera

b) The Ammnesty Committee □Adv. Chris Dejager

- Ms Sisi Khampepe
- Adv. Denzil Potgieter

c) The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee

- Ms Hlengiwe Mkhize(chairperson)
- Dr Wendy Orr (vice Chairperson)
- The Revd. Dr Khoza Mgojo
- Dr Mapule F Ramashala
- Ms Glenda Wildschut

d) Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza was appointed as head of the investigation unit.

These commissioners were South African Nationals who were ready to execute their duties after their appointment.

4.4 The Mandate of the Commission

The majority of the respondents highlighted that the mandate of the commission was to uncover as much as possible the truth of what happened in the past giving a true narration of the gross violations of human rights. Twelve from the interviewees and thirteen from the focus groups highlighted that the process of telling the truth helps in the understanding and in giving of an explanation of the divided past. Five, two from the interviews and three from the focus group added that the telling of truth helps to bring back the victim's dignity. This is in line with what the preamble to the act says, ".....the public acknowledgment of 'untold' suffering and 'injustice' helps to restore the dignity of the victims and afford perpetrators the opportunity to come to terms with their own past" (TRC Vol. 1: 1998). To support the idea that the commission was mandated to uncover the gross violations of human rights, the TRC report Vol. 1 (1998) says the Truth Commission was tasked:

"To provide for the investigation and the establishment of a complete picture as possible of the nature and extent of all gross violations of human rights committed within outside the Republic..... and emanating from the conflicts of the past, and of the fate or whereabouts of the victims of such violation".

This shows that the major task of the TRC was to uncover the truth about the gross violations of human rights.

Apart from the above, seven from the interviewees and three from the focus group discussions further mentioned that the commission was mandated to come up with a historical record of what had happened in the past and to pass recommendations of measures that can be taken to avoid violations of human rights in future. To add on, the TRC report highlights that the commission was mandated to draft reparation measures in respect of victims and to grant amnesty to those perpetrators who would confess publicly (TRC report Vol 1).

All in all, it can be concluded that according to the ‘Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No 34 of 1995 the major thing that the TRC was mandated to do was to promote reconciliation. This therefore means that whatever the TRC engaged in the intended aim was to achieve reconciliation at the end.

4.5 Elements of reconciliation employed by the TRC in South Africa

4.5.1 Truth telling

All the thirty participants alluded to truth telling as one of the elements of reconciliation employed in South Africa. This is in line with what Lederach (1997) says, “Truth is one of necessary conditions for reconciliation”. Truth telling is where both the victim and the

perpetrator were given a chance to tell their story. A conducive environment was created where they could tell in their own languages so that they could express themselves well.

This concurs with what Archbishop Tutu said at a hearing of the commission in Port Elizabeth on 21 May 1996, “This commission is commanded to listen to everyone. It is therefore important that everyone should be given a chance to say his or her truth as he or she sees it.....” (TRC Report Vol. 1:112).

However, the majority felt that truth telling promoted reconciliation to a larger extent in the sense that the victims could display their pain to the world and their grievances and be able to give voice to previously denied feelings. This therefore made them feel that at least there were other people who were ready to hear what they went through hence a feeling of satisfaction engulfed them leading to reconciliation. Hence Asmal (1997) gives an emphasis that reconciliation is attained when the truth about the past is told and acknowledged by both parties leading to a closure of the ledger book of the past. On the other hand there were some who felt that truth telling instead deepened divisions between the perpetrator and the victim. They argued that truth telling would allow old wounds to open up which would result in fresh pains thus deepening divisions.

However, although the majority alluded to the fact that truth led to reconciliation, five of the respondents went further pointing out that the concept of truth is complex. Several

questions are raised, what about truth and whose truth? Is it personal truth or social truth? Personal truth refers to the truth as it is said by individual and social truth refers to the truth that is considered as truth by the society, meaning how people perceive it (TRC Vol. 1:115). Moreover, how truth is truth? Were the narratives true according to what exactly transpired? These questions are difficult to answer and this becomes clear evidence that the element of truth is complex but the fact remains that truth is one of the element of reconciliation employed in South Africa towards reconciliation.

From the discussion, it can be noted that the concept of truth is complex however no matter how one would want to view it. Truth telling in South Africa can be said to have enhanced reconciliation. It is a vital step in the reconciliation process, a key ingredient, but only one ingredient cannot achieve reconciliation hence Lederach alludes to forgiveness and justice as well. This therefore means that truth telling is important but it cannot achieve reconciliation alone.

4.5.2 Forgiveness

Apart from truth, the majority also alluded to the element of forgiveness in reconciliation. This is in line with what Lederach (1997) emphasizes when he pointed out that truth, forgiveness, peace and justice are important elements in reconciliation. The TRC report highlights that many victims insisted that they were not prepared to forgive, if it meant that they must 'close the book on the past' 'let bygones be bygones'

or forget about the past and focus on the future'(TRC report Vol. 1:116). Forgiveness does not mean forgetting instead it is about seeking to forgo bitterness, renouncing resentment, moving past old hurt and becoming a survivor rather than a passive victim (TRC Vol. 1:116).

However, three respondents argued that although forgiveness was a necessary condition in South Africa for reconciliation, did they really forgive? Taking note that there are some who feel that white South Africans did not show enough remorse. Some simmering anger is being shown by politicians such as Julius Malema who is quoted to have said, "Till today they (the whites) are not ashamed of the killing of our people. They want us to kneel before them. We are not going to do that.....now is the time to replace the inferior education" (IOL [news:14](#) October 2013). Wielenga (2010) also says,

"I taught a course of peace education at a local education seminary. When we spoke about forgiveness in South African contexts, it triggered deep amongst pastors in training, who expressed how resentful they are forgiving white South African on a daily basis for the way many continue to treat black South Africans with superiority and disdain. They argued that you cannot keep forgiving people who are ignorant of what they are doing or have done".

This therefore shows that although the element of forgiveness was being emphasized in South Africa there are some people who feel that they are tired of forgiving. Hence this becomes a threat to reconciliation that the TRC was striving for.

4.5.3 Justice

Out of the thirty participants, the majority highlighted that since the objective of the commission was ‘restoring the human and civil dignity of victim’ the TRC managed to employ restorative justice in their endeavours for reconciliation. This goes in line with what Desmond Tutu says when he mentioned that the major concern is not retribution or punishment but in spirit of Ubuntu, the healing of breaches, the redressing of imbalances, and the restoration of broken relationships (Tutu 1999:51).

However, a few respondents went further to argue that the restorative justice that was employed in South Africa was not something new instead it was a reflection of the African notion of ‘Ubuntu’. They argued that the spirit of restorative justice was already there before the TRC since ‘Ubuntu’ emphasizes on humanness. In support of this view that restorative justice has its roots in the notion of ‘Ubuntu’ Dumisa Ntsebeza who was a commissioner in the TRC when interviewed on 24 November 2008 highlighted that,

“...when u talk about justice and notions of justice and you relate them to the concept of ubuntu, then you talk about justice in a way that goes beyond the notion of ‘an eye for an eye’.

If ubuntu says anything (then it is that) you can’t give up on human beings. And those who are religious, like the Archbishop (Desmond Tutu) will tell you that human beings are made in the image of God, and that therefore you can’t give up on human beings. Particularly if those human beings are ready and able to admit and own up to their own

indiscretion whatever these indiscretions may have been.....” (Gade, 2013). This therefore shows that the TRC aimed at reconciliation in the form of restorative justice and emphasizes on restoring relationships through acknowledgement and compensation to victims.

On the other hand there were some who maintained that justice was sacrificed when the TRC offered amnesty to perpetrators. Perpetrators were given immediate freedom as long as they would have publicly acknowledged the wrongs they would have done. Three respondents from the focus groups therefore argued that by allowing perpetrators to be free it meant failure to respect the suffering of the victims hence there was no justice. To add on, two from the interviewees pointed out that justice to them would be action the government would take after the acknowledgement of the perpetrator. One respondent further mentioned that what was going to happen to those already jailed. It is therefore noted that while amnesty was necessary for reconciliation since it was meant to be restorative however there are some people who felt short changed of their justice that they deserved.

Furthermore, eight respondents pointed out that it is questionable whether the TRC managed to consider transitional justice in its approach. They highlighted that seeds of discontent were shown when the cadres of Umkonto Wesizwe rose up demanding their reparations. The failure to disburse on reparations they argued could have undermined

victims trust and assurance in both the TRC and South Africa's new political epilogue. Therefore it can be said that transitional justice may take generations to achieve reconciliation since moving beyond past atrocities and rebuilding of the affected societies is a multi-dimensional process.

In addition to the above, the majority of the participants noted that distributive justice was not considered in South Africa by the TRC. They argued that years of democratic government have lapsed but South Africa has remained unequal society. This is supported by Levitas (2013) who mentioned that 'South Africa remains a bastion of racism, while the rest of Africa moves on!' They went on to give an example of discrimination in the education sector. They noted that it takes an 8th grade education to teach African students. Moreover the means of production in South Africa is owned by the whites. This shows that there must be a fair distribution of resources among different members. If distributive justice is not considered then the process of reconciliation is slowed down. From the discussion above, it is noted that for reconciliation to take place it needs the element of truth, forgiveness and justice. Truth needs to be exposed in order for forgiveness to take place. On the other hand forgiveness cannot happen when there is no justice. Therefore all these elements create a conducive environment for reconciliation to take place.

4.6 The strengths of the South African reconciliation process

4.6.1 South Africa TRC was a public forum

100% of the participants mentioned that the South Africa TRC was a public forum. They argued that this is seen by the way commissioners were appointed. There was an open countrywide nomination process where commissioners were selected. An independent selection panel that had representatives of all the political parties, civil society and religious bodies in the country publicly interviewed them (TRC Report Vol. 1). They also pointed out that the live coverages that were done by the South African Broadcasting Cooperation of public hearings took the work of the TRC across the country meaning that public hearings were not restricted to larger cities but even the communities in rural areas could access the hearings. Therefore the fact that the TRC was committed to the principles of transparency and public participation gives the reconciliation process more strength.

4.6.2 Amnesty

75% of the respondents went further pointing out that the TRC in South Africa was the first to be given the power to grant amnesty to individual perpetrators which resulted in large numbers of people giving their testimonies. They believed that this became strength of the reconciliation process in South Africa that managed to attract over 7000 perpetrators to testify and apply for amnesty (TRC Vol 1). This therefore shows that the reconciliation process in South Africa managed to elicit detailed accounts from

perpetrators unlike other commissions that received very little cooperation from the perpetrators. It allowed witness to provide information they feared might put them at risk.

4.6.3 Subpoena powers

Five respondents pointed at the subpoena powers granted to the commission as one of the strengths of reconciliation process in South Africa. They highlighted that these powers were essential since the commission could engage in a thorough internal investigation. The investigations included those who were implicated in acts of violence and did not apply for amnesty. Witnesses were questioned. One person pointed that moreover, the commission was the first to create a witness protection programme which strengthened its investigative powers. Hence subpoena was a unique feature because none of the Latin American commissions, for instance was given powers to call witnesses or perpetrators to come forward with evidence and as a result they had challenges in obtaining official written records.

4.6.4 Truthfulness emerged

Nine respondents from the focus groups and eight from the interviewees alluded to the element of truthfulness as one of the strengths of the reconciliation process. They believe that the TRC succeeded in compelling the both victims and perpetrators to tell the truth about their experiences. This resulted in victims pouring out their grievances, vent their

anger out and receive state's attention. The past was therefore laid to rest thereby promoting reconciliation between the victim and the perpetrator. The reconciliation of the 'truth' of their experiences offered victims a real basis for restoration of dignity. However although a level of truthfulness emerged but there are questions associated with this. Was all truth told? How truth was truth? This therefore shows that there are challenges associated with the so called 'truth'.

4.6.5 Composition of the Commission

Apart from the element of truthfulness, six respondents alluded to the composition of the commission. They pointed out that it had high profile people and they were of good reputation. The commissioners were well respected and dignified such that people were free to air out what they wanted to say. Three people further highlighted that the TRC was independent therefore was bound to produce results. It is therefore noted that commissioners involved in the reconciliation process were of clean record hence people could listen to them thus leading to reconciliation.

4.6.6 TRC laid a foundation for democracy

Few respondents highlighted that transition to full democracy was based on public hearings hence it became strength in the reconciliation process. They further pointed out the TRC emerged as a bridge between the old and the new. Hence the TRC reports that

“the commission was able facilitate reconciliation meetings where different elements found common ground and led to reconciliation between victims and perpetrators, reconciliation at the community level and promoted national unity to some extent” (TRC Report Vol. 1:57). Therefore it can be said that the democratic institutions that are realised today have their roots from the efforts of the TRC during the reconciliation process.

Finally, it can be said that despite all these strengths, the icons of reconciliation Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu made the transition from apartheid to democracy possible. Without Mandela’s ability to forgive his perpetrators after twenty seven years in prison many were going to find reconciliation an impossible notion. The hearings too would not have attracted people had it not been the moral leadership of Desmond Tutu who emphasized on recognising another human being hence demanded truth and reconciliation. Therefore the strength of the reconciliation process lies on the icons of Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu.

4.7 Weaknesses of the reconciliation process in South Africa

4.7.1 Composition of the commission

The majority of the people commented that most commissioners were from ANC, SACP and PAC. However there are some although few who pointed that the commissioners were not volunteers but were chosen. They argued that names were nominated in a process that was open to everyone despite their political affiliation and were interviewed

by a panel where all the political parties were represented. In support of this view, the TRC Report Vol. 1 (1998) pointed out that “when the president made his choice from a shortlist, it was in consultation with his cabinet of National Unity which included the ANC, the IFP and the National Party”. To add on, Tutu mentions that he was chosen when he was not a card holder of any political party although some were chosen because of their party affiliation to make sure that there was a broad representativity (TRC Report Vol. 1:1998). Therefore it can be said that although the commission was loaded with people from ANC, SACP or PAC the process that was followed was open and transparent such that one cannot blame one party of having many representatives.

4.7.3 Reparations programmes

The majority of the people also pointed at the slowness of the post Mandela government to implement the TRC’s recommendations. Reparations were delayed to be paid. Some respondents even went on further to argue that moreover who was going to determine the reparations and were the victims going to be content? Hence the challenge of the reparations that was not dealt with during the reconciliation process still remains a threat to South Africa reconciliation. Bearing in mind that the cadres of the Umkhonto weSizwe rose up demanding their compensations only to be silenced by Nelson Mandela. What then would happen in his absence? This would be a serious threat to reconciliation.

4.7.4 Justice

80% of the respondents mentioned the challenge of justice in the reconciliation process.

They argued that the amnesty was a 'free jail card' that sacrificed justice. They believe that for justice to exist it must be retributive in nature. They pointed out that after truth has been said the perpetrators needed to be prosecuted but this was not done therefore there was no justice in the process. However others believed that justice existed but was restorative meaning that it was not concerned much on punishment but with healing, harmony and reconciliation.

From the discussion, it can be noted that retributive justice meant punishment, for example the perpetrator is imprisoned can one call the imprisonment justice to someone like the wife of Steve Biko whose husband was killed? The way one would interpret justice might be different depending with the gravity of pain. Therefore in this case justice would not have existed. Moreover justice focuses on the victims hence the importance of compensation. But was monetary compensation going to be sufficient to the wife of Steve Biko? Without the victim's satisfaction on compensation there will be no justice. Apart from this, it is difficult to have collective justice bearing in mind the different nationalities that exist in South Africa. Hence justice in South Africa can be said have not been carefully handled.

4.7.5 Economic Policies

About 70% of the participants highlighted the challenge of economic policies as one of the weakness of the reconciliation process. They argued that the commission adopted the economic policies that were instituted during the apartheid era therefore failed to focus sufficiently on the policies. The failure to examine the effects or the impact of these policies resulted in having the means of production remain in the hands of the whites.

This explains why people like Julius Malema have formed the Black Economic Empowerment Party and this can be a threat to the reconciliation in South Africa.

4.7.6 Top down approach

The majority of the participants alluded to the top down approach used by the TRC as another weakness of the reconciliation process. They felt that the reconciliation was supposed to start from the grassroots instead it involved the church leaders, political leaders and judges. Therefore it did not have any communal bases hence it was not a total package. This is also supported by Lederach who emphasizes on the bottom up approach if the process of reconciliation is to be achieved. From the discussion, it can be noted that it was going to be odd if the commission did not have mistakes since they were faced with the task of bringing a divided people together thereby attempting to promote reconciliation.

4.8 Challenges faced by the TRC

Some of the challenges that the South African TRC encountered were highlighted. Four respondents pointed out that the major challenge that the TRC faced was that the Liberation Movements did not want to apply for amnesty. The members used the just war theory in order for them to be exempted from the application of amnesty. They argued that they were responding to a system that was very brutal therefore no need for amnesty. Hence it became a challenge towards achieving reconciliation in South Africa. Two people went further to argue that on the other hand the members of apartheid regime argued that they wanted to enforce the rule of the law hence there was no need for amnesty. This became a serious challenge to the TRC since the apartheid regime tried hard to justify themselves.

Apart from the above, the majority of the participants highlighted that the TRC was not accepted by all parties. They believed that the commission was biased towards ANC hence other parties did not accept them. This concurs with what the TRC report says when it mentioned that, “The Commission was painted as a witch hunt of especially Afrikaners”. However, it can be pointed out that it was only a clever way that sought to discredit the commission together with its report. From the discussion, it can be noted that despite the challenges that were faced by the TRC they continued to encourage the people to say out the truth and to forgive and work towards reconciliation hence in the end a certain level of reconciliation was achieved.

4.9 The extent of the reconciliation achieved in South Africa

Out of the fourteen people interviewed, three people pointed out that reconciliation was achieved to a larger extent. Two people from the focus group discussions were also of the opinion that reconciliation was achieved to a larger extent. They noted that whites and blacks are now reconciled unlike during the time of apartheid. There was forgiveness and the rebuilding of relationships that still exists even today. They pointed that peaceful coexistence of blacks and whites is evident. They further argued that the fact that there is democracy in South Africa shows that the TRC did a tremendous work of reconciliation. Furthermore, they pointed at the fact that after the end of the apartheid era many people feared that a civil war was going to happen and political violence was going to be widespread. They were also afraid of massive white flight and destabilization. It was realised that none of these things ever happened showing that people had really forgiven each other hence reconciliation attained.

On the other hand, twenty five respondents, eleven from the interviews and fourteen from the focus groups argued that reconciliation in South Africa was achieved to a lesser extent. They highlighted that there is no tribal reconciliation, for example the Xhosa and the Zulu. South Africa still remains divided along racial lines and moreover the TRC did not manage to dismantle class divisions. They further argued that where there is reconciliation there must be an equal share of resources but the whites own the means of production when the blacks are suffering

From the discussion, it can be noted that the fact that twenty five out of thirty participants viewed that reconciliation was not successful to a larger extent shows that the majority feel that the TRC could have done more than what it did to achieve reconciliation. However, all in all, the reconciliation process in South Africa was a success since it was able to unite different races and the rebuilding of relationships is witnessed even today. Looking at the depth of the discrimination that existed during apartheid the TRC should be recommended for the strides that they did towards reconciliation. Not forgetting that reconciliation is a process South Africa has already started the journey and will surely attain the intended goal.

4.10 Lessons drawn from the reconciliation process in South Africa

4.10.1 Establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission

The majority of the respondents highlighted that if Zimbabwe is to achieve a reconciliation there is need to establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission rather than having a National Peace and Reconciliation Commission. They pointed out that the level of reconciliation that was achieved in South Africa was as a result of the efforts of the TRC therefore Zimbabwe needs to learn and improve the process. They argued that reconciliation would come after the truth has been said. This line of thought is supported by Lederach who argues that reconciliation involves identification and acknowledgement of what happened (that is truth) (Lederach, 1995). They further pointed out that just by naming the commission as the National Peace and Reconciliation

Commission an element of truth is not considered. This therefore shows that once they start by saying 'Peace' it implies that for the sake of peace some things are not talked of, its better never said. What is important is peace and reconciliation. Reconciliation cannot be achieved without the truth be told hence Zimbabwe has to establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission if it is going to have a reconciliation process. Moreover, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission should have three dimensions that include the human rights violations committee, Rehabilitation and Reparation committee and Amnesty committee. The human rights violations committee will be necessary because human rights abuse occurred during the Matabeleland massacres of 1983 (Gukurahundi). Therefore, an accurate record of the country's history should be established through an official truth body and uncertain events be clarified. Hayner (2001) even says that "lifting the lid on human rights abuses is particularly important in Zimbabwe, given government denials of contemporary and historical abuses".

On top of that, a Rehabilitation and Reparation Committee would be necessary so that people are compensated for the pain and grief that they went through. The cadres of Umkhonto WeSizwe rose up demanding their compensation in South Africa. Just like in Zimbabwe where the war veterans demanded their compensation and were given 50000 Zimbabwean dollars but still were not satisfied and went on to invade land that belonged to white farmers. This therefore implies that if Zimbabwe is to engage in the reconciliation process they should know that the once victims can be become

perpetrators if they are not handled carefully. The war veterans were once victims during colonial rule but they have become perpetrators because of challenges of compensations that were not carefully dealt with. Hence there is need to come up with a Rehabilitation and Reparation Committee. Finally, an amnesty committee should be established in Zimbabwe if reconciliation is going to be promoted. Amnesty should be granted provided that there is full disclosure of all acts and have proof that the acts were of political nature.

4.10.2 Composition of the Commission

The majority of the people were also concerned about the composition of the commission if Zimbabwe is to engage in the reconciliation process. The people chosen to lead the TRC usually determine whether the TRC is going to be successful or not. They mentioned that in selection of the commissioners any part of the population should not feel excluded. Thus they say that if Zimbabwe is to have a TRC they should have a balanced set of commissions that represent all sectors of society. They went on to argue that in South Africa the commission was an independent investigative body and the selection process was transparent. Hayner (2001) echoes the same sentiments when he highlighted that,

“A selection committee was formed, including representatives of human rights NGOs, which called for nominations from the public. After receiving 300 nominations, forty seven people were called for interviews which took place in public sessions and were closely followed by the media, and from those the selection committee narrowed the finalists to twenty-five”.

From this list Nelson Mandela the then president chose the 17 commissioners. This resulted in South Africa having a credible commission which was accepted by the public. They pointed out that UN Secretary General, the President of Zimbabwe, the AU Secretary General, the Catholic Archbishop of Zimbabwe or the Zimbabwe Council of Churches head and the Zimbabwean Human Rights NGO Forum General Secretary could give names of the people to sit on a selection panel. This would be followed by either a panel or a representative chosen specifically to become a selection coordinator to choose the final candidates who would become the appointed commission.

Furthermore, South Africa's commission had people of diverse backgrounds including religious leaders, psychologists and human rights activists. Hence the South African experience seems to be implying that involving commissioners with different backgrounds is of much significance. By having a commission that goes beyond lawyers and include religious leaders and psychologists it would become easy for the commission to reach out promoting reconciliation. Some even went on to point out that Zimbabwe needs more than nine commissioners so that they are well staffed and resourced so that they can be successful in achieving their objectives of reconciliation.

From this discussion, it can be noted that in Zimbabwe the names of the commissioners are vetted by the parliament then the President endorses or not. This shows that they are

selected through the systems of the government that are already there, public participation is minimal. What then is established is a commission that pays allegiance to a certain political party.

Moreover, if South Africa had high profile people this would mean that Zimbabwe should also have people of high calibre and who do not have a questionable character. For instance the Anti-Corruption Commission is very dysfunctional because people are busy quarrelling on who to protect and who to crucify. What a sad situation. They tried to investigate certain individuals but nothing materialised, all that they want is to serve their interests at the expense of the majority. In this case, reconciliation would not work out, all what people want is a transparent commission, with people of high calibre and integrity who do not have a questionable character, who are ready to execute their duties independently.

In addition to the above, the chairperson of the South Africa TRC was a religious leader but when it comes to Zimbabwe they stated that he would be a lawyer. Why a lawyer? What Zimbabwe needs is not a legal process neither do they want to create a court. The fact that a lawyer is chosen seems to imply that there are certain things that they want to hide or protect. What Zimbabwe needs is a reconciliation process not a judicial process. Therefore Zimbabwe needs a person who is not associated with any political party but a person of high calibre with integrity.

4.10.3 The bottom up approach

75% of the respondents alluded to the fact that the South Africa TRC used the top down approach that proved not to be a total package. They argued that the results obtained were going to be more sustaining had they used the bottom up approach. This view is supported by Lederach's pyramid of peace building approaches which shows that local peace commissions, grassroots training and physiological work in post war trauma are done at level three. Figure 1 below shows Lederach's pyramid of peace building



Derived from John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997), 39.

Figure 1 Lederach Levels of Peace Building

This therefore implies that the opposite of what the TRC did in South Africa would produce more sustaining reconciliation since they would have started from the grassroots. The top down approach assume that that the leaders are in a position to determine what should be done to achieve reconciliation. While the bottom up approach assumes that the grassroots are more able to lay secure foundations for reconciliation in a given nation. In Zimbabwe the involvement of the civil society and the public at large would be of much importance because if the commission aims to respond to the people's needs they must involve the very people who were affected. Machakanja (2010) concurs with this thought when she highlighted that lack of citizen participation and consultations diminishes the crucial elements of openness and ownership of reconciliation and healing process.

4.10.4 Closure of an era

Three people from the interviews pointed out that South Africa had an end of apartheid era to an era of democracy. They believe that this implies that for reconciliation to take place there must be an end of one era and the beginning of another era. They further argued that in the case of Zimbabwe there is no end of an era instead the perpetrators are still in corridors of power. Jethro Mpofu (2014) says, "There is dangerous imagism and pathetic wishful thinking circulating among top perpetrators of Gukurahundi who are currently in the government" (debate@newzimbabwe.com). This shows that people who will be responsible for appointing the commissioners of the National Peace and

Reconciliation Commission are the same people who were responsible for the Gukurahundi. Hence if Zimbabwe is to engage in reconciliation process there should be a close of an era and the beginning of a new era.

4.10.5 Post trauma counselling

50% of the participants pointed out that there is need for post trauma counselling to victims both before and after they testify. They alluded to the fact that there can be a possibility of 'retraumatising' the victims as the commission will be searching for truth therefore there is need for post trauma counselling. It is noted that the South Africa TRC had four mental, health professional on its staff who were supposed to provide basic training on how to respond to trauma and on how to give constant support to those who will be testifying (Hayner 2001). This implies that it would be crucial to include mental health professionals for counselling services since true reconciliation comes after one is healed.

4.10.6 Conducive environment

In addition to the above 100% of the people mentioned that if Zimbabwe is to engage in a reconciliation process a conducive environment should be created. They went on highlighting that freedom of expression should exist. Moreover, people are not supposed to be intimidated. There is a lot of suspicion between the civil population and the security. They further argued that the legacy of fear and suspicion is still continuing and

people are afraid of meeting the same fate that their relatives faced. Therefore a conducive environment that was created in South Africa caused truth to be told and people were not victimised neither were they prosecuted. To add on, Zimbabwe is to note that the creation of functional democratic systems cannot happen when the people are still divided along political lines and when they are still living in fear, mistrust and suspicion. Thus if fear and human insecurity are not dealt with these can draw back reconciliation.

4.10.7 Restorative Justice

Apart from the above, the majority of the participants mentioned that the TRC in South Africa emphasized on restorative justice and it brought back dignity to the perpetrators and the victims. Therefore it implies that emphasis should be on repairing harm caused and restore relations. In Zimbabwe there is need to ensure that the two parties, the perpetrator and the victim live together in peace and harmony. Therefore if reconciliation process is to be done then Zimbabwe should strive for restorative justice. However, even if restorative justice is done it should be combined with reparation and restitution benefits.

4.10.8 Political Will

The majority of the respondents managed to point at the need for a political will to achieve reconciliation in Zimbabwe. Taking note of the TRC in South Africa the

government under the leadership of Nelson Mandela was driven by a political will to support reconciliation by providing resources for the commission. Hence in Zimbabwe the government should ensure that the commission is independent and they have provided the funds for it to execute their duties. Moreover they should make sure that they have the capacity to protect the people who would come forward and speak. Hence there is need for political will to achieve reconciliation.

From the discussion, it can be noted that although there is no universal formula Zimbabwe has something to learn from the TRC of South Africa. The underlying principles of reparations, justice, truth and forgiveness remain as pre-requisites of reconciliation if Zimbabwe is going to operationalize the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission.

4.11 Necessary conditions for sustainable reconciliation in Zimbabwe

4.11.1 Funding

Apart from education, 100% of the participants highlighted that sustainable reconciliation in Zimbabwe can only be attained when there is enough funding. They pointed out that reconciliation exercises are expensive therefore there is need for operational budget and moreover in a reconciliation process words should be accompanied by actions for example compensation. When funds are provided for, the

commission will execute its duty without any limitation leading to the fulfilment of the mandate which is reconciliation.

However, in the case of Zimbabwe who will fund the reconciliation process if the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission is to be operationalised? Mwonzora (2013) says, “Opinion has been split amongst the political elite as to who will fund the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission, the government or the donor community”. Whoever is going to support the commission it is most likely that strings are going to be attached. Inasmuch as the Zimbabwean government would want to depend on donor funding the fact remains that if they want to maintain the National Peace Reconciliation’s autonomy, independence and impartiality they should meet the costs of the commission from the national purse. Zimbabwe therefore needs a clear methodology to achieve a sustainable reconciliation taking note that ‘a house built on a weak foundation will not last long’.

4.11.2 Good governance

80% of the participants alluded to the fact that Zimbabwe is continually suffering from institutional decay and a culture of impunity, it is most probable that the commission will be an elephant that fails to justify why it is established. They further argued that as long as the political discourse of Zimbabwe is still dominated by intolerance and language of violence, it will be wishful thinking that Zimbabwe will attain

reconciliation. Ayittey (1992) echo the same sentiments where he says, “Hate language by those in leadership positions lead to a divided country”. Ndlovu (2003) concurs with Ayittey when he highlights that “Slogans such as ‘down with’ (pasi) and ‘forward with’ (pamberi) divided the country further and hardened the people’s hearts”. Bhebhe(2002) also noted that that any programme initiated by the government was militarised such as Operation Murambatsvina, Operation Chikorokoza Chapera, Operation Mavhotera papi etc. It is therefore noted that in Zimbabwe it is leadership or governance that is a greatest challenge towards reconciliation efforts. It is supposed to be the duty of the government to bring reconciliation but instead the opposite happens. If only can Zimbabwe have good governance then sustainable reconciliation can be attained.

4.11.3 Truth Telling

The majority of the participants highlighted the importance of truth telling in attaining sustainable reconciliation. They pointed out that true reconciliation cannot happen when past wrongs are not acknowledged and when truth is not told. This view is supported by Machakanja (2010) who mentioned that truth telling encourages the verification of past repressive actions and incidents by individuals and government. This would be important bearing in mind that some of the immediate post-independence disturbances like the Gukurahundi and other gross human rights violations need to be addressed. Mpofu (2014) says,

“It is a true reality as it is in the proverb: it is the axe that forgets what it has done, but the tree that has been cut does not forget’. It is wishful thinking that

Gukurahundi will ever be forgiven or forgotten. The truth is that, for the victims, Gukurahundi is not a memory but a present reality, and that the much wanted project of national unity will never get started until a solution to Gukurahundi becomes a reality”.

This shows that such incidents need to be addressed and knowledge of the truth be acknowledged rather than denials. This would help in setting the records straight and more so it will create an environment that is conducive for forgiveness that can eventually lead to reconciliation. The fact that the victims are heard and acknowledged with respect can restore their dignity and can contribute to a process of healing. Hence sustainable reconciliation in Zimbabwe can be attained when the past is acknowledged and addressed.

4.11.4 Justice

75% of the people highlighted the need for justice in Zimbabwe if reconciliation is to take place. They pointed out that justice and reconciliation are not a one size fit all meaning that people in different communities have a way they understand justice. For example, is it justice that one is locked in prison when he/she lost his/her goats? Maybe what he/she wants is his/her goats back and to that individual that would be justice.

Furthermore is it justice to the victim who was raped to take the perpetrator to prison?

Apart from this, reparations are mostly taken as an element of justice but still the question remains what is the rightful reparation? Some people lost their limbs and some lost their bread winners therefore what would be the rightful compensation? Can life be

bought? This shows that if the commission is to be successful there is need to engage in a research study on the reconciliation model to be applied in different communities not nationally. For example the reconciliation model to be applied in Mashonaland east might be different from the reconciliation model to be applied in Matabeleland. Thus reconciliation cannot be sustainable when the commission assumes that the whole nation is on one side. Hence Lederach's bottom up approach would be of much relevance towards reconciliation in Zimbabwe.

4.11.5 The traditional mechanism of reconciliation

25% of the participants highlighted that 'mushonga wengozi kuripa' (the only solution to appease the avenging spirit is reparation or restitution). Therefore if reconciliation among individuals is to be achieved the avenging spirit need to be appeased. Ngozi is a result that comes when one is murdered justified or unjustified. Those who held this view argued that the past history of Zimbabwe shows that a number of innocent people were killed therefore there is need for appeasing the avenging spirits if individual relationships are to be restored. Hence they argued that truth telling should be followed by reparation which is 'kuripa ngozi' in this case. They believe that without this the avenging spirit will keep on haunting the perpetrator until he/she appeases the spirit. In most cases the reparations are done in form of human life or cattle which are symbols of the concept of restoration among the shona people of Zimbabwe (Muwati, Gambaya, Mangena: 2006). Hence this way reconciliation among families takes place. However,

this traditional mechanism of bringing reconciliation works more to individuals and the families involved rather than to the whole nation. Moreover, this only works with those who had their relatives murdered. What then happens to those who had their livestock taken and those who were disabled? Thus the method deals with one part of the society and ignores the rest.

4.12 Conclusion

From the discussion, it can be noted that there are a number of things that Zimbabwe should adhere to in order to attain sustainable reconciliation. If the top leadership is not yet ready to change their type of governance then it would be better not to attempt such a process lest the people's feelings, pain and anger might be abused and it would be a mockery to those who are yearning for justice. The onus is on the government to come up with a just, fair, independent and transparent reconciliation process.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter is a presentation of the conclusions that are from the study. The conclusions are based on the research objectives and research questions. The research explored the reconciliation process in South Africa, analysed its strength and weakness and draw lessons for Zimbabwe. Recommendations are also given in this chapter.

5.1 Summary

As the researcher explores the reconciliation process in South Africa it is noted that there is no one model for reconciliation. Every country devises its own model depending with the context and gravity of atrocities experienced. In every process there are strengths and weaknesses. However, although the TRC in South Africa had strengths and weaknesses, out of these, Zimbabwe has something to learn if the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission become operational.

5.2 Conclusions

The researcher concludes that truth was at the heart of reconciliation process in South Africa. The truth about the horrors of the past needed to be exposed and acknowledged

in order to ensure that the same mistake is not repeated. Without the truth people feel insecure to the extent that there will be no trust and confidence in the future.

To add on to the truth, reconciliation process in South Africa relied heavily on religious principles of forgiveness and reconciliation. Desmond Tutu (1999) pronounced that “there is no future without forgiveness”, meaning forgiveness was central reconciliation in South Africa. The religious discourse provided the TRC with the ability to persuade the victims and the perpetrators to engage in the reconciliation process since the concepts of forgiveness and repentance were emphasized.

However, the element of justice needs to be adequately addressed in South Africa. The issue of justice was not satisfactory to the victims. Therefore as long as conditions remain such that memories of what happened in the past continue revisit the minds of the victims either through visualising perpetrators walking free or through the inequality that is a result of apartheid, the victims drive for justice will continue and soon or later South Africa will explode into a racial Armageddon.

Therefore, from the reconciliation process in South Africa it is noted that the elements of truth, forgiveness and justice are important in attaining reconciliation. However, one element cannot achieve reconciliation against a history of accumulated feelings of hostility. Hence a combination of elements is called for. It is also further noted that the

South African TRC attempted to improve from the models in other countries, for example Latin America. To the fellow African countries, the reconciliation process in South Africa shows that the externals cannot impose reconciliation instead the solution is internal. What is needed is to devise new solutions that are appropriate to the history and context in question. Africans are therefore capable of solving their own challenges rather than letting externals map their destiny.

Apart from the above, it is noted that while the term reconciliation is a central point to this research, there is no clear understanding academically on the meaning and what it really consists. However, although the concept is complex it can be narrowed to a simple definition which is rebuilding of relationships between the perpetrator and the victim. Furthermore, despite the fact that the TRC in South Africa had its own strengths and weaknesses it must be acknowledged for the creative and unique response towards reconciliation initiatives. Out of the strengths other countries have got something to learn and out of the weaknesses other countries have got something to improve.

Hence the researcher concludes that it is very difficult to assess the entire reconciliation process of South Africa as a success or failure. The work that the TRC did in South Africa was not easy. The process was bound to meet challenges but it is important to note the successes that they achieved. A reconciliation process involves initiatives and stages where success is witnessed by an accumulation of little steps. Therefore the little steps of success of the TRC brought together will form bigger success in the future of

South Africa. Hence reconciliation in South Africa should be regarded as a gradual process.

In the case of Zimbabwe it is noted that if the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission is to become operational it is most probable that it will not produce reconciliation because public participation would be minimal. Moreover, the commissioners are selected through the systems of the government that are already there meaning that the commission that is established would be biased towards the ruling party. Hence the commission will not be independent to execute their duties as expected. Therefore there is no way people can become reconciled when a lot of questions are raised towards the commission.

Furthermore, the researcher also concluded that the Gukurahundi is a matter of concern among the people of Matabeleland therefore can be a threat to reconciliation in Zimbabwe if it is not carefully dealt with. The Gukurahundi is still an issue that cannot be swept under the carpet. A solution should become a reality is witnessed by all. Apart from the above, it also noted that although it is accepted that there are different ways to achieve reconciliation, the importance of justice and truth telling cannot be nullified. The absence of truth telling in the reconciliation process would mean that the government will be dismissing the gross inhuman abuses of the past. Any mechanism that would want to attain reconciliation and closure to a past wrong should come to an

understanding of what exactly happened in the past. Hence truth telling becomes central in reconciliation.

In addition to the above, the researcher has concluded that the type of 'justice' that the Zimbabwe Shona tradition propagates if adopted well can heal most Zimbabweans which can lead to positive results of reconciliation. In the Shona culture when one person commits an offence against another he/she is supposed to 'kuripa' or appease. Usually it is done in the form of a livestock or any other form of compensation determined by the victim. If this is done it would heal many souls that would eventually become a fertile ground for reconciliation.

To add on to the above, it is noted that the extreme polarisation according to party lines will make reconciliation an uphill task in Zimbabwe. Polarisation stems from the government when every programme initiated is militarised and when hate language is used by those in leadership positions. This would divide the people thereby making it difficult for reconciliation to take place when it is supposed to be the duty of the government to exercise good governance that promotes unity among the people. From the discussion above, it can be noted that there are various conclusions that can be made from the reconciliation process in South Africa and the implications for Zimbabwe if the National Peace and Reconciliation process becomes operational. Furthermore, the researcher has concluded that victimisation in Zimbabwe would cause reconciliation to

slow down. The environment created would be tense, people are intimidated, beaten and tortured. When one is known to be in the opposition party he/she is victimised.

Therefore as long the people in Zimbabwe are still divided along political lines, live in fear, mistrust and suspicion reconciliation will not take place.

5.4 Recommendations

There is need for South Africa to deal with inequality that still reflects racial divisions since it had proved to be the greatest obstacle to achieve reconciliation. If the challenge of inequality is dealt with then genuine reconciliation would be attained in South Africa. There should be a fair distribution of resources to all members and equal educational opportunities. Without dealing with the challenges of inequality genuine reconciliation would remain a dream to most South Africans. Hence the imbalance that stretches from the past need to be redressed.

Furthermore, the TRC in South Africa is applauded for the work that they did. They managed to kick start the reconciliation, what South Africa now needs is to implement the recommendations from the TRC report to complete the reconciliation process. If only the TRC recommendations are taken note of and seriously considered can South Africa achieve genuine reconciliation.

It is therefore noted that as for South Africa, a long way down the road of reconciliation has been travelled but the journey is not yet over. What the TRC did was a good start but the process must continue for years to come with patience and resilience for it to be complete.

In the case for Zimbabwe, the researcher recommends that instead of establishing the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission the government should be prepared to establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission rather than to play a hide and seek with the term 'Peace'. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in a post transition Zimbabwe would be an important means of promoting reconciliation. A record of truth would be essential given government's denials of the abuses of the past. Official acknowledgement of abuses is an important factor in any reconciliation process. As the saying goes, "those who ignore their history are condemned to repeat it" (Bloomfield 2003). Therefore no matter how painful the history might be it must be known and acknowledged and that would be a starting point towards a shared future. Moreover, the commission must be independent and free from the control of the government. The commissioners should be from different backgrounds and should have a clean record for the reconciliation process to gain credibility. The chairperson should not be a lawyer but anyone with integrity despite his /her profession. Choosing a lawyer would imply that there is something that needs to be hidden or protected. More so, the commission should

have sufficient resources to conduct hearings, research, investigate and other technicalities that need to be dealt with. Given the current state of the economy of Zimbabwe it would be imperative for the commission to receive external financial assistance. Finally, the commission should be allowed to make recommendations and it should be agreed in advance that the commission's recommendations would be mandatory rather than coming up with recommendations that will never be implemented.

Apart from the above, the reconciliation model should depend on the community rather than having one model that is applied to the whole nation. The applicability of the model will be determined by the community in question. Hence there is need for dealing with the community in question rather than having a national model. Therefore if the commission is to be successful there is need to engage in research study on the reconciliation model to be applied in different regions or communities not nationally.

To add on to the above, there is need to engage the civil society in the reconciliation process. The bottom up approach would be crucial since the process would be aiming at responding to the needs of the people. Citizen participation would cause them feel as having ownership of the reconciliation process hence guarantees sustainable reconciliation.

In addition to the above, if the government is serious about reconciliation it must deal with polarisation that they have themselves initiated. The extreme polarisation that exists in Zimbabwe will not allow reconciliation to take place. People are intimidated, beaten and tortured. There is fear of victimisation. Therefore if this is left unaddressed then the legacy of violence that increases polarisation will only grow thereby hindering reconciliation.

Furthermore, the curriculum for the education system should be created in such a way that the values of 'unhu' are inculcated and peace education is promoted. It will be important for teachers to give teachings on peace so that a culture of peace is cultivated in the country. Therefore the school curriculum should be designed in such a way that the education fosters peace and this way reconciliation is promoted.

To add on to the above, for reconciliation to take place in Zimbabwe the Ndebeles need to forgive the perpetrators of the Gukurahundi atrocities so that genuine reconciliation is established between the Shonas and Ndebeles. If it means that the perpetrators of the Gukurahundi and the perpetrators of the atrocities between 2000 and 2008 need to compensate victims, it should be done. Whatever the way they want to be compensated it should be determined by the victims. This way the victims may be healed thus creating a conducive environment for forgiveness and reconciliation.

Moreover, there should be an end of one era and the beginning of a new era in Zimbabwe. An era of violence and victimisation should end and look forward for an era of peace and democracy. This can be done when a new breed of leaders has taken over the government systems. As long the perpetrators are still in the corridors of power reconciliation will remain an uphill task. Those who no longer have anything new to offer except talking about the liberation struggle should step down and pave way for the young, vibrant and energetic upcoming leaders.

Apart from the above, there is also need for institutional reforms. This would be critical for reconciliation to be realised in Zimbabwe. Institutional reforms would be enough evidence that the government has the political will for the better of Zimbabwe, that political will from the government will definitely promote reconciliation.

Furthermore, there is need for memorialisation projects so that families of the victims are healed. Most people from Matabeleland province feel that the Gukurahundi need to be memorialised. This can be done in form of monuments, songs, poems, ceremonies, memorials or an occasion that shows acknowledgement and recognition. The researcher also recommends further researches on the reconciliation process for Zimbabwe. This is to make sure that by the time that the National Peace and reconciliation commission becomes operational it will be well informed.

It is therefore noted that there is no one roadmap for reconciliation neither is there a short cut or a prescription for healing wounded people nor reconcile them. Creating trust between former enemies is difficult. However, examining the painful past, truth, forgiveness and justice is the best way to guarantee reconciliation. Above everything else “unless the Lord builds the house, those who build labour in vain” Psalm 127vs 1.

What Zimbabwe needs is God’s intervention in the reconciliation of the people who have lost hope. Holding on to the fact that nothing is impossible with God, surely Zimbabwe will be reconciled.

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Appendices

Appendix A Clearance Letter



INSTITUTE OF PEACE LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE

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12 March 2014

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN


Re: Permission to Undertake Research for Dissertation at Africa University

Charity Musvota student registration number **129313** is a student at Africa University. She is enrolled in a degree program in Peace, Leadership and Governance and is currently conducting research for her project, which is required for completion of the program in June 2014. The research topic is **"Examining the Reconciliation Process in South Africa: Lessons for Zimbabwe"**. Charity is expected to undertake this research during the period January- April 2014 before the dissertation can be submitted to the Faculty in May 2014.

The student will share with you the results of this research after its approval by the Institute.

We thank you for your support and cooperation regarding this research.

Yours sincerely


Prof. P. Machakanja
Director

Appendix B Interview Guide: Academics

1. How can you define reconciliation?
2. Who brought about the idea of the South African reconciliation process?
3. Who spearheaded the South African reconciliation process?
4. What was the composition of the commission?
5. What was the mandate of the commission?
6. How can you evaluate the successes of the TRC in South Africa?
7. How can you evaluate the failures of the TRC in South Africa?
8. How well do you think the South Africans are handling reconciliation?
9. Overall, would you say the South African reconciliation is sustainable? Why or why not?
10. If Zimbabwe is to operationalise the National Peace and Reconciliation commission what lessons can be drawn from the reconciliation process in South Africa?
11. How can sustainable reconciliation become a reality in Zimbabwe?

Appendix D

C Interview Guide: Focus Group Discussions

1. How do you understand reconciliation?
2. Was the establishment of the TRC in South Africa Important? Why?
3. What was the mandate of the TRC?
4. What were the weaknesses of the TRC?
5. What were the strengths of the TRC?
6. To what extent did the South African TRC manage to achieve its mandate?
7. Would you say the reconciliation process in South Africa was a success? Why?
8. To what extent is the reconciliation in South Africa sustainable?
9. Is it important to have a reconciliation process in Zimbabwe? Why?
10. If Zimbabwe is to have a reconciliation process what lessons can be drawn from the South African reconciliation process?
11. How can Zimbabwe achieve sustainable reconciliation?

Appendix D

D Interview Guide: South African Embassy

1. How do you understand reconciliation?
2. Who brought about the idea of the South African reconciliation process?
3. What was the composition of the commission?
4. What were the elements of reconciliation that the South African TRC employed?
5. To what extent were these elements useful towards achieving reconciliation?
6. What were the strengths of the TRC?
7. What were the weaknesses of the TRC?
8. Are there any challenges that the South African TRC encountered?
9. How did they counter the challenges?
10. How sustainable is the reconciliation in South Africa?
11. What lessons can be drawn from the South African reconciliation process?
12. How can Zimbabwe achieve sustainable reconciliation?

Appendix D

E Interview Guide: Civil Society

1. Are you aware of the reconciliation process in South Africa?
2. How do you understand reconciliation?
3. What were the reasons for the establishment of the TRC in South Africa?
4. What steps did the South African TRC take to achieve reconciliation?
5. To what Extent did the South African TRC manage to achieve reconciliation?
6. What were the weaknesses of the South African TRC?
7. What were the strengths of the South African TRC?
8. To what extent is the reconciliation in South Africa sustainable?
9. What are the lessons for Zimbabwe if the National peace and Reconciliation Commission is operationalised?
10. How can Zimbabwe achieve sustainable reconciliation?

Appendix D

Appendix F Consent Form for Participants

I volunteer to participate in a research project conducted by Charity Musvota who is a student at Africa University. I understand fully that the research is meant to gather information on the reconciliation process in South Africa: Implications for Zimbabwe. I will be one of the thirty people to be interviewed in this research.

1. I volunteer to participate in this project. I may withdraw my participation at any time without penalty.
2. I understand that the researcher will not expose my name in any reports using information gathered from this interview.
3. I understand that my confidentiality as a participant remains secure.
4. I understand that this research study has been approved by the Africa University ethics committee and it is for academic purpose.
5. The interview will last 30-45 minutes and notes will be taken during the interview.
6. I have read and understood the explanation provided and I voluntarily participate in this study.
7. I have received a copy of this consent form.

.....
My Signature

.....
Date

.....
Name of Participant

.....
Signature of the researcher

Appendix G Interview Appointment



charitymusvota <charitymusvota@gmail.com>

An appointment for a research interview.

Nicky Rousseau <nrousseau@uwc.ac.za>
To: charitymusvota@gmail.com

Wed, Mar 19, 2014 at 3:42 PM

Dear Charity

I would be happy to speak to you. I'm available next week on Tuesday at 12h00. Would that work for you? I am at the University of the Western Cape in the History Department, although my office (Rm 2.701) is in Women and Gender Studies. My cell number is 076 644 2897.

Regards

Nicky

>>> charitymusvota 03/19/14 3:18 PM >>>

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