Some Geohistorical Contexts of Peace Psychology
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Books in the Series (as of February 2009)</th>
<th>Books with Geo-historical Focus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Global Conflict Resolution through Positioning Analysis by Moghaddam &amp; Harre (2008)</td>
<td>Latin Amer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Liberation Psychology: Theory and Practice by Montero &amp; Sonn (2009)</td>
<td>S. Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Handbook on Building Cultures of Peace by de Rivera (2009)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Transforming Societies after Political Violence: Truth, Reconciliation, and Mental Health by Hamber (2009)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Nonviolence and Peace Psychology by Mayton (2009)</td>
<td>Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Forgiveness and Reconciliation: Psychological Pathways for Conflict Transformation and PeaceBuilding by Kalayjian and Paloutzian (2009)</td>
<td>Middle East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Peace Psychology in Asia by Montiel &amp; Noor (2010)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Small Group Research: Applications to Peace Psychology and Conflict Resolution by Blumberg, Hare, Kent, &amp; Davies (in preparation)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Youth Violence: Reflections from and on the Field by Michael Greene (in preparation)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Forging Peace under Fire? Reconciliation-aimed Encounters between Israeli-Jews and Palestinians by Ifat Moaz (in preparation)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cape Town, South Africa
South Africa and Selected Peace Psychology Issues:

- Remnants of Colonization
- Intergroup Relations and Continued Dismantling of Apartheid
- Declining HDI
- Incidence and Prevalence of HIV

DANGER! NATIVES, INDIANS & COLOURED. IF YOU ENTER THESE PREMISES AT NIGHT, YOU WILL BE LISTED AS MISSING. ARMED GUARDS SHOOT ON SIGHT, SAVAGE DOGS DEVOUR THE CORPSE. YOU HAVE BEEN WarnED!
Apartheid

“My grandfather thought it out;
My father did it;
Today, I benefit from it!”

-Director, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (2001)
Archbishop Desmond Tutu
Brandon Hamber

- Born in S. Africa, Clinical Psychologist (Ph.D)

- Currently lives in Belfast and is Director of INCORE, a United Nations Research Centre for the Study of Conflict at the University of Ulster.

- TRC (1995-2003) work
  - co-ordinated the Transition and Reconciliation Unit at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation in Johannesburg (1995-2001)
  - participated in many of the early debates concerning the establishment of the TRC; attended many hearings of the Commission; trained statement takers for the Commission
  - assisting in the formation of the Khulumani (Speak Out) victim support and self-help group. Khulumani was formed ... to assist survivors to gain access to the TRC.
  - Khulumani ... attempted to shape the TRC process, particularly ensuring it maintained its stated victim-centred approach
Hamber writes: I “see the relationship [between Khulumani and myself] as a dialogue between largely people who were economically and politically disadvantaged and those like me who inhabited a different world where the Center for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) and I had, for better or worse, technical and scientific knowledge (Montero, 2007).”
CHAPTER 1
LOOKING BACK, MOVING FORWARD

CHAPTER 2
MIRACLES, TRAUMA AND THE TRUTH COMMISSION
- Psychological impact of political violence
- Conceptual approaches to trauma
- Extreme political traumatisation
- Traumatisation—the case of South Africa
- The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission
- Victim statements
- Reparations
- Amnesty

CHAPTER 3
A TIDAL WAVE OF EMOTION
- Theory and practice collide

(Selected Topics)
CHAPTER 4
A PLACE FOR HEALING
The burdens of truth
Briefing and debriefing
Limited psychological focus
Statement taking
Vicarious traumatisation
Revealing is healing

CHAPTER 5
AMBIVALENCE AND CLOSURE
National and individual representation of trauma
Bonds with the dead
Ambivalence and the dark side of closure

(Selected Topics)

CHAPTER 6
REPARATIONS AND PAYING FOR THE PAST
What are reparations?
Reparations and reparation
Benefits of reparations
Symbolic value of the type of reparations
Repairing the irreparable
Lessons learned
CHAPTER 7
DOING JUSTICE
The desire for justice
Justice and healing
Distributive justice
Procedural justice
Interactional justice
Restorative justice

CHAPTER 8
ASSESSING TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION
Documenting the past and the truth-recovery process
Finding the truth
Promoting national unity and reconciliation
Approaches to reconciliation
Promoting reconciliation

CHAPTER 9
TRUTH TELLING AND VIOLENCE PREVENTION
The rise in individualised psychology
Limited understandings of trauma

(Selected Topics)
CHAPTER 10
TREATING TRANSITIONAL SOCIETIES
Social context and healing
Treating transitional societies
Approaches to dealing with extreme political traumatisation
Conventional model
Context-driven model
Creating and reshaping meaning
Context and the traumatic process
Social change and psychological health
Conclusion

(Selected Topics)
Transforming Societies after Political Violence

(selected excerpts from Hamber, 2009)

- The focus of the book is on transitional justice
- [Transitional justice refers to] ... states in transition from war to peace or from authoritarian rule to democracy as in the South African case, but transition could also entail a move from context where human rights are weakly observed to one where they are more effectively observed.
Transforming Societies after Political Violence

(selected excerpts from Hamber, 2009)

- [Key Question:] Have the processes put in place to reckon with the apartheid past—namely the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)—been beneficial to victims of political violence and the society at large?
There have been over 30 truth commissions in the last two decades (Backer, 2006a; Hayner, 2001). This means about a third of the democracies established since 1974 have implemented a truth commission (Backer, 2006a).
The TRC was charged with uncovering the fate or whereabouts of the victims of gross violations of human rights between 1960 and 1994.

The TRC process began in December 1995 and ended the victim hearings process in the third quarter of 1998.

The Amnesty Committee continued its work and formally closed on 30 November 2001 ... when the last amnesty decisions were finalised.
TRC Mandate

- Investigate politically motivated violations of human rights
  - Killings, abductions, torture, severe ill-treatment
- Grant amnesty
- Recommend reparations
Reconciliation & Archbishop Tutu

- Christian Model
  - Confession
  - Forgiveness (Amnesty)
  - Restitution
Structure of TRC

17 TRC Commissioners

- Investigation
- Amnesty
- Reparation
Reconciliation & Archbishop Tutu

- Restorative Justice
  - Restore broken relationships
  - Reintegrate into community
Reconciliation & Archbishop Tutu

- Ubuntu
  I am human because you are human;
  If I undermine your humanity,
  I dehumanize myself
Goals

- Reconciliation across levels
- Culture of human rights
In total, about 22,000 victims gave statements to the TRC.

Overall 1,818 victims participated in the public hearings (van der Merwe, 2007)
Hamber had read about the Mothers of the Disappeared in Argentina and Chile and he began floating the idea with colleagues that perhaps a similar self-help support-group process could be developed in South Africa for survivors of past political violence.

"Khulumani", which means "speak out" in Zulu formed in 1995 as a support group for survivors of political violence.
CSVR ran over 200 workshops ... over a three-year period starting in June 1995.

The Khulumani group grew rapidly. At the height of the TRC process there were 35 Khulumani groups operating across the country as a powerful voice for victims in the TRC process.
the dominant model of treatment at the time seemed to suggest that the symptoms’ (for example, self-blame, vivid re-experiencing of the event, fear, nightmares, feelings of helplessness, depression, relationship difficulties, anxiety, and even substance-abuse-related difficulties) were primarily what the psychological intervention needed to focus on.
I focused on enabling survivors to tell the story of the trauma, psycho-education regarding these symptoms, dealing with the survivors’ guilt and self-blame, and normalising the symptoms as a “normal reaction to an abnormal event” as is widely the practice in the trauma field.

Recovery from trauma is largely determined by how people make sense of the seemingly meaningless and how they integrate traumatic stories into a life and a collective narrative (Sveaass & Castillo, 2000).
[In time, it became apparent that what was needed was] a much more broad-based educational support-group strategy, which was to run parallel to the self-help support initiatives of the Khulumani victim support group that was actively recruiting members, sometimes door to door. It was clear that a far greater emphasis needed to be placed on self-help and traditional support structures (such as traditional healers, clergy, etc.) than on so-called “professional support”.

(selected excerpts from Hamber, 2009)
In January 1995 some CSVR staff members accompanied a small group of survivors of apartheid violence to Cape Town to lobby the Parliamentary Select Committee on Justice.

This advocacy action led to the removal of the ‘secrecy clauses’ from the first draft of the TRC Act. If the initial draft of the Act had been accepted, then the TRC hearings would have been behind closed doors (Boraine, 2000, p.64-70; Sooka, 2006)—a situation unacceptable to most victims.
When the TRC began, a range of debates were taking place about how it should ultimately operate. This debate was dominated by politicians and legal scholars, many of whom were making public claims that the TRC could contribute to healing (Asmal, Asmal, & Roberts, 1994; Boraine, 2000; Boraine & Levy, 1995; Boraine, Levy, & Scheffer, 1994; Simpson & van Zyl, 1995) and was worthy of public support for this reason. Psychologists, too, were making these assertions.

It would be an error to exaggerate the ability of truth commissions or public testimony to address en masse the needs of individuals struggling with a personal and social history of human rights abuses. This is not to say that bearing witness or giving testimony does not have its psychological benefits (Agger, 1994; Laub, 1992, 2000; Weine, 2006; Wineman, 2003), especially when facilitated appropriately. But a TRC process is not “testimony” or “narrative” therapy even if it contains some elements of these.
A Critique of the TRC:

At an individual level, victims too often felt the pressure to be in tune with the national reconciliation agenda. There is little evidence from a close analysis of the transcripts that Commissioners imposed reconciliation or directly pressurised victims in the hearings (Chapman, 2007b). However, there is little doubt that forgiveness was tied into the whole ethos of the TRC and Archbishop Tutu came to symbolise this at a public level.
Can truth commissions heal? The answer is a qualified yes. The South African experience would suggest that the healing potential is increased substantially if:

- there is a social and political commitment to breaking the silence of the past;
- the statement-taking process is coupled with a strong focus on narrative;
- the testimony or statement-taking process is complemented by additional supports (for example, well-trained statement takers) and, ... culturally appropriate counselling;
- the administrative treatment of survivors and families of victims is of a high standard and is preferably delivered through a dedicated victim support team;
- victims are treated with dignity and respect in all aspects of the process;
- staff working with survivors are themselves adequately supported and trained for such work;
- victims are given the space to exercise their political rights and to campaign for change if they desire, and express their feelings publically, especially anger;
- there is long-term follow up of survivors; and
- needs for reparations, truth and justice are taken into account and adequately addressed.
Study of the relationship between the acceptance of the TRC yielded truth and reconciliation within the broad South African population.
Truth Acceptance

Degree of Acceptance of the Collective Memory Promulgated by the TRC:

- Apartheid: Crime against humanity
- All sides committed HR violations
Reconciliation Operationalized

- Rejection of prejudice
- Support political pluralism
- Support for HRs
- Legitimacy of new political institutions
Truth and Reconciliation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Truth Acceptance</th>
<th>Reconciliation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Truth did not *undermine* reconciliation. Those subscribing to the TRC’s truth are more likely to be reconciled.
Gibson’s Article

- TRC
- Political Culture
- Truth
- Reconciliation
- Democratic Consolidation
Political Culture

- Political Pluralism
- Impartiality
- Rule of Law
Criticisms of TRC

- Perpetrator Friendly?
- Inadequate Reparations
- Retraumatization
Contributions to Success

- Truth Telling
- Widespread Exposure
- Shared Blame (whites primary)
- Impartiality
- Procedural Justice
- Leadership
Collective Memory

A Single History

Black History

White History
South Africa: Challenges & Glimmers of Hope

- Human Development Indicators Down
- HIV pandemic
- Increasing in Episodic Violence
- Economic Indicators: GDP & Inflation
- Structural Peacebuilding: Affirmative Action
- Movement toward Gender Equality
Figure 1.1  Life expectancy improving in most regions

Life expectancy (years)

- High-income OECD: 80
- Latin America & the Caribbean
- East Asia & the Pacific
- Central & Eastern Europe & the CIS
- Arab States
- South Asia
- Sub-Saharan Africa

Year:
- 1980
- 1990
- 2003
Figure 2.4: A global view of HIV infection
38.6 million people [33.4–46.0 million] living with HIV, 2005

Adult prevalence rate
- 15.0%–34.0%
- 5.0%–<15.0%
- 1.0%–<5.0%
- 0.5%–<1.0%
- 0.1%–<0.5%
- <0.1%
Systemic Peace & Violence

(Christie, JSI, 2006)
Number of Violent Crimes Recorded by Police in South Africa (1994-2002)

www.iss.co.za/pubs/CrimeQ/No.2/2Masuku.html
Inflation

(World Bank, 2005)

(World Bank, 2005)
Structural Peacebuilding & Affirmative Action: Education

- Investment in education (3 X since Apartheid)
- 6.6% of GDP, among highest in world
Black ownership of homes in Johannesburg’s affluent suburbs has increased by 700% in the last five years (Macdonald, 2005).

About 12,000 black families (about 50,000 people) are moving from the townships into the formerly white suburbs of South Africa's metro areas each month (Black Diamond: On the Move survey, 2007).

It is now estimated that one third of the middle class and 20% of the top income bracket are now black, up from close to zero a decade ago (Sutcliffe, 2006).

But the growth of the black middle class has also led to large disparities within the black population. It was estimated in 2002 that inter-black inequality was greater than that between blacks and whites (Government Communication and Information Services, 2002).
Gender equality and empowerment of women: 
Eliminate differences in education

Number of girls per 100 boys in primary school 2001
- 97 or more
- 90 - 97
- 80 - 90
- 70 - 80
- less than 70

Note: The indicator is “Ratio of girls gross enrollment ratios to boys gross enrollment ratios” (indicator 9). Countries with no figure for 2001 have been approximated with the next latest available year.
Gender Equality: S. Africa and Elsewhere

Women in parliament
Seats held as % of total*, latest

- Rwanda: 45
- Sweden: 164
- Spain: 127
- New Zealand: 41
- Nepal: 197
- South Africa: 132
- Germany: 197
- Pakistan: 76
- China: 637
- France: 105
- United States: 73
- Japan: 45
- India: 49
- Iran: nil
- Saudi Arabia: nil

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union
*Lower or single house

(Economist, Apr 2009)
Women Members of Parliament (MPs) in Australia