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The Impact of Media Involvement by The South African Truth And Reconciliation Commission in the National Reconciliation Process of Post-apartheid South Africa

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission has been claimed to be one of the most important truth commissions. Moreover, it has been the first truth commission to use media extensively in its initiatives. The SATRC was created to address the atrocities caused by the apartheid, and furthermore, to establish a common understanding among South Africans with regard to the past. In addition, the Commission was created as a 'third way' institution as it functions between the government and the public.

The success of the Commission of South Africa is said to be due to the local media involvement within its reconciliation and truth related initiatives, such as truth hearings. Therefore, this research was conducted in order to answer the research question of 'What type of impact did the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission's media involvement have on the national reconciliation process in Post-apartheid South Africa?'. Furthermore, this research was conducted in order to define whether the local media indeed influenced the national reconciliation process and if so, in what ways.

The research started by defining the key concepts and analytical framework, explaining reconciliation and national healing in a South African context and defining the role of media as a reconciliatory tool. After that, the research focused on the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission by briefly describing its background and then covering the reconciliation and healing process initiatives of the Commission e.g. truth hearings. An analysis was conducted regarding different media outlets, such as television and radio, and their function in South Africa. In addition, those media outlets that were used in the Commission's functions when it comes to informing the public about the initiatives were defined. Overall, it became evident that the broadcasted media including television and radio programs were used the most (Cole, 2014). They were chosen by the Commission in order to have the most cost and time effective method.

The focus of this research was to examine the local media and its role in post-apartheid South Africa. Therefore, the background of the local media environment in South Africa was fully explored. This was done in order to define how the media's role in the society had changed with the democratic transition that started to take place in 1994. The evaluation of media as a peace building tool was done in order to define the shortcomings, as well as the advantages of its use in informing the public about the initiatives related to truth, reconciliation and peace building.

In addition, the analysis of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission using media was also evaluated by examining the objectives and motives of the Commission. The research

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reflects that the Commission had an extensive agenda that wanted to address the past by implementation of truth telling initiatives and by granting amnesties. Yet, the agenda was largely criticized by academics for not addressing the ethnic division in South Africa.

An analysis of risks and shortcomings was also conducted in order to define whether or not the media used for informing the public about truth proceedings was objective or not. The research results showed that there was no clarity among scholars regarding the objectivity question. Instead, the research results indicated that there was a gradual shift of the objectivity, meaning that on the surface level the media reporting seemed objective, yet when looking into the methods and reporting style, this became unclear. After looking into the SATRC's objectives, the outcome of involving media within the processes was evaluated from both the Commission's perspective, as well as from a national healing perspective. From the Commission's perspective, the media involvement was a success, as it was able to inform large groups of people about its actions and initiatives. However, from a national healing perspective the process was not seen as such due to the fact that some people involved in the process e.g. through truth hearings, were not satisfied with the public nature of the confessions. Moreover, the Commission was accused of exploitation of people's individual suffering for common good.

The results of this research indicated that even though the process of the Commission and media involvement had mixed results in terms of the effectiveness in promoting and enhancing the national reconciliation, it is clear that the media had a vital impact on the nation when it comes to communicating and addressing the issue of apartheid past. After all, without the local media involvement, some of the South African people would not have realised the magnitude and nature of the apartheid crimes.

PREFACE

This thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for The Hague University of Applied Sciences. This study contains research work conducted from December 2014 until May 2015. Supervisor on this research process has been Mrs Dr. Peeters and second reader Mrs Weijerman-Kerremans, both teaching in The Hague University of Applied Sciences. Yours truly is the author of this research. Importantly, research sources used in this study have been carefully selected and evaluated in order to conduct research that is reliable and consistent. Regarding this, I have done my best to provide references to all of the sources that I have used in this research.

When it comes to choosing the thesis topic, in the autumn of 2013 I attended minor course of 'Peace Building After Conflict', which was taught by former Dutch minister, and current lecturer of The Hague University of Applied Sciences, Mr Joris Voorhoeve. Throughout this minor I was inspired by the topic of peace building and conflict prevention. Especially the idea of the reconciliation as a peace building tool inspired me to explore more of this topic. I was especially interested in focusing on South Africa, as the country has always fascinated me personally and as it is a nation with a very colourful history. The minor truly inspired me to look more in depth at the South African reconciliation process and to research how the country has dealt with the post-apartheid recovery. Due to the inspiration given me by the minor, I decided to cover this topic in my Bachelor thesis.

Writing this thesis has been challenging at times, yet rewarding as well due to the fact that I have been able to familiarize myself the reconciliation processes in South African context. Now, I have a better understand of a peace building process, the work of truth commissions and the work of the South African Commission. Moreover, the understanding of the role and relationship of the local media and the Commission of South Africa became clearer to me throughout the research and writing process. Furthermore, I have gained a much wider understanding of the functions of different stakeholders of the peace building processes and discovered the delicacy of post-apartheid South African society.

The Aim of this Thesis
Since this thesis is written as the final study for Bachelor thesis of The Hague University of Applied Sciences, Academy of European Studies & Communication Management, this paper is primarily aimed at European Studies & Communication Management teachers at The Hague University of Applied Sciences as well for students, especially those interested in the peace building and conflict resolution issues. Furthermore, after looking more in depth at the

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reconciliation process in South Africa as a whole, I have noticed that there was a lack of research material regarding the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa and the media involvement when it comes to its truth and reconciliation processes.

Acknowledgements

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List of Acronyms

AC = Amnesty Committee

ANC = African National Congress

IBA = The Independent Broadcasting Authority

ICASA = Independent Communications Authority of South Africa

IJR = Institute for Justice and Reconciliation

LSM = Living Standards Measure

NP = National Party (South Africa)

R&R = Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee

SA = South Africa

SAARF = The South African Audience Research Foundation

SABC = South African Broadcasting Corporation

SARB = South African Reconciliation Barometer / Reconciliation Barometer

SATRC = South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission

SA-TRC = South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission

TRC = Truth and Reconciliation Commission

UN = United Nations

UNESCO = United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

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I. Introduction

The media has the power to influence the minds and the emotions of people, as it shapes people's perceptions, condition behaviour and rises up sentiments. The headlines featured in media outlets initiate conversation within the public (Hassan, 2006). Moreover, the interpretation and analysis of the information the media gathers, influences the attitudes and opinions of the receivers. In addition, the issues that media decide to glorify can have an influence when it comes to setting the trend (Hassan, 2006). Given that the media have an arguably powerful position in a society, they will be evaluated and analysed in this study of *'What type of impact did the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission's media involvement have in the national reconciliation process of post-apartheid South Africa?'*.

To begin, the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (also known as TRC or SATRC) was created in order to address the atrocities that took place during the apartheid period in South Africa, and to enhance the unity of the nation by creating a common understanding of the history without condemning perpetrators judicially. After all, the apartheid rule left some scars of discrimination and segregation in the minds of the South Africans that needed to be addressed. Furthermore, the democratic transition started to set its roots in South Africa during the first democratic election that took place in 1994 (Steenveld, 2012). As the apartheid rule ended officially with the 1994 elections, the need for local TRC was recognized. Moreover, there was a need for an institution that would serve as a mediator between the locals and the new government and which would bring the truth of the past forward as well as to create a common understanding of the atrocities of the past (IRIN, 2014).

Significantly, The SATRC was the first of the Worlds TRC's to use the media as intensively in its reconciliation and peace building efforts. Also, it was unique with its approach when it comes to addressing the traumatic experiences of the apartheid as it created a platform for survivors and perpetrators to address these issues and to tell their stories publicly through public hearings. According to Hayner, the SATRC has been called "[…] as one of the five strongest truth commissions out of the forty that have been held to date internationally" (Hayner, 2011, p.27). Furthermore, the process of the Commission in South Africa has been appraised as well as criticised due to its efforts to address the need for national reconciliation in the country. The institutional agenda of the SATRC was built around of activities concerning of addressing the human rights violations, granting amnesties and by conducting clear reports that would provide information of the findings and recommendations for the future (Verdoolaege, 2003).

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The SATRC aimed to work as transparently as possible throughout its existence, and one of the examples of this was seen through the media involvement. The local (as well as international) media was closely included in the processes of the SATRC, especially during the truth hearings. Moreover, the media made the Commissions truth and reconciliation processes accessible to everyone; people were able to follow the proceedings of truth hearings through television, radio or printed media or even attend the hearings themselves. The media was also present and reporting from and about the hearings. Furthermore, the local media such as South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) was used to communicate the on-going processes as well as to make the implementation of SATRC's initiatives more transparent.

The SATRC emphasised not only the importance of informing the public of the past, but it also assisted the new government in the democratic transition, which was one of the most important aspect of it due to transparency. According to the UNESCO report on 'Communications for Peace-building', the media have an essential role when it comes to assisting the local population to express their views and opinions regarding development problems, as well as participating in the national democratic transition process. The fundamental idea of population participation is that they provide an input that hopefully leads to a peaceful society (UNESCO, 1998, p.7).

However, as the media was closely involved in the processes of the SATRC, the question arose whether the media helped the Commission in achieving its objectives when it comes to unifying South Africa and enhancing the national reconciliation in the country. Therefore, this research will analyse the involvement and the impact of SATRC using media in the process of national reconciliation. In addition, it also examines and defines the possible hurdles the media involvement created for the Commission and for the national reconciliation in South Africa. In particular, this research paper is going to answer the question of *'What type of impact did the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission's media involvement have on national reconciliation process in post-apartheid South Africa?'*. Moreover, this question will be answered by critically analysing a variety of sources and academic findings of previous research studies related to this topic, and by using sources related to peace building, reconciliation and media as a reconciliatory tool. The topic itself is related to issues such of peace building, healing, reconciliation and the South African media.

In order to answer this aforementioned research question and to define the role of local media in South Africa within the SATRC processes, the study will start by defining and addressing the key concepts of this research. The main focus will be given to the reconciliation and national healing in post-apartheid South Africa, and the media as a reconciliatory tool. This will be followed by the

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explanation of the SATRC and its reconciliation and truth telling initiatives delivered to the public by radio, television and printed media. The attention is then focused on the analysis of risks and shortcomings of the media used as a reconciliatory tool. Moreover, this includes the analysis of objectivity and propaganda. In addition, the SATRC and its decision to use local media will be analysed, as well as the outcome of using it from SATRC's and from national healing process perspective. The effectiveness and impact of the media inclusion will be provided as well. This research will then lead to a discussion, which will include the main findings and their analysis. The limitation of the study as well as the supporting arguments of the findings will be brought forward. This step-by-step research process aims to provide the answer regarding the impact of the media in the SATRC's reconciliation process in post-apartheid South Africa through critical analysis of previously conducted academic material.

A. Statement of the research problem and significance of the study

The media, as mentioned in the previous chapter, has the power of influencing people's perceptions and opinions. The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission have been seen as using media extensively within processes regarding peace and reconciliation. Through different media outlets such as television, radio and print media, the Commission has been able to share its reconciliation efforts with large audiences and more importantly, involve them in the process. As Hassan explains, the media has the ability to reach people everywhere twenty-four-hours a day (Hassan, 2006).

In particular, The South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which was established to address the apartheid atrocities, decided to use media as a way to bring forward the truth of difficult past by collecting testimonies and publicly broadcasting declarations of human rights abuses. The Commission collected statements from more than 21,000 survivors of the human rights abuses in South Africa. Archbishop Desmond Tutu's led SATRC "[…] was a process aimed at uncovering the truth of apartheid-era violence by offering individuals amnesty, in exchange for public disclosure of crimes committed" (IRIN, 2014).

When it comes to the SATRC and its proceedings of truth hearings, the South African media seemed to play a crucial part of the truth-telling mission as it broadcasted public hearings every day. Furthermore, the purpose of these events was to bring forward the past and bring awareness of the human rights abuses taken place in the past. As Verdoolaege clarifies, the decision to make them public came from the motivation of promoting mutual understanding of what had happened under apartheid rule (Verdoolaege, 2003). This was seen as an important part of the healing, as

there were still locals who did not know or were not interested in admitting of the level of discrimination, violence and segregation taken place under apartheid rule (Stanley, 2001, p.529).

Since the beginning of the SATRC's existence, the media was given the role to communicate the Commission's message to the South Africans. To provide an example, all truth hearings were recorded by the media on audio and on videotape (Verdoolaege, 2003). As Armoudian clarifies, the broadcasts from truth hearings of SATRC were aired everyday live through television and radio. In addition, there were weekly summaries of the hearings presented in the newspapers. Armoudian argues that this large scale media informing made the truth hearings a unifying event. Moreover, when the local media focused on this singular event, it created an experience where a fractured nation came together and experienced a "[…] transcendent moment of 'common national history,' that created a shared language, such as the phrase 'gross violations of human rights'" (Armoudian, 2013).

In addition, Verdoolaege claims that the SATRC has worked very closely with media throughout the largest part of the proceedings. Even the SATRC's Deputy Chairman Alex Boraine has explained that the Commission

> "[…] owes a huge debt to the media of South Africa. Without coverage in newspapers and magazines and without the account of proceedings on TV screens and without the voice of the TRC being beamed through radio across the land, its work would be disadvantaged and immeasurable poorer" (Verdoolaege, 2003).

Verdoolaege also claims that the success of the Commission is partially due to the media attention. After all, the SATRC is dependent on media outlets to inform the locals of the work of the Commission, and for this reason it gave media a central position in its healing and reconciliation processes (Verdoolaege, 2003).

Due to the role that the media played in the success of the Commission, an analysis of its influence on national reconciliation in South Africa was necessary. The research results can assist to define the media involvement loopholes, as well as to highlight opportunities for TRCs in general to take similar actions in the future. In other words, the study can provide lessons learned for the future. Throughout the research process it became apparent that there was a clear deficiency of detailed research covering this topic of SATRC and its media involvement. Therefore, it became evident that there was a need for research that would define and analyse the type of impact the local media in South Africa had on the reconciliation processes generated by the SATRC. For this reason, the

main research question of this study is: **'***What type of impact did the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission's media involvement have in national reconciliation process in post-apartheid South Africa?'*. In order to define this, the research will also focus on the following sub-questions:

- *What was the role of the media in the SATRC's truth and reconciliation process of South Africa? What were the TRC's original objectives of using the media in the reconciliation and peace-building efforts in post-apartheid South Africa? Were these objectives, considering the media, met throughout the process itself?*

- *Which types of media-outlets did the SATRC use in order to bring the information of the TRC and its objectives to the public in South Africa? Why these media-outlets?*

- *When looking at the process and result of reconciliation and peace building efforts in post-apartheid South Africa as a whole, did the media involvement actually advance the process of national healing and if so, in which ways? Did the mass media also create negative impact on the healing process and if so, in which ways? Was the media usage of SATRC more helpful or harmful when it comes to national healing of South Africans?*

In addition, this research has been conducted in order to support the academic educators and students interested in the South African reconciliation process after apartheid, as well as the function of the SATRC and South African media. Furthermore, this research paper aims to inform people of the process of SATRC and its objectives that involved media and to draw guidelines of the risks and shortcomings, as well as the success of the media usage as part of the national healing process. In addition, this study will provide insights of the consequences that the media inclusion might create for the individuals trying to reconcile, or the impact they have on national healing.

B.   Research objectives and questions

As explained in the previous chapters, this research will focus on the role of the media in the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission's reconciliation and national healing processes in post-apartheid South Africa. In detail, the focus will be on the SATRC and its reconciliation and healing operations that included the usage of the local media outlets such as broadcasted and print media. The research will examine how South Africans were affected by the media usage of the SATRC on both individual, and especially on national level.

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Throughout this research, it will be carefully evaluated whether or not the SATRC's media usage was actually helpful for the Commission or the South African people. The in-depth analysis of the chosen sources will define the possible loopholes and hurdles in the media usage of the SATRC in the country. The research will look into aspects of the media which were helpful for SATRC and its functions. Furthermore, an evaluation will be done on whether the media assisted the Commission to reach its original objectives concerning topics of reconciliation, healing and amnesty. In detail, the media use, the purpose, goal and objectivity will be analysed and evaluated in order to also determine whether the media had a positive influence on the process of national healing. In addition, this study will examine to what extend the SATRC focused on choosing the correct media outlets to inform the public, as well as why these certain media outlets were chosen in the first place. Moreover, the impact of the media on locals will be analysed. This will be done in order to understand how the locals accepted the information communicated to them by the SATRC, and whether they feel resentment towards the mediatised proceedings of the Commission. Furthermore, this study will assess the individual and communal experiences regarding the largely mediatised truth hearings, in an attempt to determine if the truth telling proceedings actually did more damage than good.

To conclude, the peace building and national reconciliation in South Africa have been a multilayer process that have been affected by the media in several ways. Therefore, this research will focus on what the local media in South Africa have created in the country with regard to the SATRC and its function as well as its peace building and reconciliation efforts.

C.   Definition of terms

This chapter focuses on defining certain abstract elements in connection to the research in order to clarify and explain the context, for an understanding of the selected approach. By defining the terms, it is ensured that there will be a level of consistency within the research. The following list includes the most used terms:

Reconciliation:
Although there is no common definition created by scholars with regard to the term 'reconciliation', in this context it means action of wanting to move on from a difficult past. According to the Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) reconciliation is an action that tries to reunite parties that have been fracture as a result of a dispute (IDEA, 2008, p.133). Also, reconciliation is rebuilding relationships that have been damaged in the past as a cause of e.g. violence. The aspect of reconciliation can be used between citizens and a state or

among different groups of people in society (UN, 2012). In details, reconciliation applied to perpetrators and victims usually means forgiveness, apologising for the wrongdoings and accepting the blame (Gibson, 2004, p.14).

National healing:

The common understanding of dealing with the past, and the act of moving on together without hatred towards the party who has acted unfairly or in an evil manner against the other party.

Ubuntu:

Ubuntu is 'Humanness' in South African (Pennink, Polak & Sigger, 2010). It is a Zulu principle that means "'A person is a person through other people', or 'I realize my humanity only when I also realize your humanity', or 'I am what I am because of who we all are'" (Cole, 2014, p.403). In the context of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa, Ubuntu is something that was manifested during the public hearings in regards of human-to-human meetings.

Media:

Broadcast media such as television and radio, and written publications such as newspapers, articles, and journals.

Local Media:

Media outlets that are established and function in a certain area or in a country. In this research, local media refers to South African media, for example the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC).

Restorative Justice:

Restorative justice system deals with different levels of the society such as groups, individuals and institutions, which have either indirectly or directly been affected by the violence of the war. Restorative justice aims to engage these actors into dialogue to distinguish the truths, and furthermore to help address the past's atrocities and violence (Ministry of Internal Affairs of Liberia, 2012, p.15). In addition, it includes the support of the work of truth commissions and other tribunals (e.g. documentation of testimonies) and it provides compensation for those witnessing in judicial institutions. All in all, restorative justice deals with punishments and prosecutions of severe crimes (Brounéus, 2003, p.31).

Retributive Justice:

Retributive justice, also known as procedural, criminal, or legalistic justice concentrates on crime as violence against the law. This justice system focuses on healing and reconciliation in order to avoid future revenge or circle of crime. This can be done with actions such as acknowledging the past, apologising and by providing reparations to survivors and their families (Brounéus, 2007, p.7).

Truth and Reconciliation Commission:

An institution whose main focus is to examine and reveal the truth of past atrocities. The essence of its function is to grant reparations and to ensure that victims are offered a platform where they are able to tell their stories. The Commission is not used to prosecute perpetrators, but instead it is an institution that will grant amnesty in return of the truth. The Commissions are established, not only to reveal the truth, but to enable the process of individual and common healing and to avoid the atrocities to be repeated. In addition, truth commissions have four common characteristics:

- They focus on addressing the past
- The commissions focus on investigating the atrocities occurred during long periods of time instead of investigating a particular event
- They are temporary institutions that finalise their work with the final and official report
- They are official entities that declare the accessibility of information in order to make sure the information provided in the final report is taken seriously (Brounéus, 2013, p.36).

Truth Hearings:

The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commissions' initiative, which enables individuals to share their experiences regarding the apartheid period atrocities in front of the truth commission and the public, in the form of proceedings. Symbolic reparations offered to victims and their relatives; perpetrator on the other hand are offered the possibility of amnesty as an exchange of telling the truth. Truth hearings in South Africa were largely mediatised and open for the public.

D.   Research methodology

This section explains the research methods chosen for the purpose of this study. To begin with, it is important to understand the challenges one is faced with when making a research concerning healing, reconciliation and feelings of large groups of people. The first difficulty lies within the fact that there is no consensus among scholars regarding the term of reconciliation. In addition to

this, the act or end result of reconciliation is something that is intangible, therefore it is challenging to measure, as it is the case with this research topic. Yet, there are some methods that can be used when taking into consideration people's emotions and feelings while covering the topic of healing in South Africa.

One of these methods is a public opinion poll. The quantitative data represented in this study has been collected by another institutions as the collection of this type of data requires large-scale efforts and long-term research. The data of these opinion polls has been carefully selected from trustworthy and reliable sources such as the Human Science Research Council's (HSRC) database. For example, this study will use HSRC's 'Perceptions' data from 1998 that covered opinions of South Africans in relation to the SATRC and its effectiveness as an institution. To add, the material also analyses the public's trust towards institutions such as the SATRC and the South African media.

Another limitation of this research was that there is currently restricted information about the topic of media and its involvement in the SATRC's truth telling initiatives in South Africa. It also must be pointed out that the media usage as a reconciliatory tool has not been explored as extensively as some of the other topics in relation to this field of study. This has created a challenge in finding enough reliable and trustworthy academic material on this subject.

The aim of this research was to focus on qualitative methods in order to cover and answer to all of the sub-questions. This includes primary data and secondary data. Qualitative research methods were chosen for this thesis in order to bring some depth to the topic. The qualitative methods were chosen to give in-depth knowledge that is descriptive and detailed. Furthermore, the analysis of the research material will be executed by creating analytical frameworks of the topic and through the interpretation of the study material and relevant case studies focusing on the subject. Qualitative analysis methods will be utilised in order to examine non-measurable data such as the attitudes of South African people in relation to the national healing process. This study will employ both academic and non-academic material. Yet, the variety of sources exploited in this research have been chosen carefully in order to provide credible, objective, trustworthy and solid answer to all of the research questions and in order to provide recommendations for the future. The complete analysis of the topic is based on various sources with the expertise in the field of peace building, reconciliation and media in South Africa. The upcoming chapter of literature review will provide a better insight of these sources.

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With regard to qualitative research, primary data sources such as documents of the SATRC hearings (e.g. official final report of the SATRC) will be included in order to provide examples of the reconciliation process cases that were communicated through the local media. The primary data for this study was mainly collected from different materials from 1994 and onwards. This time period is relevant because the political transition of South Africa started to take place then and the SATRC was established in 1995. After all, the research will focus merely on the SATRC and its relation with the South African media.

Although the primary data sources are evaluated and included as part of this research, the secondary data will be explored more extensively. Through the use of secondary data, the theoretical elements of the reconciliation process can be covered and evaluated. Furthermore, the method will be used to support the arguments by providing academic evidence to this research and to ensure a level of reliability.

E.   Literature Review

As the topic of this research is about analysing whether or not the local media of South Africa effected and influenced the national reconciliation process and how, it is important to find reliable and trustworthy academic sources that provide insights into the media, South Africa, truth commissions, the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and other relevant topics. This section explains the views of the most important literature that has been used for this study. Also, this review will formulate the strengths and weaknesses of the sources, and it clarifies the relations between different views expressed throughout. In addition, it will analyse their similarities as well as differences when it comes to views on the Truth Commission of South Africa and using the local media in its peace building and reconciliation efforts.

One of the most important reports used for this study is Annelies Verdoolaege's 'Media Representations of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission and their Commitment to Reconciliation' (2003). The report offers an excellent insight of the media involvement in peace building and reconciliation processes in a South African context. Moreover, the report explains how the reconciliation efforts in South Africa as a whole were largely related to the mediatised actions of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. According to Verdoolaege, the mediatising of events such as truth hearings had a major impact on the South African society and its national healing process. All in all, Verdoolaege's report offers comprehensive explanation of the shortcomings as well as advantages of the local media in South Africa with regard to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's truth and reconciliation initiatives. Another report, which is

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selected for this study was written by Catherine M. Cole for International Center for Transitional Justice. Cole's report 'Reverberations of Testimony: South Africa's TRC in Art and Media: Transitional Justice, Culture, And Society' (2014), provides convincing insights of the reconciliation process from the South African media's perspective. It specifically focuses on the media use in South Africa in relation to the SATRC. The document introduces truth hearings initiatives and clarifies the role of South African journalists and media outlets within the process of reconciliation by the Commission. More importantly, Cole defines the role of the media as an 'intermediary' element between the public and the SATRC. Like Verdoolaege, Cole also examines the question whether or not the mediatised proceedings (e.g. truth hearings of SATRC) were a representation of an objective media reporting.

Another source used for this research is from Nahla Valji who is the Senior Researcher at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation. Valji presented her paper about 'Race and Reconciliation in a Post-TRC South Africa' (2004) at a conference entitled Ten Years of Democracy in Southern Africa. The report explains the contribution of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission and its perspective on the use of media in connection to the national reconciliation process. In detail, Valji's report addresses the major shortcoming of the SATRC with regard to its inability to address the issue of race in its reconciliation efforts.

A source used extensively in this research is Lynette Steenveld's book, 'The pen and the sword: Media transformation and democracy after apartheid' (2012). In this book, Steenveld covers the media transformation that took place around the first democratic elections in 1994 election in South Africa. It looks into the media ownership from a critical perspective and examines the relationship between the local media and the South African government, lastly pointing out the importance of defining the role of the media in the society (Steenveld, 2012). More importantly, Steenveld's material analyses the impact of the SATRC media use in relation to the transition of the South African democracy. As Valji points out, Steenveld's book also underlines the importance of understanding the differences of 'ethnic presses'.

Priscilla Hayner's book, 'Unspeakable Truths: Transitional Justice and the Challenge of Truth Commissions' (2011), which has been largely appraised among academics, analyses whether or not reconciliation within individual and national levels is possible, and how it can possibly be achieved. The book largely introduces the concept and method of reconciliation. More specifically, it addresses whether or not the national reconciliation in South Africa is possible. The book gives an explanation and an in-depth analysis of the background and role of the media in South Africa. Significantly, Hayner establishes four common characteristics of all truth commissions in the

world. In addition, she affirms the role of truth commissions as important "[…] middle-range method for reconciliation" (Hayner, 2011).

The research also touched upon Gunnar Theissen's report of 'Common Past, Divided Truth: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South African Public Opinion' (1999). This source provides a large analysis of the opinions and feelings of South Africans regarding the post-apartheid society, mainly about the relationship of the SATRC and the local media. Theissen argues that based on the opinion polls results, the opinions of South African locals vary extensively. Despite that, he draws a conclusion that the SATRC and its media involvement were successful. He also points out that the South African society is still currently largely fragmented (e.g. ethnic division) (Theissen, 1999). Moreover, Theissen's report provides great insights into the public opinion on different topics such as the opinions towards the work done by the SATRC, and the trust level the local population has towards the local media or other institutions. Another literature source that offers knowledge of the opinions of the South African locals is the report of the Human Science Research Council called 'Perceptions" (1998). This report includes data collected by 'Data collecting agency: Market Research Africa' and it provides large research results based on opinion polls conducted in South Africa in 1998, and useful knowledge of the public perception on issues such as the SATRC, media and reconciliation in South Africa.

Furthermore, this research includes the use of online article 'In Apartheid Inquiry, Agony Is Relived but Not Put to Rest' (2007) published by The New York Times. This article includes individuals' opinions regarding their experiences when sharing their stories in SATRC's truth hearings. This article was used as a practical example to explore the feelings of survivors about the process and to see whether they found it helpful for their healing. This article reveals criticism and dissatisfaction of these individuals towards the process, especially regarding the reparation program of the SATRC. More importantly, the article brought up the discussion of whether the individual reconciliation, in the case of the SATRC and its truth hearings, is sacrificed for the healing on a national level.

Lastly, Jasmina Brankovic's report, 'Accountability and National Reconciliation in South Africa' (2013), was chosen to explain the SATRC's objectives in detail and to bring forward the issues related to the Commission's accountability agenda. The report introduces the restorative and retributive forms of accountability. Most importantly, it introduces and analyses the reconciliation agenda of the SATRC and it offers an explanation of what reconciliation means in this context. In addition, it defines the difference between individual and collective reconciliation. This report has

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served as a valuable source throughout this research, as it provides analytical and theoretical material on the reconciliation process on both individual and national level in South Africa.

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II. Key Concepts and the Analytical Framework

A. Reconciliation and national healing in post-apartheid South Africa

In order to examine the reconciliation and national-level healing in South Africa, it is vital to understand the background of the country. Furthermore, it is important to determine the country's need for reconciliation in order to better understand the function of the SATRC, and the role of the media in the whole process.

The need to reconcile in South Africa arises from the horrific atrocities and human right abuses conducted during the apartheid regime. This period has been said to start after the 1948 national election of the National Party (NP) (Henrard, 2002). As Henrard clarifies, segregationist policies in South Africa as well as the attempts of classifying the population were already in evidence centuries before, actually since the beginning of colonialism in South Africa. Moreover, the apartheid-time was characterised by its system of dividing and ruling. In addition, it was directed to ensure hegemony of the white South African population by dividing the non-white population by their ethnicity and race. According to Henrard,

> "Consequently, the corresponding majority was divided into a host of minority groups,which could no longer pose a threat to the white minority (including both the Afrikaners and the English population). In that way apartheid can also be described as a scheme to disempower the non-white population while giving privileges to the white, and especially the white Afrikaner population" (Henrard, 2002).

The South African democratic transition initiated in 1994 marked a historical moment in the country's conflict and trauma-filled past. A newly elected government took the first step towards the healing of the nation and shortly after that, the establishment of the SATRC took place. On many levels, the transition towards the democracy marked the new beginning of the South African society. However, pain and suffering of many of the survivors and their families still remained from the apartheid period. Also, many South Africans did not know or did not believe that some of the violations even took place, nor did they know the extent. Therefore, in the South African society there was a strong need to find a common understanding of the past, as the population was still clearly divided by the ethnicity. Furthermore, the local population needed to address what had happened.

When discussing reconciliation, it involves a process of healing from past traumas. It also covers the formulation of a common future, by including issues related to justice, forgiveness, truth and peace (Brounéus, 2013, p.3). As Brounéus explains, reconciliation can be seen as a societal

process, which involves mutual acknowledgement of the past, and furthermore, switching of destructive behaviour and attitudes into more constructive relationships that in the ideal scenario lead to sustainable peace (Brounéus, 2013, p.3). Moreover, Hugo van der Merwe, who is the Project Manager at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation in Cape Town, has defined the idea of reconciliation as something that includes all the projects that "[…] bring together, or engage, both sides in a pursuit of changing identity, values regarding interaction, attitudes, and patterns of interaction that move them to a more cooperative relationship" (Brounéus, 2013, p.16). To conclude, reconciliation has been argued to be a vital component in each and every peace-building process phase.

In addition, one of the core elements of the reconciliation that has been defined by many academics is 'the truth'. Without coming to terms about the truth about the past and recognising the wrongdoings, a person or community is not able to move on. According to Best, for a country that has experienced a conflict, it is fundamental to recover the truth by bringing all official parties, such as victims and perpetrators together and have them tell their own stories and participate in that way to the public dialogue (Best, 2011). Best claims that this process has been explained through hypothesis of 'remembering in order to forget' by Hayner, meaning that the aim of the healing process should be supported by truth-telling activities. This has become a common practice in the international peace-building arena (Best, 2011). In addition, Maregere also affirms that the truth can be seen as a way to empower the previously powerless group or individuals, giving them the opportunity to reclaim their lives as well as "[…] understanding the nature of their subjugation" (Maregere, 2015, p.46). In the South African context, this means that the truth telling would, in theory, help the minority oppressed throughout the apartheid time to gain their power and equality. Yet, this is a theory that offers this type of result as the best-case scenario, forgetting the fact that truth might also bring forward some unwanted emotions in people. This aspect will be analysed in the upcoming chapters.

In South Africa, the truth telling and reconciliation are instrumental between the white-population and other ethnicities, as the apartheid ruling created an enormous gap between these two groups. In this case, the reconciliation would mean the acceptance of the past from all groups of the society, as well as acceptance of the role that the certain ethnical group had played in the apartheid time. The acceptance of the truth could in theory lead to reconciliation. As Brankovic writes, reconciliation can vary from peaceful co-existence to building relationships, to at least establishing mutual cooperation or mutual respect for one another. Moreover, "A look at reconciliation in South Africa suggests that it has been fairly shallow to date, based largely on co- existence and respect

but with limited intermingling of groups divided by apartheid and colonialism before it"
(Brankovic, 2013, p.10).

To conclude, the aim for reconciliation in South Africa comes from the need to address the human rights violence during the apartheid period. After all, the ethnic segregation caused during apartheid had left its mark in the locals' minds. Some people were not even fully aware of the level of the atrocities taken place during the apartheid, while others decided to ignore what had happened. The SATRC was established in order to address the past in communal level. The purpose of the institution was to function as a medium-level establishment between the government and the South African public. Furthermore, the SATRC was not only established to address the past, but it was created to also enhance the national healing and unity. This was done by implementing truth telling initiatives that would, in theory, help South Africans to come to terms with the past, and more importantly assist the country to move on. How this worked in practice for the SATRC and South African society will be discussed further in the upcoming chapters.

B.   Media as a reconciliation tool

To begin with, it is necessary to determine whether the media can actually assist in the process and aim of reconciliation, which will be addressed in this section. First one needs to evaluate and examine how the media affect people's opinions, as well as feelings regarding reconciliation. As pointed out by Laplante and Phenicie, the importance of media in the reconciliation process cannot be underestimated. After all, the media have a lot of power over how people perceive many things. Therefore, it can be seen that the media have a power to contribute to the peace building process of a society as well. Moreover, the way media report on events or frame the information can significantly shape how people view for example collective sentiments. Different media outlets can function as part of easing the dispute situation and promoting the process of national healing. In contrast, they can exacerbate the situation. The media's influence is due to the choice of words, images, phrases and so on. These choices can drastically influence how the people experience the subject (Laplante & Phenicie, 2010, p.273).

According to Hattotuwa, media has a valuable and important role when it comes to creating a confidence in people regarding the peace building process itself. For this very reason, as Laplante and Phenicie argued, journalists have a unique yet responsible role when it comes to approaching the issue of healing and peace building. In relation to this, Hattotuwa points out that not only does the media have a responsible role, but they also have "[…] a moral responsibility to promote

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reconciliation. All media has donned both the role of victim and aggressor over the lifetime of a prolonged conflict" (Hattotuwa, 2005). Hattotuwa also claims that media reporting on issues such as reconciliation should always be dealt with in objective and responsible ways by the journalists (Hattotuwa, 2005). In addition to this, Hassan points out that "The reports may have a negative effect on the prospects for peace, and for any negotiations underway, but the media cannot refrain from reporting just to protect the potential for peace" (Hassan, 2006). Hattotuwa claims that,

> "Given that public confidence in a peace process is often shaped by media reportage of events, journalists have a unique and important responsibility to report the process accurately, impartially and responsibly and frame stories with the art of the long view – in other words, looking towards the future. This is the foundation of conflict sensitive journalism, within which one locates the space for media to promote reconciliation" (Hattotuwa, 2005).

Another aspect of advancing reconciliation with media is the creation of peace media. According to Brounéus, "One expert in the area, Ellen Gardner, speaks of peace media in contrast to hate media (which was used in Nazi Germany, as well as before and during the genocide in Rwanda, 'Radio Mille Collines', and the ethnic cleansing in former Yugoslavia)" (Brounéus, 2013, p.35). To clarify, peace media promotes the idea of peace and reconciliation intentionally, and is used only for that purpose. This however, can be seen by some scholars and journalists as conflicting with the ethics of objective media reporting as it is "[…] promoting peace and tolerance by balancing previous prejudice with facts, verified and fair information" (Brounéus, 2013, p.35). Also, Hassan argues that the media's role in the reporting process is to inform on things as they unfold, in other words, without previously determined agenda (Hassan, 2006).

According to the Agency for International Development, the media can be employed as a platform for sharing information, viewpoints and opinions (Agency for International Development, 1999). However, Hattotuwa points out that the media can sometimes instigate an interest for certain issues that the public might be ignorant of (Hattotuwa, 2005). Therefore, it can be underlined that with media outlets, the public's attention can be focused onto issues such as reconciliation.

According to Coronel, the media can assist in building peace as well as establishing a social consensus. Significantly, it can be used as a mechanism that mediates between the warring groups, offers them platform to voice their thoughts and it can help with the creation of a place where the differences between them can be settled peacefully (Coronel, n.d., p.2). However, Coronel points out that the media can only function in a positive manner if the societal environment enables it.

Also, Hattotuwa points out that the media must be free to critically examine the reconciliation processes and initiatives, as well as in order to promote peaceful co-existence within a society (Hattotuwa, 2005). In addition, Coronel argues that the media have to be held accountable for their reporting. Also, the standards for reporting should be kept high:

> "There should also be mechanisms to ensure they [media] are held accountable to the public and that ethical and professional standards are upheld. Media independence is guaranteed if media organizations are financially viable, free from intervention of media owners and the state, and operate in a competitive environment" (Coronel, n.d., p.2).

The accessibility of the media should be made as easy as possible in order for media to reach wide segments of society. Furthermore, the media should be supported by the society to protect press rights, democratise media access and enhance the media's accountability and capacity (Coronel, n.d., p.2).

Hattotuwa argues that there are several ways that media can assist with the reconciliation processes in a post-conflict country, such as South Africa. Media can assist with:

- "The creation of safe spaces in the form of newspaper supplements,
- Tri-lingual documentaries of community relations,
- Web discussions
- Public forums like town hall meetings that are reported in provincial media,
- The promotion of ethnic diversity in the newsroom and in all output and programming (not just news media),
- Reporting human interest stories,
- Support reconciliation between language media by journalist exchanges and team reporting exercises,
- Sharing and translating content,
- Creating new content that is geared towards reconciliation (esp. programmes for children and youth),
- Using new digital media to capture and strengthen voices that may have been hitherto marginalised (i.e. using techniques such an in-field media production)" (Hattotuwa, 2005).

By using these aforementioned methods, the creation of dialogue and interest of the public will be initiated (Hattotuwa, 2005). However, it is important to point out that mass media is often

interested in showing content that is interesting, useful and attractive to the public. Therefore, it might be challenging for the media to create content that offers all of these things.

Furthermore, based on arguments of the scholars such as Hattotuwa, Coronel, Hassan, Laplante and Phenicie as well as others, the conclusion can be drawn that the media can assist society in its reconciliation process through the implementation of fair, objective and responsible reporting methods. After all, media have an influential role in the peace building process and reporting on the reconciliation processes. Initiatives, such as population opinions, values and sentiments can be influenced through media reporting. The media can assist in this process by implementing multiple practical initiatives that will enhance the process itself (e.g. public forum discussions).

To conclude, the media have a responsible and vital role when it comes to reconciliation and peace building processes as they shape the ideas, opinions and sentiments of the public. They also have a responsible role of informing people, especially regarding peace building processes as they might influence how the public will receive these processes. In addition, in order for the media to function well as a peace building tool and to assist with reconciliation process, society has to enable these processes. Lastly, the media have to be free in order to critically examine the reconciliation processes and initiatives, as well as in order to promote peaceful unity in countries such as South Africa.

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III. The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission

A. Introduction

This chapter will provide a comprehensive description of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission by explaining its history, purpose and goals, as well as the initial reasons for its establishment. The further perspective of the objectives will be discussed in the following chapters. In addition, the research will investigate the media's impact used by the SATRC on the national healing of South Africa. Furthermore, the research is going to examine the type of influence the media have on the locals regarding the reconciliation process.

The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission was said to be initiated from the Indemnity Act, which was passed in November 1990. Due to the implementation of this act, the return of some political prisoners and exiles was allowed (Campbell, 2000, p.42). The birth of the SATRC however took place in 1994 when the new South African government was selected, although officially the SATRC started implementing its mandate in 1995 (Amnesty International, 2003). The purpose for setting up the Commission was to establish a common understanding of the past, and to address the atrocities that took place in the country under apartheid in a coherent way. As argued by Hamber and Kibble, "From this basis a process of learning from the past may be promoted. In theory the process re-establishes the rule of law in emerging democracies and prevents future violations" (Hamber & Kibble, 1998). Therefore, the creation of the SATRC was seen as important because by addressing the past, it would be ensured that the impunities of the apartheid period would not take place ever again (Amnesty International, 2003). The creation of the SATRC was seen as a necessary step in South Africa because it offered 'a third way' when it comes to dealing with past human rights issues, as well as institutionalising justice. "This is because it steered a middle path between an uncompromising insistence on prosecution on the one hand, and a defeatist acceptance of amnesty and impunity on the other" (Van Zyl, 1999). According to Theissen, "The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) is a reflection of the historical compromise between the apartheid regime and the African National Congress (ANC)" (Theissen, 1999, p.6).

The process of the SATRC was not only to address the past, but also to offer amnesty for individuals as an exchange for public disclosure (IRIN, 2014). According to Hamber and Kibble, the reasoning behind the Commission's justification of using amnesties can be linked to the history of South Africa,

"In South Africa, the balance of forces at the time of transition played a   significant role in shaping the reconciliation process. It has been argued that, given the nature of the negotiated settlement, it was impossible to undertake large-scale prosecutions. Amnesty was an essential and inescapable precondition to the negotiated peace settlement. In turn, the amnesty 'deal' shaped and gave birth to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission" (Hamber & Kibble, 1999).

When it comes to the institutional structure, the Commission itself consisted of three separate sub-committees dealing with human rights violations, reparations, as well as amnesty (BBC News, 1998). "In order to achieve its ambitious objectives, three subcommittees of the TRC were put into place: the Committee for Human Rights Violations, the Amnesty Committee and the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee" (Verdoolaege, 2003). The Amnesty Committee was empowered with the ability to grant amnesty for perpetrators in return of the truth of past atrocities. Anyone was able to apply for amnesty, yet the precondition was that the person confessing had to tell the whole truth. The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee was created in order to restore victims' dignity as well as to conduct proposals that would assist with the rehabilitation process. The Amnesty Committee on the other hand dealt with amnesty applications "[…] that were requested in accordance with the provisions of the Act" (South African History Online, 2014). In addition to these three commissions, the SATRC also had a witness protection program as well as its private investigative unit (Van Zyl, 1999). Furthermore, the SATRC had personnel to look into individual cases in order to ensure collected information was trustworthy and unbiased. It needs to be pointed out that this function was often criticised for being too shallow and not providing any added information to the survivors' individual experiences. Overall, these investigations that focused on the human rights abuses considered cases that took place between 1960 and 1994 in South Africa (South African History Online, 2014).

One of the most pivotal elements that the SATRC was known for was its decision to keep largely mediatised truth hearings, where individuals could participate by sharing their personal experiences. Participants to these hearings involved survivors and their families, as well as perpetrators. The Commission decided to use media to inform the public about the atrocities taken place in South Africa during the apartheid period. The process of mediatised hearings took longer than anticipated as the SATRC needed to take on more cases than originally planned. For this reason, the reporting of these hearings resulted in taking longer than two years (Hayner, 1998). To add, "Over the course of two years, the TRC took statements from more than 21,000 survivors" (IRIN, 2014). However, this has been said to be only a fraction of all of the people in South Africa that faced injustice, were oppressed or/and abused during the apartheid era (IRIN, 2014).

According to the IRIN reportage, the establishment of the SATRC had a vital role when it comes to the successful transformation of the South African society towards democracy. "The court-like body was to be a crucial part of the transition to a fully democratic South Africa; a nation whose constitution stressed a need for 'understanding but not for vengeance; a need for reparation but not for retaliation'" (IRIN, 2014). On the other hand, the Commission of South Africa represented an end of one society and government, and the beginning of the other, as it rooted a different set of principles and values (Armoudian, 2013). According to Verdoolaege, the SATRC have been generally considered to be an important element, as well as one of the prerequisites for the country in order to reach smooth transition to the new South Africa (Verdoolaege, 2003). Furthermore, the International Peace Institute claims that the SATRC was the one that started the process of achieving a strong democracy in the country. Moreover, the Commission was seen as a vital vehicle with regard to achieving national accountability and reconciliation in the country, as well as setting a standard for it in Africa. In addition, the SATRC also gave recommendations regarding institutional reforms. This was done in order to ensure that such atrocities would never take place again. To add, "[…] the process reinforced critical norms of public participation and local ownership" (International Peace Institute, 2013, p.31).

However, the difficulty of the SATRC was claimed to be that it was caught in the middle of multiple processes. Therefore, it has been difficult for it to obtain a balance of truth and justice, retributive lustration and prosecutions, 'blanket amnesty', reconciliation and justice, and right to know the truth (Hamber & Kibble, 1999). When it comes to other criticism, according to the International Peace Institute: "[…] the commission was criticized for failing to address the socioeconomic effects of apartheid and failing to hold individual and institutional beneficiaries of apartheid accountable" (International Peace Institute, 2013, p.31). In addition to this, the SATRC has been extensively criticised for creating expectations for the locals that the Commission would foster individual reconciliation, although it was clearly established to contribute to political and national reconciliation (International Peace Institute, 2013, p.31). Related to this, Cole claims that, "As a massive state-sponsored endeavor, South Africa's TRC was designed to weave discrete experiences into a larger national narrative about the past" (Cole, 2014, p.401). These shortcomings and risks of the SATRC's functions will however be discussed more extensively in the following chapters.

Another vital element of the SATRC was that it aimed for transparency within its actions throughout its existence. The Commission kept the public constantly informed about its initiatives and proceedings. Furthermore, these actions and findings of the Commission were represented in its final publications, which were also made available to the public (Amnesty International, 2003).

Moreover, in these final official documents, the SATRC also made large-scale recommendations to the government of the type of measures needed in order to ensure the promotion of reconciliation. It also presented recommendations regarding the action that should be taken from the government in order to "[…] ensure accountability for human rights violations, […] and prevent future abuses" (Amnesty International, 2003).

The SATRC had the reputation of being the forerunner of all the truth commissions in the world due to its impressive agenda, as well as its transparent approach regarding the reconciliation efforts. The SATRC's institutional function was based on three committees, which all were designed to address the human rights violations differently. The aim of the Commission was to address the human rights abuses, grant amnesty for perpetrators and make sure that reparations were delivered to the survivors. In addition, truth hearings, which were example of these efforts, were extensively delivered to the public through the media. According to Stolten, "The Truth and Reconciliation Committee (TRC) has been the most public attempt to refashion a collective, national memory for the sake of reconciliation and laying to rest the beast of the past" (Stolten, 2007, p.176).

In conclusion, the purpose of the Commission was to function as a bridge between the locals trying to move on from traumatic experiences faced during the apartheid period, and the new government. The establishment of this Commission has marked an important milestone for the South African society and its process of democratic transition due to its role as a third level actor, between impunity and prosecution.

B. Reconciliation and healing process initiatives

1.   Public hearings and truth-telling initiatives of TRC

This section will explain the truth-telling initiatives and reconciliation efforts of the SATRC. The topic was briefly discussed in the chapter explaining the history and function of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa, yet this section will look more in detail at how the initiatives came into existence and the original reason for these hearings to take place. Furthermore, this section will also analyse the purpose of these hearings and to assess whether they had an impact on the individual as well as communal healing.

One of the critical and essential parts of the SATRC's function was to establish initiatives, which would ensure a comprehensive and truthful confession from the victims and perpetrators. Public hearings were a type of initiative that was extensively mediatised. As Verdoolaege explains, "More

than 21.000 people came forward to talk about their experiences under apartheid, about 10% of which were then invited to tell their stories in public hearings" (Verdoolaege, 2003). The public hearings were initiated by the SATRC in 1996. In total, the process took around two years. Moreover, these hearings took place in various public venues, such as civic centres, churches, stadiums and town halls (Verdoolaege, 2003). As Cole clarifies, the hearings were open for public so anyone could attend them. Afterwards, transcripts of the hearings were posted online for everyone to see (Cole, 2014, p.401). The Commission was very clear from the beginning of its existence that it wanted to make its reconciliation and truth telling processes as transparent as possible. Furthermore, according to Van Zyl, the most important aspect of the truth telling initiatives was that they opened the discussion for many parts of the society. "They allow for creative discussion about proactive measures to prevent abuse" (Van Zyl, 1999).

More importantly, the hearings were aimed to bring relief to the survivors and their families, as well as to give the possibility to perpetrators of the crimes to come forward and ask for amnesty. On a large scale, the idea of truth telling, especially as it was made public, was to enhance sharing information of the past within the South African society. Moreover, as Verdoolaege affirms, "At these hearings a great deal of truth about the past was revealed, which was definitely one of the major contributions of the TRC to the future of the country" (Verdoolaege, 2003). Furthermore, Brankovic claims,

> "The commission suggested that by telling their stories through private testimony and public hearings, hearing the truth from perpetrators, receiving public acknowledgement of their suffering and obtaining symbolic and material reparations from the state, victims of apartheid- era violations would receive a degree of closure regarding their trauma and loss, which would enable them to begin the process of healing" (Brankovic, 2013, p.9).

In addition to this, the slogan of the hearings 'revealing is healing', was also often used by the SATRC's Chairperson and archbishop Desmond Tutu. He and other commissioners often emphasised on forgiveness, which according to them was essential and a necessary part in the process of Ubuntu and reconciliation (Brankovic, 2013, p.9). To clarify, the Ubuntu referred to "[…] human-to-human encounters that were most evident through public hearings" (Cole, 2014, p.403).

When it comes to the process of truth hearings in practice, according to Hayner, "The public hearings of the TRC's Human Rights Violations Committee in different parts of the country enabled some 2,000 survivors or their family members to describe what happened to them and to

tell the committee what they hoped would come out of its work on their case" (Hayner, 1998). This number of cases shows that the SATRC had an extensive workload in handling all of the confessions. This can also explain why the truth telling processes of the SATRC took longer than originally expected. Significantly, when the healing initiatives were implemented in practice by the SATRC and when they started receiving large media attention (which will be covered in the upcoming chapters), many of the locals were surprised. Furthermore, some of the locals were even shocked about the level of human rights violations and their horrific nature. Stanley explains how some of the locals had been living in self-deception about the extent of the atrocities conducted during the apartheid period. Some claimed that they were not even aware of the horrific events that took place and some people accused the apartheid government of hiding things at the time.

> "A lot of people did not know that killings, torture, abduction and illtreatment were happening on that scale. Even those that worked within the movement have an acute sense of shock that it was so gross, they did not know the extent to which violence had descended. Notwithstanding this surprising scale of violations, it remains clear that many activities have gone unreported. By way of illustration, the Commission recorded 5,695 killings in the latter part of the resistance, yet the Final Report (1998: 2(7) 7-I5) estimates that 14,000 South Africans died in politically related incidents from mid 1990 to April 1994" (Stanley, 2001, p.529).

According to Campbell, the amount of amnesties that were granted at the end was more than 200 (Campbell, 2000, p.48). To add, once the SATRC had granted amnesty for an individual, it was ensured that "[…] any entry or record of the conviction for the crime for which amnesty had been granted was expunged and that conviction was deemed not to have taken place. The person's name and information about the act were then published in the Government Gazette, the official government publication" (Van Zyl, 1999).

The purpose of truth telling events was to address the past human rights abuses and to establish a common understanding of the extent of the abuses taken place under the apartheid rule. Through these largely mediatised public truth hearings of the SATRC, the survivors and perpetrators were able to explain their feelings and come forward with their individual experiences. Moreover, survivors and their families were able to communicate the brutality that they experienced from the state as they were often demonised or dehumanised by the apartheid society. As Stanley explains, "The experiences of these people, predominantly from black ethnic groups, were disqualified from official knowledge. For these individuals, the simple act of publicly telling a story in their own language provided a sense of symbolic liberation" (Stanley, 2001, p.529). Therefore, the truth

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hearings were seen as important practices to communicate about the past on individual as well as on communal level. After all, the hearings of the SATRC were also opened to the public (e.g. civil society groups).

Finally, from the SATRC's point of view, telling the truth was supposed to lead to an individual process of healing and reconciliation. Yet, when including the whole society in the truth hearings and initiatives, it was expected that the individual healing would also transpire to the communal healing, as the common understanding of the history was established. "In public hearings and through broadcasts to the wider society, these personal truths also become part of a larger societal discourse" (Best, 2011).

a. Media: TV, radio and printed media

This section will cover in detail the various media outlets assessed by the SATRC in its truth telling and reconciliation initiatives. The involvement of media regarding truth hearings was explained briefly in the previous chapter, yet this part of the research will look more in depth into the aspect of the SATRC and its relationship with different local media outlets such as television, radio and printed media. Furthermore, the media used by the Commission for informing locals in South Africa about the truth initiatives and functions as well as the operations of the SATRC will be analysed.

The SATRC has been known as one of the most mediatised truth commissions in the world. According to Verdoolaege, it must have worked as one of "[…] the most mediatised phenomena of the 1990s" (Verdoolaege, 2003). Theissen also supports this notion as he mentioned that the SATRC offered in its own way key history lessons to South Africans (Theissen, 1999, p.44). Moreover, the SATRC's hundreds of public hearings were shared with locals through broadcasts. To add, local media captured the latest news regarding public hearings every evening. The audience was able to constantly follow the progress of these hearings. Hayner argues that "Media coverage was intense throughout its tenure: a pool of several dozen journalists followed the commission's hearings around the country, and every newspaper carried numerous stories about the previous day's events" (Hayner, 2011, p.219).

Due to the fact that journalists were so closely involved with the operations of the SATRC and especially with truth hearings, Cole affirms that they obtained a role of interlocutor or intermediaries between the locals and the Commission. The local media, having this role assisted the public to receive the message of the SATRC regarding its testimony (Cole, 2014, p.399). In addition, it has been recognised by scholars that the Commission was inseparable from the local

media. Alex Boraine, the Deputy Chairman of the SATRC acknowledged this as well and claimed that the Commission "[…] owes a huge debt to the media of South Africa" (Verdoolaege, 2003). He also analysed that without the media involvement, the results of the SATRC processes would have been less significant. Therefore, he also agrees that due to the media coverage (e.g. newspapers and television programs), the Commission was able to have a much larger audience than if it would have not used media within its proceedings. Also, Verdoolaege agrees with this notion as she explains that the success that the SATRC has gained over the years has been partly due to media attention. According to Laplante and Phenicie, one of the reasons of this success was that through the local media, the work of the SATRC became much more accessible to a variety of sectors in South Africa (Laplante; Phenicie, 2010, p.268).

On the other hand, it must be pointed out that the media was also very keen on informing the public of the SATRC and its functions. This was due to the fact that the truth hearings especially presented stories of the survivors, which were ordinary people that had experienced something traumatic. The appealing topic therefore fitted perfectly into the media reporting, as the topic could be seen interesting for the audience. In addition, the truth hearings of the Commission fitted perfectly for television journalism. Cameras would be able to capture the emotions of the survivors and distribute it directly into the viewers' homes (Verdoolaege, 2003). Therefore, it can be said that using media outlets within the truth processes was beneficial for both media as well as the SATRC.

In addition, the media of South Africa used several different methods for sharing the information to the public. Firstly, all of the public hearings were recorded on audio as well as on video-tape. Secondly, television and radio transmitted daily a couple of hours of footage and by summarising the events of the day. News and special programs were responsible for taking on the latest news of the proceedings. Thirdly, the written press coverage was extensive, and articles of the SATRC were released almost daily (Verdoolaege, 2003). As an example, "Daily newspapers like the Business Day ran about 1.4 articles on the TRC in each issue for more than three years (1996-1998)" (Theissen, 1999, p.44). By involving several different media outlets in the reconciliation and truth processes, the SATRC ensured that the progress of the proceedings could be communicated to a large audience, as there were several different options for the audience to choose from. Cole however points out that the South African broadcast media had a much larger circulation and was far more effective in delivering the message to the public than printed media or the SATRC's own written media could be (Cole, 2014, p.398). Cole explains in detail that,

"Whether that access was conveyed largely through sonic dimensions of timbre, tone, gasps, and silence through radio, or through the added visual registers such as body language, clothing, and facial expressions that are conveyed through television, broadcast media made manifest the people who were at the center of the public hearings—including victims giving testimony, perpetrators asking for amnesty, spectators in the hall, and commissioners presiding over the proceedings. Broadcast media provided a personalization and particularization of the stories that the commission called forth— stories that in aggregate could otherwise be mindnumbing in magnitude, scale, and sheer brutality. The hearings and their promulgation via broadcast coverage focused on individuals, whereas print coverage and the TRC's own summary report privileged information divorced from its more human element" (Cole, 2014, p.398).

When it comes to the broadcasted programs, the most famous one was TRC Special Report. It was a television document series that was presented by South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) from 1996 to 1998. The Special Report was aired weekly in South Africa and it covered the SATRC and its functions, mainly focusing on the truth hearings (Theissen, 1999, p.44). This television series was announced as a program that would find and reveal the 'stories behind the stories' of the SATRC. In addition, the program functioned as an independent broadcaster that was reporting objectively about the truth hearings and the SATRC (Cole, 2014, p.398). This however was not easy according to Cole, as the program had to constantly balance "[…] between advocating for public participation in the process and acting as an outside critical voice". However, Cole argues that the program did it extremely well. One of the reasons was that TRC Special Report "[…] resisted neat conclusions for stories that were far too complex and ambiguous to be resolved in a single episode or even in many months of hearings" (Cole, 2014, p.406). Moreover, even though the reporting of Special Report was narratively driven, the reporters of the program went beyond just simply telling the story, and provided inventive analysis of systematic forces and structures of violence (Cole, 2014, p.398). What made the program unique was indeed its approach to the hearings reporting. Moreover, "At times, TRC Special Report and its team of investigative journalists would conduct their own shadow investigations into issues that the TRC was not tackling but perhaps should have been" (Cole, 2014, p.405).

The Special Report on the SATRC was usually within the 'Top 10' list of weekly programs as it was highly popular among local viewers. "An average of one million adult viewers watched the Special Report every Sunday, these are about 8.7 percent of all adult people with a television at their house" (Theissen, 1999, p.44). As the program became very popular, it also received more airtime. In addition to this, it also won the prize of the South Africa's Award for Outstanding

Journalism in 1996 (Verdoolaege, 2003). However, Verdoolaege points out that even though the Special Report enjoyed great popularity in South Africa, its audience happened to be predominantly black (Verdoolaege, 2003). Moreover, "Public interest in the TRC proceedings was, however, significant lower among white television viewers (4.1%) than African viewers (13.7 %; Ibid.)" (Theissen, 1999, p.44).

When it comes to other broadcasting methods, according to the UNESCO the radio broadcast played an especially crucial role in South Africa's action of sharing information, as it was able to reach large masses of people and it would not be affected by the illiteracy of the locals. It especially serves its purpose in Africa, where it can be seen as the most useful media outlet. Moreover, "Statistical data on the development and spread of radio transmitters and the distribution of radio sets in Africa indicates that radio is, in reality the only modern communication medium which has attained the status of a mass medium in the region" (UNESCO, 1998, p.11). Radio indeed holds a unique position. Coronel points out that the success of radio as a media outlet can be seen due to its inexpensive character as well as it being more accessible than other media such as television (Coronel, n.d., p.1). According to Brounéus, it is one of the most powerful mediums in areas where the illiteracy rate is high and people do not own a television. Furthermore,"[…] it is the key means to reach the public with news and information that can influence people, positively or negatively" (Brounéus, 2013, p.35). There were daily live radio transmissions of the SATRC's hearings for several hours (Hayner, 2011, p.219).

"The fact that much of the Commission's work was transmitted by the media meant that the public perceptions were predominantly formed by what people saw on television, heard on the radio or read in the newspapers, and this made the TRC media representations very influential" (Verdoolaege, 2003). In addition, due to the wide media coverage of the hearings in South Africa, the international media also gained larger interest in the apartheid period crimes and the SATRC's processes (South African History Online, 2014). It was noticed, both abroad and in South Africa that the public hearings broadcasts assisted the nation in coming together, by providing a common understanding of the situation. According to Armoudian,

> "The live daily broadcasts in television and radio plus weekly television summaries and daily newspaper articles made the TRC hearings a unifying event in South Africa. With mass media focused on the singular event, a fractured South Africa together experienced a transcendent moment of 'common national history', that created a shared language, such as the phrase 'gross violations of human rights'" (Armoudian, 2013).

Cole also claims that, "Through broadcast media the larger nation was thus woven into the larger process of ubuntu as performed through the hearings" (Cole, 2014, p.403). However, Hayner argues that despite the large coverage of the SATRC's processes in the local media, the broadcasted media did not offer much new information to the locals or for the SATRC itself (Hayner, 2011, p.219). Yet, the idea of the hearings (and to make them public) was that a platform for sharing information would be created in order for the people to be able to speak their minds and to offer public acknowledgement of the apartheid period wrongdoings. Most importantly, victims' stories would be brought forward (Hayner, 2011, p.219).

Trough different media, people were able to gain the information of the magnitude of the apartheid period wrongdoings as the survivors and their families retrieved their truth about the past. In addition, through the publicity, people were able to gain the 'human dimension' on the issue (Armoudian, 2013). Therefore, it can be said that the media made the past and the apartheid time atrocities very approachable and real for many South Africans. A closer analysis of how the media affected the process of national healing, as well as the SATRC itself will be discussed in another chapter.

To summarise, this section introduces and explains different media outlets that were used in the SATRC reconciliation and healing processes. Moreover, media such as television, radio and written publications were all included in the healing and reconciliation processes, although some were used more extensively than others. In addition, especially broadcast media played a vital part in the communication process. After all, these media outlets were able to reach a lot of people at once, also those living in remote areas, quickly and effectively. Overall, South Africans seemed to be interested in the actions taken by the SATRC as the programs concerning the Commission and truth hearings gained great success. Moreover, large amounts of spectators (although majority of black ethnic) followed the truth hearing processes intensively throughout the two years of its operations. An example of an effective and successful broadcast-media was the TRC Special Report that was a highly successful program due to its ability to tell the real stories of victims, as well as to go beyond the expected when it came to reporting. Significantly, all scholars seem to agree that the media have important as well as effective roles when informing of the processes of the SATRC to the public. After all, the media functioned as intermediary between the SATRC and the locals.

IV. Media as a peace-building and reconciliation tool

A. Media and its role in post-apartheid South Africa

In terms of the media in the post-apartheid South Africa, it is important to understand its background in the country. The media in South Africa has had its fair share of hurdles when it comes to the support of the government. After all, the media was strictly controlled during the apartheid time. The government clearly defined the terms of operations of the local press. According to Steenveld, "This resulted in a press which was commercial, mainly 'white' owned and managed, mainly staffed by 'white' journalists (predominantly male) who reported on 'South Africa' from this very limited perspective" (Steenveld, 2012).

Steenveld emphasises that during the apartheid period there was no room for other voices than the ones that the government wanted to bring forward. Moreover, these other voices were often harassed, marginalised or even banned. Furthermore, "Thus the 'liberal' or 'free press' pre-1990 was not only unrepresentative in terms of who had access to it as producers of knowledge about South Africa, but its representations of South African society were also largely from a singular, hegemonic perspective" (Steenveld, 2012). The press was limited and restricted in South Africa, which meant that reporting on the horrific events of apartheid was also non-existent. Despite the oppressed approach of the state, there were certain anti-apartheid movements that were able to fight against the restrictions of the press according to Libby Lloyd from Center for International Media Assistance; "In the 1980s, independent anti-apartheid newspapers launched with the assistance of international donors contributed toward exposing the brutality of apartheid and to the eventual demise of the system" (Center for International Media Assistance, 2013, p.6). They did play an important and crucial role when it comes to informing South Africans, as well as the international community about "[…] the government's violent crackdown on any resistance to its racist policies". Although the local government tried to silence them, these papers were able to void defied attempts. Only one of them survived when it comes to donor funding which accompanied the country to democratic state (Center for International Media Assistance, 2013, p.6).

According to Lloyd, there has always been tension between African National Congress (ANC) and the print media of South Africa. One of the reasons is the distrust from the ruling party and its allies, speculated to be rooted in complexity of the mainstream media. After all, the mainstream media was covering up the human rights violations of the apartheid period. "Mandela was no exception to this. While before and after becoming president of the country he repeatedly endorsed the importance of press freedom, he also regularly raised concerns about the 'alarming degree of conformism' in the major newspapers" (Center for International Media Assistance, 2013, p.10).

According to Lloyd, Mandela mentioned in 1992's newspaper conference, held in Prague, that the missing transformation of the South African media posed the substantial challenge and threat to this freedom (Center for International Media Assistance, 2013, p.10). Furthermore, during the apartheid period, the mainstream media and especially the print media were accused of colluding with the local government, either actively or passively.

> "The big four publishing houses were predominantly owned by big capital–either the mining houses, which controlled the English language press, or Afrikaans business interests. These companies were vertically integrated at the level of print and distribution with restrictive measures in place to limit distribution (and to some extent printing) to their own publications" (Center for International Media Assistance, 2013, p.12).

In addition, the broadcasting was controlled by the government and the national state broadcaster (the SABC) was seen as the 'propaganda arm' of the state (Center for International Media Assistance, 2013, p.12). However, in the 1980's the state's status quo was challenged as the foreign funders started to show their support to the weekly anti-apartheid newspapers that were launched in South Africa. This movement arose when respected journalists became frustrated with the continuous failures of the mainstream newspapers to report coherently and clearly about the brutalities of apartheid. Furthermore,

> "Independent journals and newsletters began publishing over the same period, also targeting audiences and issues neglected by the commercial media, and a handful of independent news agencies reporting from outside the major urban centers extended the coverage of these papers and magazines" (Center for International Media Assistance, 2013, p.13).

However, the apartheid government was not pleased with the new turn taken by some of these aforementioned respected journalists. The government acted by banning many of the publications, and even detained some of the personnel (including journalists and editors) to work for them (Center for International Media Assistance, 2013, p.13).

The change in the media started with the phenomena of democratic transition in South Africa. In 1994, the first democratic election took place in the country and due to that, the new government was selected. The task of the new government was to set up the legislative and constitutional foundations for a new, democratic state (Steenveld, 2012).

> "Post-apartheid discourses of 'media transformation' can best be understood in terms of the print media's history of 'ethnic presses': the Black press, the English press, the Afrikaans press (Steenveld 2007). Each had a particular agenda in relation to the group's

political status. Thus, the history of these presses is also a history of social, political and economic struggle in South Africa" (Steenveld, 2012).

As Steenveld explains, "The state had more than 100 laws to regulate and inhibit media action" (Steenveld, 2012). In other words, the state tried to do its best to hinder the effective use of media. Furthermore, media played a crucial role in the post-apartheid South African society and it had enormous influence in the transition period towards democracy. Especially after the apartheid rule ended, the media acted as a tool that would inform the public of the injustices of the system. It was not for long, as the outside world was aware of them as well. This outburst of shared information somewhat created pressure on the South African government (Armoudian, 2013). In addition, according to Hamber and Kibble the local media was an important factor that helped the country to create public debate on aspects related to the country's past. Moreover, the media also assisted in bringing the historical awareness to the locals. "The issues that emerged as a consequence helped the nation to focus on values central to a healthy democracy: transparency, public debate, public participation and criticism" (Hamber & Kibble, 1998).

Nowadays, according to Lloyd, "Although there has been a dramatic growth in broadcasting with the freeing of the airwaves from state control, South African media now–almost two decades after the first democratic elections–is one of the most concentrated in the world". This, along with the constant focus over editorial integrity and quality of the big media companies has clearly restricted locals' access to a profound analysis of a wide range of news (Center for International Media Assistance, 2013, p.6). In addition, "According to South African media research agency, the South African Audience Research Foundation (SAARF), only 31 percent of adult South Africans read a daily newspaper" (Center for International Media Assistance, 2013, p.10). Furthermore, all of the major daily newspapers that are published weekly were either in English or Afrikaans, which are the official languages of the country. Radio, however, broadcasts in all local languages and is followed by the majority of locals. In addition, "More than 91 percent of South Africans over the age of 16 watch TV and close to 93 percent listen to radio. Because of the high cost of bandwidth, readership of news on the Internet is not yet a significant factor in South Africa's media landscape" (Center for International Media Assistance, 2013, p.10).

The South African democracy has clearly and majorly changed the broadcasting landscape in the country. According to Lloyd, progress was made with regard to the media restriction of the apartheid rule by establishing an independent regulator right after the 1994's democratic elections. In addition, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) became the public broadcaster and it publicly nominated board which included directors that were liable to the South African Parliament. Another authority established in South Africa was the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA), now known as the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa

(ICASA). Moreover, the ICASA was established to ensure the protection of the public's interest by "[…] being independent of commercial, as well as political interest and influence. In other word, the legislation would specify and regulate the sector". Furthermore, as Lloyd clarifies, a clause in the constitution of South Africa was reinforced in order to ensure diversity as well as fairness of viewpoints exemplifying the local society (Center for International Media Assistance, 2013, p.13). However, according to Steenveld, the continuing difficulty for the South African media is that its role is yet to be determined; "Part of the current difficulties between the media and the government is that they have different views about what the media's responsibilities should be" (Steenveld, 2012).

B. Introduction to media as a peace building and reconciliation tool

This section will introduce the role of media as a peace building and reconciliatory tool. An analysis will be conducted of whether the media can assist in the process of reconciliation as well as peace building. This section will also explore specifically how the media in practice can have an influence on the individual and /or national level healing.

As it has been pointed out throughout this research, the media has the opportunity as well as the responsibility to communicate information to the public. The media has tremendous power over how information is delivered and it can also influence peoples' perceptions especially on subjects such as peace and the truth. Brounéus affirms that, "The media has an exceptional role in influencing attitudes and behaviour. This has been used to provoke hatred – but increasingly also to promote peace" (Brounéus, 2003, p.4-5). Furthermore, as Cole argues, the media represents interlocutor and intermediary in the society and functions between the government and the public (Cole, 2014, p.399). Also, Brounéus agrees with this notion as she claims that media can be labelled as the middle-level actor of the society in relations to peace the building process (Brounéus, 2003, p.4-5). In relation to this, Brounéus argues that media alongside truth commissions represent one of the most important parts of the society when it comes to addressing the issue of reconciliation (Brounéus, 2003, p.4-5).

Mobekk argues that media has a significant role when it comes to ensuring the success of truth commissions (Mobekk, 2005, p.270). This is simply due to the fact that most of the truth and reconciliation commissions create opportunities for survivors and perpetrators to testify in public. In addition, such as in SATRC's case, the proceedings were also intensively displayed on the media for the world to see. Moreover, the hearings were extensively broadcasted on television and radio. This was done in order to ensure the involvement of the whole nation in the reconciliation process (Brounéus, 2007, p.9).

As many scholars argue, a pivotal element of the reconciliation itself is to bring the truth forward and also to come to terms with it. Although easier said than done, "Transitional justice scholars argue that reconciliation can only follow once this collective memory has been attained" (Laplante & Phenicie, 2010, p.268). This is where the media can be employed. In addition, the issue of pursuing truth and reconciliation within the community can be brought forward through media. However, one of the preconditions of media to be the successful mediator and information outlet between the institution (such as a truth commission) and the locals is that the media is free and objective. Also, from the public's perspective, it is vital that the media is perceived as objective as it is an important element for the public to feel that the information provided by media is trustworthy and reliable. Scholars such as Hassan argue that reporting of events should be displayed as they occur (Hassan, 2006).

Laplante and Phenicie explain in their report of 'Mediating Post - Conflict Dialogue: The Media's Role In Transitional Justice Processes' how the UNESCO report claims that the media has the role and opportunity to offer a safe battleground to help to change a disastrous conflict into a non-destructive debate. In theory, as the report claims, TRC's findings when disseminating via media such as television, newspapers and so on, can encourage the dialogue between different levels of the society. Also, it can create understanding of how citizens and the society in general have suffered from the atrocities, as well as the collapse of violations of human rights and the rule of law (Laplante & Phenicie, 2010, p.268). For this reason, throughout the years, international organisations and media groups have recognised the potential of using media as a method and as an actor in preventing conflict situations, as well as when it comes to fostering reconciliation (Brounéus, 2013, p.35).

Furthermore, Brounéus argues that media can be seen "[…] a powerful tool that, used wisely, can promote positive processes of reconciliation" (Brounéus, 2013, p.7). Moreover, when used wisely, the media can be seen as a majorly powerful influencer on the society, especially to the grass-root (e.g. civil society groups) and top-level actors (e.g. politicians) of the reconciliation process (Brounéus, p.35, 2013). In addition, media can be seen as a method as well as an actor for the middle-range healing and reconciliation processes. In the ideal scenario, media can reach large audiences, sometimes even those located in remote areas of the regime (Gloppen, S., Skaar, E. & Suhrke, 2005, p.34). As mentioned in an earlier chapter, illiterate people can be reached easily through radio. In addition, it is also one of the most inexpensive media outlets available.

According to Hattotuwa, media is repellent to change. In order to transform it into a reconciliatory promoting tool, it is necessary to take a closer look at how media works.

> "Positive stories of human interest are often submerged in a deluge of stories that report on negative events in a peace process. As many have identified, media finds reporting peace a unique challenge precisely because it is a process which ebbs and flows over a long period of time. Peace is not a single event" (Hattotuwa, 2005).

To conclude, media has a powerful position in the field of peace building and reconciliation. When employing different media outlets such as television and radio, large audiences can be informed about the process of fostering peace and unity in a nation. The media can be seen as one of the vital elements for the peace building processes initiated by truth hearings of the TRCs, as they are able to assist with the larger level reconciliation process. More importantly, as argued by academics, the media usage in the process of truth and reconciliation can be seen as a prerequisite for the prosperous existence of truth and reconciliation commissions. Moreover, the media can have an important role when it comes to making the TRCs successful. In addition, media is a vital actor in the peace building process as it functions as an interlocutor (Cole, 2014) between the government and the public. In detail, media can influence actors of both grass-root and top-level. An important aspect of the media's function as a reconciliatory tool is that its reporting is experienced by the public as free and objective. All in all, media can function as a reconciliatory tool as it informs, influences and educates people regarding the process of peace and reconciliation.

C. South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission and using media as a reconciliation tool

1. Objectives and motives

This section will introduce and analyse the SATRC's objectives and motives with regard to using the media as a reconciliatory tool. Moreover, the motivation of the SATRC for involving media in its processes is also addressed.

The objectives of the SATRC that were highlighted in May 1995 by The National Unity and Reconciliation Act were very ambitious. The overall aim of the SATRC was set to promote national reconciliation, as well as the unity in South Africa (Gibson, 2004, p.11). After all, as discussed in the previous chapters, South Africans had different views on what had happened during the apartheid period. The establishment of the common ground was therefore vital. The

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SATRC established a list of objectives that it would follow when defining its truth and reconciliation initiatives.

To begin with, the goal of the agenda of the SATRC was to establish common understanding among South Africans. According to the Commission's own agenda, this could be done:

a.) by establishing a full understanding of the past apartheid-time atrocity causes, and the extent of the human right violations that took place between March 1960 and December 1993;

b.) by granting amnesty to them who gave full confession and regretted their actions;

c.) by making known the fate or whereabouts of the apartheid crime victims, as well as restoring their dignity and providing reparation measures for them;

d.) by accumulating a report, which provides the coherent information of all of the activities and findings of the SATRC, including recommendation of those measurements needed in order to void similar violations in the future (Verdoolaege, 2003).

In order to achieve these objectives, the SATRC created three subcommittees: one for human rights violations, another for the amnesty, and one for reparation and rehabilitation (Verdoolaege, 2003).

Regarding achieving these aforementioned objectives, it soon became clear to the SATRC that it would need more financing and time in order to achieve all of them. The Commission needed to prioritise, mainly due to budget reasons, which media sector would be chosen. Therefore, three extensive themes were chosen: "[…] The broadcast media, primarily the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), but including the Bophuthatswana Broadcasting Corporation (BOP TV) as a 'window' case, and looking briefly at Radio Freedom" (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 1998, p.165). In addition, the print media was chosen to emphasise the concerns of black journalists, as well as to involve the Afrikaans press in the process. Moreover, the relationship of the media and the state under apartheid rule was also included in the agenda, as there was a clear theme of silencing the press during that time (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 1998, p.165). As explained in a previous chapter, the broadcasted media played the biggest part in informing people. After all, the broadcast media was seen as the fastest and the most effective method of communication with the public.

The SATRC stressed the importance of creation of common truth by revealing the nature of the apartheid rule, and thus the creation of a national memory. As Campbell claims, "No longer could

anyone in South Africa pretend that the abuses perpetrated under apartheid did not happen or were not as bad as many of its victims had been alleging" (Campbell, 2000, p.49). The process made it clear that everyone was aware of the extent of crimes from the apartheid period in South Africa. Therefore, no one would be able to deny the atrocities as the truth was brought forward. For that reason, the SATRC decided to involve the perpetrators themselves in the second phase of these healing proceedings (Campbell, 2000, p.49). Brankovic clarifies that in spite of the SATRC deciding to include perpetrators in the hearings, they were not obligated to apologise for their crimes, neither to seek for forgiveness, even though this was an implicit aim of the Commission. Instead, the SATRC saw this as a symbolic gesture that would promote healing and ideally lead to closure (Brankovic, 2013, p.3).

According to Hamber and Kibble, it needs to be addressed that the mandate of the SATRC has been debated in South Africa. Furthermore, the Commission has been criticised for leaving out the structural violations of the country from its agenda. "That this was not its mandate points to the dissatisfaction with the entrenched social inequality in the country" (Hamber & Kibble, 1998). This can be seen as a major deficit of the objectives as the main aim of the SATRC's agenda was to promote national unity and reconciliation.

Brankovic affirms that the SATRC had its accountability agenda. Brankovic explains that,

> "Accountability can be broadly grouped into its restorative forms, which focus on addressing the needs of victims and communities with the aim of repairing harms done and reconstructing social relations, and its retributive forms, which prioritise punishing perpetrators and reducing impunity".

She also adds that although the term of accountability was not brought forward as the word reconciliation, the SATRC, like the rest of the truth commissions intended to advance "[…] restorative and retributive accountability on the individual, collective and state levels" (Brankovic, 2013, p.1).

According to Maregere, "In Archbishop Desmond Tutu's own words, the aim of the TRC in South Africa was 'the promotion of national unity and reconciliation' and the 'healing of a traumatised, divided, wounded and polarised people'" (Maregere, 2015, p.47). Bankovic as well as other scholars agree that the list of objectives of the SATRC was extensive. The aim of the Commission was to assist with the collective reconciliation by collecting authoritative records concerning the

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history of South Africa. This was done by using truth-telling mechanisms through which survivors as well as perpetrators could tell their stories. Moreover,

> "The collective reconciliation intended by the TRC was based on the notion that by generating an authoritative record of the past, official truth- telling mechanisms shift responsibility for past crimes from an identity group to individual perpetrators, create a common public memory that impedes divisive rhetoric on past events, open new spaces for constructive discussion of the past and in effect give citizens permission to 'move on' and, in South Africa, become the promised 'rainbow nation'" (Brankovic, 2013, p.10).

Finally, the objectives of the SATRC were based around three functions that are concluded here. Firstly, the primary objective of the Commission was to establish a common understanding of the past among South Africans. Secondly, the Commission was to grant the amnesty for the sake of closure for those who were ready to reveal the whole truth and show remorse of their actions. To clarify, an apology was not expected, yet when it took place, it represented a symbolic gesture of reparation. Thirdly, this vital objective of the SATRC focused on the element of acknowledging the apartheid victims and their dignity. This also included informing the public through publications such as official final reports of the processes taken by the SATRC. These reports explicitly covered the processes planned and executed by the Commission, and it offered several future suggestions for the government regarding the process of healing. The commission decided to choose specific media outlets based on the budgetary issues, as well as based on their effectiveness (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 1998). The decision was meant to involve various media methods, although the broadcast media was to be the most used.

The SATRC aimed to fully and effectively implement these objectives, in an attempt to reach a unified nation. Although the SATRC agenda regarding the reconciliation objectives was impressive, the main criticism underlined the SATRC's decision to not address the ethnicity division in the nation. The analysis regarding this issue as well as the discussion of whether the SATRC came through with the implementation and goals of these objectives, will be discussed later in this research.

2. Analysis of risks and shortcomings

This section will provide an analysis of risks and shortcomings of the SATRC using media as a reconciliatory tool when targeting its objectives of reconciliation, national healing and the aim for national unity.

The Commission of South Africa have been seen as relatively successful due to its ability to reach at least some of its objectives such as addressing the past in a common way, and creating a national level understanding of the apartheid period crimes. As Verdoolaege claims, "The extensive media coverage has been very positive for the TRC, especially with regard to the aspect of transparency" (Verdoolaege, 2003). However, it has also occasionally fallen into a pitfall when it comes to addressing the issue of healing and reconciliation through media. As discussed in the previous chapters, proceedings concerning the truth telling initiates of the SATRC were highly mediatised.

Although the process of telling the truth in front of the public might have been successful for some of the survivors and perpetrators explaining their stories from the apartheid period, using media also sometimes received negative feedback from the people involved in the process. Some of the locals were not pleased when the Commission stated in its report that media would be involved in the truth hearing processes. This decision initiated major public debate (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 1998, p.165). Mediatising the truth hearings was seen as somewhat necessary in order to inform the public in an attempt to make the past more tangible, although it did not always have the best results on the process of reconciliation and healing. Hayner argues that individual reconciliation is far more complex to achieve "[…] by means of a national commission" (Hayner, 2011, p.183). Moreover, Hayner affirms that there have been examples of individual healing, yet the process of knowing the truth does not necessary lead to reconciliation. After all, the process of it is deeply dependable on the needs and reactions of a person when it comes to truth telling and peace building (Hayner, 2011, p.183). The truth hearing and confessing processes of the SATRC in front of the public might not suit all individuals. According to an article published by The New York Times that refers to these hearings, "Psychologists point out that going public may not be good for everybody. It can fulfil the need an individual has to tell his experiences and be heard by important people. But it can also reawaken old fears" (The New York Times, 2007). As claimed by this article, truth telling might even bring to light some painful memories, and even be a re-traumatising event for those closely involved in the process. Therefore, by using media and broadcasting the truth telling sessions, unwanted memories can be re-visited both individually and collectively. According to Stolten, "A number of commentators, writing after the publication of the TRC report, have emphasised that the testimony to the Commission was not always healing" (Stolten, 2007, p.101)., "Psychologists point out that going public may not be good for everybody. It can fulfil the need an individual has to tell his experiences and be heard by important people. But it can also reawaken old fears" (The New York Times, 2007). This was seen to be the case in the SATRC's hearings, at least for some of the survivors and their families.

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Furthermore, for many individuals the public truth caused more stress and made more people embittered. The New York Times article clarifies that,

> "There are no figures on how many victims are sorry they came forward. But officials of the Trauma Center for Victims of Violence and Torture, a nonprofit group that offers services to victims in the Cape Town area, say 50 to 60 percent of the dozens of victims they have talked to in the last year have said they suffered difficulties after testifying or expressed regret" (The New York Times, 2007).

In connection to this, the Commission of South Africa has been largely criticised of promoting reconciliation at the expense of individuals. After all, the testimonies on camera enabled the public to hear the reality of the extent to which the crimes took place (The New York Times, 2007). It was noticed throughout the proceedings that some of the individuals felt pressured to confess as the issue was so publicly handled. Moreover, some of the victims would have preferred a more private approach. According to Stanley,

> "Even with the TRC's promise of reparational assistance, many individuals did not want their truth to be recorded. Further, despite the innovative 'carrot and stick' approach, offering amnesty in exchange for perpetrators' detailed stories, yet threatening procecution for those who remained silent, the majority of perpetrators have not come forward" (Stanley, 2001, p.531).

Therefore, it can be argued that using the media in the truth telling proceedings has sometimes hindered the reconciliation efforts as some of the victims or perpetrators have not felt comfortable to be in the public eye when telling their story.

Verdoolaege affirms that despite the success of the SATRC to keep its action as transparent as possible, there was another downfall that the Commission encountered. Critics have claimed that the media which represented the SATRC's processes was biased (Verdoolaege, 2003). Verdoolaege adds that the world saw the SATRC as creating a dramatic outlook towards its confessions. After all, the audience at home as well as on the premises were witnessing suffering, sadness and sometimes repentance. Furthermore, "The media turned the TRC into a trauma spectacle and the TRC process became a theatrical representation of pain suffered during the apartheid era" (Verdoolaege, 2003). It was emphasised by the critics that, "[…] the media put the stress on the performance of individual witnesses and in this way the trauma of the individual victim was transformed into a public spectacle" (Verdoolaege, 2003).

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According to Steenveld, the role of the media within the process of reconciliation should be framed clearly with regard to its involvement. Significant problems might occur if the position of the media in relation to the country's government is unclear. Steenveld affirms that the media and the government might have different views on the responsibilities of the media. This might cause friction between these two actors of the society. For example, during the hosting of the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, the government hinted that the media should promote national pride, yet this was something that the local media wished to decline (Steenveld, 2012). The obscurity of the roles and clear communication of the tasks might cause some issues within the society later on if the roles are not clearly stated.

To conclude, although the media with regard to the SATRC's truth and reconciliation actions can be somewhat described as successful due to the Commissions ability to extensively reach the South African public, its use in the process might create some shortfalls in the process of healing as well. The main risks, as explained in this section are connected mainly in the process of truth telling. Although telling the truth has been successful for some individuals, the process has also been widely criticised. Firstly, the public confession has caused pressure for many survivors and perpetrators. Also, some of the individuals confessing have been re-traumatised or embittered due to the nature of the process. Moreover, facing the difficult and sometimes horrific reality itself is a challenging task, yet explaining what happened under public scrutiny makes the process even more difficult. In addition to this, some of the stories have been left untold as some victims or perpetrators have been afraid of stepping forward. Secondly, the Commission have been criticised of exploiting individual stories for common reconciliation purposes. After all, as it has become clear throughout this research, some survivors were not pleased with the reparation process (or lack of it), implemented by the SATRC after participating in the public truth process. Thirdly, as Steenveld pointed out, it is important that the role of the media in relation to peace building and reconciliation should be determined beforehand.

a. Objectivity and propaganda

As mentioned in the previous chapter, it has been argued by academics that the media should stay as objective and unbiased as possible when handling issues of peace building and reconciliation. This will be the approach of this research, as it is not focusing on the topic of peace media, which intentionally promotes peace. In addition, the element regarding objectivity and propaganda will cover the topic focusing on the analysis of the SATRC and its truth hearings, as they were the most mediatised phenomenon of the Commission.

Verdoolaege points out that there are three different negative features in the case of media reporting of the SATRC that are also universally recognised. She adds that the SATRC's media reporting highlighted its biased nature, sensationalism and simplification of the issues (Verdoolaege, 2003).

Firstly, the SATRC truth telling initiatives that were publicly handled through the media have been largely criticised over their biased approach. Furthermore, Verdoolaege claims that when one is looking at the reporting of the SATRC, "[…] most critics are convinced that this coverage was definitely not neutral" (Verdoolaege, 2003). She claims that at first, it seems that journalists tried to communicate the proceedings of the Commission objectively, yet the journalists ended up no more than commenting on the stories told before the Commission. In addition, the journalists "[…] only showed the images of testifying victims and perpetrators. Very soon though, the journalists were - rather unconsciously - pulled into the events they covered" (Verdoolaege, 2003). One of the main issues pointed out by Verdoolaege is that the journalists covering the truth hearing reports were often also victims of apartheid crimes themselves. In some cases, they even had been beneficiaries or perpetrators. For this reason, they could be seen as automatically biased as they had experienced the atrocities themselves and could not remain objective (Verdoolaege, 2003). Like Verdoolaege, Cole also argues that there have been some speculations on the bias nature of the SATRC's media involvement. According to Cole, television was represented as an outside actor of journalism during the hearings. Moreover, its purpose was to objectively communicate the proceedings to the audience. However, many people also saw the possibility of it functioning as an apparatus for the Commission. Cole affirms that "Because so many people in South Africa experienced the truth commission primarily through the SABC programs, some audience members not surprisingly came to confuse television coverage of the TRC with the commission itself" (Cole, 2014, p.402).

Another issue with the truth hearing reporting was that some of the journalists found reporting psychologically overwhelming and mentally draining because of the often horrific content. In addition, Verdoolaege alleges that some authors argue that objectivity is both impossible and undesirable while reporting on the SATRC. Alternatively, journalist had to obtain a responsible approach to the reporting. In addition, they had to take an approach of "[…] a human rights perspective - for example by prohibiting the 'moral fatigue' that would inevitably appear after two years of TRC hearings" (Verdoolaege, 2003). Furthermore, Verdoolaege also claims that one of the issues with the media was that it had not only biased representation of the Commission, but it also never challenged the assumption proclaimed by the SATRC that telling the truth is the way towards reconciliation. In addition, the criticism considered that media had solely reflected the

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SATRC's actions and initiatives. More importantly, the problem was that journalists did not try to investigate beyond the Commission's output. In addition, issues such as race were never exploited within the Commission or the media covering the proceedings of truth hearings. After all, the fact that South Africa is still nowadays racially divided was never mentioned in the written articles (Verdoolaege, 2003).

Another difficulty of the media reporting with regard to the SATRC's proceedings was the issue of sensationalism. This was briefly mentioned in the previous chapter concerning the risks and shortcomings of the media usage in the peace building and reconciliation processes. Verdoolaege contends that even specific camera shots were selected to emphasise the emotions of the testifiers.

> "A number of times, for example, the camera zooms in at the moment a victim tries to find a handkerchief to dry her tears, at the moment the facilitator puts her hand on the shoulder of a crying victim, at the moment the face of a commissioner shows signs of disgust or amazement, or at the moment the audience in the hall expresses its horror" (Verdoolaege, 2003).

According to Verdoolaege, when one watches famous TRC Special Report on a superficial level, the program gives the impression that the reporting of the show is fairly objective and a critical representation of the SATRC. Also, according to Cole, the program seems indeed at first glance to offer an objective approach. After all, there were journalists that wanted to ensure that the proceedings were reported in an objective manner. Journalists working for the program made their own extensive investigation regarding the actions of the SATRC and the individual truth telling cases (Cole, 2014, p.402). In addition, to clarify the role of media actors in the process of reporting on proceedings, she explains a paradigm. It explains how the media action involves three important participants, "[…] the people who organize the event, the broadcasters who reproduce it, and the audiences. By reproducing the event, broadcasters become organizers and audience" (Cole, 2014, p.402). In other words, the media represents an entity that is part of the play. However it is still outside of the action (Cole, 2014, p.402). In theory, the media's underlined role is to function as an interlocutor or middle-level actor in the society between the government and the public, and it can intentionally or unintentionally emphasise either side. Verdoolaege argues that even though media might be seen as objective, this was not the case when looking more in depth into the process (Verdoolaege, 2003).

According to Verdoolaege's analysis, it was revealed that even the TRC Special Report program tried to represent critical and independent journalism, but it could not execute this as the process felt under sensationalism and partiality (Verdoolaege, 2003). An example of the sensationalism

was that the media focused more on the confessions of the perpetrators instead of the victims. In addition, it must be pointed out that the hearings initially started with the focus on the victim hearings, but later on in the second phase of the hearings (organized by the Human Rights Committee), the perpetrators received the attention of the media through amnesty hearings. "It was especially during the time when the victim hearings and the amnesty hearings coincided that the perpetrators were given a disproportional amount of attention" (Verdoolaege, 2003). When it comes to sensationalism, the explicit way of dealing with the suffering, as well as infliction of it as was shown in the hearings might have had an intentional function. "By putting this suffering to the forefront the media stressed the barbarity of apartheid. Apartheid South Africa was presented as a pre-modern, barbaric and uncivilized society" (Verdoolaege, 2003). In addition, one may say that the sensational approach did fit in the Commission's agenda of national reconciliation. "It was therefore no coincidence that the TRC commissioners often explicitly asked victims to elaborate on their torture experiences, and that the element of torture often took a central position in the media representations" (Verdoolaege, 2003).

Another shortcoming of the media reporting argued by Verdoolaege is the issue of partiality. This means that it had a certain political viewpoint while reporting about the SATRC. She explains that at the time of media reporting on the SATRC, there was a clear division between the coverage of the Commission in English and Afrikaans press. Furthermore, she claims that from a general point of view, the English press was more positive about the SATRC. This was seen in practice as the English press devoted more attention to the processes of the Commission than the Afrikaans one. Moreover, the Afrikaans press had a much more critical approach to the Commission. "Especially the editorial comments of most of the Afrikaans newspapers were often very negative. The TRC was accused of prejudice against the Afrikaners and of sympathy for the ANC" (Verdoolaege, 2003).

Another criticism regarding the objectivity of the process was the issue of the simplification of things. As Verdoolaege explains, the media tried to extensively homogenise all of the apartheid victims. Furthermore, the reporting of the SATRC made the issue look very black-and-white, as it especially focused on black victims, and on white perpetrators. In addition, there was not much background information because the focus was on the emotional story of the individuals sharing their experiences.

> "This simplification can be seen as part of the ideological function of the media as well. In order to spread the message of reconciliation and nation building in a clear and unambiguous way, the TRC process - and the past - had to be simplified. People were not

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likely to get the message if too much background was given and if the whole complexity of social and political factors under apartheid was fully explained. If the media wanted to have an impact on people, it thus had to use images and a certain kind of discourse that was not too complex" (Verdoolaege, 2003).

She claims that the media only reported the stories that were news worthy and that were interesting. In doing so, it created a simplification of the issue of truth. "This increased accessibility and visibility, but it also made the TRC open to confusion, misconceptions and distrust" (Verdoolaege, 2003). Aspects such as the process of the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee as well as the Investigation Unit functions were not covered in the media as the focus was on truth telling. This caused certain aspects to remain uncovered to the public. More importantly, it also produced a distorted reflection of the SATRC (Verdoolaege, 2003).

To conclude, this section focuses on the objectivity and propaganda of the media use of the SATRC, mainly focusing on the truth hearings of the Commission. This topic analysis was strongly leaning on the findings of Verdoolaege and Cole, as they both offer insight theories concerning the question of the objectivity of the media. Moreover, three different aspects concerning objective reporting were raised throughout this analysis. The criticism regarding the media reporting of the SATRC highlighted biased nature, sensationalism and simplification of issues. In addition, there was also a question concerning the partiality of the reporting. Moreover, as explained in the beginning of this section, the analysis was conducted in order to uncover the academic stand regarding whether or not the media usage of the SATRC can be seen as bias. Based on the academic evidence covered in this section, this cannot be determined as there are arguments for and against it, and most importantly, due to the fact that there is evidently obscurity regarding this question. After all, Verdoolaege and Cole argue that on the surface level, the media reporting seemed to advocate an objective approach. Yet, when looking more into the reporting methods it seems that there is a possibility that the reporting is somewhat bias. Finally, it can be concluded that as the media functions as an interlocutor or mediatory entity between the SATRC and the South African society, the objectivity/bias discussion has to be labelled as undefined.

3. Outcome of using media

a. From South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission's perspective

This section will analyse and identify the outcomes of using media, from the Truth Commission of South Africa's point of view.

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To begin with, it can be argued that the media had a major success in terms of reaching people and informing them about the process of the SATRC. The media made it possible to reach a large amount of people at once, including those living in remote areas and those with illiteracy. Furthermore, multiple different media outlets were used in order to provide a comprehensive and extensive reporting on the issues related to healing and reconciliation, initiated by the Commission. From SATRC's perspective, the media usage can be seen as successful due to the fact that it was able to get its point across and address the past atrocities, establishing common history and granting amnesties for perpetrators who regretted their actions. Also, the SATRC was able to reveal the magnitude of crimes committed throughout apartheid through public hearings.

Largely mediatised truth hearings telling the stories from the victims and perpetrators points of views also made the past more tangible to many South Africans. Many academics have appraised the SATRC for its ability to make the process of reconciliation and addressing the past so transparent. After all, several media (both local and international) reported on the initiatives and the functions of the SATRC. As Theissen explains,

> "From April 1996 to March 1998, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) aired weekly a Special Report on the TRC. The Special Report on the TRC found often its way into the „Top 10" favourite programmes of the week and was extremely popular among African viewers. An average of one million adult viewers watched the Special Report every Sunday, these are about 8.7 percent of all adult people with a television at their house (SABC 1998)" (Theissen, 1999, p.44).

This is only one of the examples of media outlets and its power. However, the intense media reporting also had a counter reaction in the South African society. According to Brounéus, "[…] the constant, almost endless reporting from the TRC during the first two years led to 'TRC fatigue' among both the media and the people, which was unfortunate" (Brounéus, 2013, p.36).

Furthermore, according to Hamber and Kibble, one of the distinctive features of the SATRC was its openness and its willingness to include the public in the processes and their scrutiny. As previously mentioned, this was done by the inclusion of media as it assisted the Commission in generating public debate on issues, which the SATRC wanted to address. "The issues that emerged as a consequence helped the nation to focus on values central to a healthy democracy: transparency, public debate, public participation and criticism'" (Hamber & Kibble, 2014). Therefore, a conclusion can be drawn that the media enabled the involvement of different actors of the society extensively. This made the process of reconciliation and peace building more approachable to the public and increased the possibilities of the SATRC to reach its objectives of

national unity and common understanding of the past. In addition, it must be noted that the idea of using media made the South African TRC very unique, as there was no media involvement during previous TRC establishments (e.g. Chile and Brazil).

Verdoolaege alongside other scholars claim that the success of the SATRC has been largely attributed to the media attention. Furthermore, "The extensive media coverage has been very positive for the TRC, especially with regard to the aspect of transparency". However, the success did not come without drawbacks. In addition, such an elaborate media representation has also started the speculation of the media reporting in a biased manner (Verdoolaege, 2003). Due to this, a conclusion could be drawn that the media has suffered a decline in its credibility as a mediator, as it has been seen as taking a stand on this topic. After all, it can be argued that based on the media ethics, the media should act in the most objective way possible. This is necessary if it wants to ensure that the audience takes the information provided by the media as trustworthy. In addition, through an objective approach, the media will ensure reliable and convincing reporting to the viewers. In relation to this, it must be pointed out that for years there has been an ongoing discussion among academics regarding the objectivity of the SATRC's media reporting. Discussions and argumentations related to this have been going back and forth between scholars, therefore, the issue seems to continue to be undetermined.

Furthermore, Valji explains how nation-building is very important when it comes to the sense of belonging. Moreover, the sense of belonging requires a minimum of shared history. In the case of South African, the absence of shared history and the truth caused difficulties in building a common identity for a long time. The division of the country has been evitable for a long period of time. Valji argues that,

> "The TRC contributed to this identity by recasting all South Africans into a similar relationship with their past – that of victim. In the search for a new national identity, the Commission appeared to be following the advice of one of the greatest theorists of nationalism, Ernst Renan, who once stipulated that; 'suffering in common unifies more than joy does. Where national memories are concerned, griefs are of more value than triumphs, for they impose duties, and require a common effort'" (Valji, 2004).

Hayner clarifies that there have been specific examples of processes initiated by truth commissions that have directly resulted in individual reconciliation and forgiveness. This however, can be seen depending on personal tendencies. Moreover, "Forgiveness, healing, and reconciliation are deeply

personal processes, and each person's needs and reactions to peacemaking and truth-telling may be different" (Hayner, 2011, p.183).

The fact that a lot of the Commission's work was extensively communicated through the local press made its work much more open to criticism.

> "For example, the Commission was accused of accepting untested allegations, primarily because the activities that led to its findings (investigation, research, inquiries in closed hearings and the actual decision-making process by commissioners) were less visible. Similarly, the first steps towards reconciliation, such as private encounters between victims and perpetrators or pre- and post-hearing community visits by commissioners, usually took place out of sight of the media'" (Hamber & Kibble, 2014).

Therefore, transparency and openness created certain difficulties for the Commission and its work. Also, the locals' opinions and perceptions were often built only on the issues handled through the media. Hamber argues that the criticism towards the SATRC using media, has often reflected from the fact that the media has been seen as unable and unwilling to look beyond the Commission itself. Hamber claims that these critical opinions might reflect the victims' expectations as they might have been too high in the beginning of the process. As an alternative, "[…] perhaps these comments reflect a growing dissatisfaction with the delivery of the state as a whole, or still further, maybe they reflect the reality that the majority of those victimised were victimised because of their race and poverty and without addressing these structural forms of violence dissatisfaction will remain" (Hamber, 1997).

Furthermore, it can be claimed that the media assisted the SATRC for obtaining some of its objectives, both directly and indirectly. After all, though the local media coverage, the SATRC was able to "[…] reflect and mould public opinion during the years under review" (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 1998, p.165). According to Armoudian, due to the involvement of mass media, the public was able to gain information about the nature of the apartheid crimes. After all, so many locals were unaware of the seriousness of the human rights violations that took place in South Africa under the apartheid rule. More importantly, "Through mass media, the TRC was everywhere, signaling to audiences its seriousness and legitimacy as it reshaped society's understandings of itself and its government and offered new norms for acceptable behaviors" (Armoudian, 2013). The mass media has an extremely powerful, yet obscure role when it comes to the work of the SATRC.

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b. From national healing process perspective

The previous section discussed the impact and outcome of the SATRC using the local media for its processes concerning healing and reconciliation. This section will focus on the same media impact, yet analysing it from the national healing and reconciliation perspectives. Moreover, it will provide an analysis of whether or not the media was helpful to the national healing process and how.

According to Ghalib and Gobbelaar, "The enormous potency of symbolic power in the mass media should not be confused with wholesale healing, or large-scale societal repentance, or national reconciliation" (Ghalib & Gobbelaar, 2008, p.28). In addition, they argue that even with the large media involvement, South Africa was not able to obtain the national reconciliation that the SATRC aimed for. Moreover,

> "In the case of South Africa, the basic material needs of all have not (yet) been adequately met. Extensive and structural socioeconomic inequality and poverty are neither easily nor quickly remedied in any society, despite the promises of politicians to the contrary" (Ghalib & Gobbelaar, 2008, p.28).

The process of addressing the societal inequalities will take time as well as determination to deal with these questions (Ghalib & Gobbelaar, 2008, p.28).

Despite the success of the SATRC regarding media reporting reaching many individuals, including those living in remote areas and its ability to address the past atrocities of the apartheid period, it seems evident that the national reconciliation has not yet taken place. Regarding the success of the SATRC, "The tendency has been to give the international community a picture of a reconciled nation", according to affirmed researcher Oupa Makhalemele at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation in Johannesburg (IRIN, 2014). Although many scholars argue that the situation regarding the national unity has improved, South Africa still has a long way to go in addressing the legacy or racial segregation in the country (IRIN, 2014). After all, as claimed by Theissen, "Black critics of the TRC on the other hand claimed, that the TRC was unfair to the victims, as justice was sacrificed on the altar of national reconciliation" (Theissen, 1999, p.35). Also, according to the IRIN's information, the white community did not fully admit its participation and "[…] their role and response as beneficiaries of apartheid" (IRIN, 2014).

Verdoolaege explains how the TRC Special Report program (as an example) tried to enhance and create a general spirit for the unity and reconciliation in South Africa; after all, the program was a very influential representation of the SATRC. In addition, "[…] we should not underestimate its [medias] impact on South African society regarding the issue of national reconciliation"

(Verdoolaege, 2003). Often, the survivors and their families claimed that they would be open to forgive the person who harmed them if the perpetrator would reveal the whole truth about the past. Verdoolaege claims that, "Taking all this into account we can state that Special Report tried to spread the message of national reconciliation as crucial for the future of South Africa" (Verdoolaege, 2003). The program therefore seemed to uncritically assist the objectives of the SATRC (Verdoolaege, 2003).

One of the most criticised aspects the SATRC was that it was focusing more on common good by promoting communal healing instead of focusing on the survivors addressing their troublesome past during truth hearings. The Commission was vilified because it did not follow through with the reparation promises concerning individuals and their healing processes. According to Brankovic,

> "It has been noted that victims had diverse priorities in approaching the commission, which also changed with time and in reaction to the process, but nonetheless the majority of victims were left ambivalent or dissatisfied with their experience with the TRC. Given the commission's investigative, resource and time constraints, it often could not deliver more details concerning their case than victims already knew" (Brankovic, 2013, p.11).

On an individual level, the people confessing felt disappointment and often even greater frustration once the process started. In addition to this, many felt that the closure promoted through the hearings by the SATRC was never reached in practice (Brankovic, 2013, p.11). Furthermore, individual confessions represented the symbolic forgiveness and the ability to move on. This was seen as an example that would lead to the national healing process, as it was the way for the nation to move on as united by showing a symbolic gesture of goodwill (Brankovic, 2013, p.9).

> "It has been noted that while the TRC highlighted the importance of victims in the process, it in fact put what it perceived as the collective or national interest before victims' interests. Had the process been for victims and about individual reconciliation, the commissioners might have allowed victims more room to voice their anger, desire for revenge and other complex feelings, instead of suppressing them by procedural and discursive means" (Brankovic, 2013, p.12).
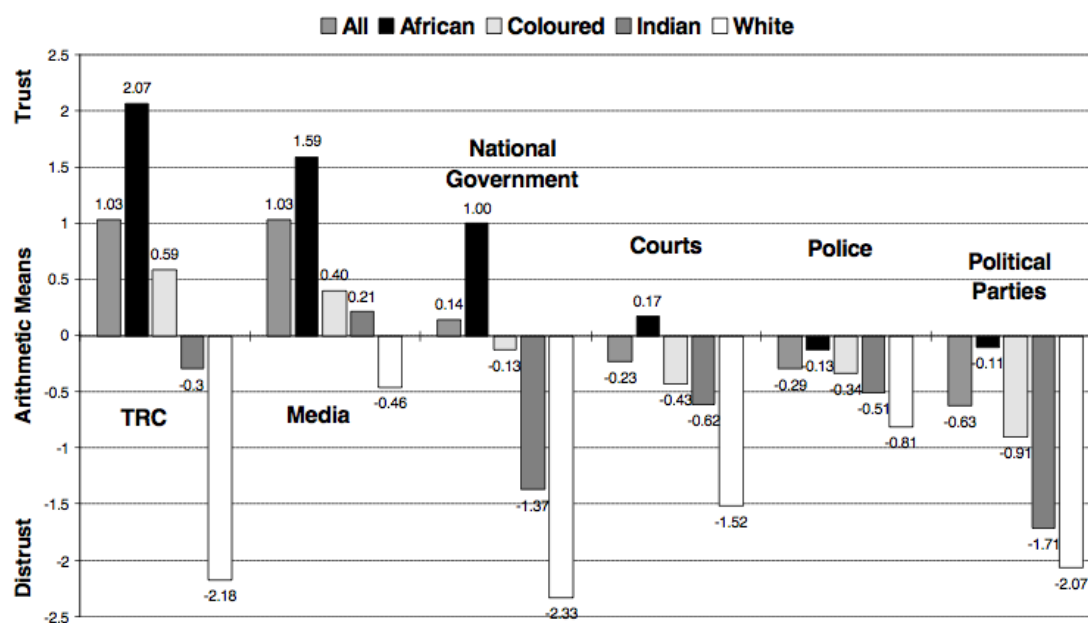
In addition, Brankovic explains how in many of the truth proceedings presented in the media, the SATRC appeared to create its role as a promoter for national reconciliation that would create the foundation for nation building (Brankovic, 2013, p.10).

It needs to be highlighted that evaluating the success of the media as an effective reconciliation method is challenging. This is due to the divergent views of the country on whether or not the process was successful. Some academics claim that the SATRC's use of the media has indeed assisted and improved the national unity and healing, while public opinion polls seem to disagree with this view. When the SATRC fully ended its operations in June 2001, the remaining task of the Commission was to complete the final official report. When the issue of national reconciliation was evaluated, the results were indeed mixed. According to Henrard, "When assessing the impact of the TRC process on reconciliation, it is striking that opinion polls to this effect have been widely divergent" (Henrard, 2002, p.23). However, Henrard argues that despite the mixed opinions regarding the Commission's success in enhancing the situation with national healing in South Africa, many indications were given towards a negative perspective. Also, it seemed that there was no contribution from the Commission's side on the reconciliation "[…] since there is strong evidence of ongoing racial isolation, impeding reconciliation" (Henrard, 2002, p.23). It can be stated that the Commission succeeded in its main task of relating the truth about the past atrocities of the apartheid between 1960 and 1994. "Nonetheless, not all the truth emerged and the objective to achieve national reconciliation was, as a result, seriously undermined'" (Henrard, 2002, p.23). According to Ghalib and Gobbelaar,

> "Surveys and public opinion as reflected and reported in the mass media in South Africa has produced little persuasive scientific evidence to suggest that the majority of whites view the history of the conflict of the past differently now than before the publication of the Commission's final reports. In terms of this understanding, it is not possible to argue that real national reconciliation has taken place in South Africa thus far" (Ghalib & Gobbelaar, 2008, p.6).

Valji also argues that South Africa has not been able to reach reconciliation as the nation keeps living divided. In addition, the local media nowadays tries to enhance the racial mix and socialisation within the country. The society is still characterised as 'the rainbow nation', although the problem is that many locals currently feel that this is not a true representation of the South African society (Valji, 2004).

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Trust in Institutions

Figure 1. Trust in Institutions (Retrieved from Human Science Research Council, 1998).

Currently the South African population is approaching 53 million citizens. Lloyd argues that even though the apartheid government has not been in power since the first democratic election in 1994, the apartheid legacy of race division still lives on. Moreover, the South African society is one of the most unequal in the world. The World Bank Gini ratio of the country was (in 2013) 0.63. In addition, "The vast majority of those who are poor are black, and more than one in three (36.7 percent) South Africans between the ages of 15 and 64 were unemployed in the first quarter of 2013" (Center for International Media Assistance, 2013, p.10). This supports the notion that the racial division is still evident in the country.

According to Hayner, when the Commission was close to completing its final report in 1998, the public and the media realised that an extended reconciliation had not yet taken place in the society. Instead, according to her, many South Africans individuals felt that the situation between different groups within the society had actually worsened. To add, according to Hayner,
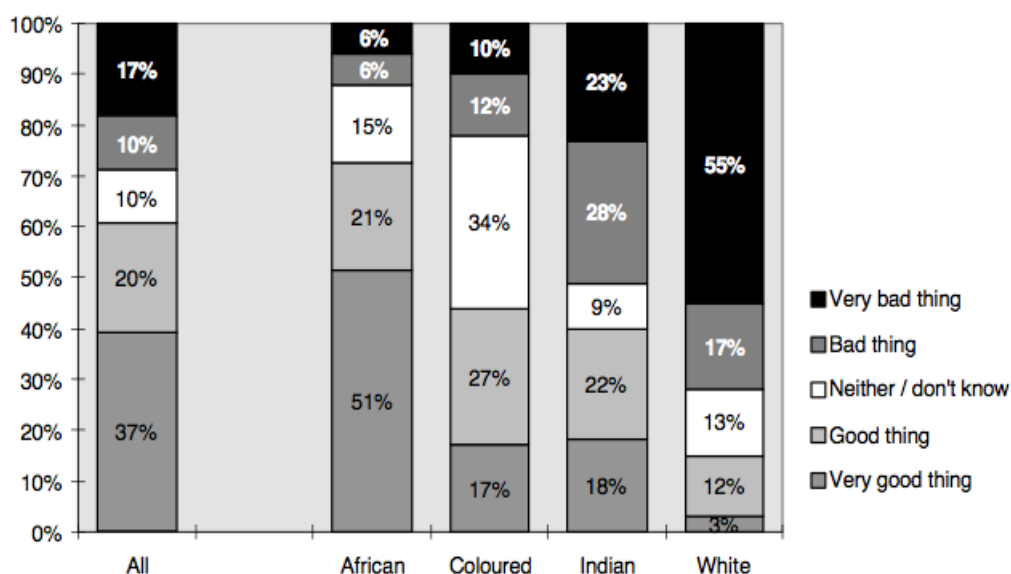
> "Market Research Africa released a national poll showing that two-thirds of the public believed that revelations resulting from the truth commission process had made South Africans angrier and led to a deterioration in relations between races. Among those questioned, 24 percent expected people to feel more angry and bitter, 23 percent said the

TRC would cause more hurt and pain. Only 17 percent predicted people would become more forgiving, it was reported" (Hayner, 2011, p.184).

Brankovic agrees that the issue of collective and national reconciliation in South Africa has been very shallow to date. The scientific evidence of this can be found from the results of polls conducted in the country (Brankovic, 2013, p.12). A national survey conducted in 1998 revealed that the majority of white respondents thought that the SATRC had failed in its mission to promote peace and reconciliation in the country (Brankovic, 2013, p.6). To add, Gibson states,

> "If reconciliation means groups getting along together, then obviously reconciliation requires that individual South Africans eschew racism and embrace tolerance. A polity may be more than the sum of the individuals living within its territory, but it is impossible to understand a society without first understanding individual citizens — the degree to which they are 'reconciled'" (Gibson, 2004, p.5).

Do you think the TRC has been good or bad thing for the country? (Nov 1998)

Source: HSRC 1998

Figure 2. Do you think the TRC has been good or bad thing for the country? (Retrieved from Human Science Research Council, 1998).

According to Gibson, the Commission succeeded in its agenda when it comes to the issue of "[…] exposing human rights abuses by all sides in the struggle over apartheid, thereby contributing to the country's collective memory about its apartheid past" (Gibson, 2004, p.100). Gibson writes that

the question of whether or not the media influenced the national healing can be answered with a cautious yes, at least for certain groups in the country. Moreover,

> "Based on an analysis of a representative sample of ordinary South Africans, that inquiry concludes that truth and reconciliation are connected, that truth (as promulgated by the TRC) did not undermine reconciliation within any of the groups in South Africa, and that for whites, Coloured people, and those of Asian origin, truth may actually have caused reconciliation" (Gibson, 2006, p.410).

Gibson also argues that among at least some blacks of South Africa, telling the truth seemed to assist with reconciliation. Gibson argues, that despite the process of truth and reconciliation in South Africa being expensive, it ended up being worth the money due to the SATRC and its media usage contribution to the democratic reform. After all, the Commission and its media involvement assisted tremendously to the process (Gibson, 2006, p.411).

The following conclusion can be drawn from this theory: if the truth facilitates reconciliation among people, the truth hearings that were largely mediatised did facilitate the process of healing. Furthermore, it can be argued that the media had a positive influence on the national healing. Also, Campbell states that the media had a more positive than negative role when it comes to reconciliation: "In Bird and Garda's study regarding the role of the media in the reconciliation process, the authors found that the media have been playing a positive role in informing people about the TRC process […]" (Campbell, 2000, p.52 – 53).

V. Discussions

This part of the research will discuss the findings regarding the issue of the impact the SATRC had on South Africa by using media in its initiatives. It will also discuss the effectiveness of using media in the healing process in post-apartheid South Africa.

Firstly, it is vital to start by addressing the usefulness of the literature. The academic sources used throughout this study provided an excellent knowledge base when addressing the issues of reconciliation through the SATRC's media usage perspective. As previously mentioned, an interesting finding when initiating the research process was that the topic has not been largely studied. After all, the SATRC's success has been argued to be largely due to media inclusion in the peace building and reconciliation processes. Despite the overall deficit of sources covering this issue, sources provided by Verdoolaege, Cole, Hayner, Brankovic, Armoudian and Gibson and so forth, offered well-compiled arguments and academic evidence. These sources provided well put together information, as well as examples about the function of the SATRC with relation to the current government and the analysis between the individual reconciliation and communal need to reconcile. These sources also effectively pointing out different shortfalls of the Commission and its agenda and its processes. Evidently, there was certain dissent between the approaches or views of some of the scholars' materials. Overall, the academics seem to present common findings especially when it comes to revealing the shortfalls and success factors regarding the SATRC's media usage.

More importantly, it should be highlighted that the initial challenge with this research was that there is no clear definition for the term of reconciliation. Some academics have addressed it as involving truth telling, and others simply see it as a process where the former warring parties co-exist. The determination of the term of reconciliation in this case was therefore required in order to define whether the aim of reconciliation was actually achieved by the actions of the SATRC. This research looks into the impact of the SATRC using media as a tool for the healing process, as the reconciliation term was defined as something that involves the process of truth telling. After all, one of the SATRC's main objectives was to address the past of apartheid atrocities and advance the national reconciliation by implementing truth telling initiatives – such as truth hearings. Therefore, it must be emphasised that the reconciliation process includes the notion of telling the truth in this study context. One of difficulties faced throughout this research was not only the lack of common understanding of the definition of reconciliation (whether or not truth telling is part of it), but that there was not much information on this topic, covering the SATRC and its relationship with South African media. For this reason, finding coherent and trustworthy sources was at times

challenging. Therefore, it became evident that extensive research about the relationship between the SATRC and the media was needed.

Secondly, the results of the research show that the conclusions of academic findings when it comes to the case of the SATRC and whether or not the institution was successful in its functions regarding addressing the individual and communal needs within the South African society are diverse. Some academics argue that the Commission's work can be seen as helpful and necessary for the healing of the survivors and their families. The truth hearings were supposed to assist with the peace process, yet this was only partly successful. It became clear that at times, even though the individual confessions of the truth were seen as very helpful for individual healing, most of the individuals confessing in front of cameras were not pleased about how the process was handled. Their confessions did after all bring to light some difficult memories, and for many, the confessions were highly emotional. Many argue that the individual healing was sacrificed for the common good. Moreover, when one did address the past by communicating her or his own story, the media focused on the raw emotions of the survivor or perpetrator. This caused questions to arise among some academics regarding the nature of the media reporting, and whether they were biased. Furthermore, the Commission was criticised for using sensationalism through its reporting (Verdoolaege, 2003). This research, however could not find clear and comprehensive arguments to support this claim. One reason being that this research does not have the capacity or knowledge to cover the issue of ethics of media reporting in order to fully analyse whether or not the techniques of the SATRC media reporting were biased.

Throughout this research, it became clear that the objective of granting amnesty was rather successful, as Campbell claims. She writes that, "According to Gibson and Gouws, only those who received amnesty were happy with the process" (Campbell, 2000, p. 51). This became evident throughout the research process. Granting amnesty was an easy and successful process from the SATRC's and the confessing individuals' points of view. Yet, individual reconciliation failed in the process due to the extensive agenda of the SATRC, as well as due to the fact that the individual needs and wants regarding public confessions should have been taken more into account. The majority of the scholars claim that the SATRC should have focused more on the survivors after mediatising their stories to the public.

> "The results of several studies conducted by the South African Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation reveal that the victims of apartheid, who risked much and demonstrated enormous courage to come forth and testify, (in fact, many of the victims have expressed fear of repercussions for having given testimony to the Commission) have

also been critical of it. Those who testified have complained that after giving their testimony, the Commission did nothing to follow up with them" (Campbell, 2000, p. 51).

In addition, it became clear throughout the process that some of the academics thought that truth telling was not a good idea, as the individuals confessing were re-traumatised. However, when talking about the reconciliation, re-traumatising in this case can be seen as a necessary step in order address these issues for good. The process of individual healing can only start when faced with the reality of the past.

As previously explained, the issue of extensive media usage of the SATRC was also analysed in this research. The analysis covered the reasons for the media being used and their purpose. The purpose of the research was also to see the extent to which it was used and why, as well as the shortcomings and the lessons learned from the mediatised processes. The aim was to analyse the primary and secondary sources behind the media use in the peace building and reconciliation processes. It became evident that in the SATRC's case, the media was used as a mediator between the institutions and the locals, moreover between top-level and ground-level actors. Furthermore, the SATRC was motivated to use media, as the Commission saw it as a tool that would reach large audiences at once. In addition, it could assist the SATRC in bringing forward the peace building initiatives and efforts, as well as in sharing information about the SATRC itself. Therefore, it became evident throughout this research that the primary reason was to use different media outlets to unify South Africa by sharing the history of violence and discrimination of the apartheid period. Unlike previous TRCs around the world, the mediatisation was seen as an important part for the SATRC functions in order to inform individuals and to keep the processes of the healing and reconciliation as transparent as possible. Moreover, one of the reasons for large media involvement in the reporting process can be seen as part of the democratic transition. As media was strictly restricted under the apartheid rule, it was a natural transition for the institution to promote unity, peace and addressing the South African history as well as to support the democratic transition, to use media as a method to inform the locals about its activities and processes.

In addition, as presented by Hamber and Kibble, the media did create an increasing tension between different ethnic groups in South Africa. "In the long run, racial tensions could increase despite the TRC having exactly the opposite intention. A survey by Market Research Africa found that almost two thirds of urban South Africans believe the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings into gross human rights abuses under apartheid have worsened race relation" (Hamber & Kibble, 1998). One of the aspect supporting this notion can be seen as revealing the old trauma. According to the IRIN report, "And as long as a majority of white South Africans refuse to

acknowledge that they benefited from apartheid, it's hard for them to play a meaningful role in addressing the imbalances of the past" (IRIN, 2014).

The analysis of the topic of media and the SATRC clarified a few other aspects about South Africa as well, which were not initially seen when starting the research process. Firstly, it was surprising to note that the local media and international media had sometime divergent views regarding the South African national reconciliation process. After the democratic transition started to take place in 1994, the international media was positively reporting on the actions of the SATRC and saw its functions as revolutionary, especially regarding the truth hearings that were opened for the public. Naturally, it is understandable that the SATRC is argued to be revolutionary in its methods, as at the time it was the first TRC to use the media this extensively in its processes. Also, it was one of the forerunners of the new technique when it comes to addressing past atrocities. Clearly, there was a need for reconciliation in the country, as many people were still in denial of the human rights violations after the apartheid period. However, the issue was that the international community (even though this was discussed only briefly in this research) had an image of the South African society as more or less reconciled. The name of the 'rainbow nation' was widely used in the international media, reflecting the society to be ethnically divergent and claiming the South African society to have embraced diversity. This was one of the issues that was criticised about the SATRC and for a good reason. The Commission partly dismissed addressing the issue of ethnic background, as it was not extensively enough covered in the Commission's agenda. This research shows that although different media outlets were able to reach a lot of individuals (also those with illiteracy or living in remote areas), the reporting was in large part taken in by the black population. Therefore, it is realistic to say that reconciliation, due to media involvement, has been only partly successful as there is still very much ethnic division and denial about what happened in the past. Moreover, one can talk about successful national reconciliation only when all of the ethnicity groups of the society have been involved, informed clearly about the past and when they have acknowledged and admitted their role in the apartheid process.

Therefore, a recommendation for similar future cases is that the process should include the whole population, and all of its ethnicities in the process of reconciliation and using media to involve them. This is important for the successful transformation when it comes to building a unified nation. The methods of the more inclusive involvement of different ethnicity groups should be evaluated in an additional research. It is also unrealistic to say that only the SATRC or the media, or both could change the society (when referring to healing), as the process should be a combination of seamless efforts from multiple actors of the society. Therefore, this research argues that the expectations of the SATRC and its media involvement have been unrealistic. However, it

must be also pointed out, that the SATRC's agenda did dismiss certain aspects seen as an important for the national reconciliation process. As an example, the media should have focused more in detail on the inclusion of all ethnic groups in the process.

Furthermore, the media involvement was a partial success as it revealed the truth and as it promoted the issue around the country. Due to that, the history was brought forward to millions of individuals. Because of the local media, people were faced with the facts and tangible examples of the level of the atrocities caused by the apartheid. If the media would not have been used, the issue would have been dealt with on a much smaller scale. After all, with mediatised truth hearings, not only did the local population receive information about the apartheid period crimes, but the world did too. According to Brankovic, the SATRC's contribution to the population's perception change appeared to be limited, especially in the long term (Brankovic, 2013, p.10). The media served as an effective tool to reconcile, mainly because of its reach. However, from a practical point of view, the media involvement in the truth telling initiatives of the SATRC upset people as old wounds of the past were reopened. After all, many individuals were not satisfied about how the SATRC handled their cases. Furthermore, many survivors confessing felt like their individual reconciliation and healing was sacrificed for benefit of the national reconciliation. Although there were significant numbers of individuals who participated in these proceedings, academics argue that this was often not ideal as some of the victims as well as perpetrators did not want to share their stories publicly (The New York Time, 2007). As Hayner argues, "Forgiveness, healing, and reconciliation are deeply personal processes, and each person's needs and reactions to peacemaking and truth-telling may be different" (Hayner, 2011, p.183). To conclude, the usage of the media was a clever way for the SATRC to include the society into the process and to make its institutional efforts more transparent. However, the premises for it to be successful were good, yet due to insufficient execution it was not as effective as the SATRC and locals wished.

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VI. Conclusion and Recommendation

This research was conducted in order to answer the question of '*What type of impact did the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission's media involvement had on national reconciliation process in Post-apartheid South Africa?*'.

The main research question was divided into several sub-questions that would clarify the analysis of the research and therefore would offer a more comprehensive approach to this topic. The sub-questions covered the issues of '*the role of media in South Africa*', '*the original objectives of the functions set by the local TRC and the analysis of implementation process of these goals*'. This study also investigated '*what types of media outlets were used and why*' throughout the process. In detail, issues such as the time and cost efficiency of the media outlets were covered. Lastly, the process as well as the results of the peace building efforts involving South Africa were focused on, to further see '*whether or not the media involvement did assist with the national healing and unifying the nation*'. The shortcomings and risks of using media within the process of healing and reconciliation were evaluated, and recommendations were given based on the findings. Lastly, it was carefully examined '*whether the media involvement can be seen more as a positive thing or whether it had more negative impact on the communal level healing in post-apartheid South Africa*'.

By using secondary and primary data, including official reports related to the work of the SATRC as well as the media outlets, it became clear that the media involvement had rather mixed effects on the national healing process of the country. On the other hand, the research results illustrate that the media involvement did impact the reconciliation and national healing process positively. This is because through the media, the locals were both involved and informed extensively about the apartheid crimes. After all, the media made the common acknowledgement of the past possible. In addition, the media has had a rather positive impact regarding the transition of the country towards democracy, as it functioned as a tool to involve people in the reconciliation and truth process. The media involvement helped not only to address the issues of apartheid crimes, but it also had a successful role as a mediator between the upper and lower level actors of the society; it created a public platform for all parts and actors of the society to share information and personal experiences. Furthermore, the local media helped communicate the message of the SATRC to the public.

In contrast, it became clear that the media also had a negative impact on the healing process, as old wounds caused by the apartheid period were re-opened. The findings indicated that survivors, who

had been sharing their individual experiences in front of the audience, were not fully satisfied about the process and some even argued that the process had done more harm than good. They accused the media of acting more in favour of the common good rather than for individual healing. The largely mediatised truth hearings of the SATRC offered the truth to viewers in South Africa, however, due to the small benefits of confessing in public and the inability of the Commission to catch up with their process afterwards, most of the survivors felt that the event actually caused more harm than not confessing. Yet, for many viewers, the subjective story offered a tangible example of the troublesome past.

Another criticism explained by the scholars is that neither the SATRC agenda, nor the media focused on addressing the issue of the on-going ethnical division. Furthermore, the division of different ethnicities has been to some extent bypassed by the South African society (and partly ignored by the international community), as the country has been called a 'rainbow nation' where the population of different races and economic backgrounds live together without large disputes. Therefore, the research findings show that the major downfall of the SATRC's agenda has been not taking the ethnic diversity into account when incorporating the media as a reconciliatory tool. The reflection of this deficit can be seen in the lack of the white population's involvement and their interest in the national unity and reconciliation process, communicated through the media. In other words, it has become evident throughout the research process (and through opinion polls results) that the white population was not as interested in the process as other ethnic groups (such as blacks). For this reason, it is suggested that the lessons learned should encourage a new research where the type of action taken by the local media with regard to the whole population (including all of its ethnic diversities) can be evaluated.

Another significant shortcoming of the media usage of the SATRC based on these findings is that the media programs (such as TRC Special Report) was that there were concerns related to its objectivity. Moreover, based on arguments provided by Verdoolaege and Cole, the objectivity seems to come across in a gradual scale, meaning that initially the media reporting seems objective. However, when looking into the details of the methods and processes regarding the media reporting, some of the aspects come across as biased.

Lastly, it needs to be pointed out that the research results indicate that even though the process of the SATRC and its media involvement had mixed results when it comes to the effectiveness as promoting and enhancing the national reconciliation, it is clear that the media had a huge impact on the nation in terms of communicating and addressing the issue of the apartheid period and bringing them forward. After all, without the local media's involvement, some of the locals in South Africa

(as well as abroad) would not have realised the magnitude and nature of the crimes of the apartheid.

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Appendix

**European Studies
Student Ethics Form**

Your name: Laura Halonen

Supervisor: Dr. Margo Peeters

Instructions/checklist
Before completing this form you should read the APA Ethics Code
(http://www.apa.org/ethics/code/index.aspx). If you are planning research with human subjects you should also look at the sample consent form available in the Final Project and Dissertation Guide.

a. [x] Read section 3 that your supervisor will have to sign. Make sure that you cover all these
    issues in section 1.
b. [x] Complete sections 1 and, if you are using human subjects, section 2, of this form, and sign it.
c. [x] Ask your project supervisor to read these sections (and the draft consent form if you have
    one) and sign the form.
d. [x] Append this signed form as an appendix to your dissertation.

Section 1. Project Outline (to be completed by student)

(i)   Title of Project: What type of impact did the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission's media involvement had on national reconciliation process in Post-apartheid South Africa?

(ii) Aims of project: The aim of the project is to conduct a comprehensive and professional thesis on the topic covering the reconciliation process in post-apartheid South Africa. More importantly, I will find out how much the media usage of the TRC in South Africa affected on the national reconciliation and healing.

   In this final paper I will answer on the following questions:
 What was the role of the media in the TRC's truth and reconciliation process of South Africa? What were the TRC's original objectives of using the media in the reconciliation and peace-building efforts in post-apartheid South Africa? Were these objectives, considering the media, met throughout the process itself? Which types of media-outlets did the TRC use in order to bring the information of the TRC and its objectives to the public in South Africa? Why these media-outlets? When looking at the process and result of reconciliation and peace building efforts in post-apartheid South Africa as a whole, did the media involvement actually advance the process of national healing and if so, in which ways? Did the mass media also create negative impact on the healing process and if so, in which ways? Was the media usage of TRC more helpful or harmful when it comes to national healing of South Africans?

(iii)   Will you involve other people in your project – e.g. via formal or informal interviews, group discussions, questionnaires, internet surveys etc. (Note: if you are using data that has already been collected by another researcher – e.g. recordings or transcripts of conversations given to you by your supervisor, you should answer 'NO' to this question.)

YES / <mark>N0</mark>

If no: you should now sign the statement below and return the form to your supervisor. You have completed this form.

This project is not designed to include research with human subjects . I understand that I do not have ethical clearance to interview people (formally or informally) about the topic of my research, to carry out internet research (e.g. on chat rooms or discussion boards) or in any other way to use people as subjects in my research.

Student's signature _____-   date _4th of May, 2015_

If yes: you should complete the rest of this form.

Section 2 Complete this section only if you answered YES to question (iii) above.

(i) What will the participants have to do? (v. brief outline of procedure):

(ii) What sort of people will the participants be and how will they be recruited?

(iii) What sort stimuli or materials will your participants be exposed to, tick the appropriate boxes and then state what they are in the space below?

 Questionnaires[   ]; Pictures[   ]; Sounds [   ]; Words[   ]; Other[   ].

(iv) Consent: <u>Informed</u> consent must be obtained for all participants before they take part in your project. Either verbally or by means of an informed consent form you should state what participants will be doing, drawing attention to anything they could conceivably object to subsequently. You should also state how they can withdraw from the study at any time and the measures you are taking to ensure the confidentiality of data. A standard informed consent form is available in the Dissertation Manual.

(vi) What procedures will you follow in order to guarantee the confidentiality of participants' data? Personal data (name, addresses etc.) should not be stored in such a way that they can be associated with the participant's data.

The Impact of Media Involvement by The South African Truth And Reconciliation
Commission in National Reconciliation Process in Post-apartheid South Africa

Laura Halonen
11018445

Student's signature: .... date: ....

Supervisor's signature (if satisfied with the proposed procedures)**: .... date: ....