

2 A Research Framework and Some Important Definitions

2.1 Reconciliation: Making a Better Defined Area for IR Students

In social science, reconciliation has only recently been defined. Kelman has argued that the establishment of “*Truth and Reconciliation Commissions*”¹⁷, especially the *South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, served as a main marker that the term reconciliation has been transferred from a religious into a social science term. (Kelman, 2008b) Post-war reconciliation between countries and inner-state groups has become a hotspot of scholarship in IR Studies. This text only examines interstate reconciliation, which excludes conflict resolution within a political unit, e.g. state.

Even though reconciliation has been narrowed down to refer to former antagonist countries’ relationship in a postwar period, there is still great vagueness which might be misleading. Different schools prefer deviating definitions of reconciliation, which may lead related researches in various directions. Therefore, before exploring influential factors of reconciliation, there is a necessity to give a precise definition to reconciliation as well as declare the dependent and independent variables in this text.

For IR Students, reconciliation is defined as the process that former adversaries learn to live together peacefully in their post-conflict environment. (Kelman, 2008b) Yet controversies penetrated, since it has been always hard to distinguish process and outcome variables of reconciliation. When reconciliation is chosen as a research area, what should researchers select as the DV and the IDVs? Conceptualizing and making reconciliation measurable has been a tough task, which also has drawn lots of academic controversies. One of the difficulties in measuring reconciliation is due to the confusion between the process and outcome.

Bar-Tal is one of the representative scholars who argued the “nature of reconciliation as an outcome and a process”(Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004e). He assumed the relationship between outcome and process in the term of Reconciliation Studies “is the process of reconciliation that builds stable and lasting peace” (Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004e). In order to avoid a cyclical argument, this text

17 Large amounts of “Truth and Reconciliation Commissions” have been established after the 1950s. These commissions bear responsibilities such as discovering past wrongdoing in order to provide proof against historical revisionism as well as re-emergence of conflicts.

separates the process of reconciliation from its result. The latter is set up as a dependent variable: “a consequence of successful conflict resolution. It comes at the end of the process, with time.” (Kelman, 2008a) Some also suggested that the process of “reconciliation has been described as the apex of a long process of conflict termination and being tantamount to a stable, warm peace”. (Auerbach, 2009c; Miller & Security, 2001; Rothstein, 1999) The operationalization of the Dependent Variable should also illustrate the variations of reconciliation degree. As a result, some scholars in the field of Conflict and Resolution Studies, such as Miller, inspired students of reconciliation studies, the type of peace is a good benchmark by which to measure the variation of outcomes of reconciliation processes. Tang further related degree of peace to reconciliation in his recent contribution by introducing “reconciliation plus adjectives” as descriptions of the outcome of reconciliation (Tang, 2011a)¹⁸.

Some indicators, such as not preparing for war, reducing frequencies of breaking bilateral relations, and holding bilateral summit meetings, could present varying scopes of the DV (Miller & Security, 2001; Wan, 2006). The potential logic is simple: the less likely conflicts would arise, the more successful is the reconciliation; the more likely the potential conflicts, the worse the bilateral relationship develops.

Only introducing peace-stability to conceptualize and indicate the DV, however, has to a certain extent equated Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation. At the same time, it fails to depict the *de facto* overcoming of the psychological block (Kelman, 2008b) between former enemies and their societies: “formal peace agreements fall far short of establishing genuine peaceful relations between former adversaries”(Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004e; Knox & Quirk, 2001; Lederach, 1997; Lipschutz, 1998; Simpson, 1997; Wilmer, 1998). Reconciliation Studies stand out from the traditional Peace and Conflict Studies, because they expand the focal point of Conflict Resolution by introducing social psychological perspectives. This can also be found out from He Yinan’s recent studies of reconciliation¹⁹. She tried to improve Reconciliation Studies by adding social constraints into account.

Government-to-government and people-to-people relations were both observed as an indication of the variation of the dependent variable in this text. He Yinan summarized a number of indicators of government-to-government rela-

18 Tang assumed, for example, “[i]mmmediately after a major conflict, the relationship between two former foes is nonreconciliation, or ‘cold/negative/precarious peace’”, while “after a period of vigorous and successful reconciliation, the relationship reaches the state of ‘deep (or robust) reconciliation’, or ‘warm/deep peace’”.

19 He Yinan compares, in her PHD thesis, the Sino-Japanese Reconciliation with German-Polish post war relations.

tions, which include frequencies and levels of official/nonofficial visits and summit meetings; fields, frequencies and level of institutionalization for bilateral cooperation; and fields and frequencies of inter-governmental conflicts. People-to-people relations were observed with the anti-adversary social movement, joint education programs, and cultural events such as joint exhibitions and cooperation on writing history books. Hitherto, she argued, an improvement of “people-to-people relations” will contribute to reconciliation building, which could also lead to a circular argument (the confusion between the dependent and independent variables). The reason is an improvement of “people-to-people relations” also reflects the achievement of reconciliation at the “government-to-government” level. People-to-people relations could not nevertheless serve as both independent and dependent variables, which should be further, distinguished in future researches.

In order to add a socio-psychological dimension and avoid the bias that has been mentioned above, this research design defines the process of reconciliation as the removal of inter-governmental and inter-social emotional barriers that enables a lasting peace, stability and a healthy relationship (DV) based on mutual trust. (Bar-Tal, 2000b; Itoi, Ohbuchi, & Fukuno, 1996; McCullough, Worthington Jr, & Rachal, 1997)

Removal of the emotional barrier is the essence and ultimate goal of a reconciliation process, while trust, a stable, healthy relationship and a genuine peace manifest a positive outcome of reconciliation (DV). Therefore, the DV distinguishes itself from the people-to-people relations mentioned by He Yinan. She mainly referred to the manner to shift psychological conditions and perceptions of the mass, while it serves as IDV here. I measure people-to-people trust as an indication of DV’s variation. The measurement is done from the aspect of the outcomes instead of the manners to get rid of psychological blocks²⁰. The socio-psychological outcome of reconciliation is therefore one of the DV’s indicators measured by the public poll of trust and threat-removal.

IDVs enfold elements that push forward or block the removal of psychological barriers by conveying signals of inviting or not inviting reconciliation. Daniel Bar-Tal summarized many types of reconciliation and concluded that “all the approaches recognize that reconciliation requires a psychological change—a transition to beliefs and attitudes that support peaceful relations between former enemies.” (Bar-Tal, 2000d) Such a transition serves as the DV in this text, while those conditions that facilitated reconciliation are selected as IDVs. Moreover, resorting to removing cognitive and emotional barriers as a “benchmark” of a

20 He Yinan has introduced the manners, such as joint education programs, and cultural events such as joint exhibitions and cooperation on writing history books, to measure the removal of psychological blocks. In order to suit this research design, I further distinguished the manner and the result of psychological shifts.

successful reconciliation process helps to distinguish Reconciliation Studies from Conflict Resolution Studies. A successful reconciliation should be achieved by reducing “the cognitive distortions, anger, hostility, fear, grief, victimization, and humiliation that have developed” (Bargal, 2004). A further step of a stable reconciliation or its consolidation is that former foes have accepted a shared identity. On the contrary, nationalism could unite “insiders” as well as drive “outsiders” to xenophobia. Existence of nationalism and anti-adversary social movement indicates there is an unstable peace and no substantive reconciliation. A shared identity that is internalized by the majority of society reduces the chance that nationalism resurges.

As mentioned above, introducing a socio-psychological dimension to the DV measurement has great significance. This research design adds public polls to supplement the measurement of stability of a peaceful relationship in a postwar era. It surveyed psychological conditions or the perceptions towards former enemies.

All in all, this research has chosen the outcome of reconciliation as the dependent variable (DV), and sets up the DV as the extent of peace (A structural outcome), while promoters and inhibitors in the process of reconciliation building are set as the independent variables (IDVs). In many cases, conflict and disagreement “can erupt after signing the documents of peaceful conflict resolution” (Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004a).

Thus, reconciliation demands more effort than the cessation of violence. A higher degree of peace exhibits a more radical removal (Itoi et al., 1996) of the threat perception. It is due to psychological shifts achieved through the process of reconciliation. The stability of a peace and the removal of threat perception could reflect as the entities’ readiness to be tolerant, communicative and cooperative. These positive shifts could be traced by attitude polls and reports on the perceptions of a former enemy, whether there is no break-up of bilateral relations (economical and political) when there is an emerging conflict (an indicator of tolerance)²¹, no preparation of war, etc. The following sections have traced these indicators and measured their variations.

2.2 Introduction into the Cases & Cutting Time into Periods

Why do re-conciliatory results differ significantly between the Sino-Japanese and the Franco-German dyads? Each dyad share a deep-rooted historic antagonism. Nevertheless, the latter one reached a far deeper degree of reconciliation

21 This indicator measures the outcome of reconciliation in the sense of the level of a stable peace. A stable peace harbors more tolerance. Even though there might be threatening signals, the two parties do not feel threatened easily

than that between China and Japan after World War II. This book explores the reasons of these diverse outcomes of reconciliation. Before testing the explanatory power of each IDV, this chapter presents an observation of the DV in each case at different time intervals; there are also demonstrations of shifting international and domestic settings. In other words, the DV, namely the consequence of reconciliation, varies not only from case to case, but also from period to period. This design traces variations of it by observing the stability of the bilateral relationship. It appears as cold peace, normal peace, and stable peace in a sequential “spectrum”. Moreover, a socio-psychological dimension is also taken into account.

There is a great necessity to cut history into different periods. For one thing, to do so supplies more observations that support the hypothesis testing. For another, splitting time phrases that are chosen to do a comparison avoids achieving a general but biased causal claim based on the superficial and hypocritical correlation between IDVs and DV, because at different historical stages, major dynamics of reconciliation might be different due to shifting domestic and international contexts. This paper tests mechanisms that lead to diverse outcomes of reconciliation under different settings. Post-war reconciliation takes place at different points of time (sometimes quicker and easier but sometimes not) since conflicts might vary in different regions in the world.

The first periods in the two cases are: the Franco-German relations (1945-1960s); the Sino-Japanese relations (1950s-1972). The cutting point between the first and the second periods is the signing of an official agreement that establishes bilateral relations. In the Franco-German case, it was the signing of the Elysée treaty that set the seal on the bilateral reconciliation; in the Sino-Japanese case, it was the signing of a joint communiqué between the Chinese and Japanese governments that normalized the bilateral relations. The second period was the honeymoon period. It lasted from 1963 to 1990 between Bonn and Paris, till the reunification of Germany. And it appeared in the time duration of 1972-early 1980s in the Sino-Japanese dyad. The third periods started from the end of the second period till 2006. But different tendencies of the bilateral relations showed up in both cases: there was repeated demand of further reconciliation and emerging friction after 1990 within the China and Japan dyad, while France and Germany have been enjoying healthy bilateral relations under the framework of regional integration.

2.3 A Research Framework

2.3.1 *The Process of Studying a Causal Mechanism in Social Science and the Theoretical Contribution of this Design*

Before starting the comparative and conclusive analysis, I am going to introduce a well-known way of addressing the causal logic in social science. Then I am going to present the very part of this logic chain that this text devotes to modify and adjust to Reconciliation Studies. The “Coleman Bathtub” (or “boat”) model from James Samuel Coleman left the level-of-analysis problem openly. Instead of separating macro and micro levels of analysis, Coleman “translates causality into the analysis of transition mechanisms between the macro- and micro-levels” (Mills, van de Bunt, & De Bruijn, 2006b).

Like other social science designs, this piece of reconciliation study aims to test the causal relation between the social cause and effect of reconciliation. Construction of causality requires researchers to be extremely careful in order to avoid fallacious inferences²². Therefore, a convincing cause-effect relationship has to open the “black box” of the causal process by specifying macro-micro, micro-micro and micro-macro relations²³. In this sense, Coleman suggested a “bathtub” model that identified the processes that link and validate a causal relationship between a certain social cause and a social outcome. *These processes are:*

- How structures constrain agents (Macro-Micro);
- How agents make decisions under restrictions (Micro-Micro);
- How agents interact and arrive at certain social outcomes (Micro-Macro) (Mills et al., 2006b).

These processes appear in turn in the analysis, which contributes to assembling a convincing causality between the macro independent variables and the macro result of reconciliation.

It is necessary to introduce Coleman’s “bathtub” model, not only because this book uses a multi-level analysis, but also because the reasoning in social science demands a complete logic chain. For example, in the field of normative agendas, researchers “will need to specify ideational causal claims and mecha-

22 It indicates that researches arrive at causal conclusions that are only spurious correlations. Generally speaking, “To test whether a correlation between two variables is genuine or spurious, additional variables and equations must be introduced, and sufficient assumptions must be made to identify the parameters of this wider system”. Simon, 1954, pp.467-79.

23 Coleman’s “bathtub” model. The detailed description of this model can be found at: Mills, M., van de Bunt, G. G., & De Bruijn, J. (2006). Comparative Research. *International Sociology*, 21(5), 619-631.

nisms clearly, think seriously about the micro foundations on which theoretical claims about norms rest, and evaluate those claims in the context of carefully designed historical and empirical research.” (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998) This is also partially true in the study of reconciliation (given that there is a focus on the ideational factors), which needs to combine historical empirical evidence with mechanisms of attitude change because (if but for the sake of variety) the substance of reconciliation is the psychological and attitude change), so as to shape the stability of peace due to reconciliation (Macro result). For example, a simple causal claim that links political, historical memory, territorial narrative familiarity and a successful reconciliation does not reveal anything till the micro mechanism is clearly explained. Hence, a convincing argumentation should specify the micro-foundations that the causality rests on, such as how regime familiarity as a macro-cause translates into a relevant state action and how the states’ interaction brings about successful reconciliation as a macro-effect; how familiarity results in the positive or negative attitude of the public and elites, which finally influences the result of conciliation in an integrate manner²⁴. In sum, Coleman’s “bathtub” model serves as a suitable vehicle to study causalities of social science in details.

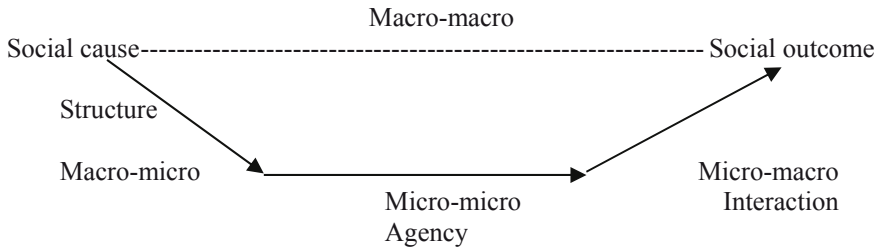


Fig. 2.1 Coleman’s “Bathtub” Model²⁵

Nevertheless, the “bathtub” model is not flawless. Coleman himself has also pointed out that the micro-foundation has been simplified, since he “has treated actors as purposive that is, as unanalyzed entities characterized by a utility function that each actor seeks to maximize” (Coleman, 1994). The defect exists at the micro-foundation which adopts the assumption that decision-making rests on (instrumental) rationality. He also summarized some reasons why he himself was

24 An integrate manner of Franco-German reconciliation is mostly referred to in Reconciliation Studies.

25 (Accessed on 2011.10.10) The model was developed based on the following link: <http://www.isa-sociology.org/congress2010/rc/rc45.htm>

not inclined to use *single micro-foundation* to integrate *micro-macro levels*, for example, “it provides no insight into certain *deviations from rationality*” (Coleman, 1994) or it excludes the process of socialization and internalization. He also did not escape from the critic that *he neglected the feedback among the various levels* when he tried to present the causality between micro and macro levels (Mills, van de Bunt, & De Bruijn, 2006a).

How shall we learn from and modify Coleman’s “bathtub” model so as to apply it to Reconciliation Studies? How could we make a contribution to further Reconciliation Studies? I have examined large amounts of existing literature of micro-foundation in social science (Coleman, 1994; Long & Brecke, 2003) and Reconciliation Studies (Long & Brecke, 2003). Critics of the “bathtub” model have pointed out the flaw of the “micro-micro” part of the logic chain of arguing. It points to the micro-foundation of reasoning causality. Taking “instrumental rationality” as the single micro-foundation cannot address the odds. As a result, further modification will basically deal with the single disposition (Schimmelfennig, 2008) of rationality. The case study of this text has discovered the same phenomenon. The conclusive section examines it further and makes modifications of the Coleman’s “bathtub” model based on empirical evidence of reconciliation.

2.3.2 *Development of Related Schools of Thought: Research Significance in Terms of the Theoretical Puzzle*

Some literature in Reconciliation Studies has reviewed mainstream IR theories in order to resolve the “spurious correlations problem” as it is stated above. The reconciliatory process has demonstrated great variations of the influencing factors and arrived at diverse outcomes due to the specific context of different cases. In some cases, the letdown of Functionalism in explaining the odd phenomenon – “warm economic relations” but “cold political relations”, “intensive social networks” but no substantial intent of reconciliation – has frustrated researchers. More theoretical strands, such as constructivism, start to explore some alternative explanations for this kind of puzzling research material.

In this section, I will review the most widely recognized theoretical strands in Reconciliation Studies. Enlightened by these theoretical strands, some literature has explored the successful experience of a thriving reconciliation and the existing anomalies. After all, this book compares the Franco-German and the Sino-Japanese reconciliations under the framework of several theoretical relevant hypotheses. The literature review relies on a balance between the empirical field and the theoretical foundations.

	Explanatory Variable Analysis Level		Distribution of the IDVs
The Power-driven theory of reconciliation	Physical power (Mainly military power)	International system/ State-centered	IDV 2
The interest-driven theory of reconciliation	Social networks, Economic interdependence	State-centered	IDV 1
The value-driven theory of reconciliation	Identity, Culture and other Ideational factors	Inter-subjective/ Communicative level	IDV 3.4.5
Pluralism	Cognition of both the Physical power, the Ideational factors ²⁶	Domestic level	IDV 1-5

Table 2.1 Research Framework: Form of the Basic Four Schools of Reconciliation Studies. This Form was Summarized and Developed by the Author.

There are *four basic approaches* that shed light on Reconciliation Studies. This book recommends that the basic approaches (namely Realism, Functionalism, Constructivism and Pluralism) are the following: the power-driven theory of reconciliation, the interest-driven theory of reconciliation, the value-driven theory of reconciliation²⁷ and the pluralist theory of reconciliation. *The power-driven theory of reconciliation* makes a notable contribution by addressing the way a physical power advantage restricts or promotes factors of approaching reconciliation; *the interest-driven theory of reconciliation* puts rational countries into modified game-theoretical models, in which relative economical gain and social contact could serve as the source of common interest based on which these countries cooperate with one another; *the value-driven theory of reconciliation* sees the chance of achieving reconciliation through social interaction, communication and a re-identification; *the pluralist theory of reconciliation harbors both* the cognition the physical power and the consideration of ideational factors, as well as the two analysis levels.

26 The conclusive chapter will further explain the mechanism of it as the affective dimension of reconciliatory policy makings.

27 In the book of *Theories of International Regimes*, the three authors made a good summary of the IR theory of international regime. It expands the appropriate approach to more than traditional institutionalism. This paper borrowed partially from their way of cataloguing. Hasenclever, Mayer, and Rittberger. 1997.

The assumption of the first two approaches is anarchy. Building reconciliation in anarchy is a tough task, given that trust among states is rare. Overcoming mistrust and fear is also one of the most important parts of reconciliation building. Anarchy is a typical characteristic of the international system, which leads to endless mis-perception, conflicts and even war. Anarchy means that there is an absence of a supreme power that implements laws, which leads into a political disorder. In such an international system, seeking mutual trust and cooperation becomes a conundrum for countries. Although the situation of suspicion is even worse between the former rival parties, Germany and France have broken this deadlock and achieved historic reconciliation.

In order to minimize the risk of surviving in anarchy, realists suggested that countries have to struggle for power. The most stable situation for realists is that the main countries in an international system have reached a “balance of power”. Approaching reconciliation in anarchy is a rough assignment. Researches of reconciliations that were done with a realist perspective have portrayed the nature of reconciliation as follows: the intention of promoting reconciliation is out of the realist strategic concern. The former foes could make some concessions, such as the reduction of the yearly military expenditure, to accommodate their counterpart. Kupchan has suggested “one state accommodates another because strategic deficiency makes balancing unappealing. This move is motivated by strategic necessity and objective national interests, not inter-subjectively constituted meanings”. (C. Kupchan, 2010) In this situation, an approximate equilibrium persuades the former enemies to react by also implementing reconciliatory policies. Peace is preserved due to the temporary strategic demand (C. Kupchan, 2010), which does not necessarily mean the affirmation of being reconciled. The research of this strand could be questioned whether the conciliated *status quo* could persist once the strategic demand disappears. However, the initiative stage of reconciliation is frequently observed to start with a pragmatic realist concern, which aims at reducing the uncertainty as well as the risk arising from a situation of anarchy.

A large proportion of literature leads us away from the realist approaches (Lindemann, 2011c) by suggesting that reconciliation with an instrumental motivation does not bring a substantive transition of the psychologies and stable peace. Neo-institutionalism and constructivism literature have been devoted to finding the force that drives countries in an anarchic world to step further into profounder cooperative and healthy relationships. In other words, Reconciliation Studies with these theoretical angles explores how the former antagonistic countries overcome mistrust and coordinate their behavior, which makes peace possible and endurable.

Scholars who studied the German-Franco reconciliation prefer to refer to Functionalism. Mitrany is considered to be the one who established modern functionalism and integration theories (Simmons, Carlsnaes, & Risse, 2002) that started to be dominantly prevalent in the post war period. Mitrany predicted the

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