Black peoples' experiences of the 'rainbow nation' and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa

by

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To South Africa, the place I call home. We have come far, and have further to go. I am proud and honoured to call you home.

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

Herewith I declare that this mini-dissertation that is submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree purposes for the degree MA Clinical Psychology at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not been submitted previously by me for another degree at another university.

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Signature   Date

ETHICS STATEMENT

The author, whose name appears on the title page of this dissertation, has obtained, for the research described in this work, the applicable research ethics approval.

The author declares that he/she has observed the ethical standards required in terms of the University of Pretoria's code of ethics for researchers and the policy guidelines for responsible research.

ABSTRACT

After the abolition of apartheid, a process of healing and reconciliation was initiated in order for South Africa to move forward, grow and prosper. However, 25 years into democracy there is seemingly a lack of resolution. Instances of overt and covert racism, as well as anger and frustration have emerged increasingly, and repeatedly, as reflected in on-going recent events such as violent service delivery protests as well as the emergence of movements such as Fees Must Fall. Therefore, there is value in investigating the lived experiences of South Africans at this time in an attempt to understand the apparent discontent which calls into question the national narrative of reconciliation. The overall aim of this study was to explore the lived experiences of black South Africans with regards to the constructs of the 'rainbow nation' and 'reconciliation' following two-and-a-half decades of democratic rule. Situated within a phenomenological framework, the research process included in-depth interviews with black South Africans ages 40 and over. The focus on black participants was an attempt to fill the gap that is left by the dominance of content related to reconciliation focusing on the prejudice reduction of white people, prioritising white phenomena in the literature and otherwise. Data analysis was conducted through thematic analysis which allowed a number of themes to emerge. Themes included: *loss*; *burden of blackness on identity and purpose*; *the problem of white privilege*, *lack of willingness to change* and *racism*. Moreover, themes of *theory versus reality* and *mistrust* were also significant among the findings. From the themes that emerged it can be concluded that the black experience of the reality of living in South Africa is incongruent with the constructs of the 'rainbow nation' and 'reconciliation' that dominate the narrative of a democratic South Africa. The reality of post-apartheid South Africa is an unequal and divided country that requires more work, compromise and discomfort to attain the rainbow nation as it is envisioned. Hence, for these participants these constructs are more aspirational than reality-based.

Keywords: Race, reconciliation, rainbow nation, South Africa, phenomenology

Table of Contents

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

1.1. Introduction & Research problem

In 1934 the Status of the Union Act declared South Africa a sovereign state after an extensive history of colonisation by the British (BBC, 2018). Following this, a process of internal tyranny unfolded at the hands of the white Afrikaner community that was later, in 1948, formalised as the apartheid system (BBC, 2018; Henrard, 2002). Apartheid was a system that sanctioned racial segregation and interactions between white and black people (BBC, 2018; Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010). The system operated within the belief that black people were inherently inferior to white people, intellectually, socially and otherwise. There were several acts of law that were passed during this period that institutionalised and entrenched the apartheid system. Furthermore, there were laws that authorised segregated public facilities, legitimised separate educational standards, restricted certain jobs to certain race groups, forbade most social contact between races and denied the participation of black people in the national government (Beck, 2000).

Despite the State's significant attempts at suppressing resistance to the apartheid system, there was increasing opposition from groups such as the African National Congress (ANC) (Beck, 2000). This resistance included demonstrations, strikes, violent protests, and civil disobedience (Beck, 2000; Lowe, 2000). Alongside domestic resistance the international community played a significant role in the anti-apartheid movement through censure and sanctions (Lowe, 2000). Following the Soweto Uprising on 16 June 1976, the level of resistance and revolt intensified reaching its peak in the latter half of the 1980s with increased township revolts and successive states of emergency (BBC News, 2018; Lowe, 2000). With this rapid accumulation of internal turmoil accompanied by external pressure, it became clear to the ruling National Party that the system was no longer sustainable. In an attempt to avoid civil war the apartheid government began talks with leaders from opposing parties to come to a resolution (Lowe, 2000; Melton 2009). An interim constitution was agreed upon in 1993 and the first democratic election took place in April 1994 (Lowe, 2000). According to Mr Dullah Omar, the first democratic minister of Justice, the newly drafted constitution provided a "historic bridge between the past of a deeply divided society characterised by strife, conflict, untold suffering and injustice, and a future founded on the recognition of human rights, democracy and peaceful co-existence and development opportunities for all South

Africans, irrespective of colour, race, class, belief or sex" (Omar, 1994[1]). This was the intention for the country moving forward.

However, as a result of decades of racial segregation, oppression, exploitation and propaganda, racist systems and attitudes have become deeply embedded in the fabric of South African society. The social and economic legacy of apartheid has included a large pool of unskilled and unemployed black people, poverty and poor access to education and other public amenities (Nowak, 2005). Furthermore, the post-apartheid reallocation of limited resources to an increasing number of people, including black people, further extended racial tensions (Murray, 2002). Moreover, there has been an inheritance of widespread violence that has been attributed to patriarchal attitudes related to the emasculation of black men under apartheid (Murray, 2002). Therefore, after the abolition of apartheid, a process of healing and reconciliation was necessitated in order for South Africa to progress and avoid civil unrest. Hence, the new government lead by Nelson Mandela, with Desmond Tutu as an ally, developed the construct of the rainbow nation. In this study I recognise the rainbow nation as the then newly democratic state's attempt to foster and develop a non-racial society (Gibson & Claassen, 2010) after many decades of race-based divisions and structural exclusions. Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu coined the rainbow nation with the aim of bringing about racial reconciliation (Gibson & Claassen, 2010). Reconciliation is defined by Kelman (2008) as a continuous process that is intrinsically linked to conflict resolution. Kelman (2008, p. 19) further describes it as a "long-term, cooperative relationship based on mutual acceptance and respect". It is emphasised, however, that this is not likely to happen without an agreement that addresses the fundamental needs of all parties and a sense of justice (Kelman, 2008). Hence, there is a suggestion that reconciliation may be part of a three-prong process that begins with settlement, thereafter resolution and ultimately reconciliation (Kelman, 2008). More specifically, 'racial reconciliation' is the process of transformation and integration for all groups involved (Gibson & Claassen, 2010). Therefore, there was recognition by the leaders of the time that forgiveness could not exist without restoring dignity to the victims of apartheid and without giving effect to reparation (Omar, 1994). Henceforth, from this position began the journey of reconciliation, beginning with the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).

However, 25 years into democracy there is seemingly a lack of resolution. Instances

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[1] No page number available.

of racism, as well as anger and frustration have emerged increasingly as reflected through recent events. These include two white farmers who in 2016 attempted to force a black man into a coffin (BBC, 2016), Peggy Sparrow's Facebook comments comparing black people to monkeys (News24, 2016), 'Zuma Must Fall' initiatives and the 'Fees Must Fall' protests, amongst others (HeraldLive, 2017). Furthermore, although South African society has been lawfully desegregated, numerous studies have revealed that there continue to be high levels of informal self-segregation that takes place in informal environments (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010; Durrheim & Dixon, 2010), and dissatisfaction with the outcomes of the TRC process (Kagee, 2006; Mohamed, 2011). Marschall (2003) argues that prejudice, resentment, and hatred is still dividing people as a result of a deep-seated conflict that—in the minds of some—has not ended but has simply shifted to another level. Therefore, there is seemingly a disjuncture between the depiction of an equal, non-racial and harmonious nation, and the less attractive reality (Gibson & Claassen, 2010).

1.2 Justification

There are various examples of processes of national reconciliation in countries that have experienced internal conflict. These include, amongst others, Germany after the end of the Nazi regime and Chile following the Pinochet dictatorship (Govier & Verwoerd, 2000). These nations' histories and reconciliatory processes are used as case studies to better understand the dynamics, processes, failures and successes of national reconciliation in different contexts. However, lessons from these historical examples, although useful, may not be fully applicable to the South African context due to its unique circumstances, needs and challenges. Hence, it is of value to explore reconciliation and the rainbow nation, contextually, in the ongoing process of healing, and to actively assess progress and success from the experiences of South Africans. Due to what presents itself as a growing anger, hostility and frustration there may be significance in exploring experiences at this point in the process, 25 years into South Africa's democracy. Coming off the euphoria of the 1994 elections, the newly democratic government, the promise of the rainbow nation, and the promises made regarding housing, schooling and employment (Seekings, 2008) it may be valuable to explore the feelings and experiences of the progress made towards those goals by regular South Africans, as the democracy matures. This research may be one contribution to knowledge that can assist in finding strategies that are effective at all levels.

The intention to focus on black South Africans' experiences is to give voice and gain

perspective from a group that is, ironically, not often the focus of research on reconciliation. Academics argue that reconciliation is most often explored from the position of measuring the prejudice reduction of the majority-status or in-group; in this case, White South Africans (Pettigrew, 1998; Holtman et al., 2005; Hook, 2012). Moreover, the dominance and normalisation of whiteness in society is subtly embedded in daily life, including the media as well as within the scholarly literature. It can be argued that there is an overrepresentation of white experiences and a concomitant underrepresentation of black experiences (Miller, 2015), particularly as it relates to reconciliation in South Africa. This skewed representation may serve to reify the discourse of whiteness as positive, normal and the authority (Berry, 2015; Miller, 2015). Therefore, to centre blackness and black experiences is to foreground that which has traditionally been sidelined, contributing to a more well-rounded and inclusive knowledge base.

Furthermore, oftentimes standardised measures are used in the evaluation process of reconciliation resulting in limited and often biased results. Hence, the choice of a qualitative study focusing on the exploration of black South Africans' experiences will assist in filling these gaps.

1.3. Aims & Objectives

The overall aim of this study was to explore the lived experiences of black South Africans with regards to the notion of the 'rainbow nation' and 'reconciliation' following two and a half decades of democratic rule. This was achieved through the following objectives:

1.   By exploring how Black South African citizens over the age of 40 have experienced the rainbow nation and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa, in contrast to a history of apartheid.

2.   By developing an understanding of what the rainbow nation and reconciliation means in post-apartheid South Africa, couched in these experiences.

1.4. Thesis Statement

Since the abolition of apartheid there has been a lack of resolution and genuine reconciliation in South Africa, as there is a gap between the rhetoric of 'rainbowism' and reconciliation and the lived experiences of black people. This gap between the theory of a rainbow nation and

the reality can only be closed once the structural and economic legacy of apartheid is addressed, which requires multiple reconciliatory processes at multiple levels. However, the focus of reconciliatory research in South Africa and abroad is predominately centred around the prejudice reduction of the majority status (white people), ironically leaving black people on the sideline. Thus, in this study black South African citizens over the age 40 are likely to be in the best position to articulate their experiences as they have experienced the rainbow nation and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa in contrast with a history of apartheid and oppression.

1.5. Structure of the study

Chapter 2 provides a review of the pertinent literature. The chapter begins with literature focusing on the timeline and political processes that took place during apartheid leading to the breakdown of the apartheid state and thereafter the dawn of a post-apartheid South Africa. The impact and outcome of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and the unfinished business of the trauma of apartheid is also addressed. Allport's contact theory remains an undeniably valuable contribution to the discussion around reconciliation, hence the theory is discussed specifically in relation to the South African context and the country's unique challenges. Chapter 3 describes the interpretive phenomenological methodology used in this study including its phenomenological paradigmatic orientation, research process, sampling and criteria used for participants, research design, and the ethical considerations. Chapter 4 provides the results of the study with the core themes of *rainbow nation and reconciliation: theory vs reality* and how that counteracts *black consciousness* and my personal reflexive account. Integration of results with literature and discussion is continued in chapter 5. This includes the main argument that emerged that the black experience of the reality of living in South Africa is incongruent with the constructs of the 'rainbow nation' and 'reconciliation' that have dominated the narrative of post-1994 South Africa. The reality of post-apartheid South Africa is an unequal and divided country that requires additional work, compromise and discomfort to attain the rainbow nation as it is envisioned. Chapter 6 addresses the limitations, recommendations for future research and conclusions of the study.

CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review

2.1. Apartheid in South Africa

Apartheid, an institutionalised system of racial segregation, was formally introduced into South African legislation in 1948 (BBC, 2018; Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010). The system was devised and implemented by the National Party (NP), which, despite representing the white minority, were the holders of political power at the time (BBC, 2018). However, race-based imbalances of power and oppressive practices against the black population pre-date formalised apartheid policy which was predicated on a long history of enslavement, exploitation and inequality that can be traced back to its roots in colonisation by Dutch settlers in the 17th Century (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010). The roots and legacy of apartheid are therefore particularly deeply entrenched, on various levels—institutionally, attitudinally and systemically (Lemanski, 2004).

'Apartheid' is an Afrikaans term that, translated, means 'separateness' (Spaull, 2012). As a system, apartheid was aimed at dividing and separating that which was different—predominantly along racial lines—in order to enforce and maintain the social, political and economic control of the white minority over the black majority in South Africa. This separation took place at different levels with the enactment of various pieces of legislation in an attempt to regulate and control the movement and freedoms of those not designated as "white" according to the Population Registration Act of 1950 (Lowe, 2000; Maylam, 1995). The Group Areas Act of 1950, for example, solidified geographical separation by designating certain distinct residential areas for each race group (Lowe, 2000; Maylam, 1995). The most desired areas were reserved for white people, while black people were relegated to peri-urban townships resulting in widespread forced removals and relocations (Lemanski, 2004). Public spaces and services were further regulated by the Separate Amenities Act of 1953 which saw public beaches, pavement benches, bathrooms, and public transport, among others, segregated along racial lines (Spaull, 2012). Extending this forced separateness into the private domain, the Immorality Amendment Act of 1950 as well as the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 respectively criminalised sexual intimacy and marriage between races, making these acts punishable by imprisonment. The promotion of Bantu Authorities Act (1959) created 10 Bantustans (African homelands) which, in 1970, through the Bantu Citizenship Act made every black South African a 'citizen' of a Bantustan regardless of

actual residence (Maylam, 1995). This in turn excluded black people from being part of the South African political landscape (Maylam, 1995). The apartheid state, therefore, attempted through these institutionalised divide-and-conquer strategies to exert maximum control over every aspect of the lives of particularly black people in order to maintain its power, exclusively, through oppressive and draconian means.

A broader and longer-term goal of the apartheid state was "to create separate, and racially homogenous states, each of which would be ruled by its own people" (Spaull, 2012, p. 3). These states, depending on race, would have varied in national 'legitimacy', status and access to resources (Spaull, 2012). White states being most superior and legitimate, thereafter, indian, coloured and black states followed, in order of racial 'preference'. There was overall promotion of white Afrikaner nationalism and a broader white nationalism (Baines, 1998). The white South African identity was characterised by privilege and access to resources (Baines, 1998). In order to create and maintain this idealised privilege the apartheid government enforced order through state orchestrated violence, hostility, repression, and fear tactics (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2002). It can be argued that these were traumatic circumstances for Black South Africans (Adonis, 2018). In addition, gross human rights violations characterised by killings, torture and abductions were perpetrated against black people who were suspected of being 'disobedient' or 'terrorists' (Adonis, 2018). There was a systemic violence in the removal of dignity and choice of black people, severe ill treatment and legitimised overt racisms (Adonis, 2018). As a result, anti-apartheid activists concluded that "force had to be answered with force" (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2002, p. 1) by responding with demonstrations, revolts and acts of civil disobedience (BBC, 2018; Lowe, 2000). Prominent leaders and contributors to the revolts were the African National Congress (ANC), specifically *Umkonto We Sizwe*[2] (Gobodo- Madikizela, 2002). Umkonto We Sizwe, as the military wing of the ANC, was to a large degree responsible for such revolts deemed illegal by the apartheid state (Schraeder, 2001). Through the contributions of the ANC and other such coalitions, and international sanctions apartheid was disbanded and an all-inclusive constitution was established (BBC, 2018) and in 1994 the ANC was voted in as South Africa's first democratic government (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010). However, the institutions, systems and attitudes forged during apartheid have become deeply embedded in South African society, and continue to exert residual influence 25 years into democracy.

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[2] *Umkonto We Sizwe*, translated from isiXhosa, means 'Spear of the Nation'.

2.2 Post-apartheid South Africa

In an attempt to challenge and counteract apartheid-era logic the first democratic government promoted an ideological position enshrined in the Freedom Charter, a guiding document adopted by the ANC and its allies in 1955—that of non-racialism (Baines, 1998; Gqola, 2001). Non-racialism is defined as not involving racial factors or racial discrimination (Gqola, 2001). The ANC has repeatedly described itself as non-racial and non-racialism has been embedded in its policies since adopting the Freedom Charter (Beall, Gelb, & Hassim, 2005). However, the opposing argument is that non-racialism has prevented the country from adequately addressing the injustices of the past, leaving the disenfranchised open to continued disadvantage (Sharp, 2008).

South Africa is classified as an upper-middle income country although, within the country, stark economic contrasts continue to exist (Woolard, 2002). South Africa is regarded as one of the most unequal societies in the world due to a legacy of segregation, discrimination and the grossly skewed and unequal distribution of economic resources at the expense of the black population (Beall, Gelb & Hassim, 2005; Woolard, 2002). This is evidenced by Milazzo (2015, p. 8) who states that "white people, less than 10 percent of the population, own approximately 85 percent of the land, 85 percent of the entire economy, and over 90 percent of the largest companies". It has further been reported that approximately 90% of the poor in South Africa are Black (Spaull, 2013), suggesting that black people in South African carry—by far—the heaviest burden of poverty. In post-apartheid South Africa, living standards are highly correlated with race (Woolard, 2002). Although not exclusively so, poverty is heavily concentrated within the black population (Woolard, 2002). This is as a result of the NP's intentionality around providing superior services and resources to the white minority during apartheid (Woolard, 2002). As a result of this agenda, the government afforded fewer resources and jobs as well as an inferior education system—Bantu education—to the black population (Woolard, 2002). Schools that served white learners during apartheid are still largely functional and continue to serve predominately white learners (Spaull, 2013). These schools are often referred to as Model C schools that in the early 1990s opened up to black learners in a conditional and limited way (Hofmeyr, 2000). As a result, although these Model C schools are now deracialised they tend to be expensive, and geographically difficult-to-access for children residing in townships, excluding children

from poor black families. In contrast, schools that served exclusively black children during apartheid remain homogenously black. Moreover, these rural and township schools remain dysfunctional and are often incompetent in teaching the necessary skills that are required at each academic level, and for future prospects and economic advancement (Spaull, 2013). The legacy of apartheid, therefore, continues to exert an impact, influencing post-apartheid life and fuelling its intergenerational remnants.

Moreover, crime is one of South Africa's greatest challenges since 1994. The level of crime is amongst the highest in the world and has been linked to inequality and welfare distribution (Spaull, 2013). As a result of these factors, Beall et al (2005) and Besada (2007) have adopted the phrase 'fragile stability' to describe the state of South Africa following apartheid. They argue that 'stability' is evident in the non-racial democracy that has been formed, a democracy that faces no imminent threat (Beall et al, 2005). However, the country's fragility presents itself in the immense problems that South Africa faces, including poverty, crime and inequality that have not substantially improved since the dissolution of apartheid (Beall et al., 2005).

In the lead up to the 1994 elections, during the process of South Africa's transition from authoritarian leadership to democratic rule, a process of negotiated settlement between reformers in the ruling regime (NP) and moderators in the opposition (ANC and allies) was held (Adler & Webster, 1999). These negotiations took place in the context of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), a summit that facilitated the process of negotiation between all stakeholders, 19 parties and 400 negotiators, during this transitional space (Adler & Webster, 1999; De Klerk, 2002). Through this process there were concessions and compromises made in exchange for democracy (Adler & Webster, 1999; Rantete & Giliomee, 1992). As a result, the process of change was conservative, economically and socially (Adler & Webster, 1999; Rantete & Giliomee, 1992). Some scholars argue that a call for a more radical reform of a "disciplined and sophisticated social movement" could have resulted in different implications for the process of transition (Adler & Webster, 1999, p. 350). However, CODESA was the first public display of the re-building of a democratic South Africa by bringing parties together with the intention of reaching some kind of resolution (Adler & Webster, 1999). Although not positioned as such, this summit may be interpreted as a reconciliatory act. Therefore, it can be argued that this is where the national discourse on reconciliation was born.

2.3. Rainbow nation

As a significant part of the process of reconciliation and a tool to further the agenda of reconciliation, the concept of the rainbow nation was espoused. The rainbow nation may be interpreted as the packaging to sell the idea of reconciliation to the citizens of South Africa. It may be recognised as the then newly democratic state's attempt to foster and develop an equal, non-racial society (Gibson & Claassen, 2010) after many decades of race-based divisions and structural exclusions. The term 'rainbow nation' is symbolic in two different respects. Firstly, in Xhosa culture the rainbow represents hope and the promise of a brighter future (Baines, 1998). Secondly, a rainbow is a conglomerate of different colours that exist harmoniously together, representing the multiculturalism and diversity of South Africa's population (Baines, 1998). Hence, the intentions of the development of the construct of the 'rainbow nation' were to use factors that had previously divided the population, to unite and foster a broader national identity (Baines, 1998) and has "beguiled the world into trumpeting the miracle of the South African transition" (Habib, 1997, p. 16). However, there are an array of differing reflections and criticisms on the intentions and outcomes of the construct. Firstly, it has been argued that the term is used without a true appreciation of the political assumptions it makes (Habib, 1997). During the process of the TRC there were people within and outside of the Commission that warned against expecting too much too soon (Govier & Verwoerd, 2000). Govier and Verwoerd (2000) argue that all that could have been expected at that point was peace and no fighting. These critics were concerned about the imposition of an overly strong notion of reconciliation so quickly after the travesties of apartheid (Govier & Verwoerd, 2000). For example, Walker (2005, p. 142) found in his study at a historically white university that "older apartheid ideology had been subdued but not entirely defeated" which was reflected in the culture of the campus as well as so-called freedom of speech and racist discourse (Walker, 2005). Walker (2005) ascertains that to speak about transformation, otherwise described as the rainbow nation, is important and valuable, however, more deliberate attention is needed to foster change and challenge institutional structures. Furthermore, Habib (1997) has argued that not enough attention has been paid to the socio-economic variables that impact on the reconciliatory ideal, including the deracialisation of the economy. Hence, the term 'rainbow nation' may gloss over the work that is still required in order to develop a truly equal and reconciled nation. However, the rainbow nation has remained a foundational descriptor of the democratic South African identity. Additionally,

alongside this, in an attempt to mitigate the effects of anger, hate, hostility and vengeance, the first democratic government established the TRC as an exercise in healing and reconciliation.

2.4. Truth and Reconciliation Commission

The TRC was a socio-political process aimed at reconciling the oppressed and the oppressor (Kaminer, Stein, Mbanga, & Zungu-Dirwayi, 2001). The process of the TRC was based on a number of assumptions, including the idea that "knowledge promotes forgiveness and that reconciliation flows from truth" (Gibson & Gouws, 1999, p. 501). The Commission was to focus on three issues: establishing a complete picture of human rights abuses by allowing victims the opportunity to publicly speak about their abuses; granting amnesty to certain perpetrators; and making recommendations about possible reparations for victims of gross human rights violations (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2002). The TRC aimed to confront these issues through three TRC committees (Mohamed, 2011). The first was the Human Rights Violations Committee (HRVC), where victims and perpetrators of gross human rights violations gave public testimony. Secondly, the Amnesty Committee oversaw perpetrators applications for amnesty. Conditional amnesty was granted provided perpetrators fully disclosed their crimes, regardless of whether they offered an apology or showed remorse (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2002). Lastly, the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee formulated policy proposals and made recommendations around the reparations and healing strategies for the victims and their families (Mohamed, 2011).

The working assumption was that if one could begin to understand the thought process and reasoning behind the violence, then forgiveness and harmonious living between the perpetrators and victims would ensue (Gibson & Gouws, 1999). Another goal of the TRC was for "the process of giving testimony [to] serve a therapeutic function" (Kaminer et al., 2001, p. 373). In trauma recovery one of the most vital—although not exclusive—components to healing is verbalisation (Mohamed, 2011). The assumption, therefore, was that the TRC process provided for this healing through the testimonial processes of the hearings of the Commissions's HRVC (Mohamed, 2011). Hence, the TRC has produced reports that declare that the process was beneficial to those that suffered gross human rights abuses and is praised for being a tool for empowerment and for the healing—individual and collective—that is assumed was inherent in this process (Kagee, 2006).

2.5. Outcome of TRC

Studies have contributed to the evidence that there were short-term benefits to testifying before the TRC (Kaminer et al., 2001; Mohamed, 2011). However, the length and nature of the process were not comparable to that of a psychotherapeutic environment (Kaminer et al., 2001). Therefore, questions have been raised about whether long-term therapeutic benefits could have been realistically expected (Kagee, 2006). Moreover, scholars have questioned how effective the TRC actually was in reducing trauma and the psychological effects of apartheid atrocities (Kagee, 2006; Kaminer et al., 2001). It is significant to note, however, that although not reducing traumatic symptoms per se those who provided public testimony at the TRC have reported that the process impacted them positively, and held meaning for them (Mohamed, 2011).

Furthermore, it is important to consider the justice aspect of reconciliation. The TRC was part of the newly elected government's project of restoration in order to avoid retaliatory processes and continued cycles of violence. Restorative justice was therefore advanced over more traditional retributive justice processes—such as those involving the prosecution of apartheid crimes—in an attempt to repair the harm done by the offender through the collaborative efforts of all those affected by crimes or offenses (Gromet & Darley, 2009). Amnesty was one component of the restorative justice processes built into the TRC. However, paradoxically, the granting of amnesty may have been perceived or experienced by some—victims particularly—as an absence of justice, leading to possible lack of resolution especially where perpetrators may have been granted amnesty without meeting the requisite criteria, such as full disclosure (Gromet & Darley, 2009).

Moreover, the on-going trauma as well as social, political and economic problems in South African communities, post-TRC, could possibly have mitigated the short-term relief of the TRC (Kaminer et al., 2001; Kagee, 2006). Hence, the effects of the TRC have arguably been short-lived and research has shown that South Africans who participated in the process are largely dissatisfied with the material outcome (Gibson, 2005; Mohamed, 2011; Kagee, 2006). This incompleteness is reflected in the 2017 inquest into the 1971 death of Ahmed Timol, for example. Timol, an anti-apartheid activist, died in police custody at John Vorster Square Police Station in central Johannesburg. An inquest held at the time of his death ruled it as a suicide, claiming he had jumped from the tenth floor of the building (Huffpost, 2017). However, in October 2017, concluding a newly established inquest, Judge Billy Mothle ruled

that the late anti-apartheid activist was pushed to his death by security branch police officers, and was therefore murdered (Huffpost, 2017). These recent events are reflective of the potential incompleteness of prior reconciliatory processes, and lack of closure for victims of apartheid atrocities. It is possible that similarly to the Timol family, other victims and their families are still looking to finish what has been left unfinished, despite the aims of the TRC to provide reconciliation and healing (Samuel, 2018). An example of other potentially similar cases includes Ashley Kriel, otherwise known as 'Action Kommandant' (Daily Maverik, 2018; Cloete, 2016). In 2016 uMkhonto We Sizwe Military Veterans and the Kriel family called for an inquest into the death of Ashley Kriel, as they believe that what was disclosed at the TRC was not the whole truth (Cape Argus, 2018). In 1997, Jeffery Benzien—member of the apartheid-era security police—testified at the TRC and was granted amnesty for Kriel's death (Daily Maverik, 2018). However, Benzien was found to have committed perjury during the inquest proceedings and the Kriel family have reportedly found new evidence to prove murder (Daily Maverik, 2018). The Kriel family have seemingly not found closure, healing or answers, which was the aim of the TRC. Hence, their continued pursuit. This example speaks to a shortcoming of the TRC because the accuracy and legitimacy of the testimonies given as "accounts of personal experiences were not corroborated on their truthfulness" (Du Pisani & Kim, 2004, p. 81). Propagated by Archbishop Tutu priests were a dominant presence throughout the TRC, thus it is argued that there was an emphasis placed on Christian ideals of confession and absolution rather than on truth and facts (Du Pisani & Kim, 2004). Furthermore, another limitation of the TRC was that it was not representative of the entire South African population. Those indirectly affected by the violence were excluded, as the victim-perpetrator dichotomy served as the core of the commission's proceedings (Du Pisani & Kim, 2004). This may also have excluded apathetic people, mostly white, who may have felt they could not relate to the TRC process as well as some black people who rejected the TRC as a "partisan body representing the ANC's view of history" (Du Pisani & Kim, 2004, p. 81). Alongside these shortcomings is the fact that the processes within the TRC were limited in dealing with longer-term effects of trauma bringing about the so-called unfinished business of the trauma of gross human violations.

2.6. Unfinished Business of Trauma

One cannot discuss the effects of apartheid without discussing the residual impact of trauma or the so-called unfinished business of trauma. Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela explores the unfinished business of trauma specific to the South African context. She explains how

"those who have been traumatised are vulnerable to falling into a mode of psychological repetition of the aggression they suffered" in order to make sense of their experiences and reclaim the sense of agency and humanity that was stripped away in the moment of trauma (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2002, p. 14). She explores the necessity of forgiveness when the perpetrators and victims live alongside each other in order for trauma to be processed and worked through (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008b). Cathy Caruth formulates trauma as an 'unclaimed experience' which cannot be fully known due to the victim's experience of the event as too overwhelming, making it unavailable to consciousness (Caruth, 1996). Thereafter, the experience takes on an intrusive form and imposes itself onto the victim in an attempt to process and make sense of it (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008a). When the memories remain unclaimed, and therefore unresolved, they dominate the mental life of the victim and return as 'behavioural enactments' (Caruth, 1996) or 'psychological repetitions' (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2002). Re-enactments can be viewed as expressions of what cannot be spoken and are thus 'unclaimed', and due to this they exist only at an unconscious level (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008a). However, whether victims engage with these re-enactments meaningfully depends on a complex set of factors (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2002). Being afforded positive experiences through a process, therapeutic in nature, not necessarily therapy, can assist in mending the humiliation that was suffered and help restore the victim's sense of identity and humanity (Godobo-Madikizela, 2002).

The suggested process of working through trauma occurs at three levels (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008a). The first is witnessing through language, which is the verbal or literary testimony of trauma in the presence of an audience (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008a). The second is witnessing on an internal level, referring to the processing of and working through the trauma, its meanings and repercussions, internally (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008a). At this second level—when not engaged with meaningfully—the trauma can become intergenerational because the unprocessed trauma, fear and anger strips the hated group of human qualities, which is unconsciously transmitted to the younger generation (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008a). The potential stagnation here is because each generation will operate from the same place, as past traumas have been proven to evoke the same emotional reaction as previously (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008a; Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008b). The third level is where the "perpetrators, through their own presence and participation as listeners in public testimony can provide another level of witnessing" (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008a, p. 176). It is described as the 'dance of witnessing trauma' (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008a). Both steps one

and three are the processes that took place through the TRC. Through the dance of witnessing, victims are given the opportunity to face the trauma of their unfinished business that has caused a rupture within them (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008a). Importantly, through the confrontation with the perpetrator the victim is rehumanised and reclaims their own humanity through the perpetrator's remorse, if expressed (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008a). Gobodo-Madikizela (2008a) explains the importance of this interaction as dehumanisation of the self and others opens up the possibility of retaliation or revenge against those who are considered enemies. It follows, therefore, that rehumanisation is an important component of moving forward towards resolution and reconciliation.

The *process* of forgiveness, according to Gobodo-Madikizela (2008b), is more important than the *outcome* of granting or being granted forgiveness because this requires the participation of both victims and perpetrators in dialogue, and commitment to a difficult process (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008b). Hence this leaves South Africans with further potential criticisms of processes such as the TRC. The first is the possibility that both parties were not as committed and invested in the process of healing traumas in a process that requires joint responsibility. The victims are often viewed as more committing to the process than the perpetrators (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008a). Hence, although research results show that participants in the TRC did attest to having a positive experience (Mohamed, 2011), on numerous levels it seems that the TRC did not attain what the newly democratic state aimed to achieve. The process of forgiveness and reconciliation may have not been accomplished in its entirety. Hence, the discontent of victims following the TRC may be a manifestation of the unfinished business of trauma, which may be an indication of the state of reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa.

2.7. Reconciliation

Reconciliation is characterised as a "process of transformation for both sides in a conflict" (Batts, 2005, p. 3). 'Racial reconciliation', specifically, is the process of transformation and integration for all race groups involved (Gibson & Claassen, 2010). This process is critical in any strategy for change in multicultural societies. Racial reconciliation requires the reconstruction of a multicultural society as opposed to the non-racial assimilation of one group into the dominant culture (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010). The process of recognition, understanding and appreciating one's own culture as well as the culture of others necessitates the process of reconciliation (Batts, 2005). Furthermore, this allows people in

different positions to understand the impact that 'social location' has on one's life (Batts, 2005). While South Africa has attempted to traverse this through the democratisation process and beyond, research has reflected the limitations of post-apartheid cross-cultural understanding and appreciation calling into question the level of success achieved in these endeavours (Dixon, et al., 2010; Seekings, 2008; Sharp, 2008).

Research on reconciliation in South Africa has, however, been limited to investigating factors such as stereotyping, social distance and emotional tolerance. While this research has demonstrated a steady decline in white South Africans' prejudices towards other racial groups (Dixon, et al., 2010; Seekings, 2008), such research is seemingly narrow in its focus by measuring only the prejudice reduction of the majority-status or in-group; in this case, White South Africans (Pettigrew, 1998; Holtman et al., 2005; Hook, 2012). Hence, social psychologists have urged that these findings be interpreted cautiously (Dixon et al., 2010). Therefore, through exploring the experiences of the minority status (black South Africans) in relation to racism, reconciliation and the rainbow nation this study aims to fill the gap of a seemingly skewed body of research.

2.8. Intergroup Contact in Post-apartheid South Africa

After 1994 there was significant interest in studying intergroup relations and contact in the new South Africa. These studies vary but include mainly observational methods in naturalistic settings, specifically in public places such as South African universities and beaches (Durrheim & Dixon, 2010; Koen & Durrheim, 2010; Schrieff, Tredoux, Dixon, & Finchilescu, 2005; Tredoux & Finchilescu, 2007). For example, Schrieff et al (2005) conducted a study at a University of Cape Town residence dining hall during dinner. The research findings concluded that black and white students in university residences self-segregated in a shared dining room, both at macro-spatial and micro-spatial levels (Durrheim & Dixon, 2010; Koen & Durrheim, 2010; Schrieff et al., 2005; Tredoux & Finchilescu, 2007). What was particularly interesting in the study is that patterns of segregation were relatively stable over time as the different race groups occupied the same tables consistently (Schrieff et al., 2005). This speaks to a rigidity of the informal segregation.

Similar patterns were observed in a longitudinal observational study conducted in undergraduate tutorial groups at a South African university (Alexander & Tredoux, 2010). The researchers hypothesised that the more formalised nature of tutorial groups—as opposed

to the more informal nature of a residence dining hall—would result in less segregation (Alexander & Tredoux, 2010). However, findings revealed that seating patterns were still significantly segregated making the probability for interracial contact in the tutorial classroom very low (Alexander & Tredoux, 2010). Similar levels of segregation were found in Dixon and Durrheim's (2003) earlier beach study. Moreover, a significant finding of this study was that the influx of black holiday-makers specifically on Boxing Day and New Year's Day resulted in a decrease in the number of white holiday makers (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003). This suggests that there may have been an intentional avoidance of interracial contact and preference for intra-racial interaction amongst white beachgoers.

Although the above studies have been largely observational, their findings are supported by other empirical research in the South African context. Schrieff et al. (2005), for example, found that segregation amongst race groups was experienced by black students as exclusionary. Informants revealed that, despite the appearance of 'segregated but harmonious co-living' of race groups, intergroup relations were tense (Schrieff et al., 2005). The research uncovered that black students understood intergroup relations on campus to be regulated by 'unspoken rules' to remain apart as an act of a deliberate distance maintained by white students (Schrieff et al., 2005). Furthermore, Durrheim and Dixon's (2010) research revealed that on average 45% of black people have no casual contact (outside the home) with white people and 60% have no intimate contact with white people. There is evidence therefore that the principle-implementation gap is persistent in post-apartheid South Africa (Dixon, Durrheim , & Tredoux, 2007; Dixon, et al., 2010). Although the principle of racism and segregation is no longer endorsed, in practice there is strong opposition to "interventions such as affirmative action, educational quotas, and land restitution" (Dixon et al., 2007, p. 871; Durrheim & Dixon, 2010). Hence, there is seemingly a gap between the idealisation of a reconciled state and the rainbow nation, and the reality of the South African population.

2.9. Contact Theory and its applicability to the South African context.

For the most part, the studies discussed above are theoretically based on Allport's contact theory which became a staple in research and thinking around reconciliation (Bornman, 2010). According to contact theory prejudice is a result of ignorance (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). Therefore, to reduce prejudice there needs to be a reduction of ignorance through intergroup contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). Allport's hypothesis proposes four optimal conditions for contact to be effective in reducing prejudice. Namely, equal status,

common goals, no competition between groups and that intergroup contact is sanctioned by an authority (system in power) (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). Allport proposes that under these optimal conditions, the historically oppressed and their oppressors can achieve reconciliation (Pettigrew, 1998). Contact theory aims to unify minority and majority status groups (Pettigrew, 1998). The theory highlights that "societies suffering intergroup conflict both restrict and undercut intergroup contact" (Pettigrew, 1998, p. 80) which, as a result, hinders reconciliation.

In the South African context only one of Allport's proposed conditions has been met as authorities (the state and its institutions) have sanctioned integration and intergroup relations in South Africa. The remaining three conditions are, however, not met. In principle, all South Africans have equal rights to South Africa's resources, but in practice the disparity between black and white has not changed significantly since 1994 (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010). In fact, it has been argued that income distribution across racial groups has worsened since 1994 (Van der Berg & Louw, 2004; Keeton, 2014). Furthermore, all South Africans of different races and cultures are not working towards a common goal, which is Allport's second proposed requirement. The majority of the black population continues to struggle for socio-economic freedom and equality, with a black middle-class minority compared to the white population (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010; Van der Berg & Louw, 2004). The white population is largely already socio-economically established and secure based, historically, on exclusive access to resources and wealth (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010). In contrast to the apartheid era where the majority of resources were allocated to the white minority, currently there is greater competition between groups as there are limited resources available now more freely to everyone which is Allport's third condition (Banerjee, Galiani, Levinsohn, McLaren, & Woolard, 2008). Since the abolition of the apartheid system, there is an increased supply of black labour (Banerjee et al., 2008), resulting in increased intergroup and intragroup competition for limited resources. Hence, Allport's contact hypothesis is perhaps not sufficiently applicable in a South African context and findings of studies based on this should be interpreted cautiously (Dixon et al., 2010). Therefore, increased 'contact' does not necessarily amount to greater racial integration (Vincent, 2008). This is true in South Africa as whiteness is valued more (Vincent, 2008) which amounts to privilege that allows white people to navigate the world in a certain way. Vincent (2008) argues that this in turn results in white people benefiting more from interracial interactions than black people, who experience the reinforcement of expectations of white privilege. Hence, it could be argued

that intergroup contact under these current conditions is doing more harm than good given that studies have demonstrated that intergroup contact can have negative consequences under 'unfavourable' conditions (Holtman, Louw, Tredoux, & Carney, 2005).

As a result, the various studies conducted in South Africa within the contact framework may be limited in their results because of their grounding in a theory that may not necessarily be sufficiently applicable in the South African context. Therefore, in order to understand reconciliation, a qualitative exploration may be helpful. Through this type of research, participants share their individual experiences through the lens that reality is a subjective phenomena (Groenewald, 2004). Therefore, theory is not imposed on the reality but, instead, reality is allowed to guide the presentation thus allowing for an experience-near empirical account of reconciliation. Thus, the use of qualitative exploration in this study was an attempt to address a gap in literature that allows the research to go beyond the limitations of studies framed within Contact Theory. This has allowed for more textured contribution to the scholarship that has explored new or lesser explored experiences.

2.10. Conclusion

Although there is a gap between the ideal and the reality of the rainbow nation, from the end of apartheid in 1994 until the present day there has been progress made in dispersal and shifts in resources, demographics of those in political power and attitude changes. This progress is further observable in a common national identity that South Africans take pride in, and identify with, despite diverse social identities (Zuma, 2012). Soudien (2010) argues that since 1994, race is in a more dependent relationship with other factors in prescribing status, class being a more central factor. There are new conditions for the distribution of power in the country observable in the political landscape of the ANC's leadership (Soudien, 2010) and rapid growth of the black elite and black middle class (Seekings, 2008). Furthermore, there has been an implementation of affirmative action, land redistribution and policies of black economic empowerment in business with the aim of addressing economic disadvantage (Dixon, et al., 2010; Seekings, 2008). In addition, there has been a deracialisation of education and the labour force (Seekings, 2008). Therefore, it is important to acknowledge the progress made. However, the missteps committed and what is still left to be done are also aspects of the assessment process of progress since 1994. Through this research I hope to delve into these explorations and illuminate the significant findings.

CHAPTER THREE: Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter the methodology of the current study will be discussed in-depth, specifically the ways in which the methods will address the aims of the study. Furthermore, in this chapter I set out to expand and explain some theoretical background on phenomenology and thereafter, discuss the methodology employed in the study. I will explore qualitative research design, the data collection method and data analysis as part of the thematic analysis procedure. I end this chapter by discussing ethical considerations and reflexivity.

The aim of the study was to explore the lived experiences of black South Africans with regards to the notion of the 'rainbow nation' and 'reconciliation' following almost two and a half decades of democratic rule. I attempted this by: 1) exploring how Black South Africans have experienced reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa and; 2) by developing an understanding of what the rainbow nation and reconciliation means in post-apartheid South Africa, couched in these experiences. It was concluded that the most appropriate way to achieve these aims would be through a phenomenological framework.

3.2. Research Paradigm

Due to the specific aims mentioned above, and the exploratory nature of the research it was concluded that phenomenology would be the most appropriate approach for this study. Edmund Husserl espoused phenomenology (Byrne, 2006); he rejected the belief that "objects in the external world exist independently and that the information about objects is reliable" (Groenewald, 2004, p. 43). He argued that we can only know things in our personal consciousness and that anything outside of that is not the individual's reality (Groenewald, 2004). Hence, reality is a subjective phenomenon (Groenewald, 2004), and the phenomenon differs depending who is consulted. Husserl was deeply influenced by Franz Brentano's theory of the 'intentional nature of consciousness' which, it has been argued, formed the basis of Husserl's phenomenology (Groenewald, 2004).

Extending Husserl's more descriptive phenomenological approach, Heidegger proposed an interpretive phenomenology which embodies two imperative concepts—historicality of understanding and the hermeneutic circle (Koch, 1995). Historicality refers to

an individual's history or background, which is what culture gifts an individual from their birth (Koch, 1995). In Heidegger's view, nothing can be understood or encountered unless reference is made to an individual's background (Koch, 1995). The hermeneutic circle describes the process of understanding something as a whole through its different, individual parts (Koch, 1999). The hermeneutic circle is a combination of background and co-constitutionality (Koch, 1995). Background stresses the fact that phenomena must be interpreted within its cultural and historical context (Koch, 1995). Moreover, co-constitutionality is the "indissoluble unity" of the person and world (Koch, 1995). This means that we are both constructed by the world we live in as well as construct this world from our background and history (Koch, 1995). Hence the process is multifaceted and simultaneous.

Interpretive phenomenology challenged Husserl's assumptions (Pringle, Drummond, McLafferty, & Hendry, 2011). Heidegger rejected Husserl's thoughts on the necessity of objectivity thus eliminating the possibility of bracketing from the practice of interpretive phenomenology. Husserl argued that to objectively describe phenomena one needs to set aside preconceived notions (bracketing) (Byrne, 2006; Koch, 1995). Heidegger, on the other hand, purported that this is not possible, as gender, culture, history and related experiences prevent objectivity (Byrne, 2006). Therefore, these experiences should be acknowledged and included in the research work. This implies that the work is integrative not aggregative and highly reflective of the researcher's and participants' experiences (Koch, 1995; Smith & Osborn, 2008). Additionally, double hermeneutics is also involved in interpretive phenomenology. The research process involves a two-way or two-stage interpretation between the participants' experiences and the researcher's interpretation of their experiences (Smith & Osborn, 2008; Reiners, 2012). Hence, data is interpreted and re-interpreted as part of the research process (Annells, 1996). Rather than bracketing, my subjectivity and subjective experiences were accounted for in the process through practicing reflexivity.

This methodology is appropriate for this research due to the exploratory nature of the research (Groenewald, 2004). Moreover, phenomenologists believe that truth and understanding can emerge from people's life experiences (Byrne, 2006), which is the aim of the study, to understand the lived experiences of black people to ascertain their meaning.

3.2.1 Research Design
Phenomenological philosophy has given rise to phenomenological methodology, which is the methodological approach for this research. Phenomenology is the study of

phenomena (Groenewald, 2004), particularly social and psychological phenomena (Goulding, 2005). Phenomena understood in this context are the different realities people experience (Groenewald, 2004), which are equally 'real' and legitimate. I aimed to identify and interpret meanings of the numerous experiences of a phenomenon (Annells, 1996). Subsequently this data can then be used to reach a consensus about those experiences (Annells, 1996). In this research the phenomena being explored are the rainbow nation and reconciliation. The research explored the nature of the phenomena and the participants' lived experiences thereof.

In keeping with a phenomenological framework, the study made use of an exploratory qualitative research design. Exploratory research is understood as information gathering in an informal and unstructured manner (De Langen, 2009) and is not specific to any paradigm. Moreover, it is often applied when a new area is being studied or little is known about the area in question (De Langen, 2009). It is open-ended and allows exploration of the full nature of the phenomenon.

3.3. Participants

Participants for this study were recruited through both purposive and snowball sampling methods. Due to the centeredness of phenomenology around a heterogeneous group who have all experienced a particular phenomenon (Creswell, 2007), purposive sampling was my initial sampling method. Purposive sampling is the deliberate, non-random selection of participants based on specific characteristics that they possess that are necessary for the study (Tongco, 2007). The sampling method was as follows: I advertised the study through posters (Appendix A) at Itsoseng clinic, Mamelodi, Pretoria. Mamelodi was initially chosen as a fitting space for recruitment of participants because the clinic represents a particular geographic and social milieu. The population consists of black people who belong to the middle/lower socioeconomic class demographic. Although Itsoseng Clinic was used as the site for recruitment, participants were not clients of the clinic but instead were the parents, family members, spouses and friends of these clients. The potential participants contacted me (the researcher) telephonically or through e-mail which was detailed on the posters. Following this, potential participants were 'screened' telephonically to ensure that inclusion criteria were met. If eligible, during this initial contact, I invited participants for an interview. Thereafter during this contact or a second contact a suitable date and time were allocated for the interview. I sent participants a text message the day before the allocated interview session

as a reminder. These participants were also asked if they could inform anyone they knew that may be interested in the research and is likely to fit the criteria, about the research. Snowball sampling was therefore also implemented as a method of recruiting participants with similar characteristics and experiences in order to supplement participants initially selected through the purposive sampling strategy. Snowball sampling is the recruiting of potential participants through word of mouth or referral by preexisting participants (Creswell, 2007). For this second wave, existing participants informed other potential participants about the study and thereafter these potential participants volunteered themselves through a phone call and were then screened for inclusion. Thereafter, a location and time most suitable for the participant was organised in order to conduct the interview. Five participants were recruited in total for the study, as suggested by Smith & Eatough (2007) for studies using a phenomenological framework. A greater number of participants were recruited through snowball sampling than the initial purposive sampling, however. While participants may not have been first language English speakers, they were required to be able to communicate effectively in English although the phenomenological nature of the study would submit that the interviewees use their first language for the interviews. Phenomenology highlights language and the importance and value in how it is used in understanding subjective experiences of phenomena. However, due to the time frame of a masters mini-dissertation and the limited resources I had access to, I felt I would not be able to do justice to the process of transcribing and translation, and important meaning would be lost in the translations.

The inclusion criteria for participation were as follows: black (African, Coloured and Indian) South African citizens, who have lived experiences of the rainbow nation and reconciliation. The participants were required to be adults over the age of 40, as people in this age range transitioned through 1994 and are more likely therefore to have had a substantial experience of both apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. This is important for the study as the experience of the rainbow nation and reconciliation is in contrast with a history of apartheid and oppression. Therefore, the exploration of the process of ongoing reconciliation in relation to the former apartheid state is important. This can only take place with people who have an experience of both. Hence, my sample consisted of black South Africans 40 and over with no restrictions on socio-economic status or gender. A summary of the participants is provided in Table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1

Research Participants:

Participant	Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Race	Personal Information
1	Lindiwe	54	Female	African	Lindiwe was unemployed at the time of the interview but had previously worked in Human Resources. She is the mother of 3 children and is married.
2	Sifiso	41	Male	African	Sifiso is employed at a major bank in Johannesburg and works at a junior level in the investment banking division. He is single with no children
3	Patience	41	Female	African	Patience is self-employed as a hairdresser at a salon which she owns and manages. She is married with three children. She resides in Soweto and works in the North of Johannesburg.
4	Rose	40	Female	Coloured	At the time of the interview Rose was employed as a hair stylist at the salon Patience owns. She resides in Eldorado Park. She is single with two children.

5	Thandeka	55	Female	African	At the time of the interview Thandeka was employed as the head of Human Resources at a major insurance company in Johannesburg. She is remarried with two adult children. She resides in the Northern suburbs of Johannesburg.

3.4. Data collection

I collected data through in-depth semi-structured interviews (Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith & Eatough, 2007). This data collection method was appropriate for this research as interviews can be intimate, thus, providing a facilitating space for the sharing of personal information (Kajoornboon, 2005). Moreover, it allowed for probing of interesting information that may have arisen and allowed the opportunity for me (the interviewer) to enter the psychological and social world of the interviewee (Smith & Osborn, 2008). This was an appropriate method of data collection for this research as I was able to carefully and non-threateningly initiate the 'discussion' around a sensitive, potentially difficult topic. Moreover, through the semi-structured interviews, participants were given the space to bring in narratives that were unique to their experience. The aim was to provide a safe space and this could be achieved through these interviews. However, power dynamics of the interviewer-interviewee were not to be overlooked or diminished within the interview (Kvale, 2006). Although I am also a black South African, the implications of the interviewer-interviewee power imbalance during the interview was observed and is explored in the rigour section of this chapter.

More specifically, I used semi-structured interviews to create a more natural rapport, as these are flexible enough so as not to lead the participants in any specific direction but offers sufficient guidance through the use of an interview schedule (Wilson & MacLean, 2011; Storey, 2007). The interview schedule (Appendix B) was informed by the literature review, current affairs in South Africa and the research question. Each interview lasted between 1 hour and 1 hour 30 minutes as recommend for research using thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I conducted interviews in a private room at the Itsoseng clinic or in a private room at the relevant home or place of employment of the specific participant, depending on their preference. I used a digital audio-recorder alongside a note pad to record the data, with consent. Thereafter, the interviews were transcribed verbatim by the researcher.

3.5. Data Analysis

I used thematic analysis (TA) as the data analysis method. This is most appropriately used when aiming to understand the nature of a specific phenomena for a group of people (Joffee, 2012). Through this conceptualisation TA explores subjective experiences (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For these reasons it is argued that TA is well suited to a phenomenological paradigm (Joffee, 2012) as the researcher's role in phenomenology is to identify and interpret

meanings of the numerous constructions of a phenomenon (Annells, 1996). TA is a method of analysing qualitative data that is widely used in numerous disciplines as it aims to "detect the most salient patterns of content in interview, media and imagery content" (Joffee, 2012, p. 221).

This method of analysis includes six stages to produce a set of themes relevant to the data. The process began with the transcription of the interviews. Once the interviews were transcribed, I familiarised myself with the data as the first step (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This required that I engaged with active repeated reading, whilst being aware of preliminary patterns and meanings during the readings (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thereafter, step two required that I began generating initial codes, manually, in the data in order to identify features that were of particular relevance or interest to the specific research topic (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Step three involved organising these codes into potential themes and subthemes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thereafter, themes faced on-going review and refinement to develop coherent and relevant themes as the fourth step (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The themes were defined and named, and represented on a 'final table of themes' in step five (see Appendix C; Braun & Clarke, 2006). Finally, I wrote up a final analysis (Chapter 4) providing sufficient evidence for the themes in the form of extracts from the interviews (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

- Familiarising oneself with the data. — Step 1
- Generating initial codes in order to identify features. — Step 2
- Searching for themes and subthemes. — Step 3
- Themes faced ongoing review and refinement. — Step 4
- Themes were defined and named as represented on a 'final table of themes'. — Step 5
- A final analysis was then written up as the 'results' section. — Step 6
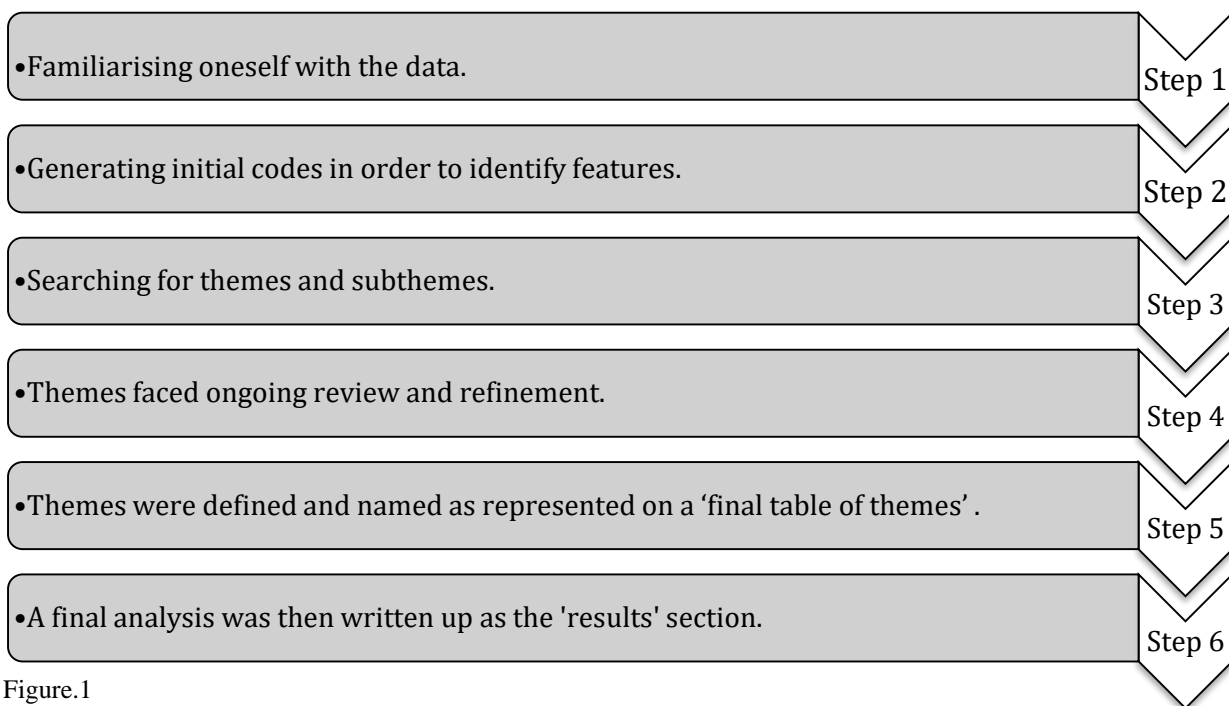
Figure.1

3.6. Ethical Considerations

3.6.1. Informed consent

Informed consent forms part of the respect for participants' rights to be fully informed about the study they will be partaking in and the right to freely decide if they want to participate in the study or withdraw at any time (Orb, Eisenhauer, & Wynaden, 2001). Informed consent ensures the autonomy of the participants (Orb, Eisenhauer, & Wynaden, 2001). Therefore, I gave participants a detailed consent form (Appendix D) prior to the interviews and also explained the purpose of the study and what was required of participants in detail, verbally (Van Maanen, 1995). I informed participants that participation in the study is entirely voluntary, and that they could withdraw from the study at any point in the process, without any untoward consequences. Moreover, they were made aware that they could refuse to answer any questions they deemed uncomfortable.

3.6.2. Confidentiality and Privacy

Under the beneficence principle of ethics is the confidentiality of the participants in order to protect them against any potential repercussions for taking part in the study (Orb, Eisenhauer, & Wynaden, 2001). I conducted face-to-face interviews with the participants, so their identities are not anonymous to me as the researcher. However, the identities of the participants have and will remain confidential in the transcript, final report and any other research outputs through the use of pseudonyms and concealment of other identifying information.

3.6.3. Harm to subjects

3.6.3.1. Emotional Risk. When conducting research, for the protection of human subjects, one must weigh the risk to benefit ratio (Emanuel, Wendler, Killen, & Grady, 2004). The ratio should be favourable, as the risks should not surpass the benefits of the study (Emanuel et al., 2004). The benefits of this study include having contributed to a study that aims to voice the experiences of a previously disadvantaged and disempowered group of people. Moreover, the telling or retelling of experiences, within a safe, non-judgemental and open space, may have served a cathartic purpose. Due to the fact that phenomenology is highly integrative, personal and involved, and the topic is emotionally charged, there was a possible risk of emotional distress. This risk could put both the participants and me as the researcher at risk for emotional harm. However, there were precautions put in place to protect participants from emotional harm—see section 3.6.4 below.

3.6.4. Debriefing of subjects

After the interviews I debriefed the participants. I asked the participants to reflect on their experiences of the interview as a way of concluding and debriefing the process. If participants experienced emotional or psychological discomfort that could not be contained in the moment they were referred to the Itsoseng Psychology Clinic as priority clients where they could receive psychological support and debriefing at no cost. Furthermore, my contact details were given out if any participants wished to discuss matters further and I supplied each participant with a copy of the consent form to take home, with all the necessary details.

3.7 Rigour

Rigour is "the authoritative evaluation of good research and the unspoken standard by which all research is measured" (Davies & Dodd, 2002, p. 280). Rigour or trustworthiness is therefore a measure of validity in qualitative research (Shenton, 2004). I provided for trustworthiness through checking the congruence of my research with studies that have a comparable topic, in-depth input and feedback from my supervisor, the debriefing portion of the interviews, and through conducting member checks with participants to ensure that the findings represent their experiences accurately (Shenton, 2004). Furthermore, in this research I provided for rigour through the acknowledgement of my subjectivity, through reflexive work of my own experiences of the topic (Smith & Eatough, 2007) and provided for rigour through transparency at every step of the process.

3.7.1. Reflexivity.

Reflexivity speaks to the researcher's influence on the research process and findings (Ryan, 2005) and how one can approach the matter in a manner that provides for the rigour of the research. Reflexivity engages with the difficulty of one's subjectivity becoming entangled in the lives of others (Mauthner & Doucet, 2009) and blindly affecting the results. Hence, the importance for me, as the researcher, to engage in continuous self-critique and self-appraisal during all stages of the research process (Dowling, 2006)

3.7.1.1 Epistemological reflexivity. "Epistemological reflexivity encourages the researcher to reflect upon the assumptions (about the world, about knowledge) that are made in the course of the research" (Dowling, 2006, p. 11; Ryan, 2005). Hence, it requires me to engage with questions such as: How has the research question defined and limited what can be 'found'? (Ryan, 2005). Through this process I was able to remain considerate about the potential implications of these assumptions and their impact on the research (Ryan, 2005).

My assumption about the world is that we live in an oppressive, unequal society where knowledge circulates in privileged circles. This revealed itself in my choice of black participants and phenomenological point of departure. Hence, throughout the process I aimed to achieve epistemological reflexivity through keeping a journal and remaining accountable through my supervisor.

   3.7.1.2 Personal reflexivity. Personal reflexivity revolves around self-awareness and explores the tension between self as the 'object' facilitating the research and as the subject involved in, or part of, the research (Dowling, 2006). This tension can be alleviated by acknowledging my subjectivity and the implications thereof on the study. It is critical to reflect on my own conflicts, feelings and actions within the research process. I am a black South African and have experiences of reconciliation and the rainbow nation that produce anger. This anger has had an effect on my interpretations and interactions throughout the research process. My general experience of reconciliation in South Africa is one of incongruence and disappointment. I am particularly aware of the limitations and failures of the 'rainbow nation' construct. Therefore, in the interviews I found it more natural to focus on and explore the anger and disappointment responses whereas I found that the positive responses distanced the participant. As the interviews progressed I had to be vigilant of the potential to collude with participants or nonverbally limit their expression of positive experiences. Furthermore, during the interpretation of the results the task of interpreting the interviews proved trying in the sense that I had to remain aware and accountable at every step about assumptions I may have been making about the interviewees based on my feelings and experiences. Moreover, my supervisor helped keep me accountable and aware of any unknown underlying potential biases.

   Furthermore, I am a young black female who interviewed participants older than myself with English as the primary language of communication. This most likely had an effect on the dynamics of the interaction and the results. Due to the history of the continent, the use of the English language is political and therefore, may have had implications in these interviews. English arrived on African soil through British colonisation (Gough, 1996). As a result of imperialist powers English held more status than native languages (Brock-Utne & Holmorsdottir, 2004; Gough, 1996). This attitude, similarly to many colonial values, has transcended the colonial era as English currently functions as a language of prestige and power prominent in schools, government and private corporations (Gough, 1996).

Alternatively, African languages carry with them solidarity and connection (Gough, 1996). Hence, using English as the prominent language of the interview between two black people who may likely speak the same African language may have resulted in some distancing. It may have also limited full access to some experiences and emotions that are coded in the respective African languages. Furthermore, research has ascertained that many South Africans are also concerned about the lack of promotion and development of African languages due to negative attitudes on the part of the speakers of African languages (Brock-Utne & Holmorsdottir, 2004). As a result, participants may have perceived me or the interaction as a rejection of African values and heritage. Moreover, the interactions may even function to perpetuate the privileging of Western values. This is of particular importance because of the nature of this research as the study of the experiences of a formally oppressed population. Therefore, in a similar fashion as epistemological reflexivity, I remained accountable and reflexive through exploration in my relationship with my supervisor and I kept a record of my experiences and emotions during the research process (Dowling, 2006). This was also in keeping with a interpretive phenomenological positioning which acknowledges the researcher's subjective experiences and historical influences, and requires reflexivity not to bracket out and exclude the assumptions stemming from these experiences, but to use those assumptions in order to inform and enrich the interpretations of the findings.

CHAPTER 4: Results

In this chapter I outline the findings of the study. The chapter is organised according to the themes that emerged from my analysis of the interviews conducted with participants aimed at exploring the lived experiences of black South Africans with regards to the notion of the 'rainbow nation' and 'reconciliation'. Furthermore the themes were motivated by the objectives of the study, firstly, by exploring how Black South African citizens over the age of 40 have experienced the rainbow nation and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa, in contrast to a history of apartheid, and secondly by developing an understanding of what the rainbow nation and reconciliation means in post-apartheid South Africa, couched in these experiences.

This chapter is divided into six sections each representing a main theme—subthemes are also discussed where these were identified. To conclude this chapter, there is a conclusion of the results section.

4.1. THEME 1: WHITE SUPREMACY & LOSS

The initial line of questioning resulted in a reflection of the black experience during apartheid that produced feelings of loss, and has resulted in residual experiences of loss following the end of apartheid. Moreover, there are subthemes that include loss safety and agency, and the loss of dignity.

4.1.1. Loss of Safety and Agency

The participants discussed how apartheid resulted in a loss of safety for the average South African. All of the participants gave examples of experiences that disrupted their sense of safety, because of the violence that became part of daily life such as, for example, the regular use of teargas and rubber bullets during township protests. Here I refer to an example by Patience where she speaks about "amasoja" (soldiers on horses) who would come and invade people's houses in the township looking for stolen goods without any evidence of wrongdoing. These acts by the state were deliberate with very specific psychological consequences for black people, with the intention of destabilising the population and encouraging fear and thus passivity (Lockhat & Niekerk, 2000). The consequences for the population were likely to include a sense of powerlessness and loss of control for the victims as "nothing was really constant" (Patience). Furthermore, beyond the individual loss of

power and agency, there was further powerlessness for people to protect their loved ones as is evident in the following extract from Lindiwe:

> *Mhmm and lives were lost as well. Lots of lives. So it was for a bigger*
> *cause but it was very scary and traumatic and deadly and very stressful for a*
> *whole lot of us and parents especially who didn't know what was going on.*

Through the interviews there are accounts of never being exempt from experiencing the turmoil and violence of the time. No space was safe for black people, regardless of age, as reflected in Patience's comment: "There was teargas, I was in sub A… grade 1". Patience's spontaneous recollection of these events 32 years after the event speaks possibly to the emotional impact it had on her younger self. This indirect violence seems to have had a long-lasting impact on Patience. At all ages black people in townships were exposed to this violence. There was loss of choice of what events people were exposed to or could protect themselves and their families from. Furthermore, other than the intrusiveness into the physical integrity of the individuals, the loss of agency and control also speaks to the sense of pervasiveness of the experiences of violation. Lindiwe explained how at university,

> *…they [police] would come up to the rooms of the protestors and*
> *protestors would be beaten up, sjambocked and scatter all over the show. It*
> *was scary, you didn't know it would happen when…*

This speaks to the unpredictability of life at the time—anxiety, uncertainty, instability, inconsistency—the repetition and chronicity of which is not conducive to psychological functioning or health (Friday, 1995; Osofsky, 1999). For adolescents and young adults these psychological consequences may include high rates of aggression, accompanied by anxiety, academic problems, and revenge seeking (Osofsky, 1999). Moreover, extreme cases can result in restricted emotional development and capacity (Osofsky, 1999). Gobodo-Madikizela (2002, p. 14) corroborates this by asserting that "those who have been traumatised are vulnerable to falling into a mode of psychological repetition of the aggression they suffered". Hence, trauma, without appropriate intervention, imposes itself on the mental life of the victim, contributing to psychological maladaptation (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2002). The disruption introduced into and maintained within the lives of the participants during apartheid could therefore be regarded as having potentially deleterious psychological consequences.

The agency of the participants was further intruded upon through the loss of ability to have authority over their daily life/tasks and, in the long-term, their personal or academic goals. Unpredictability as a result of the loss of agency was an experience of daily life during apartheid that was significant to the majority of participants and distressing to some. Participants reported how police would come onto university campuses and into schools unannounced. Rose recalls how "You'd be at school and suddenly at 11 o'clock, school was out" due to anticipation of looming police raids, reflecting Lindiwe's experience at university. According to Lindiwe and Patience's experiences of living in townships during this era, communication of strikes and protests would happen within a very limited time frame through messages sent in newspapers and pamphlets that were dropped onto the ground by helicopters. This resulted in black people in townships constantly living in anticipation of when next helicopters would fly over. Moreover, this meant that one could never be sure of the type of day one would have and the type of dangers that were looming. Unpredictability therefore became an inherent aspect of everyday life in townships during apartheid.

Moreover, Lindiwe explained how at university she was unable to write exams for two years because protests and violence disrupted the normal academic processes. Hence, even those who were not activists at the time were robbed of attending university and graduating within the required time frame. Thus, the time at university was extended, which meant a delay of time and loss of money in the process. This delay was interpreted as a further hurdle to creating a better life for themselves and their families which Lindiwe reports produced feelings of uncertainty and helplessness as reflected in the following statement:

[we were] *living in uncertain times…So we ended up losing a lot of time…and money* (Lindiwe).

Both Lindiwe's and Patience's experiences of postponed academic endeavours speak to the unpredictable nature of life at the time. As discussed above the unpredictability and threat of these on-going stressors may have contributed to experiences of trauma for these participants. Lindiwe describes her experiences as "scary, stressful and traumatic". Consequently, the loss of authority and agency is likely to have exacerbated the experiences of trauma reflecting Judith Herman's (1992) description of trauma as an affliction of the powerless. Hence, as Godobo-Madikizela (2002) asserts, being afforded positive experiences which contribute to the experience of agency and authority—and hence, empowerment—

through a process therapeutic in nature can assist in mending the humiliation that was suffered and help restore the victim's sense of identity and humanity. Alternatively, the continued loss of authority and agency is likely to be harmful and have the opposite effect, further exacerbating the trauma.

However, what was particularly thought provoking was that despite experiences of disruption to safety and agency on a daily basis, Rose reports, "I can't say anything bad happened". Hence, it seems that although not ideal, there was a normalcy around the dysfunction; the trauma became the new normal. Participants seemed to have become desensitised to the disruption caused by the daily intrusiveness and violation, perceiving only extreme acts such as direct violence or death as 'traumatic'. Daily life, despite its instability and contextual violence, was not experienced as the atrocities that they may be considered in retrospect. Therefore, because the worst (such as the death of a loved one) did not happen for most of the participants in this study, their immediate family remained relatively intact and 'safe' thus creating a protective illusion, of sorts, of normalcy in relation to the surrounding psycho-socio-political dysfunction. As a result of the normalising of on-going long-term dysfunction there are likely long-term implications on an individual and social level such as psychological and identity adaptations including passivity, withdrawal, dependence and the development of unstable and precarious identities (Eagle & Kaminer, 2013).

Although in diverse contexts and at various points in their lives, the participants in this study communicate similar experiences of loss of safety and agency. This may speak to the inevitability of the experience of black South Africans during that time related to the inescapability of the violence, lack of control and intrusiveness.

4.1.2. Loss of Dignity

Every participant commented on how apartheid robbed them of access that was given freely to their white counterparts. There was a loss of full access to certain 'public' spaces, for example. When reflecting on her experiences of apartheid Lindiwe recalls that on the bus "you could not sit until all the white people were seated". Furthermore, in Rose's experience, "when you go to shops they [white people] would be served first, they would be seated first". Rose then goes on to say that initially, as a young child, she remembers feeling distressed and questioning her mother about it, and her mother explaining that this was just how it worked.

She reports never really asking her mother about it again and, instead, learning about these dynamics by observing the world around her.

Thandeka reflects in the following extract on the discrepancy of the quality of segregated amenities as regulated at the time by the Separate Amenities Act of 1953 (Spaull, 2012),

> *Even just going by train there would be a side that would be so empty and clean and beautiful at the train stations [the white side] and then there would be another side where we were allowed to sit.*

Patience discusses how she was "so aware that you are less then. Your stuff was always dirty". It is evident in this reflection that through the loss of access to the same amenities as white counterparts, narratives of inferiority were regularly reinforced. The use of the word "always" by Patience emphasises the inevitability of these poor circumstances. As such there was a consistent denial of access to cleanliness and hygiene which may have imposed on black people's dignity by reinforcing the idea that dirty and unhygienic facilities is all they were worthy of. Thus, the message may have been communicated, and internalised, that black people did not deserve good things because they themselves were not worth anything as black people.

Dignity is characterised as that which is worthy of respect and is seen as valuable. General forms of dignity violations include humiliation, degradation and dehumanisation (Kaufmann, Kuch, Neuhauser & Webster, 2010) which are evident in the loss of access to resources and clean and hygienic amenities as experienced by participants in this study. Indignity is one manner in which oppression is enacted in a society (Batts, 2005). Hence, the apartheid philosophy—and its practices—was inherently a violation of the dignity of black people. A consequence of these indignities is internalised inferiority, because human beings form their self-concept from observing the world around them (Stets & Burke, 2000). Therefore, if this observation is that black people are exposed to humiliation, degradation and dehumanisation whilst white people are protected, nurtured and elevated then the conclusion that follows is the inherent inferiority of black people.

According to the participants the experience of loss existed on two levels. Firstly, the loss of protection against violence, whether direct or indirect, resulted in experiences of

unpredictability and powerlessness. Moreover, the participants expressed that the loss of agency and authority over their own lives and personal and academic aspirations, and activities, produced frustration and helplessness. However, in the context of apartheid South Africa these experiences were fairly normalised and accepted. It is only through the lens of post-apartheid human rights and dignities that participants are able to frame these experiences as profound indignities that potentially had substantial consequences. These consequences exist currently in post-apartheid South Africa. Whether socially, psychologically or otherwise, the consequences and longer-term effects of the disruption of safety, agency and dignity are a society that is riddled with challenges and inequities that may impact on the pace and progress of reconciliation in complex and multifaceted ways.

4.2. THEME 2: WHITENESS AND WHITE PRIVILEGE

The third theme that emerged during the interviews was the ways in which whiteness is experienced by the participants as problematic in post-apartheid South Africa. The first subtheme is *white privilege*, the second is a *lack of willingness to change* and lastly, *racism* revealed itself as a subtheme.

4.2.1. White privilege

Every participant spontaneously brought in the theme of white privilege. White privilege is discussed by Lindiwe as a protection, "the only thing I might say about the white people is that they don't realise how privileged they've been". Lindiwe here alludes to what she experiences as the ignorance of white people, suggesting that their privilege acts as a psychological protection that shields them from acknowledging the realities, for example, of racism as not just a disadvantage to black people but an advantage to white people (McIntosch, 2018). Furthermore, it is a protection that shields white people from painful experiences that are staples in black peoples' daily living, such as coercion, fear and inferiority. Furthermore, white privilege exists in powerful systems and institutions and is further perpetuated in these institutions (schools and places of work) (McIntosch, 2018). Thandeka refers to this as "vicious cycle of poverty, unemployment, exclusion and marginalisation" which exist for black people in dominant institutions and systems.

This normalisation of privilege through its unchallenged existence in these institutions and structures perpetuates the invisibility of white peoples' unfairly gained

prominent position (Green, Sonn, & Matsebula, 2007). Lindiwe expands on this by sharing her observations that,

> *...they [white people] don't realise how privileged they've been. How that privilege has played into who they are today.*

This lack of awareness by white people further denies them the motivation to educate themselves about their inherent privilege and the consequences thereof for both white and black people. As a result, according to Lindiwe, "I don't think they are willing to give up that privilege". Thandeka attributes this to "indifference or their lack of caring". As a result of this lack of motivation it becomes the role of black people to actively inform and educate white people on the consequent injustices. Sifiso mirrors this reflection with the comment, "it upsets me that the aggrieved person must educate you [white person] on your privilege". Sifiso expresses his frustration about the role that white privilege plays in, firstly, robbing black people of equality, and thereafter, in dismissing or discrediting that this inequality exists. Moreover, it seems—in the experiences of the participants—that the task of teaching someone who is resistant to learning, or ignorant of their need to learn, feels almost impossible and places an additional burden on an already heavy load of being black in South Africa. The impact of white privilege on reconciliation is that it may potentially create resentment towards white people among the black population which will impact the willingness of black people to participate in reconciling. This is reflected in the participants' frustration and resentment related to white privilege and its associations. Furthermore, white peoples' general lack of awareness of the need to learn is likely to impact on the desire or motivation to contribute to change, therefore, potentially having a major impact on the change that is required to take place to progress in the reconciliatory process.

4.2.2. Lack of willingness to change

Related to white privilege and what participants experience as "indifference"—in Thandeka's words—is a seeming unwillingness of white people to change as reflected below in the interview with Patience.

> **Patience:** *I think white people are not really informed about black people, they don't really know us that much…*

> **Interviewer***: do you feel they are trying to know?*

> *Patience: To know us? To understand us deeply? I don't think so. They think they're trying, a person will say 'I want to wear an attire, I want to eat your food, I want to dress African'. That is what I think white people think they know us by trying to…sort of like trying to know the general things about us but they don't know us per se… the deep part of it.*

When probed further Patience elaborated,

> *"for example, you come across someone saying 'apartheid is dead, they must get over it'… You can't tell someone to get over it'".*

In this excerpt, Patience communicates that she feels that there is a lack of effort to engage in a real way with black counterparts. There is a sense from Patience, in the above excerpt that white engagement with blackness is superficial and 'gimmicky'. The engagement is up until the point that is convenient or fun for white people, dressing up and trying 'exotic' foods, and no further. However, we may hypothesise that this superficial engagement may be an avoidance by white South Africans of the pain and inconvenience that would come with the acknowledgment of the inhumaneness of the systems around them and their contribution to the maintenance of these racialised systems. In Nelson Mandela's *Long Walk to Freedom* he writes,

> A man who takes away another man's freedom is a prisoner of hatred, locked behind the bars of prejudice and narrow-mindedness. I am not truly free if I am taking away someone else's freedom, just as surely as I am not free when my freedom is taken away from me. The oppressor and the oppressed alike are robbed of their humanity (Mandela, 2009, p. 125).

This quotation may speak to the underlying experience of white people that even on an unconscious level may lead to a superficial engagement, no engagement or resistance to transformation. White people may be resisting or guarding against the shame of what being white means, white privilege and consequently the white guilt that comes as a consequence of illegitimate racial inequality (Iyer, Leach & Crosby, 2003). Thandeka expands on this by saying that she experiences

white people [as] indifferent to our struggle except when it affects them. They don't even bother to know our story, to engage us and to be interested.

She experiences white people as unempathetic and selfish, which she communicates with disdain. Interestingly, by saying "white people" Thandeka generalises her experiences with white people as a collective character flaw of white people. This is similar to the way some of the participants experienced white people as assigning character traits to black people as a collective activity in the previous theme. However, it is likely that this homogenisation of white people is a different kind of process than that of the perceived homogenisation of black people. Thandeka may be engaging in a defensive reaction to the oppression. It has been previously discussed that unresolved trauma is likely to result in repetition of the trauma or the aggression that was experienced (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2002). Hence, it may be that Thandeka is, psychologically, repeating the process of homogenisation of which she has been a victim. This can be understood as a defensive process that may be likened to the victim becoming the perpetrator in an attempt to regain a sense of agency and control, countering the powerlessness with which she has been afflicted (Herman, 1992).

Lindiwe describes how because of the perceived lack of effort to really engage, understand and learn about blackness it would be impossible for white people to understand why there is a need for change on a systemic level. Hence, she ascertains that there is a lack of accountability and willingness to contribute to restructuring. There is resistance to sharing wealth and land and giving up privilege: "I don't think they are willing to give up that privilege, most of them aren't willing to give up their wealth" (Lindiwe). Lindiwe says about reform,

...to share, as a gesture to say I acknowledge that they are where they are not only because of their effort...we are not...I am not saying they didn't put in any effort or work hard for where they are but the opportunity was given to them most of the time.

Here, Lindiwe is very careful about how she communicates that an acknowledgment of white privilege is not an admission of laziness or unworthiness of success. However, it is important to acknowledge that whiteness is the conduit through which hard work guarantees success. Hence, whiteness is still representative of more access, privilege and power than blackness. This affects the potential to reach a legitimate rainbow nation which requires equality.

4.2.3. Racism

The exploration of racism is particularly important in this research as the aim of the research is to understand black peoples' experiences in relation to reconciliation and the rainbow nation. Consequently, one could argue that racism is in exact opposition to the construct of the rainbow nation, and reconciliation and its intentions. Hence, it is significant that it was a pervasive subtheme in the data.

Participants report that it is not lost on them that racism is still part of the social infrastructure of South Africa. Whether covert or overt, racism presents itself regularly in participants' experiences. There were accounts of violent, overt acts of racism such as Patience's account of a white person referring to black people as "kaffirs" in her presence. Moreover, "there are white people that undermine black people. You'll hear people say this guy has got a big car a Porsche or something, is he a thief?" (Patience). Participants communicate that they experience white people as believing in the inferiority of black people such as in the following statement by Lindiwe, "some [white people] still feel superior". Patience goes on to say that "there are white people who think that black people shouldn't have money". Here Patience highlights her perception about the narrative around poverty in South Africa. Patience asserts that financial prosperity is perceived by "some" white people as a privilege located in whiteness and not as a result of people and systems, such as apartheid, which actively pushed the agenda of unequal distribution of wealth. Patience goes on further to reflect on white peoples' denial that the repercussions of apartheid exist, including racism,

> *...you come across somebody saying that, oh yah, apartheid is dead, they must just get over it.*

There is a perceived lack of recognition that the consequences of a long-term oppressive and exploitative system are currently still present.

Furthermore, more subtle forms of racism, especially in the workplace, were also communicated by participants. Rose, for example, expressed that "80% of the time they [white people] wanted you to feel not worth it, it's like 'I'm white, what I say goes" and Lindiwe reflects on her experience with white people by saying "frankly I think a lot of them…maybe not a lot of them. But some still feel superior". It seems that despite the ethos of the rainbow nation and studies that report a steady decline in white prejudice towards black people (Dixon, et al., 2010; Seekings, 2008) there are attitudes and beliefs that stand in

opposition to this ideal and evidence. There is a lack of trust according to Lindiwe. Furthermore, in Rose's experience, for instance, she feels as though white people do not respect or honour her contribution as a black person in the so-called new South Africa.

This third theme characterises whiteness as a problematic obstruction to meaningful reconciliation. As expressed by the participants white privilege protects and perpetuates problematic structures and attitudes which legitimises, for some white South Africans, a resistance to contributing to rethinking and restructuring inequality in the country. Furthermore, according to participants, racism continues to exist. However, oftentimes the covert and subtle racisms are invisible to the perpetrators as a result of white privilege. Hence, white privilege is at the centre of the inherently problematic nature of whiteness in a society with a history of colonisation, oppression and exploitation. Consequently, the burdens that come with blackness are a direct consequence of the privilege of whiteness. Consequently, this potentially contributes to the stagnation, resistance and problems around the reconciliatory process.

4.3. THEME 3: BLACKNESS AS A BURDEN

The second theme that emerged during the interviews was the ways in which being black was burdensome both during apartheid and in post-apartheid South Africa. The first subtheme is the *burden of black purpose*, and the second is *burden of black identity.*

4.3.1. Burden of black purpose
A significant subtheme that presented itself repeatedly was the perceived burden that existed in defining and living out black purpose in post-apartheid South Africa. Individual purpose was described as individual and familial safety, professional progression, academic pursuits and stability. The black purpose or the "black agenda" (as Sifiso refers to it) is described as addressing the residual effects of apartheid that present themselves in all domains including schools, places of work and public spaces. In his adult life Sifiso has only worked in the private financial sector. He describes feeling as if his individual goals and professional development are in direct opposition to the bigger purpose of diversifying and spreading wealth to the black and disenfranchised. The position he articulates is that progress, professionally, as a black person in a white dominated and owned sector means overlooking

subtle or even overt racisms and adjusting his blackness to be more acceptable to white people, as reflected in the following comment by Sifiso, "I have to be a very specific version of myself at work, not as black as I am outside the work place". This act, according to Sifiso, vilifies blackness. He alludes to the fact that it creates an internalised conflict about his blackness in relation to success in the field he is in. The decision Sifiso has made speaks to assimilation into the dominant culture, which is white and western in this case. This dominant culture positions white and black people in different power positions and affects the way in which they behave towards one another (Robinson, 1999). Hence, there is a systemic 'othering' that coerces Sifiso to believe that to belong is to assimilate or risk being left behind. As a result, Sifiso may perceive himself to have chosen to perpetuate the privileging of whiteness in these spaces for personal gain versus challenging the pre-existing system in order to further the 'black agenda'.

Patience mentioned numerous times during the interview that she was "lucky enough" to attend a white school with white children. She spoke with a quiet pride that she had an experience other black people did not. She then mentioned that she "felt free because she went to a white school". What is seemingly evident here is that due to the axis of power there is either a hate between the groups or there is a process of assimilation of the perceived lower to the perceived higher (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Both Sifiso and Patience appear to engage in this process of assimilation although Sifiso seemingly has more of an awareness of this process and the consequences thereof. Assimilation, however, may well also likely take place more unconsciously for various black individuals, as with Patience.

Patience—in a matter of fact tone—conveys the story of how one of her previous employers casually referred to black people as "Kaffirs" in conversation. The participant describes how she did not confront her employer and stayed in the job to build and progress her career. She reports how she intentionally took on the decision of thriving at her job and not shrinking in the presence of the "k-word", as an act of resistance. Patience's decision to remain in the job despite this overt act of racism may link to the previous theme of loss of dignity. On either an unconscious or conscious level Patience may have used this opportunity to reclaim the agency, power and control that was intruded upon during the apartheid era. The matter of fact tone in which she communicates this information may support her intention in that she has successfully disengaged from the emotional response that the word or experience may still illicit in some people, and the defiance is in her indifference.

Alternatively, this flattened tone may be a reflection of a defence built against the ongoing pain or anger of this and similar experiences. Both Sifiso and Patience seemingly chose their individual purpose over the black agenda but each have different positions. Patience views it as an act of rebellion and defiance against a stifling white power that can be seen in the follow extract,

> [T]here are much more important things I could worry about in my life than worrying about somebody that wants to take your power away and making them bigger, themselves bigger because of telling me you the k-word or telling me you're ugly, you don't look good, you're not that clever, I mean I believe that there's nobody that's better than the other one, we're all the same.

She goes on to say "I don't really feel like there's anybody that can say anything to me and try and break me actually". However, Sifiso speaks around it with feelings of guilt and fear of the betrayal towards black people and the 'black agenda'. This is evident when Sifiso reports that "it's difficult to feel you're not doing enough" to stand up for other black colleagues or employees in positions with less status in the company. Hence, Patience was able to reclaim her agency, whilst Sifiso could not, which is what makes their experiences different and amplifies Sifiso's feelings of helplessness and powerlessness

Alternatively, Thandeka, who works in a corporate field but holds a much more senior rank than Sifiso reports not experiencing this conflict. Through her progression in her career she has been able to provide access and opportunity for other black people. Accordingly, her opinion is that her individual success has indirectly and directly contributed to equality for black people: "They're interlinked, as I grow, I have more access, more influence, I do more" (Thandeka). Thandeka believes that she contributes to the black agenda through helping to provide employment for black people in a professional and personal capacity, being able to financially assist children get through school and provide a model or guide for the achievability of success. As a result being black is not associated with burden for Thandeka as it seems to be for Sifiso: "Not everyone needs to be a leader of the black agenda, but can be mindful of it and just look around at ways you can help…do what you can in your own sphere of influence" (Thandeka). Thandeka's experience may be different from Sifiso's and Patience's experiences due to differing intersecting identities. Thandeka is a black 55-year-old woman who is of a higher socio-economic status and holds a higher professional position than the previous two participants. Her position offers her more choice about the professional

and personal spaces she chooses to engage in and may mean a greater sense of achievement and self-efficacy. Moreover, it offers her more agency, control and authority in white dominated spaces. As a result, feelings of guilt are likely to be reduced substantially for someone in her position. Her socio-economic status protects her against some of the experiences of being black in white dominated spaces, which is not necessarily true for Sifiso and Patience.

The participants' experiences appear to be those of assimilation into whiteness rather than the integration of racial and cultural differences. As a result, what is evident in this theme is black people trying to achieve white standards and, in the case of Thandeka, helping other black people assimilate, instead of working towards a joint reconciliatory vision. Therefore, even in the 'black agenda' there is an inequality at play in which the black agenda is diluted with white superiority and skewed resources. Nevertheless, this subtheme highlights the experiences of the burden that is the black agenda and how it can be in conflict with individual or personal agendas.

4.3.2. Burden of black Identity

The second subtheme is the burden of black identity. This theme discusses how blackness in South Africa exists as a collective identity whilst white people have the privilege of being seen and understood as individuals.

Interviewer: What do you think white South Africans feel about black South Africans?

Lindiwe: Frankly I think a lot of them…maybe not a lot of them, but some still feel superior. They feel uh black people are…I mean maybe during the times of Mandela and Mbeki we were given some credit, we were regarded differently than where we are now. I think the sphere we find ourselves in due to the government of the day lost respect, totally. I feel that it is taking us back so many years that Mbeki and Mandela had taken us closer but because of the government of the day, I think the president [Jacob Zuma] has discredited us. I think I can feel it just around, people just think black people are all corrupt, they all want to do…they don't want to work for what they have.

Interviewer: You feel like when there was a good 'black' in the seat it was generalized to all of us, now that there is a bad 'black' it's generalized?

Lindiwe: Yes. Yes. Yes

Lindiwe feels here that white people assign black character traits and morality, goodness and badness as a collective activity. Other participants describe how black people in white dominated spaces represent their entire race group. Lindiwe describes how there is an added pressure on black employees in businesses and students at white dominated schools, as competency is not enough and mistakes are detrimental. Not simply for their individual reputation or professional progression but because their mistakes or behaviours become the character of a whole race group. Sifiso alludes to the idea that the added pressure and the fear of putting blackness into disrepute is a constantly lingering presence throughout his work day. This is an added pressure that exists on an internal level.

Interviewer: "So does that strip us of or deny us our individuality in some cases?"

Lindiwe: "Mhmm in a big way"

Here, when probed, Lindiwe affirms how as a result of this collective identity one's individual identity is diminished or lost. Blackness becomes a homogenous identity.

In contrast, according to some participants, white people in all spaces—either predominantly white or predominately black spaces—are viewed by the larger society as representing themselves and having individual identities. This was described by Lindiwe and Sifiso as part of the privilege of whiteness. A white person is only responsible for their individual story, behaviour and performance as it does not translate past them or their families. This individualised narrative is seen in participants' comments such as, "not every white person is racist…a person is nasty because they are nasty" (Patience) and "my experiences with white people...there are all kinds of people. They are nice people, they are

bad people. It's not necessarily about whether you're white or black" (Lindiwe). According to these participants the identity and character of a white person is assessed on a case-by-case basis. In contrast to the experience of being black, white identity is a heterogeneous, subjective and personal experience. This puts black people at a further disadvantage in society.

According to the two subthemes that emerged from the data, the participants experience being black in South Africa as something inherently political, public and burdensome in white dominated spaces. In schools, universities or the workplace there is politicisation of purpose and identity, which are personal and intimate processes. This meant that participants experienced the purpose and identity of black people in white dominated spaces as driven by the collective struggles, economic needs and political goals of black people in South Africa. According to the first subtheme there is a perceived responsibility of black people to use one's position to help other black people. In subtheme two, identity is perceived to be shared by other black people, which is perceived to strip black people of individuality. Therefore, within structures and institutions that already place black people at a disadvantage due to a long history of biased and racist systems, there is an additional responsibility and burden of this imposed identity and purpose. Progress towards reconciliation may therefore become affected through the limitations set by these experienced burdens of blackness. As a result of the inequality that exists within and beyond these spaces there is an additional burden on black people that creates a greater barrier between black and white people, placing each people at opposing ends with different goals, detracting from the larger goal of reconciliation.

4.4. THEME 4: MISTRUST

A significant theme was how white and black people were experienced as having vastly different identities and values that contributed to lack of understanding or reconciliation. These perceived differences in values contribute to rigid boundaries around race groups. In the following statement, Rose explains how she experiences the values or priorities of white people as uncaring, "white people can take their grandparents and put them in homes, we look after our grandparents". She further expresses that the role of respect differs between the different race groups, "I see how their children speak to their parents, our kids would never speak to us like that". These are not just perceived as differences but as contradictions that create deeper, thicker barriers between race groups and may be a way of

justifying for herself why reconciliation cannot successfully take place. It is interesting to note how this reflects the ethos of apartheid which fabricated differences between black and white people to justify its existence and its 'necessity'. This speaks perhaps to how deeply entrenched such divisions are that they continue to exert influence in the psyche of some South Africans such as Rose. This is further evident in Patience's belief that "black people are black people. White people are white people" as reasoning for the barriers that exist between black and white. Moreover, through the generalisations that Rose makes there is lack of recognition of the humanness of white people and there is an absence of empathy for white people, which is potentially a repercussion of unresolved trauma (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2002). One of the consequences of oppression is that the unprocessed trauma, fear and anger strips the oppressor of their humanness (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008a). This is evident in the seemingly harsh generalisations Rose makes about white people.

Lindiwe recognises this tendency to demonise the other and explains how

in each space we are in, we are not making an effort to understand the other people's point of view and understanding other people's cultures.

Therefore, there is also a lack of effort on both sides to understand. As a result, there is a lack of trust between black and white groups which Kelman (2008) describes as a precursor to a cohesive and reconciled society. Participants expressed that they struggle to trust white people in their immediate space: "I never had white friends 'cause in my mind it's all fake" (Rose). There is a weariness around the intention and authenticity of the interactions. Moreover, participants experience white people as weary of them as well. Lindiwe reflects on this by expressing that:

we don't trust one another, we always think the worst of each other so we don't want to get to the other person's point of view… I think apartheid did a lot of damage to both whites and blacks in the sense that we were segregated. We didn't know who we were and we had to live by the rules that were stipulated by the apartheid government. So we are still trying to find ourselves.

Lindiwe highlights here the chasm enforced by the apartheid system that manipulated how the 'other' was constructed, situating difference and suspicion (mistrust) centre stage by

denying opportunities to meet and find one another in the physical space, but also—by extension—in the psychological space.

However, what was interesting to note was that although 'black' in this study refers to Coloured, Indian and African South Africans, within that larger 'black' population there are also significant divides. Rose, the only coloured participant, describes how

Coloureds are actually more racist than anybody else…when you give birth the first thing they check is the hair, the skin colour. It's not is the child healthy or anything. Still up until today.

Rose's contribution disrupts the idea that there is a clear black versus white identity dichotomy. Within blackness there are internal conflicts of identity and belonging that create barriers to entry between Coloured, Indian and African race groups. Rose states,

If we as coloured women go with a black guy sjoe, they'll tell the next guy 'don't go there' she's been sleeping with a black guy.

It appears, based on participants' accounts, that identity is more complex than just black and white. There is hatred and racism within the broader black population. The aim of apartheid was to ensure that the white minority remained the political and economic power (Lockhat & Niekerk, 2000). To do so the state had to ensure the black majority would not unite and revolt. They ensured this by creating a hierarchy among black people; Indian, Coloured, then African; and between tribes (Sesotho, Setswana etc), and thereafter resources and privileges were allocated accordingly (Spaull, 2012). Over generations this created racism and intragroup angst, which diffused the revolting energies towards the apartheid state for a substantive period (Lockhat & Niekerk, 2000). However, despite the state's attempt to divide and conquer by sowing divisions through this hierarchy, black people aligned, joined forces and resisted (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2002). However, once apartheid ended and there was no longer a common evil to fight, the disparities began to become more evident and exposed. Therefore, mistrust between black and white people and within the broader black population contribute to a lack of identification with each other and thus a lack of motivation or, in some cases, resistance to engage meaningfully in reconciliation.

4.5. THEME 5: RAINBOW NATION AND RECONCILIATION: THEORY VS REALITY

At the core of this research is the exploration of participants' experiences and understanding of the rainbow nation and reconciliation. Rainbow nation and reconciliation are heavily interlinked as the concept of the rainbow nation was introduced into the national discourse as a mechanism to further the agenda of reconciliation, and reconciliation is at the core of achieving the rainbow nation.

4.5.1. Participants' understanding of the rainbow nation and reconciliation

Participants described the concept of the 'rainbow nation' as one nation of unity and togetherness in which race is a descriptor not a predictor. Hence, race may help describe a person but should not be used to predict how someone is treated or to produce limitations. Patience expresses this sentiment by saying that,

> *People present with their culture so much, so I think holistically we can sort of like be friends and be civil with each other, but everybody will be still be what they are. It's like Indian people will still be the Indian people that they are, white people will still be the white people that they are.*

Hence, according to the participants, the rainbow nation does not disqualify race as a descriptive term but disarms it as a political tool. However, the rainbow nation was initially created as a method to develop an equal, non-racial society (Gibson & Claassen, 2010). Hence, non-racialism is a point of departure for the participants.

Moreover, participants believe that reconciliation requires the effort of both parties working towards a common goal as reflected in Lindiwe's comments:

> *I think that reconciliation is when you're trying to get people together who were on opposite sides because of differences. So I think that reconciliation is when both parties recognize that they need to get together. They need to come closer and embrace one another.*

Here Lindiwe refers to reconciliation as a mutually beneficial process where opposing parties can recognise the value of reconciling.

The participants describe the process of reconciliation needing to take place on various levels. On the level of attitudes and beliefs Lindiwe explains that,

When I grew up I did have this attitude. The minute I changed my

attitude to not seeing colour and just trying to reach out, that has changed

the relationships. I have friendships with some of them [white people].

Here Lindiwe explores how this ability to reconcile on an individual level required an attitude shift that required active effort on her part. It required an effort to overlook prejudices and reach out anyway. However, her use of "them" suggests a distancing stance. Therefore, even though she reports a shift in her attitude which allowed for interracial friendships, it seems there are still existing barriers to entry that are most likely deeply embedded and less in her awareness. Hence, further highlighting that reconciliation needs to occur on various levels even within an individual.

Moreover, reconciliation on a structural level is emphasised specifically by Thandeka in her comment that,

The, our economy is not, it's not growing. So there has to be

some give…Just talking about like in the townships really where people

are disadvantaged, where there is no jobs, where there is, just people

are still marginalised and excluded from the economics, excluded from

good quality education or health care. Just this idea of rainbow nation

is so, it's so alien to them, there is just no way they can access it.

Here Thandeka addresses continuous marginalisation, as well as the social and economic exclusion of a percentage of black people in South Africa. Hence, it is evident that participants experience reconciliation as an incomplete process due to the fact that it is not being targeted at these different levels.

Similarly, every participant expressed that the rainbow nation existed only in theory. Thandeka felt strongly and passionately enough to call it "bullshit…someone's imagination". Sifiso expresses that the reality is that the country is divided and unequal. Participants all expressed that in order for the reality to match the theory the country needs to redress the indiscretions of the past. Habib (1997) corroborates this sentiment as he asserts that more has to be done to address the socio-economic variables that impact on the reconciliatory ideal, including the deracialisation of the economy. The disbandment of the formal system of apartheid was the first of a directory of transformations that need to take place for the rainbow nation to exist, which have yet to happen. Lindiwe believes that,

...the rainbow nation is just a word. It doesn't mean anything 'cause we haven't made any strides to form...or merge these cultures into one big nation.

Hence, it seems the rainbow nation is aspirational, as Thandeka describes it, and that in order to attain it there is a need for further work, compromise and discomfort from all sides to foster change and challenge institutional structures (Walker, 2005). However, due to mistrust and the barriers described by participants in the previous themes, it is important to consider the challenges and complexities that would need to be overcome in order for the rainbow nation to be a reality.

Hence, upon reflecting on the experiences of reconciliation and the rainbow nation the participants express that the rainbow nation and South Africa as a reconciled state is a theoretical aspiration and has not been implemented into reality for the nation. True reconciliation cannot take place, and the rainbow nation cannot exist in a genuine way, when structural and economic inequality is prevalent and informal segregation is still normalised. Hence, reconciliation requires multiple processes at varying levels for meaningful change.

4.5.2. The need for acknowledgement and reparations from white people.
In Lindiwe's experience,

I don't think they've even acknowledged, even though we are not part...just by being white South Africans in this country. By having all the privileges they have, they haven't even started to acknowledge the wrong they did. Not even the wrong but the advantages over the black person and what that did to the black person.

In this excerpt there are multiple uses of derivatives of the word "they", which is a third person pronoun which represents the inverse of "us" (Handel, 2013). This may communicate an 'othering' (Handel, 2013) and blame of white people as a collective in the lack of acknowledgment and reparations. This may imply that Lindiwe places the blame and responsibility on white people for the lack of progress, which in some way absolves the responsibility from the "us". Furthermore, in the previous excerpt Lindiwe discusses the importance of acknowledgment from white South Africans of the intergenerational effects of

oppression on the historically oppressed. These effects may be emotional or psychological, including traumatic stress and feelings of inferiority, amongst other things as well as structural and economic inequities that continue to prevail in society. Lindiwe alludes to the importance of that acknowledgement for the reconciliatory process, also reflected in the following comment by Thandeka:

So I think there is some, I suppose I don't know, it would be nice to get a public atonement kind of thing, apology. But to me it's not absolutely necessary. What is necessary is extra political steps to get people out of this vicious cycle of poverty, unemployment, whatever.

Here Thandeka expresses a desire for public atonement and acknowledgment but argues that there must be redress to meaningfully impact what is described by Beall et al (2005) and Besada (2007) as South Africa's fragile stability. Furthermore, she speaks to the complexity and multifaceted nature of reconciliation, arguing that focusing on only one aspect of reconciliation does the country and its black population a disservice, as it is far from the entire picture. Injustice is generations deep and structural in nature, hence, it extends beyond just the interpersonal so it should be addressed as such, according to Thandeka.

Thandeka adds to this by expressing that,

I think eh I would safely say that as black people we have made a lot of strides to reconcile with the white nation.

Here it is evident that Thandeka believes that black South Africans have made more of an effort to reconcile than white South Africans. This participant feels that white people have not played their part in the process of reconciliation. She feels that black people are the only 'side' making the reconciliation effort and success requires a reciprocal process. Therefore, reconciliation is not coming to fruition in a real way. When asked about whether she thinks white people have made an effort to reconcile Patience responds,

…to know us? to understand us deeply I don't think so? They think they're trying, a person will say 'I want to wear an attire, I want to eat your food, I want to dress African'. That is what I think white people think they know us by trying to…sort of like trying to know the general things about us but they don't know us per se… the deep part of it.

Here she is describing the effort made by white people to reconcile as superficial and ingenuine. The consensus between the participants is that white people have not done what is necessary to acknowledge the ills of the past and the ways these ills have carried over into

post-apartheid South Africa. Moreover, some participants feel that the rush to appear reconciled and live up to the dream of the rainbow nation has robbed black people of justice and ignored the necessary repercussions of actions—or lack thereof—of white South Africans.

4.5.3. Rejection of traditional reconciliation—Reform.

There is recognition by participants that change is required to attain equality because the "old systems [are] not working" (Sifiso). Thandeka, for example, believes that the process that has been underway since the dawn of democracy needs reform: "We are not even equal in the work places where we are supposed to be equal, there are no places we are equal". Thandeka here believes that there are "no places" where black and white are equal in South Africa. This extreme position is perhaps indicative of a need for something radical as a response in order to effect real change and bring about felt equality. Perhaps linked to this is Patience's notion that maybe the goal is not reconciliation in its traditional sense:

Black people are black people. White people are white people. We value our cultures. So I think holistically we can be friends and be civil but everybody will still be what they are.

Patience departs here from the ideal of merging to become one—aligning with Lindiwe who did not believe the rainbow nation is "just a word"—but instead considers an alternative reality where coexistence is possible despite difference, and with a respect and understanding for those differences.

Reconciliation is described similarly by all the participants with consensus that there is a significant amount of work that still needs to take place before South Africa can truly call itself a reconciled society. In this theme the participants seem to be grappling with the way forward in terms of the reconciliatory process. At one end there is a recognition of the value of white acknowledgment of the intergenerational effects of oppression on the historically oppressed. However, there is more emphasis on reparations from white people to redress the inequities of current day South Africa that are as a result of apartheid. Simultaneously, participants seem to be looking at the failures of the process thus far and suggesting a move away from a conservative approach towards a more radical approach to reconciliation. Participants seem to suggest that reconciliation in South Africa may need to function differently from how it was presented to the nation at the dawn of democracy.

4.6. THEME 6: BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

The final theme reflects the participants' belief in the centrality of reclaiming the agency of black people. Black consciousness is the "critique of dominant racial (and racist) powers, practices and discourses" (Modiri, 2015, p. 2). Therefore, the pervasiveness of the narratives around the rainbow nation and South Africa as a reconciled state, counteracts the empowerment of black people and black consciousness. This theme was focused around the responsibility of black people to take back power and authority over their decisions, attitudes and responses. According to most of the participants, freedom is not a set of external events. It is a personal choice: "Freedom is what you make out of it, you make the freedom" (Patience). Hence, the consequence of this is that for black people to experience freedom in their lifetimes requires an individual internal process separate from environmental factors. Patience reflects on an experience she had with a previous employer which illustrates this:

> *I used to work for a boss that used to always say the K- word. In that concept I took that and I said 'you know for me it doesn't mean anything. If she's thinking that she's hurting me… like really it does nothing for me at the end of the day…she does not gain any power over me by saying that word.*

Patience speaks about how she took power back over her own life by disengaging from the offensive word. Although she did not feel she had the agency to correct this injustice, her agency lay in her experience and response to the racism: "It doesn't make me and it doesn't really break me. I'm still me" (Patience). It seems that the perception of the participants is that as a black person, in order to get through life intact and with dignity one has to look past a lot, switch off to a lot and not take things personally. The responsibility is in the black person's hands. Patience goes on to say, "you can't say because you grew up in pain, you have to have pain, then you are not free". This suggests that the cure lies within.

In response to an inquiry on her feelings towards the systems currently in place, Thandeka responded as follows:

> *I think I have moved away from anger. I do have days where I am outraged but overall no, I think it's a waste of emotion…and I don't think that's the most productive… So I try to see how I can channel it into something more useful. So if something really bugs me I do something about it.*

This excerpt reveals how anger, outrage and disgruntlement are used to fuel productivity and change. What stands out about all the participants is that although still weary, saddened and frustrated, they are productive, functioning members of society. It appears from participants' experiences that realising one's own agency and power results in a perception and understanding of self and blackness that is not dependent on others and systems. This is reflected in Patience's comment that,

> *I'm black and I'm black and proud of being black. And I actually*
> *don't think I would want to be any other colour or any other thing. I love my*
> *life and my culture.*

The power and strength of blackness seems to lie in this discovery. There is no disillusionment from any of the participants that equality and reconciliation do not currently exist or will be attained in the near future, however participants still operate from a place of power and autonomy: "I feel very powerful and very strong and I'm very proud to be black" (Patience).

Thandeka, along similar lines, speaks to the change coming from a position where black people reclaim their place and agency, and assert their needs:

> *… I actually like the fact that black people… because for me the*
> *biggest thing is not what they say, white people or what, it's how we feel*
> *about ourselves, about our own sense of power and how we are*
> *reclaiming it and how we are using it. Because of course we are quite*
> *powerful, we are the majority but we still behave like we are powerless.*
> *We still behave like we need permission to do. So I'm very optimistic*
> *because I see younger people are not waiting for permission, they are*
> *not waiting for people to allow them to do things. They have a very*
> *strong sense of their own power and they are using it.*

Here Thandeka asserts that the change that she believes is required to attain this 'rainbow nation' will come from black people asserting themselves within these biased systems, which would require breaking and rejecting internalised racisms. An equal and fair society requires that black people feel equal, able to claim an equal space in society and are able to assert themselves and their needs.

4.7. Conclusion of results

This chapter provided a discussion of the themes and subthemes that emerged from the analysis of the interviews conducted for this study. Overall there were six themes that were presented which focused on the participants' experiences of reconciliation and the rainbow nation and the meanings that were created couched in these experiences. The chapter begins with theme one, which centres around loss during the participants lived experiences of Apartheid, specifically the loss of safety and agency and how this was compounded by the loss of dignity. These experiences of loss and disruption are perceived as resulting in psychological consequences for the oppressed in post-apartheid South Africa; consequences that have a significant effect on the progress of reconciliation. Thereafter, participants discuss blackness as a burden in theme two. The results explored the added responsibility within private spaces for black people. Participants discussed one subtheme as the perceived responsibility to use one's position to help other black people and subtheme two, as the co-creation of identity by other black people in a way that is perceived to strip black people of individuality. It is felt that this positions black people at a disadvantage within already biased and racist systems, requiring black people to shoulder the burden of this imposed identity and purpose. Thereafter, theme three unpacked how white privilege increases likelihood of white resistance to contributing to structural changes that would help move the country closer to reconciliation. Furthermore, the prevalence of racism was highlighted as a stumbling block to achieving progress in the reconciliatory process. Theme four revolved around the mistrust between and within race groups—a mistrust that is entrenched by barriers and fabricated differences that were created by the apartheid government and are a large part of race identity even today. These differences result in limited interpersonal contact and resistance towards reconciliation. At the core of the research aim is the exploration of the rainbow nation and reconciliation, which made up theme five. The participants' general consensus was that the rainbow nation is not currently a reality but an aspiration. The reality of post-apartheid South Africa is an unequal and divided country that requires more work, compromise and discomfort to attain the rainbow nation as it is envisioned. However, due to mistrust and barriers to entry it is an on-going challenge. Thereafter, reconciliation was reflected on as a "mutually beneficial process". This process needs to take place on various levels, attitudinally, interpersonally and structurally. Participants expand on this discussion by exploring how reconciliation requires acknowledgment and reparations from white people. However, participants also explore the possibility that reconciliation in the South African context may require a rethinking of traditional views of reconciliation. This may involve moving away from a conservative approach towards a more radical approach, meaning a

reconciled South Africa may look different from what the nation was told it would look like at the dawn of democracy. Finally, theme six focuses on the empowerment of black people. Participants believe an equal and fair society requires that black people feel worthy, able to reclaim their place and assert themselves and their needs. According to this theme reconciliation requires that black people are empowered and feel able to challenge the biased systems that exist to counteract the losses and trauma as reflected in theme one.

CHAPTER FIVE: Discussion

5.1. Introduction

This chapter will discuss the findings of the present study. The themes that have been presented under the previous chapter will be discussed further in relation to the relevant literature. The results have been organised into sections and the themes and discussion will be integrated under the relevant headings.

5.2. Disruptive impact of Apartheid

Through the participants' exploration of their experiences of living through apartheid what was evident was the disruption of daily life for the average black South African. The goal of the apartheid state was "to create separate, and racially homogenous states" (Spaull, 2012, p. 3). These separate states varied in national 'legitimacy', status and access to resources, with Africans receiving the most inferior service, access and resources (Spaull, 2012). This presented itself in the results, through the participants' experiences of this legitimised loss of necessities such as routine, predictability and access to resources, that were a violation of more abstract human rights such as dignity and agency. The removal of dignity and choice for black people, severe ill treatment and legitimised overt racisms proved to be systemically violent (Adonis, 2018). As a result, apartheid had a disruptive impact on the experiences of life for black people, at varying stages in their lives.

According to Bulhan (1985) the act of oppression is inherently violent. Violence is defined as the violation of the social, physical, and psychological spheres of one person or group by another (Lockhat & Niekerk, 2000). Hence, on many levels, the right to safety was violated by the apartheid state. In the most recognizable way, according to Patience, soldiers would come through the township and invade people's homes unsolicited, and other participants reported the regular use of teargas and rubber bullets in the townships, amongst other violent acts. However, in less recognisable ways the intrusion on the agency of black citizens to have some control over what they were exposed to or what they could protect themselves from, also represented a violation. The consequences of this lack of power and control often includes a psychologically destabilised and dehumanised population (Lockhat

& Niekerk, 2000). In order to create and maintain an idealised privilege the apartheid government enforced order through state orchestrated violence, hostility, repression, and fear tactics (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2002). The intention of the state in performing these acts is around dehumanising the majority to the point that they submit and passively accept dominance by the white minority (Lockhat & Niekerk, 2000).

Further dehumanisation took place through the disruption of routine or predictability, as the individual becomes subject to a more powerful system or force. Patience describes a loss of predictable school hours or days due to looming police raids and Lindiwe describes delays at university due to the disruption of protests and violence often in response to the apartheid system. These disruptions contributed to feelings of loss of control and agency. This larger environmental unpredictability and anticipation of danger may be characterised as continuous traumatic stress (CTS; Eagle & Kaminer, 2013). CTS is characterised by ongoing stressor conditions that may often be environmentally-based such as civil war contexts, communities with chronic violence and refugee camps, amongst others (Eagle & Kaminer, 2013). CTS is understood as being prevalent in environments where "danger and threat are largely faceless and unpredictable, but pervasive and substantive" (Eagle & Kaminer, 2013, p. 89). These CTS experiences overlap substantially with collective, historical and identity traumas. Collective trauma being community violence or trauma; historical trauma referring to historically located processes that have intergenerational effects in the present; and identity trauma refers to stressors, such as discrimination, aimed at a group with a specific identity (Eagle & Kaminer, 2013). Furthermore, the long-term effects of traumatic environments often result in exacerbated psychophysiological responses to even minor anxiety-provoking events that contributes to maladaptive functioning (Williams, 1992). In relation to the research questions, this may result in a post-apartheid South African population that is struggling with the traumatic impact of the violations of an oppressive system. This impact may exist not just as a direct impact of having lived through the apartheid era but as an identity or historical trauma. Hence, the experiences and responses of the average black South African in their functioning may present as historically loaded with psychological adaptations, which naturally has an impact on reconciliation as it has been envisioned. The impact on reconciliation may present as difficulty or inability to relate and connect to the humanity of the former perpetrators of these violations (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008a). Hence, disallowing the potential for recognition, understanding and an appreciation of the other's culture which necessitates the process of reconciliation (Batts, 2005). Furthermore, the

trauma may produce revenge-seeking behaviours which will impact the ability of the formerly oppressed to engage in genuine reconciliatory efforts (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2002).

The consequences or effects of ongoing stressor conditions are likely different from individuals who suffer single event traumas (Eagle & Kaminer, 2013). In the former, individuals are likely to make characteristic adaptations in order to survive psychologically and otherwise, including passivity, withdrawal, dependence and the development of unstable and precarious identities (Eagle & Kaminer, 2013). Although not explicitly reported by any of the participants it is valuable to consider these psychological maladaptations as potential experiences or consequences for individuals within ongoing traumatic circumstances. Therefore, as mentioned previously, it is valuable to consider that the psychologically disruptive impact of CTS-type experiences may contribute in some ways to the post-apartheid reality.

Colonial criminology asserts that crime is one response to oppression, alienation and inequalities that exist in colonial environments (Irwin & Umemoto, 2012). One version of the colonial model of crime argues that even after the formal demolition of colonial rule, as a result of the coloniser dominating the lion's share of the privileges in the country, the indigenous people to the country are "denounced, shunned and alienated from symbolic and material resources" (Irwin & Umemoto, 2012, p.7). Hawkins (2011) adds that this, in turn, results in adaptations of either assimilation, protest or crime in order to counteract these injustices (as cited in Irwin & Umemoto, 2012). This theory is likely applicable to South Africa as a result of the extensive colonial history and thereafter the internal tyranny of apartheid. Hence, the psychological consequences of CTS alongside ongoing oppression, alienation and inequalities that exist in the country may contribute to the high rates of violent criminality that are prominent in post-apartheid South Africa (Spaull, 2013).

The experience of a psychologically distressed country, with large economic disparities along race lines and high rates of crime is in opposition to the intention of a harmonious, equal and non-racial rainbow nation. Gobodo-Madikizela (2002, p.14) explains how "those who have been traumatised are vulnerable to falling into a mode of psychological repetition of the aggression they suffered" in order to make sense of their experiences and reclaim the sense of agency and humanity that was stripped away in the moment of trauma. Hence, the high rates of crime and violence that exist in post-apartheid South Africa may be attributed to this unfinished business of trauma that is presenting as behavioural repetitions.

Not unlike an open wound that has not been treated properly and is festering secondary medical consequences as a result, South Africa is festering the secondary consequences of apartheid that are impacting on the country's ability to engage meaningfully with reconciliation and the rainbow nation as it was envisioned at the dawn of democracy and by the participants.

The experience of post-apartheid South Africa is as an extension of the experiences of the disruption of equal human rights during apartheid. At a formal level there was a dismantling of laws that provided superior services, resources and dignity to white people. However, structures and attitudes that continue to exist perpetuate the inequality (Woolard, 2002). Hence, the experiences of the participants is such that the country has not reconciled at all levels. The social, psychological and economic legacy of apartheid has prevented the attainment of the rainbow nation as a fundamental component of reconciliation, leaving the needs and sense of justice for all parties involved largely unaddressed (Kelman, 2008).

5.3. Democracy in action.

With the end of apartheid and the first democratic government came expectations and promises to work towards a fair and equal state. However, despite these expectations, there were dynamics at play that complicated the picture of democracy in action.

5.3.1 Identity & Race.

Social identity theory proposes that social identity is based on an individual's knowledge that they belong to a specific social group or category (Stets & Burke, 2000). Through social comparison there is a process of categorising an out- and in-group (Stets & Burke, 2000). Within the in-group are people labelled as similar to the self and those that differ are pushed to the out-group (Stets & Burke, 2000). The "social categories in which individuals place themselves are parts of a structured society and exist only in relation to other contrasting categories (for example, black vs, white)" (Stets & Burke, 2000, p. 225). There are numerous social categories that exist in societies (for example, gender and religion), so individuals belong to more than one that operate together to create an individual self-concept (Stets & Burke, 2000). Identity is not fixed but is relational, as individuals are situated within and negotiate the intersections of multiple social locations. This self-concept

is further solidified by means of the discourses that position individuals in different power and status positions based on these intersecting social identities (Robinson 1999); a concept and analytic tool that emerged from the work of women of colour, particularly Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989, 1991) and Patricia Hill Collins (1986, 1991). The participants in this study reflect on the challenges of the combined social identity of being black and South African versus the perception of being white and South African. Belonging to the black social category is perceived, by specifically Sifiso and Patience, as carrying more unwanted responsibility and biased limitations on a collective front. An example of this is Sifiso's dilemma around the 'black agenda' in his career as a responsibility that he feels contracted to whilst his white colleagues do not seem to be obligated to an agenda other than their individual progression or family standing. This reflects the subtheme of *black purpose as a burden*. Sifiso and Patience's experiences reflect the ways in which people are expected to act and the ways in which the world acts towards people depending on their social identities (Robinson, 1999). As a result of the conflict between personal desire and Sifiso and Patience's experiences of the expectations placed on them as black South Africans, Sifiso feels pulled between his own career progression and the black agenda as the bigger purpose of diversifying and spreading wealth to the black and disenfranchised. This conflict creates internal dissonance for Sifiso. Both Sifiso and Patience acknowledge choosing the individual purpose whilst Thandeka takes on the view that these positions are not necessarily opposing but rather interconnected, "as I grow, I have more access, more influence, I do more" (Thandeka). Thandeka's experience may be different from Sifiso's and Patience's experiences due to the significant differing intersecting identities or social categories. As mentioned previously, Thandeka is a black 55-year-old woman who is of a higher socio-economic status and holds a higher professional position than the previous two participants. Thandeka's socioeconomic and professional positions both offer her more prestige benefits in a variety of sectors; benefits that can be cashed in (Robinson, 1999). These benefits include choice about the professional and personal spaces she chooses to engage in. Moreover, it offers her more agency and authority in white dominated spaces. Her socio-economic status protects her against some of the experiences of being black in white dominated spaces, which is not true to Sifiso and Patience. This reflects how identities and discourses around these separate but flexible and relational identities manage the ways in which people feel able to move and occupy spaces. Hence, with democracy came opportunity for more movement and progress for black people in previously banned social, professional and other spaces. However, the rainbow nation as it is envisioned by the participants and what was promised

by nation leaders—a nation with fair, equal and harmonious living—is not reflected in reality due to experiences, expectations and limitations that are couched deeply in race and socioeconomic conditions, amongst others.

Exploration of social identities reveals that social categories not only inform how individuals view and understand themselves but, moreover, categories inform how the world views, assesses and places individuals (Stets & Burke, 2000). Participants' experiences of black peoples' identities is as a collective project whilst white peoples' identities are on a case by case basis. Moodley & Adam (2000) describe how viewing black people as a homogenous group speaks directly to black people still living under the shadow of stereotypes about 'black' behaviours.

As mentioned in the results section, black individuals are seen to represent their entire race group in white dominated spaces. As a result of this dynamic that the participants experience as significant in the spaces they occupy, white people may experience less responsibility and pressure to perform in a prescribed way in schools and places of work. Their mistakes or character flaws are theirs only which allows for a certain freedom. This difference experienced by the participants may have effects on black professionals and students. These effects may include less risk taking, decreased exploration, and fear of speaking up. One could argue these are necessary characteristics to progress in numerous careers and companies. Moreover, black people may adopt what Batts (2005) terms 'survival strategies' to cope in these environments. These strategies may include manipulating white guilt, playing the 'class' clown, or over-extending and over-working oneself (Batts, 2005). These strategies may be detrimental for black professionals or students and provides white people with a further advantage over black people. Sifiso alludes to the idea that the added pressure and the fear of putting blackness into disrepute is a constantly lingering presence throughout his work day. As a result, it seems that for some of the participants, beyond the systemic hurdles of being black, there is an intrapsychic battle. In this case it may include battling fear, anxiety and intimidation, intrapsychically, that creates additional barriers to entry into white dominated professional, academic and social spaces. It seems that participants are saying that it is not just overt struggles, but also more subconscious, deeply embedded narratives with which they are forced to wrestle and become burdened by (Moodley & Adam, 2000). This burden is significant because it contributes to the barrier to

achieving legitimate reconciliation as it is imagined, as this requires reconciling on numerous levels, including attitudinally and intrapsychically.

Reconciliation, as the mutually beneficial resolution of attitudes, beliefs and structures, has therefore seemingly not been carried out to completion in post-apartheid South Africa. Furthermore, if racism exists as normalised in systems, violating victims socially, spiritually, materially and psychologically (Speight, 2007), the achievement of the equality of black and white people is questionable regardless of their existence in the same spaces and occupation of similar positions in schools, universities and work places.

5.3.2 Boundary Maintenance

According to Benedict Anderson, boundary maintenance is a significant aspect of belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Social identity and intergroup relations explores "the expansion of the space between them and us" (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 205). In South Africa these boundaries and spaces are maintained by what Rose depicts as vastly different and contradictory values and cultural norms, such as different methods for disciplining children and different family dynamics. These rigid boundaries are difficult to enter or infiltrate by a member of the out-group whether white or black, further distancing the possibility of interrelation.

These tensions are viewed as a historical artefact and as something that has been carried forward as part of the legacy of apartheid. Apartheid regulated in the strictest of terms the level, duration and type of interaction that was possible between different race groups (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). Apartheid was a system that meticulously controlled these relationships or lack thereof and intentionally fabricated differences between black and white people to justify its existence and 'necessity'. The fall of formal apartheid and the introduction of desegregation therefore necessitated a new task of learning each other without the rules and regulations, which has been a seemingly difficult task. Moreover, although formal segregation no longer exists racial boundaries are further maintained by the geographical and built environment that form part of the apartheid legacy (Pachucki, Pendergrass & Lamont, 2007). Namely, African, Indian or Coloured dominated townships, tribe-specific rural areas and white dominated suburban areas. Hence, the belief that black and white people are inherently different and hold different values and norms helps justify the maintenance of informal segregation and boundaries. This is supported by observational

studies that revealed profound informal segregation between black and white people in public spaces (Durrheim & Dixon, 2010; Koen & Durrheim, 2010; Schrieff et al., 2005; Tredoux & Finchilescu, 2007). This informal segregation disallows the opportunity to engage with the humanity of the other (Yuval-Davis, 2006). This in some ways hinders the opportunity for reconciliation on an interpersonal level and a better understanding, or alternative perspectives. The 'other' may seem distant and unrelatable, breeding mistrust. Hence, reconciliation is experienced as sluggish and possibly resisted.

5.3.3. Whiteness as problematic

Although white superiority is no longer formally legitimised through laws, structures and attitudes continue to exist that perpetuate the privileging of whiteness. The results emphasised white privilege as a perceived contributor to a sluggish, frustrating reconciliatory process and the failures of the rainbow nation. Peggy McIntosch describes white privilege as "an invisible package of unearned assets which I count on cashing in each day, but about which I was 'meant' to remain oblivious" (McIntosch, 1995, p. 30). It was further described by Patience as a protection for white people through the normalisation of the advantages of being white which results in a distorted sense of self (Robinson, 1999). Moreover, the findings reflect that systemic ignorance is inherent in whiteness and the only way to overcome that is for white people to make an active, focused effort to be informed. This is—according to the participants—where white people fail. As a result of systemic protection of whiteness and white privilege, participants seem to suggest that it becomes the responsibility of the oppressed to not only dismantle this privilege but to educate or make white people aware of their privilege. This creates feelings of frustration, anger and resentment for some of the participants which further distances white people and the prospect of reconciliation.

The denial of white privilege is visible in numerous forms, one of which is a position taken of 'colour blindness' (Durrheim, Qualye, Whitehead, & Kriel, 2005). Following apartheid, people, both black and white, in what appears on some level to be an attempt to embrace and support reconciliation claimed to not see race and that race does not matter. However, "by denying the effects of racialisation, colour blindness is a powerful mechanism in building white consensus and enabling the reproduction of racism" (Steyn & Foster, 2008, p. 29). Hence, the 'colour blind' discourse maintains white privilege. Moreover, white privilege presents itself as 'the past is the past, get over it' discourses that contribute to the re-oppression of the minority class through dismissing and disregarding black people's

experiences of ongoing inequity and racisms (Walker, 2005). "The dominant group has the power to define and name reality, determining what is 'normal,' 'real,' and 'correct' usually denigrat[ing], ignor[ing], discount[ing], misrepresent[ing], or eradicat[ing] the target group's culture, language, and history" (Speight, 2007, p. 130). Therefore, as the oppressed looks to the world to form their image and identity, the minority class is re-oppressed (Speight, 2007). Consequently, through this process of naming reality white legitimacy and superiority is further perpetuated. As a result of the privilege that protects whiteness there is a lack of willingness to contribute to the change necessary for reconciliation.

Also evident in the findings is the experience of participants of the apparent unwillingness by white people to be active agents for change, and white people contributing to the resistance against structural change. Thandeka expands on this by saying "white people are indifferent to our struggle except when it affects them. They don't even bother to know our story, to engage us and to be interested". Thandeka experiences white people as unempathic and selfish, which she communicates with disdain. It is valuable to expand on the exploration of what is experienced by participants as indifference and detachment of white people to black people's struggles and the broader South Africa plight. Walker (2005) discusses how addressing or exploring the inequality that currently exists in South Africa would require rethinking white identities and their location in society. This may disturb or shake fundamental principles that make up a person and cause anxieties, uncertainties and fears that are beyond what one is willing to hold, or capable of holding (Green, 2009; Walker, 2005). Shame and fear around admitting to unearned membership to a privileged group results in a tension between colour blindness and acknowledging race in order to correct the inequities that exist mainly along race lines (Moodley, 2000; Robinson, 1999). Green (2009, p. 75) argues that "[g]roup self deceptions and denial protect against white people's wounded and dishonoured collective identity". Therefore, it is likely that various conscious and unconscious processes, that black people do not have direct access to, fuel the perceived lack of interest and empathy. Furthermore, Thandeka's tone of disdain around this topic of white apathy is valuable to note. Although, disdain is still somewhat passive-aggressive, Thandeka's expression of disdain may in fact communicate a pain and rage that has yet to be acknowledged by the target of these emotions. Hence this disdain may be a reflection of the unfinished business of the trauma of apartheid where the memories remain unclaimed, and therefore unresolved (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2002). As a result, the trauma dominates the mental life of the victim and returns as 'behavioural enactments' (Caruth, 1996) or

psychological repetitions (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2002). However, unlike rage, the disdain is able to protect against the depth and breadth of the pain; it is more bearable an emotion and more controlled than rage. It is possible that the expression of these more bearable or controlled emotions are in an effort to take some control in an otherwise vulnerable situation and may be a subconscious effort to reclaim her power from a system that facilitates feeling powerless.

The unwillingness to change by white people is further perpetuated by white privilege that reveals itself in numerous forms, such as affirmative action being labelled reverse racism, the acceptance of colour blindness and minimisation of the systemic impact of inequality (Batts, 2005). Furthermore, the denial of continuing discrimination, antagonism about black demands and resentment towards compensation for black people are experienced as acts of resistance against genuine reconciliation (Swim, Aikin, Hall & Hunter, 1995). These factors contribute to what the participants experience as a lack of accountability and an unwillingness to contribute meaningfully to change, which results in the maintenance of inequality and racism. Therefore, the victims are often viewed as more committing to the process of reconciliation than the perpetrators (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008a).

5.3.4. Racism

Racism has been defined as a particular form of prejudice characterised by preconceived erroneous beliefs about race and members of racial groups, in addition to institutional, historical and structural imbalances in power (Shouhayib, 2015). Participants had contemporary accounts of racist interactions and experiences; some overtly racist and others more subtle racisms that exists as part of the social infrastructure of the country.

In describing the American course of racism Walker (2001, p. 25) outlines a move from "blunt, hostile, segregationist and supremacist views" that are for the most part now widely unacceptable, to a more societally acceptable type of racism. The term 'modern racism' is used here, which is characterised by an outright rejection of segregation or supremacist attitudes and an endorsement of egalitarianism (Walker, 2001). Despite this, however, there remains a rejection of the out-group (black people) (Walker, 2001). It is argued that instead of the overt disgust that was represented in traditional racism, modern racism is represented more as anxiety, distrust or fear (Walker, 2001). This is visible in the examples given by Patience about white people's distrust of the legitimacy of black people

with money or Rose's experience of not being trusted and valued specifically in the workplace. This modern racism is a way to provide non-race related reasons to continue to deny equal access opportunity for black people (Batts, 2005). This may be what Rose experiences when she feels unheard, not valued and unworthy at work. Due to this experience of overt and covert racism it is possible that black people are potentially left guarded or defensive in response to being made to feel worthless and insignificant. These may further complicate racial dynamics by leaving black people unsure—even in post-apartheid South Africa—of whether to view white people as allies, or enemies.

These experiences of division, dissimilarity and disengagement between race groups, and the experiences of inequality and oppression being actively dismissed and diminished by white people contributes to frustrated, angry and resentful feelings around reconciliation for participants. As a result, participants felt that black South Africans are not being seen and are thus being failed during the process of reconciliation.

5.4. The myth of the rainbow nation.

In theory, the rainbow nation is described as a beautiful ideal or vision, one nation of unity and togetherness. There was, however, a resounding agreement by the participants that the rainbow nation is not currently a reality in South Africa and there was some trepidation about whether it will ever be a reality, particularly by Rose and Patience. This trepidation was due to a perceived lack of active work to put reconciliation into action since the dawn of democracy.

Reconciliation is described as a process of transformation on both sides of the conflict (Batts, 2005). In a similar vein, according to Kelman (2008), reconciliation is a product of conflict resolution. Conflict resolution is the result of a process of active engagement and response to both sides' unmet or threatened identity needs, security, recognition, autonomy and justice (Kelman, 2008). The participants in this study acknowledged the nature of reconciliation as a process, however, they were disappointed at the lack of progress being made. Lindiwe reflects this as she describes reconciliation as two parties coming together but as experiencing white South Africans as not actively engaging in transformation resulting in a largely one-sided effort. Batts (2005) highlights that interventions cannot be imposed on the historically oppressed but the historic oppressors and those that hold historic and current social, economic and political power are required to work with the "targets" of this power

imbalance in order to affect reconciliation. Furthermore, reconciliation requires addressing the inequity on the various levels, namely, personal, interpersonal, institutional, and cultural levels (Batts, 2005; Woolard, 2002) which is echoed by participants as not having been carried through by over the past 25 years.

Moreover, the participants highlighted what became the subtheme of 'acknowledgement and reparations' from white people as a crucial part of the reconciliatory process. Lindiwe and Thandeka, particularly, expressed their feelings about the value of acknowledgment and the "public atonement" of white people in South Africa. Batts (2005) echoes this sentiment as he writes that reconciliation requires acknowledging the historic and continuing impact of racial privilege by the historic oppressors. Indeed, Maercker and Muller (2004, p. 345) argue that "[h]ow people are treated after a traumatic event may well effect how they recover". The need for support, sensitivity and compassion can act as the foundation for future efforts towards atonement, compensation and reconciliation (Green, 2009; Maercker & Muller, 2004). The validation of their trauma or lack thereof has a significant effect on the victim's adaptation to the trauma (Maercker & Muller, 2004). When there is a lack of introspection, admission, and repentance of the former oppressor's actions, then the victims are left unable to progress in the healing process and left anxious about the future (Green, 2009). Hence, the lack of acknowledgement and reparations are expressed as being some of the failures of the reconciliatory process in South Africa thus far.

Green (2009, p.74) discusses how in former colonies "former enemies must forever share the same land and resources, making it essential that the they rebuild shattered communal relationships in order to coexist, cooperate and eventually unite". Hence, the integration of races and cultures with a focus on equal rights and opportunity for all is seemingly non-negotiable. Here, Green (2009) is arguing that the oppressor must step forward and redress the inequality as they have a key role to play in the reconciliatory process. However, what has transpired in South Africa—in the participants' accounts—is an assimilation of black into white in an attempt to reconcile, rather than white people taking an active stance in redressing the past indiscretions. This is seemingly a perpetuation of colonial and oppressive dynamics. However, the interviews demonstrate that there is a tension between aspiring to belong to a system that rejects blackness, and opposing the structures and working towards rethinking and restructuring the biased pre-existing systems. Hence, on one level of awareness there is a rejection of white standards and superiority. However, as a result

of many decades of oppression, there is also a pervasive narrative of white superiority on a less conscious level.

Thus, it was observed through these interviews that there is a restrained desire to belong and pride in belonging to 'white spaces', although these spaces often reject blackness. This is seemingly explained by the politics of belonging in terms of social location (Yuval-Davis, 2006). This theory describes belonging as a product of the social location of individuals' identities of gender, race, sexuality, socioeconomic status and so forth (Yuval-Davis, 2006). These different categories of social location exist on an "axis of power, higher to lower" (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 199). This means that divisions exist on a hierarchy which is what can be observed in this discussion which is the desire to belong to the majority status group due to the power of what it means to be white in South Africa. The axes of power are orchestrated by historical context (Yuval-Davis, 2006). As a result, in South Africa due to the country's history, resources, access, status and exclusivity are predominantly white-owned and dominated. Hence, whiteness exists higher on the axis of power than blackness. To have access to these spaces is to have access to resources, status and exclusivity. Thandeka explains that this country has been constructed in a way that black is equated to poverty and deprivation while whiteness is aligned to wealth and access. Thus, desire to belong to white spaces is desire to be among the 'haves' as opposed to the 'have-nots'. The desire to belong also speaks to a desire for power, dignity and status as a way of counteracting (defending against) the deprivation and oppression (powerlessness/indignity) of the past. Therefore, in the participants' experiences the country has not succeeded in creating a rainbow nation that celebrates the equality and value of different races and cultures but rather the tendency to assimilate into the dominant culture. Describing South Africa as a rainbow nation at this point in the process may therefore be perpetuating white superiority through the normalisation of assimilation into whiteness, thus—paradoxically, and ironically—standing in opposition to reconciliation.

5.4.1. Empowerment and agency of black people

According to the findings one of the myths that the rainbow nation perpetuates is that the dissolution of the apartheid system and its laws naturally translated into the defeat of all intrapersonal processes of oppression, inferiority and racism. This is substantiated by Thandeka sharing her frustration that although black people hold the majority position in South Africa, she still experiences a portion of black people as fearful and asking for white

people's permission to exist. However, "it is difficult for those who suffer at the hands of oppression not to buy into, at some level, the misinformation that society has perpetuated about victim status" (Batts, 2005, p. 17), which may present itself as the internalisation of racism. Internalised racism includes the experience of self-degradation and self-alienation (Watts-Jones, 2002). Watts-Jones (2000) suggests that white people are in need of healing for racism and black people for the internalisation of that racism. According to Batts (2005) internalised racism can reveal itself in various ways including avoidance of white people under the guise of distrust of all white people, excessive suspicion of white people or rejecting black people who are perceived as not black enough, amongst others. Furthermore, internalised racism may show up as devaluing or rejecting one's cultural heritage and over valuing white standards (Batts, 2005) through the process of assimilation of the perceived lower to the perceived higher (Yuval-Davis, 2006). It may also present as attempting to beat or manipulate a biased system instead of directly challenging it. This may be in an effort to either protect white people or in an effort to avoid shame about being misunderstood and viewed unfavourably by others (Batts, 2005; Watts-Jones, 2004). Internalised racism can therefore present in potentially subtle or even passive ways. It is thus possible to outrightly reject racist ideology, structures and attitudes but have still internalised racism to varying degrees (Watts-Jones, 2004). Both racism and internalised racisms are "fuelled by a rage that can be self-destructive to the person who carries it" (Batts, 2005, p. 17), potentially creating a barrier to any opportunity for genuine reconciliation.

This internalised racism in black people often collaborates with the modern racism of the white person and results in cycles of perpetuating racism. Batts (2005) offers an example of a white person who engages in dysfunctional rescuing. This is described as attempting to rescue because of the assumption that the person being rescued is inferior or too weak to help themselves (Batts, 2005). In response to the dysfunctional rescuing, the black person might not confront the behaviour as they deem it to be the safest option or they have internalised that they are not permitted to be assertive with white people (Batts, 2005). Such actions reinforce the dysfunctional behaviour on both parts and keeps the system intact (Batts, 2005). Consequently, breaking racism-perpetuating cycles requires an awareness and intervention on the part of both the white person committing the offence and the black person reinforcing it. As the study is focused on black experiences of reconciliation, participants emphasised the value and importance of black people's role in intervening to stop these dysfunctional cycles. Watts-Jones (2000) asserts that this intervention begins with recognising and acknowledging

the shame caused by the trauma around blackness due to colonisation, apartheid and ongoing racism, and thereafter acknowledging the shame from being shamed about expressing ongoing experiences of oppression and feelings of anger and hurt. Opening up conversations, as a within-group process, about this shame and the ways black people have been victimised as a result of the shame is likely to open up discussions about the internalisation of racism as part of this victimisation (Watts-Jones, 2002). Through the acknowledgement and un-silencing of internalised racism, one can begin to transform the pain and shame (Watts-Jones, 2002) and address the so-called unfinished business of trauma. This may subsequently reinforce the agency and empowerment of black people which was in part what the TRC was praised for (Kagee, 2006). Hence, in the above example, this would involve the black recipient of the rescuing asserting themselves and rejecting the rescuing act (Batts, 2005). However, this requires that black people understand that they have the right, agency and power to do so reflecting Thandeka's assertion of the value and importance of the empowerment of black people by black people regardless of the role of white people. According to Thandeka there is a responsibility for black people towards other black people.

Furthermore, this empowerment within the black community offers potential to spread the narrative of self-love and black pride in response to the difficulties of being black in post-apartheid South Africa. Particularly Patience's and Thandeka's experiences revealed that self-love and black pride counteracts the experiences of pain and shame resulting from racism and exclusion, so as to be able to live with experiences of joy, peace and success. However, the research suggests that participants believe that black complicity in perpetuating racism plays a significant role in the sluggish movement towards true reconciliation. Hence, black people cannot be solely reliant on white people to carry the process. There is value in the honest engagement of black people with their experiences of shame and pain around blackness and thereafter in rejecting these narratives and cycles and empowering each other. Through this empowered black people may be able to make contributions and demands of a more radical approach to the reconciliatory process therefore moving the process along.

5.5. Conclusion

This chapter has taken the reader through the journey the participants share of their experiences through apartheid, and the ways in which the state disrupted and violated their safety, agency and dignity on a daily basis. Through this exploration it became evident how these experiences of disruption and violation are carried beyond apartheid and have

contributed to the formation of identities, values and behaviours that are present currently. Thereafter, from 1994 onwards there was focused intention around accelerating reconciliation and promoting the rainbow nation. However, as a result of decades of formalised segregation, oppression and racism there were systems, structures and attitudes that were so deeply entrenched in the foundation of the country that the participants experienced the efforts towards reconciliation and the rainbow nation as superficial and too conservative. The results reflect participant disappointment in the reconciliatory process as it had not intervened as rigorously in structural and economic aspects of the new South Africa. Furthermore, there is frustration and resentment towards the perceived lack of interest, understanding and involvement of the white South African population in addressing the inequities of the past through restructuring. However, there was an acknowledgment that the sole reliance on white South Africans for the progress of reconciliation is giving away too much power and is likely to result in the continuation of a sluggish reconciliatory process. Hence, addressing internalised racism and moving toward empowerment within black communities was highlighted. Although there was an acknowledgement that there has been progression since the end of apartheid, there is an overwhelming feeling from the results that reconciliation at all levels has become stagnant and that the rainbow nation is an aspiration and not a reality.

CHAPTER SIX: Conclusion

6.1. Conclusion of results and discussion

This research study set out to investigate the experiences of reconciliation and the rainbow nation through the eyes of Black South Africans. This effort allowed varied data to emerge that represented the diverse experiences of being Black in South Africa. However, even with the uniqueness of the different experiences there was a shared understanding of the rainbow nation, reconciliation and its perceived failures and inequities.

From the themes outlined it is evident that there are experiences of significant losses throughout the apartheid era. Different participants emphasised different losses but overall loss of dignity and safety and agency were prominent subthemes that emerged. Post-apartheid, there are experiences of racism, covert or overt, and inequalities that were in some cases daily, particularly at places of employment. Whiteness and blackness are experienced as vastly separate and different identities for the most part, reinforcing boundaries that are maintained in informal ways. Some participants report maintaining this boundary between races due to a lack of trust, however, others reported active efforts to engage more meaningfully with white counterparts.

The rainbow nation was described as an ideal or aspiration that did not yet exist in South Africa. There was a shared frustration that this term is being employed despite its role in mitigating the unfinished business of the process of reconciliation. Moreover, the process of reconciliation was experienced as stagnated or sluggish because participants experienced it as a one-sided effort that was not reciprocated by white South Africans. However, there were interesting differences in the beliefs of the ways to engage with reconciliation. Lindiwe emphasised the importance of white peoples' engagement, participation and initiative in this process. Whilst Thandeka acknowledged the value of white involvement but she asserted that equality would mostly require black agency, empowerment and assertiveness, which requires breaking strongholds of internalised racism.

Through these themes the main findings of the study are that there is a lack of resolution since the end of apartheid, through the continuity of racial inequality and injustice from an apartheid past to the democratic present. This is closely related to the disparity

between the rhetoric of the rainbow nation and reconciliation, and the lived experiences of black people. As a result, true reconciliation cannot take place in a legitimate way without the acknowledgement and redress of the disparity between the theory and the reality, as structural and economic inequality is prevalent and informal segregation is still normalised. Moreover, the rhetoric around the rainbow nation and South Africa as a reconciled state most likely contributes to the apathy around addressing these inequalities.

It was interesting to observe the emotionality behind the content that was being shared. It ranged from frustration to disdain from different participants at different points in the interviews. However, throughout the interviews all the participants presented as passionate and invested in the topic. Although this may be reflective of a particular interest that led these particular participants to participate in this study, I also believe it may reflect the inability for black South Africans to be removed or unmoved by the experiences of race and reconciliation. As a result of being born black in South Africa there is an inherent involvement in race, reconciliation and the rainbow nation.

6.2. Reflexivity

I am a black South African woman born in the early 1990s, residing in South Africa, with South African parents. I am a product of the history of this country. Whilst conducting this research it was particularly difficult to occupy both the space of an observer and a participant due to what I now understand is the intergenerational trauma of Apartheid. During the interviews the participants would use "we" when referring to black people. I felt a pull to show allegiance, as well as legitimise and bear witness to their experiences. It is possible that this need to bear witness to their pain may have limited my probing, inquisitive or challenging nature. Despite playing a role in building rapport with participants, this allegiance that was formed between the participant and I may have robbed the participant of their individual experience and limited me in doing justice to the individual accounts of the participants' experiences.

I found that conducting the interviews, transcribing the audio and writing the results section of this research was an incredibly emotional process for me. This was specifically due to the fact that the results section was first drafted around the time of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's death and the events surrounding that. I discovered that I was particularly angry at

this time as her life was being recounted in the media. Particularly the pain, fight and subjugation she experienced in her life as a result of the apartheid system. I found it almost impossible to write the section without it feeling very personal; hence, this conflict extended my writing time and required continuous reading and rereading for clarity.

In my personal capacity I have a radical view on race and reconciliation in South Africa. I am passionate and almost unforgiving in my feelings around these topics. As this young, outspoken black woman, although I was very conscious of not intentionally bringing those opinions into the interview, I imagine it was quietly present in the space. Moreover, the nature of uprisings is that the youth of that time are generally central to the movement, driving it, which is visible in the 'Fees Must Fall' movement. Often the older generations have 'run their race' and are more settled. Hence, I can appreciate the dichotomy of my young black angry, energised position against the potentially older, steadier steward position of some of the participants, and how that may have been present in the interview rooms. This dynamic may have led participants to feel limited in their freedom to express neutral, settled or good experiences and pushed them towards certain narratives. Naturally, my personal opinions and passions played a role in the analysis of data as well. It was easier for me to locate and highlight the data that emphasised the difficult or negative aspects of reconciliation and the rainbow nation than that which was positive. Hence, my supervisor played an important role in helping hold me accountable to the ethical obligations of being a researcher and pointing out potential biases. Furthermore, through writing and rewriting drafts I began to see assumptions I was making based on my own experiences versus what there was evidence for in the data or where there was substantiating research. Hence, the extensive process of sending drafts and edits between my supervisor and I was invaluable in ensuring the development of trustworthy results and research.

6.3. Limitations

The first limitation in this study is the sample size. It would be inappropriate to generalise the findings of five participants to the broader population of black South Africans. However, it may be valuable to use the findings as a basis to expand research to a larger sample.

The second limitation is the lack of variation in the sample. All participants grew up in townships in South Africa in the apartheid era. They were majority African participants

with only one Coloured participant and no Indian. Furthermore, there was only one male participant. Although there was still some variation in socioeconomic levels and cultures amongst other factors, this is all likely to have narrowed the type of information received.

The single interview format may have limited the depth and breadth of the information received. Although member checks were carried out, a follow up interview after an initial transcription would have allowed the researcher to reflect on the information received and thereafter return and explore any ambivalent answers, explore implicit messages and probe further around certain issues.

Lastly, there are limitations in interviewing the participants in English when English is not a first language for any of the participants and is third or fourth language for some of the participants. Interviewing the participants in a language other than their mother tongue is likely to have limited the richness or detail of the experiences reported and some meaning may have been lost in the interviews.

6.4. Recommendations

This study may have identified some valuable findings on the experiences of the rainbow nation and reconciliation and potential ways to move the process of reconciliation forward. It is my recommendation that one may expand on this research by exploring the experiences of black people in South Africa on a more diverse, larger scale. Moreover, it would be interesting to explore if there are differences and similarities in experiences and feelings of race and reconciliation based on various factors such as socioeconomic status, race, gender and so forth.

Furthermore, the research places an emphasis on black consciousness and empowerment. Hence, a practical recommendation is honest, meaningful within-group engagement of black people about their experiences of shame and pain around blackness. These engagements are likely to open up discussions about the internalisation of racism (Watts-Jones, 2002). Through the acknowledgement and un-silencing of internalised racism, the transformation of pain and shame is possible (Watts-Jones, 2002), contributing to the resolution of the unfinished business of trauma. Furthermore, black consciousness and

empowerment within the black community offers potential to promote the narrative of self-love and black pride, which results in instilling agency.

As a result of these experiences of agency and empowerment black people may feel more able to challenge modern racisms. This requires rejecting and challenging dysfunctional behaviours on both the part of white and black people. Rejecting racism is necessary to eradicate the behaviours that keep the racist systems intact (Batts, 2005).

An additional recommendation is that as South Africans we need to consider an alternative reality to reconciliation where coexistence is possible despite difference and with respect and understanding for those differences. An alternative reality involves a move away from a conservative approach towards a more radical approach to reconciliation. Therefore, the recommendation suggests that reconciliation in South Africa may need to function differently from how it was presented to the nation at the dawn of democracy.

Lastly, the final recommendation is that the process of reconciliation is a multilevel process and should address reconciliation at all levels moving forward in order to address the social, psychological and economic legacy of apartheid.

6.5. Conclusion of research

The limited local knowledge on the experiences of reconciliation after apartheid revealed a gap in the knowledge. Current South African literature was primarily based on the perspective of the majority status or historic oppressors (white South Africans). The results of the present study provide insight into the lived experience of Black individuals who have lived through apartheid and the transition to a democratic South Africa, and furthermore their experiences of the rainbow nation and reconciliation.

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Appendix A: STUDY ADVERTISING POSTER

Black peoples' experiences of the rainbow nation and

reconciliation in post-Apartheid South Africa.

Are you?

- male and female

- Black (Indian, Coloured and African)

- 40 years and above

- South African citizen

- Communicate effectively in English

If you are, this is a study about YOUR experience as a black person in South Africa. What does the rainbow nation mean to you?

What we need from you:

1 hour to 1 hour 30 minute interview at Itsoseng Clinic, Mamelodi, Pretoria.

If you are interested please contact
Thato Mokoena on
Call: 0788938102
or
E-mail: thatomokoena310@yahoo.com

Appendix B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Interview Sheet

Date:

Time:
(Start):   (End):

Age group:

Gender:
Female: Male:

Race:
African: Indian: Coloured:

Possible questions:
Could you give me a brief history of your experiences in apartheid South Africa?
What do you understand is meant by the 'rainbow nation'?
What do you understand is meant by 'reconciliation'?
What are your experiences with white people?
How do you feel about white South Africans?
How you think white South Africans feel about black South Africans?

Post-Interview comment sheet

Interpretations:

Extra Comments:

Personal Reflections:

Appendix C: EXTRACT FROM THEMES TABLE

Themes	Subthemes	Protocol
Loss (during apartheid)	**Access**	Black: Lack of access to certain spaces, education and resources
		"you could not sit until all the white people were seated" (Lindiwe).
		"when you go to shops they (white people) would be served first, they would be seated first" (Rose)
		Rose tells a story of going to a white family members house and the family member having to ask permission to have them sleep at her house- because they were black
		they (the police) start parading to make sure that there's no black people" (Rose)
		"Even just going by train there would be a side that would be so empty and clean and beautiful at the train stations (the white side) and then there would be another side where we were allowed to sit" (Thandeka)
	Stability	Not knowing when strikes would ensue, police would come on campus and school
		"you'd be at school and suddenly at 11'oclock school was out" (Patience)
		Send messages that via helicopter dropping newspapers o notify people of protest actions and flyers (Lindiwe, Patience)
		'itarget'- the teenagers/ youth would stop the trucks that belonged white companies such as blue ribbon to take bread from them.
		"white Cops would come to make sure black people would not enter the schools in the coloured community" (Rose)- the system was protecting everyone from blacks-black bad
		(exams weren't written for 2 years in varsity- Lindiwe)
		longer varsity seasons
	Safety	Violence (teargas and rubber bullets)
		"there was teargas, sub A grade 1" (Patience)
		amashoja- soldiers on horses would come to each house looking for the bread (Patience)
		lives

Appendix D: INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM

<u>Consent Form</u>

1. Overview

The overall aim of this study is to explore the experiences of black South Africans with regards to the notion of the 'rainbow nation' and 'reconciliation' following two decades of democratic rule.

This will be achieved through the following objectives:

1. By exploring how black South Africans have experienced joining together of people of different races (reconciliation) in post-apartheid South Africa.
2. By developing an understanding of what the 'rainbow nation' and 'reconciliation' means in post-apartheid South Africa, couched in these experiences.

Thato Mokoena (thatomokoena310@yahoo.com) will be conducting the research with Ahmed Mohamed as her research supervisor (Ahmed.Mohamed@up.ac.za or 012 420 4006).

2. Procedures

This study process will include an interview between you (the participant) and the researcher. This conversation will last between an hour and hour and 30 minutes. You will be required to answer questions and discuss your experiences of living in South Africa in as much detail as you're comfortable. With your permission I will be recording the interview with an audio-recorder for research purposes. There will be an opportunity to ask questions or air concerns in the last 15 minutes of the interview.

If you experience any distress or discomfort due to the nature of the study a debriefing session with be available with an Itsoseng counsellor. You can access this service by contacting Mr Rico Visser on: **telephone**: 012 842 3515, **fax:** 086 518 3871**,**
email: itsoseng.clinic@up.ac.za. The physical address of this session will be held at the University of Pretoria, Mamelodi campus**,** Administration Building (ground floor, Room D120), Corner of Hans Strijdom Avenue and Hinterland Street, Mamelodi East.

3. Risks and Inconveniences

The risks may include discomfort or re-traumatization experienced through discussing your past life experiences. Furthermore, the inconveniences may include the time commitment, as it will take between an hour and an hour and a half of your time.

4. Benefits

You will have contributed to a study that aims to voice the experiences of a previously disadvantages/disempowered group of people.

5. Confidentiality

All the information that is shared within the interview is confidential. The study staff (researcher and supervisor) will be the only people who have access to your raw data and

interview material (notes and recording). Thereafter, I will use pseudonyms (fake names) in the final mini-dissertation, and any other outputs emanating from the research.

6. Voluntary Participation

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. If you choose to participate in this research study, you are free to withdraw from it at any time. If you decide not to participate or at any point you choose to withdraw from participation there will be no penalty.

7. Questions and Queries

Before making a decision about whether to participate in this reconciliation research study, please read this consent form carefully and discuss any questions you have with the researcher. If you have and questions, queries or concerns after the study is complete you are welcome to contact Thato or Ahmed (details above).

8. Future Research

The data obtained for this study will be stored securely at the University of Pretoria, Humanities Building, Room 11.24 and will be archived for use in possible future research, articles and conference proceedings.

8. Signatures

I voluntary agree to participate in the research study on

_____   _____
Participant Signature   *Researcher Signature*

_____
Date