CHAPTER 1: GENERAL ORIENTATION AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

1.1 ORIENTATION

In South Africa, a system of separate development for different racial groups, known as apartheid, was established and implemented. Although conflicting views exist regarding the date, people generally accept that this system was embedded in law by Parliament after the 1948 election, which was won by the National Party (Liebenberg, 1998:15). Subsequent to 1948 up until the 1970s numerous laws that seriously affected people in their day-to-day living were promulgated. Separate facilities, separate group areas, racial classification, which prohibited sexual relations and various other forms of formal and informal contact between racial groups existed. Dubow (1989:4) points out that over the years, race in South Africa became the key determinant of other social areas such as status and class. Whites as a racial group predominantly formed a strong middle-class group, enjoying honour, prestige as well as privileges afforded them by virtue of birth. However, there have always been middle-class black and especially Asian people as well as upper-class people of all races in South Africa.

According to Liebenberg (1998:4) the struggle against apartheid exacted a high toll both on the side of those who fought against it as well as those who fought on behalf of the State. In this continuous power struggle, with its side effects of abuses of power and dehumanisation, some of which are illustrated in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) Report (see paragraph 1.2.2), a great number of people, mostly civilians, were killed or injured. This resulted in great suffering (Liebenberg, 1998:4). It is significant to emphasise that a number of organisations during this period of the

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1.   The use of the pronoun he throughout the text is not intended as gender discrimination but an attempt to make reading easier.

2.   Iimpimpi is a plural Xhosa word (whose singular is impimpi) which came in use during the liberation struggle in South Africa and used to label police informers.

history of South Africa were responsible for violations which could directly or indirectly be linked to the system of apartheid. As a consequence of the voluminous nature of the TRC Report, researcher focussed only on its major findings, which show the impact of apartheid and its complications on the lives of all South Africans.

These are the following:

- One of the three former Prime Ministers, P.W. Botha, who was State President from 1984 to 1989 was found to be responsible for human rights violations. In 1988 he allegedly ordered the bombing of Khotso House in Johannesburg, which belonged to the South African Council of Churches (SACC). This was carried out at the instructions of the then Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok and by members of the South African Police Service (SAPS). Between 1960 and 1994 the government undertook unlawful acts including torture, unjustified use of force as well as the extra-judicial murders of opponents. One example is the 1978 counter revolutionary raid by the South African Special Forces, which resulted in the execution of 12,000 people and the injury of 600 others at the Kassinga refugee camp in Angola (TRC Report, Extract 4, 1998:7).

- Further, the African National Congress (ANC) and its military structures routinely tortured and ill-treated detainees in exile at its camps known as Quattro as well as Kassinga in Angola. The above organisation also contributed to a spiral of violence after it was unbanned and its leader, the then President Nelson Mandela was released from detention in 1990 by the then State President F.W. de Klerk. It established and supplied weapons to Self-Defence Units (SDUs). However, the ANC had no manpower in the townships to whom these young activists could be accountable, they thus became uncontrollable. Consequently, they took the law into their own hands and committed human rights violations (TRC Report, Extract 4, 1998:8).

- The ANC Women's League President, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela was responsible for the Mandela United Football Club violations. This includes her conviction in 1991 for the kidnapping of four youths in 1988, including a 14-year-old activist, Stompie Seipei, who was tortured and killed in her house. Although these young activists were supposed to be members of a soccer club, nevertheless they are reported to have played only one game. They were found to have been engaged in criminal activities in Soweto, Johannesburg that included rape, robbery, as well as torture and execution of people who were perceived as informers. Since they were staying at Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's residence in Soweto and had been under her supervision, the TRC found that although they could have carried out criminal activities on their own initiative, under the protection of political activities, she could have been aware of this (TRC Report, Extract 4, 1998:8).

- The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) committed gross human rights violations from 1982 to 1994 in the provinces, which were then Transvaal, Natal and Kwazulu. The leader of the IFP, who is also its President, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was responsible for inciting supporters, in collusion with the South African government, to commit mass attacks, resulting in death, injury as well as destruction of property (TRC Report, Extract 4, 1998:7).

- The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) has been found to be responsible of having perpetrated the random killings of civilians and white farmers after 1990 which constituted acts of war. In doing so, it has been found to violate not only human rights, but also that of Humanitarian Law. For example, its armed wing, the African Peoples Liberation Army (APLA), amongst other things, killed and maimed a number of civilians of all races. This happened when they detonated bombs at inter alia, the Highgate Hotel in East London, the Golf Course Club in King Williams Town and the Saint James Church massacre in Cape Town between 1989 and 1993 (TRC Report, Extract 4,1998:8).

Other acts of terror were committed during the early 1960s by its then military wing, known as Poqo, which was established for purposes of embarking on an

underground armed struggle. For illustration purposes, this movement killed five white civilians in 1963 while they were sleeping in caravans on the roadside at Mbashe near Umtata. As a result of this 23 Poqo members received the death penalty and were subsequently executed for these atrocities (TRC Report, Extract 4, 1998:7).

- The Right Wing Movement, under the auspices of the Afrikaner Volksfront committed human rights violations during 1993 and 1994 in the pursuit of self-determination. For example, they wanted to have their own geographically determined area, within South Africa, so that they could acquire and sustain their aspirations culturally as well as socially. Generals Constant Viljoen, Tienie Groenewald as well as Eugene Terreblanche were responsible for the actions of their followers. To illustrate some of the violations committed by their people, in April 1994 members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) were responsible for planting a bomb, which killed nine people in Breë Street, Johannesburg, central Gauteng. Another example is the Germiston taxi-rank bomb, which killed seven people and injured more than 50 other civilians (TRC Report, Extract 4, 1998:7).

- The TRC has found that the civil society, especially in the mid-1980s, and as reflected in the English language media, appeased the previous government and ensured self-censorship. According to the South African Race-Relations Report (1997/1998:523) the Afrikaans language media as well as some churches supported apartheid. For example, the Anglican Congregational, the Methodist, the Presbyterian as well as the Presbyterian Reformed Churches submitted evidence to the TRC on how apartheid affected the way the church ministered to communities. They asked for forgiveness for contributing to the oppression of black people. Furthermore, the Media Monitoring Project testified to the Commission that The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) had operated as the official mouthpiece of the ruling National Party (NP) from 1948-1994 (South African Race-Relations Report, 1997/1998:524).

In the face of repression, all legal and peaceful channels of protest were blocked, and this, inter alia, resulted in the ANC resorting to the armed struggle in 1960. Mounting pressure by progressive movements as well as international bodies culminated in the establishment of the new democracy after the April 1994 general election.

Hamber and Kimble (1999:1) allude to the international perspective of truth commissions. They emphasise that numerous transitions to democracy in previous decades have seen newly installed governments faced with the question of how to deal with the history of political violence. Although some governments' responses have ranged from unwillingness to confront the perpetrators of human abuses, to purges as well as prosecutions, nevertheless, others have established truth commissions. Since South Africa's TRC will be the subject of this study, researcher will now briefly discuss purges and prosecutions:

- **Purges**

Purges or lustrations constitute the removal from office of the perpetrators of abuses who hold leadership positions. Bulgaria's Power Law, for example, adopted in December 1992, required individuals holding leading positions in the State to provide a written statement of past communist activities. In terms of International Law, lustration (a Latin derivative, which means to purify by sacrificing or purging) should be limited to positions in which there is good reason to believe that the individual would pose a significant danger in a position of power. However, South Africa's TRC decided not to recommend lustration because it would be inappropriate in the country's present social, economic and political context in which emphasis is placed on the crucial significance of national unity and reconciliation (TRC Report, Extract, 1998:7).

- **Prosecutions**

In other countries, perpetrators of previous human rights violations have been prosecuted. For example, in Germany, the newly established State has tried generals and politicians of the former regime for killing people who attempted to escape across

the Berlin Wall. Similarly, the International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, in the Hague, has been listening to testimonies about events in the recent Balkan Wars (Hamber & Kimble, 1999:1).

According to Krog (1998:iv) the Parliament's Justice Portfolio Committee drafted legislation which led to the establishment of the TRC. This was instituted in accordance with Act 34 of 1995 known as the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act. In conjunction with this, Liebenberg and Zegeye (1998:548) state that the task of this Commission was to investigate human rights violations, which occurred between 1 March 1960 and 6 December 1993. In addition to this, the cut-off date for the submission of the applications for amnesty by the perpetrators, was 5 December 1993. The above authors state that this time frame was decided upon as being appropriate and encompassing because of the following two critical extremes:

- Progressive movements were banned in 1960 and this culminated in the armed struggle, which resulted in the perpetration of many human rights violations.

- When democracy was attained during 1994, transgressions, which occurred thereafter, could not have been as intense and as many as those, which were perpetrated before this date.

It was thus predicated upon the demands of the 1993 Interim Constitution and had a mandate to effect the following:

• To establish a complete report on the causes, nature and extent of past abuses in order that South Africans could come to terms with their past.

• To locate the victims of these abuses and allow them to relate their testimonies in an attempt to restore their human and civil dignity.

- To make amends to these individuals through the granting of reparations as well as rehabilitative measures (see paragraph 1.3.1.4).

- To enhance reconciliation by, for example, granting amnesty to the perpetrators of human rights abuses who met the criteria, for example by making full disclosures of politically motivated violations of human rights.

- To compile a comprehensive report on the gross human rights violations and make recommendations on how such events could be prevented from recurring (Hamber, 1995:3).

Hamber and Kimble (1999:6), endorse that the TRC Act also made provision as part of the negotiated settlement, for the granting of amnesty. Thus the interim constitution noted that:

- In order to advance reconciliation and reconstruction, amnesty shall be granted in respect of acts, omissions and offences associated with political objectives, which were committed in the course of the conflicts of the past. To this end, parliament under this constitution shall adopt a law determining a firm cut-off date which shall be a date after 8 October 1990 and before 6 December 1993, and providing for the mechanisms, criteria and procedures, including tribunals if any, through which such amnesty shall be dealt with at any time after the law has been passed. This was carried over and finalised in the Constitution of 1995.

In conjunction with this, Liebenberg and Zegeye (1998:547) state that the TRC was supposed to consist of eight to ten persons appointed by the President on the recommendation of a selection committee. However, it eventually consisted of 17 members who were to be characterised by the following:

- They had to be impartial.

- They were not supposed to have a high (i.e. too partisan) political profile.

- They had to represent a broad cross section of the population.

Endorsing the above, Meiring (1999:11) points out that three specialised committees were established to function as the TRC. Provision was to be made for appropriate officials, administration, and a budget to guarantee independence from government and to ensure the capacity to perform its functions. These are the following:

- **The Human Rights Committee**

This Committee would afford victims the opportunity to relate their accounts of abuses. The following Commissioners served on this Committee: Desmond Tutu, Alex Boraine, Yasmin Sooka, Wynand Malan, Mary Burton, Bongani Finca, Richard Lyster, Fazel Randera, Dumisa Ntsebeza, Denzil Potgieter, Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela, Joyce Seroke, Hugh Lewin, Russel Ally and Llan Lax (Meiring, 1999:11).

- **The Committee on Amnesty**

This Committee would make it possible for offenders to submit their testimonies and to apply for amnesty. The following Commissioners served on it: Hassen Mill, Andrew Wilson, Bernard Ngoepe, Chirs de Jager and Sisi Khampepe.

- **The Committee on Reparations and Rehabilitation**

The Committee on Reparations and Rehabilitation was established to pay particular attention to the needs of the victims, to prepare proposals for remuneration and reparation. The following persons served on this Committee: Hlengiwe Mkhize, Wendy Orr, Khoza Mgojo, Mapule Ramashaba, Glenda Wildschut, Piet Meiring, Tom Manttata, Mcebisi Xundu and Smangele Mgwaza.

It is significant to highlight that Meiring (Meiring, 1999:12), a former Commissioner of the TRC, emphasised that the work of South Africa's Commission can be distinguished from other Commissions for the following reasons, inter alia:

- The establishment of the TRC was as democratic as possible with as many people as possible participating.

- The Commissioners were appointed from various interest groups by means of a process which was as democratic and transparent as possible.

- The establishment, objectives and methods were based upon an Act accepted by Parliament.

- The press and the public had full access to all the hearings.

- It was granted the authority to subpoena people and to confiscate documents.

- It was given the power to grant amnesty to the offenders.

- Not only the names of the victims, but also those of the violators of human rights would be made known.

However, Malala and Richard (1999:1) reported in the Sunday Times on 2 February 1999 that Kgalema Motlanthe, the Secretary General of the ANC, stated that the organisation had signalled that the government would not pay reparations to more than 20 000 people classified as victims of human rights violations by the TRC. It nevertheless indicated that instead of making payments to all such individuals, it would seek to make symbolic reparations. These could, for example include the building of clinics for communities who do not have such facilities, as well as the erection of monuments among other things, to commemorate the deceased activists. The government believes that such gestures could heal communities as well as the nation as a whole. However, the government would pay some victims and not others, as it asserted that it could not attach monetary value to the suffering. It is significant to point out that this change of attitude by the State, could be construed as both contradictory as well as discriminatory by some individuals. Thus, Hlengiwe Mkhize, the head of the Reparations Committee, who responded to this disclosure by the ANC, said:

It will be a double loss for the victims of abuses. At the time the TRC was established, the government entered into a social contract with such persons. Thus, it was agreed that the perpetrators would be granted amnesty if they met the criteria and their victims would give up the right to pursue civil claims. In exchange, the violated were promised compensation by the State.

In the light of the above statement, it seems as if the government had decided to ignore the previous agreement with the victims. As a sequel to the above, Hadland (1999:7) reported in the Star on 12 October 1999 that South Africa's pledge to care for the estimated 25 000 official victims of apartheid is in danger of being forgotten due to bureaucratic delays and indifference. The author quotes the chairperson of the Reparations and Rehabilitation Committee, Hlengiwe Mkhize as saying that the experience of the victims is that the system is not working. Only 8 000 of the 11 000 applications for State assistance of the victims of serious human rights abuses have been processed and small amounts of money has been awarded. However, the government has failed to resolve the issue of long-term assistance. Thus, in many instances, the victims are increasingly feeling even more traumatised and frustrated.

In addition, some victims who had been referred for health care were turned away from hospitals as well as clinics and were refused medication or surgery. Others who had been encouraged to use their grants for education are being rejected by schools, universities, and technikons, and when they approach the government for help, are being passed from one department to the other. In addition to this, some government officials do not understand the process and they are insensitive to the victims which can be viewed as revictimisation. Above all, the possibility exists that the process of reconciliation could be faltering.

It is crucial to observe that the decision by the Khulumani Support Group, which represents the survivors of political violence, to sue the government, might be one indication of the culmination of the above grievances. Keeton (1999:3) reported in the Sowetan of 5 November 1999 that this support group gave the Ministry of Justice an ultimatum of 5 November 1999 to give them feedback on reparations or face legal

charges. In conjunction with this, Hamber (1999:3) the Executive Director of the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) endorses that legal action is one of the options for the survivors of the abuses in terms of the Constitutional Court ruling. This ruling states that granting amnesty should be balanced with reparations. It is also important to note that a former TRC Commissioner, Wendy Orr remarked in connection with the above, that the right to reparations is implicit in the TRC Act and that it is unacceptable for the government to state that there is not enough money for reparations. She also stated that without reparations the Act was an unjustifiable compromise as reparations ignored is justice denied (Keeton, 1993:3).

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The scientific study of the impact of the revelations of the TRC on the victims can be considered to be necessary for the following reasons:

- Relevance of the topic to society.

- The increase in political crime that was experienced in South Africa during the mid-1980s.

- The multi-faceted nature of the causes of political crime and the impact thereof on victims.

- Neglect suffered by victims of political crime world-wide.

1.2.1 Relevance of the topic to society

Lin (1976:7) postulates that in scientific research, the choice of the subject is the result of certain considerations. Bailey (1994:169) argues that these include the relevance of the topic to society, its contribution to science and the statement of the extent of the problem. To the researcher's knowledge there is a dire need for assessing the

experiences of victims who suffered abuses during the mid-1980s in the country. In South Africa the TRC is a new initiative, which was founded to examine human rights violations and has been awarded much attention by the mass media. This could cause citizens to be concerned about the outcome of the Commission's role towards reconciliation. Increasingly conflicting perceptions exist concerning the successes as well as the failures of the TRC. Besides this, more people express disappointment at its work, pointing out that it has failed to reconcile South African citizens (Wounds Truth Won't Heal 1997; Bid to Ensure, 1998:5; TRC Fails to Reconcile, 1998:15; and Reconciliation in Review, 1998:1).

It is significant to highlight that at present, no study has been done in South Africa, which specifically analyses the impact of the revelations of the TRC on **women** who made submissions about their experiences of the political conflict in the country. Researcher gave special attention to assess the impact of the revelations of the TRC on **women victim respondents** (see paragraph 1.2.1). The sample comprised of three categories, and was constructed in the following way:

- Ten TRC Commissioners.
- Ten Co-ordinators of the Commission.
- Thirty victim respondents.

Although a detailed discussion of the sample for this research is given in Chapter 3, researcher deliberately avoided to demarcate by race. The aim is to obtain a balanced perspective on the experiences of the victim respondents of **all races** in South Africa (see paragraph 1.10.2).

Researcher, thus decided to focus only on **female respondents** for the following reasons:

- According to Reynolds (1994:5), studies have been undertaken since the 1970s, on the implications of capitalism, racism as well as patriarchy on women. However, much of this work has succumbed to the structural biasness of treating females as

objects of these transgressions. In this way, research on them as subjects of resistance to oppression have largely ignored the significant impact these could have on individuals. In the light of the above, researcher decided to concentrate only on women.

- Goldblatt and Meintjes (1998:229) argue that a gendered approach that concentrates on studies of the social location of men and women in the past is crucial as it can deepen that understanding. However, these authors also observed that females had been ignored, partly because men were seen to be the only victims of human rights abuses. As an illustration of this point, they emphasised that during the TRC hearings, females had mostly given evidence on violence, which was directed towards men. This can distort reality, because women had also been direct victims of past abuses.

- Meiring endorses that research, which could analyse how South African women experienced the revelations of the TRC, would be of benefit, as it could provide findings, which are multi-dimensional. In addition to this, these are the individuals who were over-represented in all the hearings of the Commission as they testified about themselves, their husbands, children as well as relatives. (Meiring, former TRC Commissioner, University of Pretoria. 1999. Personal interview, July 20, Pretoria).

Although many countries world-wide have established Commissions pursuant to transition from authoritarian rule to democracy (40 Commissions) only one has received some measure of credibility, viz the Chilean TRC. The irony in the Chilean example is that its former dictator, the 83 year old ailing Augusto Pinochet, while seeking medical treatment in Britain, in October 1998, was arrested. This was a culmination of the pressure put on Spain by the relatives of the murdered victims as well as families of people who disappeared, to have him extradited to face prosecution. He was found not to be immune from prosecution for his involvement in the deaths and disappearances of more than 3 000 people during his term of office. It can thus be possible for some perpetrators in South Africa who had not applied for amnesty from the TRC, to assume

that they could, in future, experience the same fate as ex-president Pinochet (Reconciliation in Review, 1998:1).

This may also be the reason why the provincial leader of the Democratic Party (DP), Peter Leon warned Mangosuthu Buthelezi not to get caught up in the same dilemma as Pinochet by refusing to apply for amnesty to the TRC, which had found him to be accountable for gross human rights violations in Kwazulu-Natal (King Buthelezi take care, 1987:7). Besides this, the study seems to be crucial for a country which has for so long been divided by political differences. A possibility can exist that the respondents' feelings about reconciliation and national unity in relation to their experiences could shed light on the nature of the challenges South Africans can be confronted with. This knowledge could thus assist the government in formulating problem-solving mechanisms. It is envisaged that it could be possible to effect strategies which could be used to assist in unifying citizens of South Africa through the reconciliatory efforts which the TRC has attempted to facilitate, irrespective of the criticism it has received.

1.2.2 Development of Commissions focusing on human rights abuses

According to Liebenberg and Zegeye (1998:547) the perpetration of human rights violations is not a new phenomenon in the world. Hence conflict as well as directed collective violence against others seem to be more the rule than the exception. The persecution of the Jews by the Nazis in Germany before and during the Second World War (1939-1945) serves as an example. However, unlike the South African TRC, the perpetrators were subsequently indicted in a court process, namely the Nuremberg Trials, which was also preceded by a Commission. Although the violators were punished for war crimes, it can be said that this event heralded the development of other and different Commissions, which began in 1982 (Liebenberg & Zegeye, 1998:547).

Bronkhorst (1995:69) observes, in his book, which comprises the first broad survey of TRCs of the world, that Commissions are a comparatively new phenomenon. Liebenberg (1999:9) notes that these Commissions mostly took place after 1982. Given

that South Africa also joined these countries, in an attempt to find ways to account for human rights abuses of the past, researcher is of the opinion that it is significant that a brief overview of these TRCs is to be given. In this way this study can be historically contextualised. It is crucial to emphasise that as it is not the aim of this research to analyse all the Commissions of the world, but only to give attention to some of those which received prominence in the literature. In addition to this, the Commissions which are perceived to have succeeded, as well as those that did not, will be outlined.

Liebenberg and Zegeye (1998:550) stress that the South African government has gone further than other countries that have established TRCs. Its uniqueness stems from the fact that it is the first example of a process officially opened to encourage debate as well as input from the public. Besides this, it is also not a Commission which was established by Presidential decree, but went through a multi-party negotiated constitution, which by implication makes it democratic. These authors further highlight that it had more powers than the Chilean one, for example the power to subpoena witnesses. The fact that it could prosecute persons who failed to appear before it as well as its Amnesty Committee made it different from the others, some of whom declared blanket amnesties for the perpetrators.

1.2.2.1 Characteristics of TRCs

Hayner (in Hamber & Kimble, 1999:2) argues that there are four elements common to most Truth Commissions:

- They focus on the past.

- They aim to provide a comprehensive picture of human rights abuses and of violations of international law over a period of time, and not only to focus on one event.

- They exist for a limited period of time, usually disbanding when their report has been completed.

- They have authority to access information and demand protection, and in this way can examine sensitive issues and maximise the impact of their report.

Besides this, generally Truth Commissions have not prosecuted individuals, although some have handed over their names for the normal judicial process to do so. Nevertheless, they are not precluded by definition from conducting prosecutions; they could have such recourse, just as the South African TRC was also mandated to grant amnesty.

Most Commissions also have an important function in terms of making a public acknowledgement of the truth. Often, one of their aims is to give a country a broad and reliable account of past abuses.

Hereunder is a brief discussion of some of the Commissions:

- **To forgive and forget, or to delete the past** (this is labelled **amnesia**)

This option was followed by Spain, Portugal, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Zambia after their regimes changed to a democracy. Spain for example, chose to concentrate on developing a sustainable economic growth, and thus, become a vibrant and stable multi-party democracy. However, Zambia opted instead, to build a free nation and humanism in Africa.

Thus, these States decided on settlements rather than dealing with the past through direct political action. Hence Liebenberg (1999:8) concludes that the above proved that neither retribution nor truth and reconciliation processes as embodied in TRCs need to be an option to ensure sustainable democracy.

- **To allow (or request) the international community to instigate and follow through a judicial process (International Courts or Tribunals)**

This category includes the Nuremberg Trials after the collapse of the Nazi regime in 1945, the Tribunal following the Serbo-Croation War (late 1990s) as well as the war in Rwanda (1997-1998). Another is the large-scale human abuses which were perpetrated in Kosovo during 1999, for which President Milosovic and his political supporters could be prosecuted by ordering the execution of ethnic cleansing.

- **TRCs initiated by new democratic governments and/or by sectors within or representing civil society**

According to Liebenberg (1999:8) this includes Bolivia (1982), Chile (1992), Argentina (1984), Uruguay (1985), as well as South Africa (1995). The latter's report was released during October 1998. However, in many other countries, no conclusive reports were made available, neither were definite steps taken to ensure that similar excesses did not recur.

- **Government sponsored Commissions by ruling governments** (mostly governments who remain in power after the abuses have taken place)

Although the following examples are distinct from traditional TRCs, nevertheless they need to be mentioned. According to Liebenberg (1999:543) during 1990s the MacNally as well as the Goldstone Commissions were established to investigate violence and the possible involvement by third forces in the conflict in South Africa. In addition to this, the ANC also appointed Commissions of enquiry to deal with torture and abuse of victims in ANC exile camps (the Motsuenyane and Skweyiya Commissions).

- **Mixed approaches**

In this category, various examples exist. For instance in The Netherlands (1945/46) court cases as well as internment of human rights violators took place. These also included the re-integration into society of the above transgressors. In Portugal some

court cases and redeployment of officials whose images had tarnished as a result of the abuses they committed, occurred.

It is important to point out that Liebenberg (1999:7) stresses that a distinct categorisation of approaches to a past of human rights transgressions (as well as acknowledgements) without extensive research and classification is not possible. Hence, communities in search of tolerance and stability are faced with various options in order to deal with the past.

Furthermore, in Italy (1945) the arbitrary execution of Benito Mussolini drew a line through the past and ended an era of dictatorship as well as oppression. Lastly in Chad (1990-1991), a Commission, which nearly resembles a TRC, named the perpetrators and discredited the previous Habre regime because of the allegations against them which were disclosed in the report. However, this took place without a significant impact on the objective human rights situation in Chad and in this way, the results were minimal.

As proof of the relevance of this study to society, a number of books have been written on the TRC even before it had finished its task. According to Boraine (Boraine, Levy & Scheffer, 1994) this indicates that there are factors that transcended the Commission. As an example he gave the economic inequality in the country between black and white people, which has to be considered. However, this statement could be construed as being biased when regard is given to the increasing number of economically deprived white people in South Africa. Papers have been presented at conferences (Minnaar, Liebenberg & Schutte, 1994; Duvenhage, 1995; Hamber, 1995; Langa, 1998; and Mkhize, 1998) on the lessons South Africa could draw from Commissions of other countries to avoid repeating their mistakes. Some examined the psychological effect of the TRC on victims as well as on reconciliation. There were also researchers who made presentations, which evaluated the work of the Commission, focussing on its strengths as well as its weaknesses.

Hamber (1997:7) reports that during the period of military rule in Brazil (1964-1979) thousands of citizens were persecuted, forced into exile, murdered, tortured and approximately 30 000 disappeared under suspicious circumstances. Relatives of these people are of the opinion that the atrocities committed by the government did not receive attention since the passing of a general amnesty in 1979, which pardoned the perpetrators. This was implemented irrespective of the perpetrators having made disclosures about abuses they had committed. Furthermore, the issue of reparations had been agreed upon only in 1995 to compensate the families of the murdered and those who disappeared. This was long overdue as dependents' loved ones were allegedly abducted and murdered by the military police since 1964 (Hamber, 1997:7).

During the Second World War (1939-1945) six million Jews were systematically stripped of their possessions, tortured in German Nazi concentration camps and eventually killed. Some Jews however survived the Holocaust and lived to relate their experiences. It took the Swiss Government 53 years to concede in 1996 that it still has millions of Swiss francs belonging to Jews, which were allegedly deposited by the Nazis in their own bank accounts. It was only during 1999 that the survivors as well as the dependants of the deceased considered obtaining legal advice on how to claim these assets (Reynolds, 1999:20). It is envisaged that South Africa may draw lessons from the above and be able to avoid such mistakes.

1.3 THEORETICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The use of a theoretical model as a basis for empirical research facilitates the conveyance of various aspects of a number of different theories, which are considered to be relevant to the problem of the study (Glanz, 1990:9). Ovens (1992:34) concurs that this method leads to a multi-dimensional approach to the topic. Respondents in this study experienced the impact of the TRC in unique ways as a result of a variety of factors, making it impossible to explain the phenomenon by employing one theoretical approach.

A theoretical model based on certain constructs contained in the following theories was used:

- Parsons' Action System Theory (Parsons, 1978:66).

- Janoff-Bulman and Frieze's Victim Experience Model (Janoff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983: 5-15).

- Stroebe and Stroebe's Theory of Bereavement (Stroebe & Stroebe, 1987:48; Lindenmann, 1981:150).

- Frankl's Existential Theory (Frankl, 1970:98).

- Maslow's Motivational Theory (Maslow, 1970:8).

The expositions of these theories as well as the manner in which they were used to analyse the data will now be briefly explained. However, a comprehensive discussion thereof formed the theoretical perspective of this study (see Chapter 2). This is then followed by a discussion of their significance to the present study.

1.3.1 Parsons' Theory

Parsons' Action System Theory explains human interaction in all situations and at all times (Parsons, 1978:169). According to Ritzer (1992:105) this includes personal behaviour, which can be influenced by various social meanings in society. Parsons' Theory can be linked to that of Frankl's Existential Theory, which explains how victims of trauma can derive meaning in their suffering in order to survive and also attain spiritual growth therefrom (see paragraph 2.5). The above-mentioned theory of Parsons was thus developed into a model of social action, known as the General Action System. Furthermore, he postulates that there are four elements in the General Action System, viz., biological, personality, social as well as cultural subsystems which interrelate by

passing energy and information to one another to facilitate social action (Adriaansens, 1980:117). These subsystems have to resolve the following functional pre-requisites, namely, adaptation, goal attainment, integration as well as latency for order to be maintained in society. It was thus possible for the researcher to explain how the victims in this research adapted to the stress and conflict in their lives, brought about by their trauma, in order to survive. The biological subsystem is designed to solve the problem of adaptation, the personality system is responsible for goal attainment, while integration as well as latency control the social and cultural subsystems, respectively.

1.3.2 Janoff-Bulman and Frieze's Victim Experience Model

Janoff-Bulman and Frieze's Model explains the experiences of victimisation, whether direct or indirect (Janoff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983:15). The model is based on the view that all individuals, including respondents in this study, accept and follow three basic assumptions about themselves and their society. These are the belief in personal invulnerability, the perception that the world is significant and just and the opinion of the self as positive. These assumptions can determine how individuals will cope with various conflicts, which result in trauma they may experience. However, when people are victimised, can realise with shock that they are in fact vulnerable in spite of being good citizens and that there is not much that they can do to control the situation.

1.3.3 Stroebe and Stroebe's Theory of Bereavement

The Bereavement Theory of Stroebe and Stroebe (1987) was used to explain how individuals, who lost family members through various forms of death (natural or other), went through the process of grief. Although Stroebe and Stroebe (1987) point out that the process of grief is not simplistic, they however distinguish among the general types of reactions namely, numbness, yearning, protest, despair as well as recovery and restitution. This theory is supported by that of Lindenmann, who, unlike the above authors, focussed exclusively on pathological grief, which also forms an important dimension of the experiences of the victim respondents in this research (1993:150). This

theory can be linked to Parsons' General Action Theory which explains the dynamic coping mechanisms persons undergo when they are confronted by stimuli (see Figure 2.1).

1.3.4   Frankl's Existential Theory

The Existential Theory of Frankl (Frankl, 1970:xi) was constructed by him for use in the field of psychiatry to explain various forms of neurosis which he traced to the failure of the sufferer to find meaning and a sense of responsibility in his existence. As a survivor of the Holocaust himself, the author believed that whatever trauma a person experienced, which could manifest in distressing disorders, a person is compelled to make choices. The victim can either give up hope and suffer what he terms spiritual death, even before actually dying, or he/she may try and fight for survival. This can be achieved through endurance, by attaching meaning to the trauma in order to acknowledge that all was not in vain. Frankl (1970:xi) further postulates that the central theme of existentialism is: to live is to suffer, to survive is to find meaning in suffering. If there is a purpose in life at all, there must be a purpose in suffering and dying. Although meaning is important, no man can tell another what this purpose is, as each one must find out for himself.

1.3.5   Maslow's Theory of Personal Growth

Finally, this theory of Maslow (1970:12) was used to explain that human nature is holistic and as such it is possible to improve society. This could be accomplished by discovering human values that could have been discarded and spurned during times of adversity such as the aftermath of war or political conflict. He further postulates that individuals could attain such values through a process of self-actualisation, which is characterised by the exploitation of talents, capacity as well as potentialities. According to Shantall (1996:112), Maslow was overcome by the manifestations of man's inhumanity to man during the Second World War when he gave up his career in

experimental research in order to prove that human beings are capable of something nobler than war, prejudice and hatred.

1.3.6   Relevance of the study to research methodology

1.3.6.1   The inadequacies of official crime data

Conklin (1994:64) postulates that a gap exists between the number of crimes reported to the police, and those that actually occur. This is referred to as the dark figure of crime, which can limit the validity of crime statistics. The extent and effect of crime is greater than is reflected in the available statistics.

1.3.6.2   Confessions of abuses which had never been reported to the police

According to the TRC Report, Extract 2 (1998:3) a number of perpetrators of gross human rights violations, both those who were protecting and defending apartheid as well as those who opposed it, confessed to a number of atrocities. These had not been part of the official crime statistics as a result of a conspiracy of silence that characterised the political conflict of the apartheid era and had been divulged for the first time during the submissions to the TRC. Inter alia these violations included the following:

- Slayings by necklacing of the so-called enemies of the struggle against apartheid.

- Torture and murder of suspected informers (iimpimpi) who were in exile at the ANC camps Quartro and Kassinga in Angola.

- The illegal covert operations of the South African Defence Force's Military Intelligence (SADF-MI).

- The illegal covert operations of the South African Police's Vlakplaas Unit.

- Third force activities involving the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB).

This study not only adds to research methodology but also increases our knowledge of secret operations as there are respondents who discovered the truth about the disappearances, deaths or torture of their family members for the first time at the TRC hearings. In accordance with the Commission's mandate, perpetrators were promised amnesty for making full disclosures of abuses within the stipulated time limit (1 March 1960 to 6 December 1994). However, they were also informed that if they should fail to do this, and statements of others during amnesty applications in the future implicated them, recommendations could be made that they be prosecuted.

1.3.6.3   Contribution of a balanced study

In this study **no demarcation was made by race** and a multidimensional approach was employed to form the theoretical foundation. This could contribute in exposing the experiences of the impact of the revelations of the TRC to **all** South Africans who made submissions. In this way, this could be a more balanced study, as apartheid did not have an adverse effect on blacks but also on all other races.

1.4   LITERATURE SURVEY

Leedy (1993:4) postulates that a literature survey consists of the location of relevant literature, reading through it and abstracting and summarising the information. The author states that it is fundamental among researchers that the more they know about the peripheral investigations to their own studies, the more knowledgeable they can approach their particular problems. A comprehensive literature study was undertaken on the TRC and this was compared to Commissions, which were undertaken internationally in countries which were also attempting to come to terms with histories of internal conflict. Books on apartheid in South Africa were also extensively studied as well as other scientific works written by defence advocates whose services were

employed by political activists in South African courts of law. In this way a comprehensive and balanced view of various dimensions was obtained.

The basic books, which provided researcher's knowledge of the subject, included Dubow (1989), Boraine, Levy and Scheffer (1994), Reynolds (1994), Duvenhage (1998), Goldblatt and Meintjes (1998), Krog (1998) and Liebenberg (1998) gave insight into racial segregation and the origins of apartheid in South Africa. This assisted in providing insight into the historical perspective of human rights violations in South Africa.

Boraine, Levy and Scheffer (1994) gave a detailed account of the trauma occasioned by the apartheid system on victims. These included those who were maimed for life by bombs, as well as a number of women whose family members were tortured and murdered by the security forces in the country.

Reynolds (1994), who reports on women's experiences of their children's political imprisonment on Robben Island between 1987 to 1991, highlights that the suffering of women, whose family members were political activists is often ignored. The author cautions that researchers lose sight of the fact that they fail to obtain data on the role played by these women in their efforts to keep their families together despite adversity.

Duvenhage (1998) sheds extensive light on the emotionally disabling scars of racially induced political victimisation by drawing comparisons between the Holocaust victims and those of apartheid. The researcher was able to gain insight into the similarities of the two systems despite its many differences.

Goldblatt and Meintjes (1998) sensitised researcher to the gender discrimination that often confronted women in political detention in South African prisons and how this could be compounded to that suffered by male activists. The authors stress that female activists reported that when they were interrogated, comments which referred to their private parts were mentioned e.g. "You smell, are you menstruating?". This strengthened the researcher's intention to focus only on women respondents.

Krog (1998) whose book is based on the tape recordings of all the TRC hearings, gave the researcher greater insight into the effects of apartheid on both victims as well as perpetrators of past abuses. It was apparent to researcher that not only victims of human rights violations in the country but also the perpetrators were in dire need of psychological counselling. Liebenberg (1998) supports Duvenhage (1998) in many respects on the significance of attaining national unity and reconciliation by the acknowledgement of past abuses. Although he draws attention to the relevance of the TRC for South Africa, the common denominator, which connects these two books is the fact that both the victims as well as their families experienced the trauma.

The irony of the above is that, despite the fact that apartheid has been eliminated, people continue to suffer human rights abuses in the safety of their homes. A relevant example is the increase in farm attacks, which are perpetrated with brutality, and the ineffectiveness of the State to prevent this scourge. The Crime Management and Information Centre of the South African Police Service (CMIC, SAPS, 1998: 40) indicates that there is a possibility that these incidents could be politically motivated. Thus Moolman (1999:27) endorses: "farm murders must, as apartheid was, be fought on the world forum". This could then draw international attention and support for the problem. In addition to this, the Government must urgently start a campaign to eliminate inflammatory statements by politicians. Moolman (1999:27) alludes to slogans such as "kill the boer, kill the farmer",

The above books served as cornerstones for this research. They describe the political history of the country systematically as well as its impact on society. In this way, they formed the basis of knowledge from which a detailed study could be made.

Another most important source, which shed a more comprehensive light on the subject and the need for sensitivity in rendering support to victims of apartheid, is the TRC Report. By comprehensively tabulating all dimensions of apartheid atrocities by the State as well as abuses perpetrated by the opponents of the system, the report aided the researcher to obtain a broader focus on the topic under discussion.

Various other works such as those of Frankl (1967); Shantall (1996); Nel and Bezuidenhout (1997); Minnaar, Pretorius and Wentzel, (1998); Joseph (1998) and Bizos (1998) were consulted. Further valuable methodological sources studied included the works of Lin (1976); Groenewald (1982); Guy, Edgley, Ararat and Allen (1987); Leedy (1993); Bailey (1994) and Hagan (1997).

1.5 INTERVIEWS

In line with descriptive survey research, unstructured interviews were conducted with the respondents (Leedy, 1993:192). These were female victims, some of whom made submissions to the TRC about their own victimisation and also that of their family members who suffered abuses by the State as a result of political activism or as being suspects thereof during the mid-1980s. However, others did not suffer personal victimisation, but only experienced trauma as a result of the victimisation of their loved ones. The aim was to find out what crises they had encountered and how they had adapted to those. This information was verified by extended general discussions which researcher held with the Co-ordinators of the TRC. The Commissioners, who had suggested that researcher should consult the above Co-ordinators were also probed during the pilot study about the trauma endured by the victim respondents as indicated by Bailey (1994:21) who points out that, generally, data from such interviews conducted for purposes of corroboration are regarded as more reliable.

1.6 OBSERVATIONS

Hagan (1997:204) postulates that observation entails the systematic noting and recording of events, behaviours and artefacts (objects) in the social setting chosen for the study. Mouton and Marais (1990:44) point out that, for studies that rely on observation, the researcher who makes a special effort to be sensitive to aspects such as body language (e.g. fidgeting with hands as well as sweating) could obtain comprehensive data. These authors point out that the above could be a reflection of anxiety or fear, which the respondent would often not disclose verbally.

Marshall and Rossman (1995:80) postulate that observation is a fundamental and critical method in all qualitative enquiry as it is used to discover complex interactions in natural social settings. Even in in-depth interview studies, it can play an important role as the researcher can note body language such as clenched fists, fidgeting, sweating and a frightful look, which could suggest anxiety in addition to the person's words. However, these authors warn that it is a method that requires experience from a researcher as it can require ethical conduct from the interviewer.

1.7 CONSULTATION WITH EXPERTS

Through consultations with the Co-ordinators of the TRC, researcher obtained vital background information, which brought in another dimension to the subject under discussion. This was made possible by the fact that these experts who co-ordinated the applications made by the victims as well as the perpetrators of past abuses for reparations and amnesty, respectively. Furthermore, by using triangulation as part of the methodology, the researcher undertook a more balanced and comprehensive study, which broadened her insight into the subject under discussion. According to Leedy (1993:143-144) the methodological technique of triangulation is the use of two or more methods of data collection procedures within a single study. In this way, the strengths and weaknesses of each chosen method could complement the other, thereby assisting in validating the research.

1.8 AIMS OF THE STUDY

According to Mouton and Marais (1990:43) the aims or goals of exploratory studies are to attain new insight into a phenomenon. The goals of this research are linked to the problem as it is described in paragraph 1.2, and are primarily aimed at the description and explanation of the effects, on the respondents, of reliving their trauma by making submissions to the TRC. The aims of this research project were:

1.8.1 In relation to paragraph 1.3, to construct a theoretical model according to which the findings could be analysed.

1.8.2 To ascertain whether the TRC had fulfilled its mandate of granting reparations to the victims (see paragraph 1.1).

1.8.3 To find out whether victim respondents were willing to reconcile with the perpetrators, whether known or unknown to them so that the momentum of reconciliation and unity which the TRC facilitated, could continue.

1.8.4 To ascertain whether the victims did not require therapeutic support as a consequence of the revelations.

1.9   DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

Concepts used throughout this thesis will be described and defined, namely: grief, posttraumatic stress disorder, apartheid, The Truth and Reconciliaton Commission (TRC), human rights, political violence and amnesty.

1.9.1   Grief   .

Stroebe and Stroebe (1987:7) point out that grief, mourning and bereavement are often used interchangeably in everyday language. For example, someone who has suffered the death of a family member or a close friend may either be said to be mourning the loss, grieving or grief - stricken or may be described as bereft at the loss. Grief is thus the emotional (effective) response to loss, which can include a number of psychological and somatic reactions. This definition is not inclusive enough for the benefit of this study as it associates grief to loss of a loved one through death only. As an illustration, an individual can lose a family member through political exile where it is impossible to maintain communication as well as interaction out of fear of victimisation and/or arrest.

This could be exacerbated if the loved one had been a breadwinner as this could be experienced as a double loss when loss of support is also considered.

Webster's dictionary (1986:146) defines "to mourn" as to experience or show grief or sorrow, especially to grieve over someone's death and to grieve or suffer distress. Although this definition, by including the adjective "especially", implies that people do not only grieve over deceased persons, nevertheless, it does not state the alternative, which could include loss of support, companionship, interaction as well as communication. Because of the inability of these two definitions to accommodate all the dimensions of the grief suffered in this study, **an operational definition is given as: a deprivation experience whereby a person reacts to the emotional suffering caused by loss. This also could include the loss of a loved one whose permanent unavailability cannot be guaranteed because death has not been confirmed. It also includes temporal loss of a family member through a lengthy detention or loss of support from someone who is permanently incapacitated.** Other black comrades could bring about the latter as a result of politically induced torture, inter alia, for being perceived as an impimpi.

1.9.2 Posttraumatic stress disorder

According to the American Psychiatric Association's DSM iv (1995:190), the emotional disorder that arises after a trauma is known as posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). The criteria given for PTSD is as follows:

> An exposure to a traumatic event, during which one feels fear, helplessness, or horror. Afterwards, victims re-experience the event through memories or nightmares. Sometimes these memories come on very suddenly and the victims find themselves reliving the whole event. When this occurs, it is called a flashback. Individuals also avoid anything that reminds them of the trauma and display a characteristic restriction or numbing of their emotional responsiveness, sometimes being unable to remember certain aspects of the event. Victims are also chronically overaroused, easily startled, and quick to anger.

However, the American Psychiatric Association DSM iv (1997:297) highlights that individuals with or without pre-existing psychiatric symptoms responded differently to the presence of stressful events. In addition, internal global attributions for negative life events, were positively correlated in adolescents only when causes were uncontrollable.

The above substantiates Janoff-Bulman and Frieze's findings (1983:2) that postulate that concentration problems can also be experienced, as well as phobias about the activities triggering the recollection of the event. For purposes of this research, this definition excludes the fact that this syndrome can also affect a person who is not certain about the true extent and nature of the trauma she is suffering, because of lack of full information, and is thus considered comprehensive enough for this study.

Stroebe and Stroebe (1987:9) define posttraumatic stress disorder as an acute grief, characterised by traumatic distress (experienced as waves of discomfort. This could include sighing, respiration, lack of strength and digestive symptoms) and pre-occupation with the image of the deceased. Guilt feelings, hostile reactions to others and loss of patterns of activity could also occur. Although this definition seems to be comprehensive enough for the purpose of this study, it fails to accommodate persons whose loved ones had disappeared or had been abducted. Individuals, who sometimes assume the deaths of their relatives, are also excluded, as there has not been confirmation of death by, for example, viewing the body. **An operational definition would thus be: symptoms of depression, which extend over a long period, which seem frequent and may only gradually abate during a period of months or even years. People could also never completely recover as a result of delayed shock, or that of grieving privately for a protracted time while also recovering from injuries. Examples can be the many white families whose loved ones were fatal victims of bomb explosions detonated by members of the progressive movements, in which the latter, also received injuries. This disorder could also be caused by suspended grief, brought about by attempting to first recover from the trauma possibly sustained from police assault or harassment.**

1.9.3   Apartheid

According to the Oxford Senior Dictionary (1982:32), apartheid was a policy in South Africa of racial segregation, separating Europeans and non-Europeans. This definition is not comprehensive enough as it can imply that there were only two divisions of racial classification in the country, namely, between whites as one group and all other non-white races as the second group. Researcher is of the opinion that it leaves out the fact that there was also segregation between black people, brown people, as well as Indians, in this order.

According to Gee, (1998:251) Apartheid is a segregation system, which was worked out by a group of Stellenbosch professors and others, who met there and formed die Suid-Afrikaanse Buro vir Rasse Aangeleenthede (SABRA). The system aimed at the permanent physical, mental and spiritual separation of people. This division involved the four racial groups in the Union of South Africa so as to preserve the racial purity of each and to do away with friction caused by the intermingling of people of different racial groups.

This definition has some limitations for this study, because it does not disclose that racial groups were also separated for purposes of affording them the opportunity to develop themselves within their own cultures. Nor does it mention that a number of black people were enriched by this policy.

As an illustration, during 1970, the then Prime Minister of South Africa, Hendrik Verwoerd developed the Homeland System despite the criticism he received. However, a number of individuals, especially the skilled, derived economic benefits from it. It cannot be disputed that it could have been problematic for them to attain the above, had they been competing with white persons. It also had advantages for black persons who benefited financially from the Homeland System as they were afforded the opportunity to trade in various business enterprises (http://www.sapolitics.co.za.). In conjunction with this, according to the TRC Report (Extract 4, 1998:7), a number of black Homeland leaders themselves exercised authoritarian rule over their people and as a consequence

of this, many were detained, tortured and had their property confiscated. An example of this is the late President Lennox Sebe of Ciskei, who made use of the Elite Squad to intimidate Ciskeians. This caused a number of people to regret that they were no longer under white rule. This could be proof that power can corrupt any leader irrespective of race. Thus researcher disputes that some of the trauma endured by people who lived in the Homelands should be blamed on apartheid, as such as alleged in the TRC Report (Extract 3, 1998:7).

As both these definitions are not broad enough for this research, **an operational definition would thus be: a South African policy of racial segregation, which separated all racial and ethnic groups. These included black people, brown people, Indians, as well as a number of whites who did not condone this system but were systematically oppressed. It also established numerous laws, which affected peoples' lives adversely, such as the group areas act inter alia. However, it also had financial advantages for some blacks who benefited from the Homeland System although many others were victimised by authoritarian Homeland leaders because of the power they had, which made them corrupt. Besides this, it declared opponents of the system as political criminals and they were punished by incarceration, torture, death or abduction and also persecuted and/or detained the families of a number of the opponents.**

1.9.4 The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)

The TRC is a body which was established during the transition from authoritarian rule to democracy following the General Election of 1994 in South Africa. This was promulgated through Section 20 (7) (c) of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act 34 of 1995, which was instituted by Parliament's Interim Constitution of 1993. The Act mandates the Commission to investigate and document gross human rights abuses committed within and outside South Africa during the political conflict which took place as a result of the apartheid system between 1960 and 1994 (TRC 1998:4). Viljoen (in Nel & Bezuidenhout, 1997:4) defines the TRC as a Commission, which was established

in terms of the 1993 Constitution. It is concerned with the violation of human rights. It investigated the abuses that occurred respectively from 1 March 1960 to 6 December 1994. These definitions do not specify the circumstances under which the gross human rights abuses occurred. They only emphasise abuses which were perpetrated by people who promoted apartheid and do not indicate that perpetrators also existed from the side of the progressive movements and are thus inadequate for this study. As none of the above definitions are broad enough to include all the dimensions covered by this research, **an operational one based on these definitions would thus be: The TRC was established in South Africa according to Section 20 (7) (c) of the Promotion of the National Unity and Reconciliation Act 34 of 1995. It was mandated to investigate and document gross human rights abuses, which occurred within as well as outside South Africa during the apartheid era between 1 March 1960 and 6 December 1994. The perpetrators of these gross human rights abuses would include the oppressors as well as members of the progressive movements who committed abuses during the struggle to overthrow the oppressive system.**

1.9.5 Human Rights

Definitions concerning human rights emphasise the differences between the three Human Rights traditions in South Africa in relation to the three generations of Human Rights, namely:

- The right to freedom.

- The right to just and equal treatment.

- The right to association and participation in processes in the community.

According to Viljoen (in Nel & Bezuidenhout, 1997:1), who defines the concept in terms of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR): "Human Rights are a recognition

of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human race as the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world."

According to Van Vuuren et al. (1988:227), human rights pertain to the fundamental right of all humans to develop their potential fully as guaranteed by the right to freedom and the right to just and equal treatment. This also includes the right of association and participation in the processes of society. It needs to be emphasised that the recognition of these rights is not a favour, which depends on the magnanimity of those in power, as the above authors assert.

Viljoen (in Nel & Bezuidenhout, 1997:1) defines the concept according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), however this definition is not adequate because it focuses on the characteristics of human rights for every individual, irrespective of whether they are oppressed or not, and also does not allude to the right to life. It does not locate the concept within power relations in the social system, namely, those who belong to the ruling party and those who are ruled. Although Van Vuuren et al.'s definition (1988:227) can be more adequate than that of Nel and Bezuidenhout (1997:1), it does not clarify that human rights of people who belong to the ruling grouping can be violated by persons who are ruled. An example of this is the murder of farmers in South Africa by black perpetrators. As none of the above definitions are broad enough to include all aspects covered by this study, **an operational definition based on these definitions will thus be: rights which are held to be claimable by any living person which include the right to life. These may include freedom, dignity including freedom from all forms of violence as described by the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political opinion, national or social group, political orientation as well as the rights of innocent people who are perceived as representing the oppressors. In conjunction with this, the rights of the persons who belong to the group that rules can also be violated by those who are being ruled.**

1.9.6 Political violence

According to Brown, Esbensen and Geis (1998:553) political crime refers to matters such as treason, assassinations, riots and insurrections as well as violations by governments that secretly spy on their own people and seek to undermine the leaders of other nations. The principal perpetrators of State crime are the military, national security organisations, and various police agencies. This definition has some limitations in that it excludes violations perpetrated by the opponents of an authoritarian government in their efforts to attain democracy, against suspected collaborators with the State as well as against other political parties in the struggle for political domination.

Pretorius and Wentzel (in Bosman, Van Eeden & Wentzel, (1998:13) describe political violence in South Africa (then apartheid South Africa), as centred on such actions as house rent, services and consumer boycotts, worker stayaways, disruption of schooling, protest marches as well as mass mobilisations. They also include political assassinations, fatalities caused by covert operations which were undertaken by the security forces, as well as deaths of the opponents in police custody. This definition is narrowed to conflict which is directed to the people who are ruled and the rulers and excludes violence committed against innocent civilians who get killed as well as property which is destroyed or damaged as a result of political conflict.

As a consequence of the inadequacies of both definitions, political violence will be **operationally defined as: conflict emanating from the apartheid system to enforce its rule on opponents of the system, as well as that which is conducted by the opponents themselves with the aim of not only overthrowing the State, but also to eliminate persons suspected of sympathising with the government. This also includes injury which accidentally befalls innocent civilians as well as the destruction of property.**

1.9.7 Amnesty

Some definitions of amnesty emphasise the agreement entered into after a war situation while others only focus on transgressions committed against the State. The Oxford Senior Dictionary (1987), defines amnesty as a general pardon, especially for offences against the State. This definition is not adequate because it gives the impression that only wrongs done to the government are more crucial and leaves out the possibility that abuses can also be perpetrated against a private individual.

According to the TRC Report (Extract 4, 1998:6) amnesty is an act of forgiveness granted to perpetrators of gross human rights violations which they committed with political intent between 1 March 1960 and 6 December 1994. Perpetrators are pardoned provided they make complete disclosures of the acts committed. This definition is not broad enough to accommodate all the conditions for amnesty, which continue to unfold in the country. It, for example, leaves out the fact that a possibility exists that even perpetrators who never applied for amnesty could be summarily pardoned for the sake of national unity and reconciliation. Because both these definitions do not include all the dimensions which fulfil the criteria for the granting of amnesty in South Africa, **an operational definition is given: An act of forgiveness, granted to the perpetrators of gross human rights violations both on the side of the government as well as progressive movements, for actions committed with political intent during the period 1 March 1960 and 6 December 1994. These individuals can be pardoned after making full disclosures in their applications.**

1.10 DELIMITATION OF THE FIELD OF INVESTIGATION

Regarding the study demarcation, the following aspects were taken into account:

1.10.1 Geographical area

Although part of the pilot study was done in East London (see paragraph 3.6.1.1.1) the actual research was conducted in Johannesburg, and data from files, which have been kept by the TRC between April 1996, and June 1998 was studied for the following reasons:

- As the above time interval signifies the commencement and conclusion of public hearings for the victims, the researcher envisaged that all their statements should be available in the TRC documents.

- Information in the files was used to validate respondents' interviews for purposes of rendering the study as authentic as possible.

All the cases, which met the requirements for the research, were taken as part of the sample (see Chapter 3).

1.10.2 Race

There was no demarcation by race for this study as **female victims of all races** made submissions to the TRC. In this way the researcher attempted to provide comprehensive as well as balanced findings.

1.10.3 Gender

Respondents in this study consisted of 30 female victims for the reasons which are stated in Paragraph 3.1.

1.10.4   Time frame

Only abuses, which were perpetrated from the mid-1980s, were the focus of this research.   According to Ruiters (1995:9) this was the time of the heightened resistance by progressive movements, which resulted in a number of individuals being abducted, detained, murdered or who went into exile.   Thus the researcher envisaged that this period was characterised by a variety of unique experiences, which could enrich the findings of this study.

1.11 CONCLUSION

An exploratory, qualitative method is employed with the aim of gaining new insight into social problems (Mouton & Marais, 1990:4).   According to Leedy (1993:185) when a descriptive research study is done, intensity as well as accuracy in analysing phenomena can produce comprehensive findings.   In this way whatever is observed at any one time is normal and under the same conditions could be observed again in the future. This could include interviews, consultation with experts, observation, as well as the use of questionnaires.   The goals of this research were therefore to describe and explain how respondents experienced the revelations of the TRC concerning their victimisation and that of their family members, who were either arrested for political activities, tortured, abducted, disappeared or murdered. An important question was: what could be done to address these problems for the benefit of national unity and reconciliation?

1.12 PROGRAMME FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE RESEARCH

The programme for the remainder of the research was as follows:

Chapter 2: Theoretical perspective on the experiences of respondents

A discussion of the importance of an attempt to render a theoretical perspective is presented done and different theoretical frameworks are included to explain all the dimensions of the respondents' experiences. Parsons' General Action System Theory forms the basis of the model and is complemented by the following theories:

- Janoff-Bulman and Frieze's Victim Experience Model (1983).

- Stroebe and Stroebe's Bereavement Theory (Stroebe & Stroebe, 1987; Lindenmann, 1993).

- Frankl's Existential Theory (1976).

- Maslow's Theory of Personal Growth (1970).

Chapter 3: Methodology, procedures and techniques

A discussion of the methodological approach as well as procedures and techniques, which were applied in this research project, follows. A graphical exposition of the profiles of the Commissioners as well as the victim respondents is given (see paragraph 3.9).

Chapter 4: Analysis and interpretation of data.

This chapter deals with the analysis and interpretation of the collected data.

Chapter 5:

In the final chapter, researcher explains how the aims, set out in paragraph 1.5, were reached. Thereafter, several conclusions and recommendations are dealt with.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE: A MULTIDIMENSIONAL APPROACH TO THE EXPLANATION OF THE IMPACT OF THE REVELATIONS OF THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION ON THE VICTIMS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Bogdan and Biklen (1992:34) postulate that a theoretical perspective is a way of looking at the world, the assumptions people have about what is important, and what makes the world function. They also point out that whether clearly stated or not, all research is guided by some theoretical orientation. According to Brown, Esbensen and Geis (1998:167) the fundamental purpose of a theory is to explain phenomena that can be observed, and, as such, the scientific approach requires that theory be subjected to the test of observation. Good researchers are thus aware of their theoretical base and use it to guide the study as well as the collection of data.

In this study, an attempt was made to render a multidimensional theoretical explanation of what meanings the victim respondents in this research attached to their suffering before and after making submissions to the TRC. This was viewed within the context of a society which was characterised by the political conflict of the apartheid era in South Africa. The victim respondents in this research suffered trauma as a direct result of police harassment, assault or detention directly or indirectly through the abduction, torture or murder of their loved ones. Besides this, their family members were maimed or fatally injured by bombs, which had been detonated by political activists in South Africa. Some were victims of necklace slayings, which involved placing a tyre filled with petrol around the neck of an individual and setting it alight.

When the data provided by the above victims was interpreted, the responses of the TRC Commissioners who formed the first category of the sample for this study were used for corroboration. Researcher also made use of the information she obtained from the Co-ordinators of the Commission who formed the second category (see paragraphs 3.6.1.1-3.6.1.1.2).

An analysis of the needs of these victim respondents, based upon the above experiences and how they had adapted to their circumstances, was made. It was also important to discover what effect the revelations made by the perpetrators, if any, about the victim respondents' family members, had on the former's lives. It is crucial to mention that such information could result in the research participants having additional requirements. A good example was the requirement that a victim's family member be exhumed from a grave site, which had been unknown to her and thus inaccessible, and be reburied. These needs were determined in relation to the mandate bestowed upon the TRC through the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation in South Africa according to Section 2 (10) of Act 34 of 1995 (see paragraph 1.1). In view of the above, the construction of a theoretical model, titled the **Truth and Reconciliation Revelations Aftermath Model** (see Figure 2.1), was designed to analyse the data reported in this thesis.

The researcher is of the opinion that no single theory can explain all the dimensions of the experiences of the respondents in this study. She therefore attempted to employ only those components of the selected theories which were relevant to the explanation of the problem in question (see Figure 2.1). According to Lin (1976:43), a model differs from a theory in that it lacks the complexity of a theoretical structure, and that it may represent a single proposition, containing merely a selected number of concepts or variables in the theoretical structure. Furthermore, the abstracts from the relevant theories will be integrated to explain the impact of the revelations of the TRC on the victims from a multidimensional approach. The five theories that were used for the construction of this model that formed the basis of the present study are discussed in detail in the sections to follow. Ultimately, this discussion is followed by the construction of the theoretical model.

The sample of this study is comprised of three categories of respondents, namely:

- Ten Commissioners of the TRC (Category 1).

- Ten Co-ordinators of the TRC offices (Category 2).

- Thirty female victim respondents (Category 3).

It is important to state that **only the data of the 30 female victim respondents of all races was interpreted in this study.** However, the information obtained from the TRC Commissioners was used merely to corroborate the statements of the victim respondents. In addition to this, the general information gained from discussions, which were held with the Co-ordinators of the Commission, proved to be of value to researcher.

2.1.1 Janoff-Bulman and Frieze's Victim Experience Model

In Janoff-Bulman and Frieze's model of the individual's experience of victimisation, the origin of such experiences, whether direct or indirect, is explained (Janoff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983:1,5). The suffering, according to these authors, is generally the result of physical and/or psychological loss. However, the term can be broadly extended to include victims of poverty, crime or disease. Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983:1,5) postulate that the traumatic event may vary along a number of dimensions: it may be human-induced (e.g. criminal assault) or naturally induced (e.g. natural disaster), it may strike a group of people at once (e.g. technological disaster) or a single individual at a time (e.g. diving accident) it may be a discreet, clearly bounded event (e.g. rape) or one that is prolonged and ongoing (e.g. cancer). The defining characteristic of the victims in this study is that all have experienced a change in their physical, psychological, financial and/or social condition as a consequence of their suffering. The authors also state that there may be common psychological experiences shared by a diversity of victims. The model is based on the view that all individuals accept and follow three basic assumptions about themselves and their society in its entirety. The origin of these

assumptions can be found in social (e.g. the family) and cultural (e.g. religion) interactions as well as the socialisation process through which basic values and norms are carried forward.

The basic assumptions of this model involve the following:

- **Belief in personal invulnerability**

Each person, to a certain degree entertains the illusion of personal invulnerability and thus individuals that have been victimised can say, "I never thought it could happen to me." The illusion of invulnerability which is inter alia maintained by the media is accepted unconsciously. In this way, people who only read about murder in newspapers, magazines and books, or hear of it over the radio, or see it on television, are dissociated from the actual event. The self-perception of invulnerability can be maladaptive if it keeps people from engaging in effective preventative behaviour. According to Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983:4) this could be related to the wearing of seat belts, stopping smoking or could cause people to be slow in recognising that crime is taking place. However, these authors state that, in general, this illusion protects persons from the stress and anxiety associated with the perceived threat of misfortune. When one is confronted with a traumatising event, such as being victimised, one's assumption of invulnerability is shattered. This can lead to feelings of intense anxiety as well as helplessness, which accompany the victims', loss of the sense of safety. According to Burgess and Holmstrom (1974:22) the perception of invulnerability frequently manifests itself, in part, in the victim's preoccupation with fear of recurrence. The authors allude to raped victims who fear the possibility of future rapes. Substantiating the above, Brown et al. (1998:157) report about robbery victims, who become more afraid of subsequent robberies than their neighbours, who had not been confronted with this crime.

The assumption of not being prone to victimisation can give rise to the development of two myths. The first one is based on the view that murder is not a threat within the immediate environment as it is something that happens only to other people. Thus, when someone close to the person is murdered, the indirect victim is suddenly confronted by the violence in such a way that his or her belief in personal invulnerability collapses.

The second myth is based on the belief that murder occurs according to a structured process. In relation to this belief, the process involves the following: a murder takes place; the police investigate the matter; the guilty party is arrested; a court case takes place; the accused is found guilty; and a sentence is passed with which the incident is brought to a conclusion. The indirect victim therefore believes that reporting on the incident will result in the preconceived progress taking place. However, the truth is that the process seldom follows the envisaged steps and that, in a large number of cases, the police fail to arrest the offenders and to solve the murders (Bard & Sangrey, 1979:8). Some indirect victims feel that they are merely invisible participants, who have made no effort to the solving of the crime. This could contribute towards them feeling unimportant, which may add to the trauma they have experienced. Besides their belief in personal invulnerability, individuals also attempt to minimise their vulnerability by means of specific actions that ensure their safety to a certain degree and this may take on various forms. Within the South African society, individuals attempt to effect the above by, for example, building high fences around their properties and installing safety gates at doors.

However, if individuals lose their feeling of invulnerability, it could have a negative effect on them. Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983:5) point out that the experience of vulnerability by the indirect victims often result in them showing obsessive fear of further victimisation. This could contribute to them avoiding strangers, feeling unsafe in the company of others, and trying to shy away from attending social functions that require leaving the security of the home environment. Getzel and Masters (1983:85) believe that direct as well as indirect victims of violent crime are "forced" to modify their conventional view of the world as just and stable. The reason for this is that man's worst fear, namely to become a victim of crime, and more specifically, a violent crime, has occurred. The violence to which they have been exposed can also contribute to the collapse of their belief in personal invulnerability as well as in a safe existence.

- **The view that the world is significant**

According to Van der Hoven and Labuschagné (1986:160) one of the factors that contribute to individuals experiencing their world as positive, is that they consider the environment as controllable. In conjunction with this, Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983:5)

point out that Lerner has formulated a theory that explains the view people hold of the world. This theory, which he calls the *Just World Theory*, is based on the premise that people believe they get what they deserve and that they deserve what they get. This perception of the world offers an explanation of why direct and indirect victims often experience guilt feelings. The world is seen as meaningful when people know what to expect and why certain negative incidents occur. Thus, when a violent crime takes place, the first problem facing indirect victims is to find meaning in what has happened. This search for meaning or a reason for being exposed to a senseless crime of violence may result in experiencing further victimisation. It is significant to point out that this search for meaning links up with the Existential Theory (Frankl, 1970), which stresses that victims of abuse cope better with their trauma if they are able to comprehend the reason for their suffering. They are able to carry on with their lives and can become fully functioning persons (Frankl, 1970:98). Victims can, for example, visit a dangerous area in order to ascertain how the crime took place and thus may themselves become the targets of violence. On the other hand, those who expect that the police will keep them informed as to how the case is progressing may experience further victimisation when this does not happen.

- **The view of the self as positive**

In general most people see themselves as dignified and decent, and as a result of this they continually attempt to maintain a high level of self-esteem. However, when a violent crime occurs within the family context, it could contribute to victims questioning their self-perception critically. In addition, the experiencing of powerlessness, despondency, guilt, anxiety and stress can give rise to a feeling of disequilibrium, which may intensify the victimisation experience. Research shows that for at least one year after the incident took place, re-experiencing or self-constructed re-experiencing of the trauma can occur (Van den Berg, 1997:56). As a result of this, both the direct and indirect victims question their views of the self as positive and exhibit a critical attitude towards the social subsystem's handling of the incident. The victimisation, therefore, causes the victims to question their views of the self, as well as their views of society in general. Thus a person who commits a violent crime could contribute towards his victims' deepest feelings and views about life being adversely affected. In turn this could result in the damaging of their self-esteem as well as their dignity.

According to Janoff-Bulman and Frieze's model (1983:5) the assumptions and expectations that direct and indirect victims had about themselves prior to the violent incident, are threatened by the victimisation experience. Even if direct and indirect victims are able to maintain their assumptions regarding invulnerability, the meaningfulness of the world and the self as positive following exposure to a violent incident these are nevertheless influenced to a certain degree. Van der Hoven and Labuschagné (1986:160) observe that in addition to the questioning of the assumptions, victimisation threatens the emotional and psychological stability of the victims.

It is possible to use the above assumptions to describe the nature of the victimisation that confronted some of the respondents in this research. These could thus determine how they have adapted to their traumatic experiences. According to Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983:4) how the victims come to terms with an aversive situation, could determine their coping skills. Lurigo, Skogan and Davis (1998:112) concur that survivors of traumatic losses, including the death of loved ones, particularly the way such incidents had occurred, experience that their fundamental assumptions about the world have been compromised. Often in this way, the bereaved, for example, simply cannot absorb what has happened, as the loss does not make sense to the person. The tragedy further demonstrates that life is capricious as well as unpredictable. The dismantling of these basic assumptions often invalidate much of the bereaved's past behaviour. Besides this, the trauma could make it clear that there is danger lurking everywhere, which they are helpless to prevent.

2.1.2 Criticism of Janoff-Bulman and Frieze's Theory

Although the above theory is relevant in explaining the experiences of the victims of traumatic events, nevertheless, it received criticism. According to Hass (1995:7) there is no mention of the survivors' flexibility, assertiveness and tenacity, which can allow people to adapt to trauma in a diversity of ways. The author alludes to the findings of a study done on Holocaust survivors who significantly succeeded at coping with a traumatic life. In addition, Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983:3-15) also failed to study that people have different personalities, predispositions, as well as specific experiences (e.g. witnessing a parent/child/sibling being killed). Hass (1995:7) cautions that it is unwise to ignore the significance of these factors, as they may also account for the variations in

the victims' later adjustment. In another critique, Miller and Porter (1983:13) argue that the authors ignored the impact of a person's attributions of causality for a victimising experience on later coping and adjustment. Alluding to the relationship between self-blame and coping, Miller and Porter (1983:198) explain that trauma can be compounded when a person has nobody to blame for his victimisation.

2.1.3 The significance of Janoff-Bulman and Frieze's Model for the present study

Despite the critique, which this model received, researcher used its relevant components whose limitations were accommodated by the construction of the **TRC Revelations Aftermath Model** (see Figure 2.1). All the three assumptions, which people believed in about the world and themselves proved to be of value for this study (see paragraph 2.1.1).

The assumptions of invulnerability which can culminate in many persons experiencing disbelief and shock when adversity befalls them was relevant in explaining how people adapt to trauma. In conjunction with this, the perception of invulnerability which often affected a person's self-regard as well as the view of the world as meaningful, also proved to be of relevance. These assumptions were discussed within the context of the model (see Figure 2.1).

2.2 THE BEREAVEMENT THEORY OF STROEBE AND STROEBE

According to the Bereavement Theory of Stroebe and Stroebe (1987:8) grief is a normal affective response to the loss of a loved one which does not require therapeutic intervention. Normal grief is characterised by symptoms, which sometimes manifest in opposition to one another. Thus one finds anger and apathy, weight loss or weight gain, memories of the deceased as well as the removal versus the treasuring of their possessions. These authors further postulate that there are differences of opinion about how many phases a bereaved person traverses, some describing three, others four, five

or even as many as nine. However, it can be very misleading to make definite statements about the time of the onset or the duration of the phases of grief. There are considerable individual differences with regard to each of the phases as well as overlapping. Irrespective of the above, the following regularities have been noted as reflecting the course that uncomplicated grief usually takes.

2.2.1 Numbness

The initial response to loss through death is often one of shock, numbness as well as disbelief. This may last only for a few hours or may extend over a period of several days (Stroebe & Stroebe, 1987:13). It may be interrupted at times by outbursts of anger or of deep despair when the bereaved frequently feels dazed, stunned, helpless or disorganised. Somatic symptoms may be evident, such as sighing respiration, throat tightness and a sensation of emptiness in the abdomen. Raphael (1984:34) points out that the effect of shock is most pronounced when death is totally unexpected. The loss may be initially denied, which many regard as a protective reaction to an event that is too shocking to accept.

2.2.2 Yearning and protest

Stroebe and Stroebe (1987:13) postulate that the initial numbness gives way to a period of strong emotions, with extreme psychological distress and physiological arousal. As a result of the development of awareness of the loss, accompanying intense yearning for the lost person occurs, with pangs of deep longing as well as spasms of uncontrollable sobbing. Besides this, despite a growing awareness of the irreversibility of the loss, the desire to try to resolve the person is sometimes impossible to overcome. Ward (1993:55) describes this reaction as follows: "The mind tries to make sense of the new reality, and the heart can feel a depth of anguish and pining for the lost person that is almost unbearable." Stroebe and Stroebe (1987:4) point out that anger is not uncommon during this phase and could be directed at the bereaved person in which case it is related to guilt feelings about missed opportunities with the deceased. However, Bolton and Camp (1988:4) affirm that the anger can be displaced, as it could be felt towards the circumstances.

2.2.3 Despair

Eventually, as the first year passes, the search for the lost person is abandoned and the permanence as well as the irrevocability of the loss is recognised. However, most survivors, rather than recovering, often experience more devastation. As the bereaved person despairs that anything in life can be salvaged, apathy as well as depression can set in. Withdrawal from people and activities is typical as well as lack of interest or involvement in conventional activities (Stroebe & Stroebe, 1987:15). According to Ward (1993:60) the process of overcoming these reactions is slow and painful and may be accompanied by sleeplessness, as well as gastrointestinal disorders, such as indigestion and stomach cramps.

2.2.4 Recovery and restitution

As explained by Stroebe and Stroebe (1987:15) the severe facts of depression begin to be interspersed. In this way, more positive and less devastating feelings occur progressively. According to Miles (1984:234) this period of reorganisation is basically characterised by four factors:

- Subjective feelings of release from the loss.

- Renewed bursts of energy.

- Greater ease in making decisions.

- Return to normal eating and sleeping patterns.

However, Weizman and Kamm (1987:60) assert that the pain does not go away, but only changes from being sharp to a dull ache. The difficulty of this process of recovery and restitution is easy to underestimate, yet the effort to regain identity and purpose in life can be a constant strain which can lead to intense loneliness (Stroebe & Stroebe, 1987:15).

2.2.5 Morbid grief reactions

Lindenmann (1981:150) states that morbid grief reactions represent distortions of normal grief and can be transformed into normal reactions. He thus addresses two types of morbid reactions: a delayed as well as a distorted reaction. According to this author, a delay or postponement of a grief reaction may continue for years if the bereavement occurred at a time when the individual was confronted simultaneously with other important tasks such as recovering from their own severe illnesses or with maintaining the morale of others. However, a grief reaction ultimately, may be precipitated by the deliberate recall of the circumstances surrounding the death for which the mourning process has not yet begun. Lindenmann (1981:152) describes nine types of alterations that he considers as manifestations of unresolved grief and each of these distorted reactions may respond to simple and brief management. They represent a special aspect of the grief syndrome and may take the place of the typical grief reaction. They include the following:

- Over-activity without a sense of loss.

- The acquisition of symptoms belonging to the last illness of the deceased.

- A recognised medical disease of a psychosomatic nature.

- A conspicuous alteration in relationships to friends and relatives.

- Furious hostility against specific persons.

- Seemingly unfocussed and formal appearances, with affect and conduct resembling schizophrenic pictures.

- Lasting loss of patterns of social interaction.

- Actions detrimental to one's own social and economic existence.

- Agitated depression.

There seems to be consensus between the above author and Rando (1994:255-256) about the symptomatology of complicated mourning. However, describes it as the state wherein, given the amount of time since the death, there is some compromise, distortion, or failure of one or more of the six components of bereavement which he refers to as the R-processes, namely:

- Recognition of the loss.

- Reaction to the separation.

- Recollection and re-experiencing the deceased and the relationship.

- Relinquishing old attachments to the deceased.

- Readjusting to move adaptively.

- Reinvesting.

2.2.6 Criticism of Bereavement Theories

Although the Bereavement Theory of Stroebe and Stroebe (1987:8-35) was selected for this study, researcher accepts that there have been criticism levelled against these authors' conclusions. According to Rando (1993:555) the authors neglected the psychological impact of the trauma of multiple deaths on the bereaved, which can create problems with mourning as the person has to accommodate another death while he is still coping with the previous one.

The bereavement theories studied for this research state that the process of grief is unique, thus cultural variables as well as differences in the duration exist. However, for the purpose of the present study, some limitations have to be dealt with. Most of the research undertaken by the theorists is based on cultural groupings that follow Western standards of mourning. Rando (1993:255) for example points out that while the actual experience of mourning and its demands have not been transformed very significantly

over time. What has changed is the potential for problems. By implication, in contemporary society, the typical mourner sustains a greater probability of being compromised in his mourning as a consequence of a number of socio-cultural as well as technological trends, as the following shows:

- Unlike in the past when family and friends would constantly be around to support the bereaved, from the date of death until long after the funeral. However, this is no longer practical and the latter is often left alone immediately after the funeral because of practical circumstances of family and friends. In this way the trauma can be compounded.

- For illustration purposes: in the past in the black culture, the body of the deceased would be delivered to the family a night before the funeral. In this way, an opportunity was afforded to the family as well as friends to bid their farewell unhurriedly and in the privacy of the home.

As a result of westernisation, there is a greater chance that a bereaved individual may develop complicated mourning. Lindenmann (1981:162) highlights that there is certain uniformity shown by bereaved persons, which he terms the definite syndrome, characterised by psychological and somatic symptomatology. Hence according to Rando (1993:255), such trends contribute to the increasing prevalence of abnormal grief in Western society. Although there are great similarities in how all people experience bereavement, there can be differences in the manner of mourning amongst the different ethnic as well as cultural groupings. Although this study does not demarcate by race, these theories will make it possible for this researcher to explain the impact of bereavement on all the respondents. However, the cultural dynamics, which relate to the mourning of black persons which is unique and different to that of the other races, is accommodated by the **TRC's Revelations Aftermath Model** (see Figure 2.1).

2.2.7 The significance of the bereavement theories for this study

One of the basic assumptions of bereavement theories is that the expressions of grief are shaped by the mourning practices of a given society or cultural group. Guidelines

are thus provided on how bereaved individuals are expected to behave (Stroebe & Stroebe, 1987:7). For the benefit of this study, the cultural dimension has crucial implications for the victim respondents. To illustrate the point, a situation could arise that some respondents from both cultural groups in the sample of this study could receive confirmation of the deaths of their family members for the first time. Although they know the guidelines provided by their different cultures on how they are expected to behave, nevertheless, they have to behave according to their cultural specifications within the confines of a multi-cultural environment. The process of mourning for black people is expected to commence from the time of the confirmation of death irrespective of when it had occurred. The bereaved is supposed to remain at home until the date of the funeral. In the process, he may not consume certain foods such as meat and milk, is expected to keep quiet and to respond only to queries in a low tone of voice. Family members, friends as well as neighbours would support the bereaved by holding daily prayer meetings until the deceased has been buried. The bereaved has to be available whenever people come to sympathise.

It is important to state that the above-mentioned respondents suffered both the psychosomatic illnesses associated with the symptomatology of grief stress disorders. However, they could not have adapted to these, within the constraints of both the cultural as well as the social factors. This links up with Parsons' theory, whose subsystems explain that victimised individuals react as biological and personality subsystems within the social as well as the cultural dimensions in society, and not in isolation (see paragraph 2.3.3).

2.3 THE SOCIAL SYSTEM AS PART OF PARSONS' GENERAL ACTION SYSTEM

2.3.1 Introduction

Parsons was born in 1902 in Colorado Springs, USA, and came from a religious as well as an intellectual background. In 1937, he published the Structure of Social Action, a book that laid the groundwork for his own development theory. According to Ritzer (1992:100), the theory is an attempt to develop a general model of social action known as the General

Action System. This system was developed within the framework of the theories of Structural Functionalists whose assumptions explain social actions in all situations and at all times (Ritzer, 1992:105).

Structural Functionalists argue that society needs a shared, articulate set of goals. For illustrative purposes, if people were pursuing many unrelated goals, the resulting chaos would make continuity in society impossible. In conjunction with this, shared goals such as economic success as well as family fulfilment, help to give a high level of cohesion to society (Ritzer, 1992:102). Parsons (1978:87) pays particular attention to the social system, which involves the behaviour of people within groupings, such as the TRC Commissioners. This also includes personal behaviour, which can be influenced by social meanings in society. As such, one is readily reminded of the interaction between members of an organisation as they deliberate in a meeting according to stipulated norms, wherein the culture of the group is adhered to, leading to harmony within the group. However, the author warns that to be able to understand how social systems sustain continuity, an analysis of the functions that it requires in order to survive is necessary. Here it is crucial to note that Parsons does not regard the General Action System as a concrete, tangible entity, such as the family, but rather as an instrument or model which is used to analyse action, for example, an initiative such as the TRC (Ritzer, 1992:144-145):

- First, social systems must be structured so that they operate compatibly with other systems.

- Second, to survive, they should have the requisite support from other systems.

- Third, the system must meet a significant proportion of the needs of its actors.

- Fourth, it must elicit adequate participation from its members.

- Fifth, it must have at least, a minimum of control over potentially disruptive behaviour.

- Sixth, if conflict becomes sufficiently disruptive, it should be controlled.

- Finally, a social system requires a language in order to survive (Ritzer, 1992:107).

However, Parsons did not completely ignore the issue of the relationship between actors and social structures in his discussion of the social system. In fact, he called the integration of value patterns and need dispositions, the fundamental dynamic foundations of sociology. Given his central concern with the social system, of key importance to him was the manner in which the norms and values of a system are transferred to the actors who participate in society.

Parsons (Ritzer, 1994:101) postulates that a society must have sufficient differentiation of roles, as well as a way of assigning people to these. Thus in all societies, certain activities must be performed and roles must be constructed so that they can be undertaken to ensure stability as well as survival of the social system. This reflects on Parsons' conceptual scheme or model for the explanation of all social actions in all situations and at all times. In doing so, he attempts to explain the key problem of integration as well as order in society, as energy flows hierarchically from the biological organism to the cultural subsystem. However, this is not always true in society, hence some systems sustain continuity, whilst others become obsolete.

2.3.2 The Concept of Action

In his discussion of social action Parsons refers to how actors in society respond to the behaviour of people, objects and the environment around them (Adriaansens, 1980:121). This entails that all human beings are social actors in their environments, be it political activists, or their family members or police officers in the course of their duty. Besides this, he argues that various actors in society find themselves in situations where they are called upon to respond in a particular way. In such social settings prevailing norms and values determine their behaviour. In addition, Ritzer (1992:105), explains the social action as the interrelationship between

- the actors

- the situation in which they find themselves
- the decision as to how the person will act in that situation
- the values and norms which shape the situation
- the ultimate outcome (or goal) of the action.

Ritzer, (1992:107) stated that Parsons, as a Structuralist as well as Functionalist, postulates that social systems

- must be structured so that they operate compatibility with other systems
- to survive, the social system must have the requisite support from other systems
- must meet a significant proportion of the needs of its actors
- must elicit adequate participation from its members
- must have at least a minimum of control over potentially disruptive behaviour
- if conflict becomes sufficiently disruptive, it must be controlled.

2.3.3 The General Action System

According to Parsons (1978:52) there are four elements of the General Action System present in all cases of social action, that is, the biological, personality, social, as well as the cultural subsystems. These subsystems are related to one another in a particular manner, a cybernetic hierarchy to which energy and information is distributed throughout the General Action System.

2.3.4 Subsystems of the General Action System

Parsons (1978:188) points out that social action or human behaviour occurs due to the interrelationship of the four most general subsystems of the General Action System. These are

- the biological subsystem (organism)
- the personality subsystem
- the social subsystem
- the cultural subsystem.

Besides this, Ritzer (1992:105) argues that if the system of action (such as a political organisation or members of a government system, e.g. those applying to apartheid) is to survive and maintain itself, certain functions have to be fulfilled. He defines the functions as any set of activities directed towards meeting the needs of the latter. He identifies four activities or functions that meet the requirements of a system which he names the **four functional pre-requisites**.

2.3.5   Functional pre-requisites

2.3.5.1   Adaptation

According to Ritzer (1992:104) this function refers to the activities which enable the system to adapt to its environment and adapt the latter to its needs by changing and controlling it. In this way, a relationship between the system and its external environment is established. By alluding to the environment, Parsons refers to another system or systems outside a particular system. For example, given an institution such as Correctional Services, inmates and wardens belong to two subsystems within the total (the Department of Correctional Services). Thus the officials have to structure the regulations and rules of the Department in such a way that they are understandable to the inmates. On the other hand, the latter have to adapt to be able to function successfully. Ritzer (1992:104) substantiates this by saying that adaptation refers to the process by which individuals extract support from the external environment. Such support could imply obtaining information or guidelines according to which a person could function or cope in a particular system. The biological subsystem handles the adaptation function by adjusting to and transforming the external world. Ritzer (1992:104) postulates that adaptation as Parsons' prerequisite for survival of any social system for example the TRC refers to the relationship

between the biological organism (as a subsystem) and the environment. The system consists of all the TRC Commissioners and the environment would be that of the victims, the perpetrators, their significant others as well as the community. For the TRC to survive it should fulfil the basic requirements of the victims together with those of the perpetrators within the confines of its mandate (see paragraph 1.1) and in this way it could be possible for the two groups to adapt to one another's needs.

According to Parsons' theory, the institutionalised structures of society, such as family and the judiciary system must be regarded as special components of the total system (Parsons, 1954:161). These institutions define the essentials of the legitimately expected behaviour of persons in so far as they perform structurally important roles in the social system and form its foundation. In turn the requirements for example in this study relate to obtaining the truth from the perpetrators so that they could reconcile with the victims. In this way, amnesty could then be granted to the perpetrators of the abuses, while the victims could then receive reparations. This can only be effected by adhering to the stipulations prescribed by the criteria used by the TRC to resolve the four functional requirements, viz., adaptation, goal-attainment, integration and pattern maintenance so that resolution of conflict can be effected to the satisfaction of all. By implication the perpetrators would have to have committed the abuses due to political motives (goal-attainment). It is also true that the victims would have to meet the criteria to receive reparations.

For illustrative purposes, adaptation can be used to enhance the needs of the victims of the apartheid system as well as those of the TRC Commissioners in terms of the mandate vested upon it. After an incident of victimisation of a person's family member, the individual could be confronted with problems which may include the need for medical intervention in the case of injuries and psychological counselling, when one is severely traumatised and emotionally disturbed

According to Ritzer (1992:100), all the actors in a system have to have their needs satisfied if the Commission is to have relevance and continuity. To this end, requirements of the victims could be categorised into physical, psychological, as well as a need for information. Of importance too would be the need for acknowledgement of the effects of victimisation

and offering of help, as these could increase the victims' feeling of trust and security. Victims expect the perpetrators and the Commissioners to appreciate and accept that what pain, anger or shock they experience is real and natural. The need for understanding also calls for society to realise that victimisation is never sought for and that victims can be unwillingly drawn into the resulting trauma of political conflict.

Before adaptation can be implemented, all the actors' needs and roles have to be identified so as to provide the opportunity to assess whether these requirements could be met (victims, Commissioners, perpetrators). Parsons' theory proved to be relevant in relation to explaining the effective functioning of the TRC since it has become evident that for any initiative which is established for the purpose of assisting people, for it to succeed, there has to be a diversity of individuals involved (such as the TRC entourage). Roles and norms have therefore to be defined in conjunction with community involvement so that a common understanding can be reached to ensure an overall balanced perspective.

Adaptation becomes the most significant of the four functional imperatives when regard is given to the fact that the TRC came into existence primarily for the requirements of the victims, as well as the country. This implies that if something went wrong at this critical phase of the facilitation of unity and reconciliation in South Africa, it could have a rippling effect on the remaining three functional prerequisites to the detriment of the whole initiative. The reverse is also true, that if adaptation succeeded, all the other stages could fit in relatively easily.

2.3.5.2   Goal-attainment

Adriaansens (1980:117) postulates that goal-attainment encompasses the activities, which serve to define the goals of the system. In conjunction with this, Ritzer (1992:105) argues that the personality subsystem performs the goal-attainment function by defining a system of goals and mobilising resources to attain them.   According to Parsons, the primacy of goal-attainment is essentially the decision making process, which controls the utilisation of the resources of all the social systems in the interest of a goal (Ritzer, 1992:111). Haralambos (1980:528) who holds this view endorses that for collective action in pursuit of

such goals to be effective, there has to be integration of the system with reference to its acceptance and definition of roles. The sharing of norms, values and moral codes would lead to the sound administration and successful implementation of the philosophy of a system. Once a common ground has been established on policy formulation, there would be respect for the diverse values of the role players (Marais, 1992:82). For illustrative purposes, the physical, financial, psychological acknowledgement as well as information needs of the victims had to be taken into account in the utilisation of all available resources, which the TRC Commissioners could make available. This meant that the Commission functioned according to goals which enabled it to decide which victims satisfied the criteria (see paragraph 1.1) By this token, the perpetrators who qualified for amnesty by making full disclosures of politically motivated abuses were also considered for reparations.

2.3.5.3   Integration

Parsons (Adriaansens, 1980:142) argues that this functional prerequisite is concerned with controlling and co-ordinating all the components of the system. It is involved with the prevention and control of conflict between groups or individuals that are part of the system. In this way, the system can be protected against sudden changes as well as major disturbances. The social system facilitates integration by providing a normative framework for regulating the relations between the subsystems of individuals in society. Integration is Parsons' third functional imperative for the survival of any social system such as, for example, the facilitation as well as the maintenance of tolerance in the country. One of the goals of the TRC is that of promoting national unity and reconciliation by generating values of forgiveness between the victims and the perpetrators. In this way, reconciliation amongst some groupings can be possible. Integration as a subsystem, which is responsible for the adjustment of, conflicts within social settings so that mechanisms, which are geared to facilitate national unity, could be established. The TRC attempted to effect this by encouraging victims of past abuses in South Africa, as well as their perpetrators, to make submissions about their experiences. Haralambos (1982:529) postulates that the law, based on the constitution of the country, is the main institution, which meets this need. This is made possible through the legal norms which define the

standardised relations between individuals as well as institutions. In this way the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act 34 of 1995 serves as the Law. Thus all parts of society could be understood with reference to the functions they perform in the adaptation, goal-attainment, integration and pattern maintenance subsystems (Haralambos, 1980:529). Disintegration of the system could be prevented by reducing the potential for conflict and when it arises, it could be settled constitutionally.

2.3.5.4 Latency

Latency meets the need for tension control as well as pattern maintenance and refers to the transmission of values, symbols and ideas to new members of society. Tension management refers to the activity, which resolves misunderstanding between the actors. Thus, the cultural system, through the promotion as well as the processing of societal values, attempts to maintain solidarity in the social system.

2.4 THE SOCIAL SYSTEM AS PART OF PARSONS' GENERAL ACTION SYSTEM AND ADAPTATION, GOAL-ATTAINMENT, INTEGRATION AND LATENCY.

Ritzer (1992:213) argues that the General Action System has to meet these four functional prerequisites. Thus each subsystem can be responsible for meeting one of the functional prerequisites by having specialised roles concerning how these needs could be solved.

2.4.1 Biological subsystem

In the literature, the biological subsystem is also referred to as the biological behavioural organism. According to Parsons, this subsystem refers to the human body in which

action is based and has implications for Parsons' General Action System (Ritzer, 1992:130), namely:

- The human body requires energy and must be healthy to act and this creates the need for food, clothing and shelter. Besides this, this subsystem must adapt itself to its environment. It is equally true that the environment should also adapt itself to the behavioural organism in order to survive. Adaptation is thus a prerequisite for the survival of an individual and Parsons assigns this function to the behavioural subsystem.

In conjunction with this, the biological organism is influenced by powerful basic drives and needs such as the sex and hunger drives. However, these drives must be accommodated in a socially acceptable manner if order is to be maintained in society. Human energy would normally be aimed at satisfying these drives without taking into consideration the moral implications of an action. This implies that some mechanism must be at work to regulate such action (Ritzer, 1992:183). Guidelines and specific rules for behaviour in any situation are, however, provided by the social and cultural subsystems. For example, the cultural subsystem does not allow a researcher to ask for assistance from another in the middle of an examination as everyone is expected to know the rules and act accordingly.

2.4.2 Personality subsystem

According to Parsons (Ritzer, 1983:105) the personality subsystem can also include the decision making capacity of a person, which can enable him to attain certain goals. Action in the personality subsystem can take the form of behaviour that is motivated by certain goals. This could be derived from values and norms with the latter stemming from the cultural system, thus the personality system is responsible for goal-attainment. Adriaansens (1980:117), who shares this view, observed that humans perform social action with a consciousness, that is, personalities who can make decisions. The personality subsystem therefore decides how to transform the energy received from the

behavioural organism and to perform a social action. Thus, a decision to act, and how to do that, is taken with a specific aim in mind and therefore Parsons assigns the personality subsystem with the functional prerequisite of goal-attainment.

2.4.3   Social subsystem

Parsons observed that when individuals in any situation act in a non-conflicting manner it makes sense to argue that value consensus is achieved. Thus the values and norms of the cultural subsystem are institutionalised in the social subsystem and internalised by the personality subsystem (Ritzer, 1992:105). In conjunction with this the social subsystem promotes cohesion and regulates the relations between the other subsystems. This system is thus responsible for integration and this, which links up with the third assumption of Parsons, gives a very passive image of human beings in social situations. Adriaansens (1980:120) substantiates the above by stating that Parsons had no specific society (e.g. his own country, the USA) in mind, but an abstract structure of rules for action in all the different permutations that may be found in society. The social subsystem provides the General Action System with norms on how to act in any given situation and thus personalities are guided in their actions by the norms of the social subsystem.

2.4.4   Cultural subsystem

This subsystem contains societal values, among other things, and serves to promote the norms and values required to create solidarity in the social system, and is thus responsible for latency. Parsons states that the cultural subsystem provides information to the rest of the General Action System on how to act. In this way, energy from the behavioural organism is transformed into orderly and socially acceptable behaviour. This in turn results in the actors behaving according to a socially acceptable manner and this makes it easy for people to predict behaviour (Ritzer, 1983:109). It is significant to note that because values do not change easily, actions become relatively stable and predictable as set patterns. Since people know what to expect from one another, tension in society can be controlled and this function is assigned to latency. Researcher found Parsons' General Action

System to be revelant as a component of the theoretical perspective upon which the explanation of the trauma endured by the victim respondents in this study can be explained irrespective of the criticism the theory received (Ritzer, 1992:121).

2.4.5 Criticism of Parsons' General Action Theory

- Ritzer (1992:121) points out that the General Action System is inherently a-historical and, as a way of illustration, the researcher argues that South African discriminatory history, based on the previous apartheid regime, serves as an example. As a result of this, the General Action System has no historical foundation.

- Parsons focuses on static structures and the maintenance of order, and it may be argued that he ignores an important reality about society, namely social change.

- Parsons overemphasises harmonious social relations and order, and gives little attention to conflict in society.

- The General Action System is politically conservative with its emphasis on order and value consensus and it views change as deviant and as a threat to the *status quo*.

- Personalities are mainly viewed as passive actors who only behave in terms of values and norms while their dynamic and creative dimensions are ignored.

- The normative system as assumed by the General Action System is not representative of society as a whole, but only of some of the elite or power group.

- The model is teleological in that its structures develop in order to perform functions and there is thus the suggestion that the functions existed before the structures.

- The General Action System is based on a tautological approach, which argues in circles. For example, the whole is defined in terms of its components and the

components are defined in terms of the whole. In this way, because one is defined in terms of the other, neither of the two is defined at all.

Besides this, Haralambos (1980:459) argues that Parsons failed to acknowledge that actors are usually not passive participants in the socialisation process. Yet, only re-enforcement and constant evaluation of behaviour can ensure that values and norms are kept throughout life (Ritzer, 1992:108). However, this does not guarantee that individual variation in behaviour will not occur in a system. In defence of the General Action System, it can be stated that a number of social interactions in life can be explained by making use of this theory. Although some critics of Parsons are of the opinion that he does not accommodate conflict among actors in society, the following seem to prove that the opposite is true. According to Adriaansens (1982:122) Parsons' view was that societal structures should have adequate methods of dealing with conflict amongst people in order to survive. By stating that the four prerequisites, viz., adaptation, goal-attainment, integration and latency need to be resolved, he was implying that tension amongst persons could be expected. In addition to this, Parsons postulates that a society should be able to deal with its environment by extracting from it what it needs to survive (food, fuel, and raw materials) without destroying the sources. He further alludes to the problem of environmental pollution, energy shortages as well as starvation in many areas of the world. In the light of the above conflictual situations, only cultural as well as social laws can control or prevent this conflict (e.g. environmental as well as human rights laws). It is for this reason that the theory will be used to explain the dynamic and traumatic experiences of the respondents in this study.

2.4.6 The significance of Parsons' General Action System Theory for this research

The concepts formulated by Parsons in the model of the General Action System were used to form a component of the theoretical basis for the present study. This theory was relevant to explain how people as biological entities, need to eat and to have shelter as a protection against extreme weather conditions as well as for privacy and security. Thus it was possible to understand the urgent needs, inter alia, of people whose homes were victims of arson. In addition, people experienced the effect of trauma through their biological systems, thus when they are injured or sustained wounds, depending upon

the severity, they can experience pain, fear as well as shock. Because an individual does not function in isolation his personality characteristics as well as his social environment can also influence his reaction. Therefore when he experiences grief he can also respond to this stimulus of trauma through anger.

2.5 THE EXISTENTIAL THEORY OF FRANKL

Existential psychology has its roots in the existentialist movement in philosophy. Shantall (1998:44) is of the opinion that the well-known proponents of this school of thought are the Europeans, Ludwig Binswanger, Medard Boss and Viktor Frankl and the Americans, Rollo May and Paul Tillich. Existentialism can be defined as the movement in psychology that focuses on the problems and themes of existence, of life itself. This theory is based on the school of psychotherapy of Frankl, known as **logo therapy** (Frankl, 1976:98). According to the author, a psychologist by profession, logo therapy focuses on the meaning of human existence as well as on man's search for meaning. This author stresses that this striving to find meaning in life is the primary motivational force in man. However, he warns that this meaning is unique and specific in that it must and can be fulfilled by an individual alone. Yet, man is free to make choices about his life, be it to do evil or good. Frankl (1970:x) first employed the Existential Theory in the field of psychiatry to treat various forms of neurosis and was thus able to explain neuroses as the failure by the patient to find meaning and a sense of responsibility in his existence.

2.5.1 Frankl's Auschwitz Experiment

It is significant to note that Shantall (1998:158-159) states:

> Frankl was an eyewitness and a victim of one of the most brutal and uncensored expression of man's inhumanity to man the world had ever known. Under the Nazi regime, every Jew in the world was earmarked for extinction. Thus millions of men, women children as well as babies were shot or gassed. Others were starved and were beaten to death, their babies thrown into mass graves, or placed into ovens and burnt to ashes in pursuit of the Nazi ideology. In this way, inmates were systematically deprived

of everything that human beings need in order to experience a sense of physical, psychological as well as spiritual well-being. However, in the spiritual darkness of oppression and despair, that threatened human existence under such adverse conditions, the defiant power of the human spirit emerged.

Frankl (1968:47) points out that some male inmates walked through the huts, comforting others and giving away their last pieces of bread. Besides this were those who huddled together to say their evening prayers in the corner of a hut or a locked cattle train, bringing them back to the camp after an exhaustive day at a distant work site.

According to Frankl (1967:82) existence would falter unless there was a strong ideal or important values in life to hold on to. People need to feel there is a goal to strive towards and that life has a purpose. In this way existence can be experienced as meaningful, when a person feels that he has a vocation in life, or a mission to fulfil. Central to this theory is the existence of a Supra-human dimension, that of the Divine which implies that a holistic perspective of man is only possible when he is viewed from the spiritual core of his personality. Thus, man can be understood on a level of being, where he not only has to deal with the traumatic factualities of life, but where he is challenged to find the meaning of suffering. However, Frankl cautions that, within the frame of reference of logo therapy, the concept spiritual does not have primarily religious connotations but refers specifically to the human dimension.

2.5.1.1   Criticism of the Existential Theory.

Although Frankl's theory can make it possible for researcher to explain how people in this study could have derived meaning in their suffering through the revelations of the TRC, nevertheless, some limitations do exist. The author seems to be accommodating only those victims who had been fully functional before being victimised, such as the Jews in Nazi Germany. It is true that the Germans regarded themselves as the super race, hence Hitler talked of the pure Arian (i.e. having pure blood) who had to have blond hair and blue eyes to be regarded as the "super race" (March, 1978:6).

Frankl (1970:98) observed that the striving to find meaning in one's life is the primary motivational force in man. Thus man is able to experience a sense of principal,

psychological as well as spiritual well-being. According to Lurigio, Skogan and Davis (1998:112) exposure to trauma brings about permanent neurological changes that could cause persistent hyper arousal. This could result in many of the posttraumatic stress disorder symptoms that are experienced by people. The authors further point out that this disorder can develop into a chronic, debilitating condition, with lasting symptoms of personality changes. In conjunction with this, there could be increased hostility, suspiciousness or paranoia, feelings of emptiness or hopelessness, impassivity as well as constant feelings of danger or impending doom.

Murray (1998:18) who reported on the grief and frustrations of visually impaired adults states that there are widespread descriptions pertaining to the general concept of loss. There can be deprivation, impairment, misfortune, and a catastrophe such as a physical handicap as well as the maiming of a family member. In conjunction with this, a loss, depending on the particular situation and aspect, can involve a failure to obtain or cessation to possess. In this way, one could lose a person (when a loved one dies) or possessions (when a house and its contents are lost due to arson). In addition to this, the author postulates that the above traumatic experiences can manifest themselves in chronic grief, which assumes a recurrent as well as continuous process. This could be accompanied by increased emotions associated with continual losses related to a chronic loss such as a physical handicap or bereavement. Murray (1998:19) therefore, challenges the assumption that time changes and heals everything. He points out that it is not necessarily the case since there could be more questions that the victims asked than the answers they received from the perpetrators.

2.5.2 Significance of Frankl's Theory of Existentialism for the present study

An evaluation of this theory made it clear to researcher that it can be possible to understand how people who are confronted with life stressors such as grief, could cope. The fact that this is determined by how they analyse their experiences to derive meaning from the trauma can be related to how they recover from the pain.

Researcher was also sensitised to the different coping mechanisms that victimised people can adopt and how these are determined by the state of one's well-being. It was

then evident to researcher that lack of insight into the dynamics of an individual's psychological functions could result in them being misunderstood.

2.6   MASLOW'S THEORY

Maslow (1968:8), who is known as the personal growth psychologist, reports on discovering the self and of uncovering therapy. He did not place the required emphasis on an aspect such as choice, which can influence the development of an individual's personality. In addition, he postulates that as they exist, people discover and uncover themselves and also decide on what they shall be. However, because youths have not yet attained maturity, it can be possible, according to Maslow (1970:76) to furnish them with a firm foundation of a value system. He further points out that great social and educational changes could occur almost immediately, if for instance, the youth could be taught to refrain from their unreal expectations. The author asserts that values could be attained through a process of self-actualisation, which implies the full use of potentialities, by a human being, which is characterised by a state of positive health.

Maslow (1970:176) endorses that human beings can be good species, by virtue of their own human as well as biological nature, if they are inspired and encouraged towards high levels of being. This could be accomplished by discovering human values that could have been discarded and spurned during times of adversity. The author further points out that what humans can be, they must be, as they have to be true to their nature. He also refers to the need for a full expression and development of people's humanness, namely **self-actualisation**. This concept refers to people's desire for self-fulfilment, namely, the tendency for them to make full use of their talents, capabilities as well as potentialities. In this way individuals can be everything that they are capable of becoming. Since being fully functional results in a person experiencing a state of positive health, rather than that of deficiency. Maslow labels this the growth motivation. To correct the impression that self actualisation might be referring to something selfish and egocentric the above author broadened the term by defining it as: an ongoing actualisation of potentials, capacities and talents, as fulfilment of a mission (fate, destiny or vocation). This also includes a fuller knowledge, and acceptance of the person's own

intrinsic nature, as an unceasing trend towards unity, integration or synergy within himself.

Maslow (1968:133) discovered the most profound difference between mature or self-actualising people and those who are not fully functioning. This entails that the motivational lives of the former were not only quantitatively different, but also qualitatively different from those who do not function well. Ultimately, he endorses that it seems probable that psychologists should construct a profoundly different psychology of motivation for self-actualising people (Maslow, 1986:133).

In advocating behavioural changes by mankind, especially the youth through the introduction of a new humanistic value system, Shantall (1996:112) states:

> After the Holocaust, the world was faced with the grim aftermath of the war. Millions of lives were lost and families were torn apart as whole communities had been wiped out. Not only was the rebuilding of the ruins in a material sense necessary, but also a spiritual restoration, a new image of man was sorely needed.

Thus, Maslow (1970:39) felt a strong desire to promote the cause of a man's humanness to concentrate on bringing to light the higher, good and constructive motives in human behaviour. These also include motives that enhance brotherhood and a peaceful and harmonious society, a world worth living in.

2.6.1 Maslow's views on the self-actualising person

According to Maslow (1968:64), the attainment of self-actualisation epitomises the ideal lifestyle and this stage is reached when lower level needs are no longer predominant. In this way a person no longer acts out of a sense of deficiency, but is motivated by values or metaneeds which transcend and eclipse the lower level of need or deficiency motivation. Thus, instinctual needs become obscured as the importance of higher goals, a quality, which far surpasses a level of mere survival, takes precedence. After studying people whom he thought personified such an ideal, he concluded that they signified their state of optimal growth and psychological well-being.

Maslow perceived the mature person to be sufficiently freed from the domination of the need to become more keenly aware of the nature of things outside of himself. Such a person's vision is unclouded by prejudice, belief and opinion. As Shantall (1996:112) stated: "The individual has no need to compartmentalise and judge people according to stereotypes". This author labelled this non-judgemental type of perception as "being" or "B-cognition", that involves an unconditional relation to the world which is not restricted by timidity and conventionality.

In conjunction with the above, Baron and Byrne (1987:115) point out that children get their attitudes from a variety of people and institutions for example from parents and later from teachers, the media, friends as well as acquaintances. The authors further postulate that three main processes play a role in this regard, namely: classical conditioning, instrumental conditioning as well as modelling.

2.6.1.1   Classical conditioning

Classical conditioning pertains to learning by association as when the child, for example, notices the negative emotions of his mother regarding a certain television programme. As a consequence of this, the chances are good that he will develop the same attitude, and as he grows up, that a negative attitude towards the programme may continue. According to Baron and Byrne (1987:115) work, sex, political party or race can substitute for the television programme, but the principle stays the same.

2.6.1.2   Instrumental conditioning

Instrumental conditioning refers to learning in which responses that yield positive outcomes or eliminate negative ones, are acquired or strengthened. As an illustration, a father who is a democrat may praise his son for claiming to be one too, and may punish him for expressing contrary views. The implication of this is that generally, by rewarding or punishing their offspring, parents can shape their attitudes on many issues, at least before children reach adolescence.

2.6.1.3   Modelling

Modelling refers to learning by observation and in this way, even when parents are not trying to influence their child's attitudes directly, they may be setting examples that could be imitated. As an illustration, if the mother is a career woman, the daughter is more likely to want her own career than if the mother is a full-time homemaker (Baron & Byrne, 1987:115). However, the authors caution that parents are not the only ones to guide the passive formation of attitudes, as much learning of attitudes take place in schools, churches and elsewhere. Lastly, people also form attitudes as a result of their own experiences. For example, if a person is victimised through affirmative action, because of her race (being white) and not be acknowledged as a victim of human rights violations, she might have a negative attitude towards blacks.

2.6.2 Critique of Maslow's theory

Growth psychologists such as Maslow as well as Allport (1982:117) have been criticised for what has been termed, over-psychologising and under-sociologising. That is, they do not stress sufficiently in their systematic thinking the great power of autonomous social and environmental determinants, This also includes such forces outside the individual as poverty, exploitation, nationalism, war and social structure (Shantall, 1996:54).

The theory was also criticised from an existential point of view by Frankl (1970:127) who argued that Maslow had moved far enough away from the models of man as a mere creature of need. He still remains close to perceiving man as merely using his world as means of achieving the aim of self-enhancement. Frankl (1967:127) also observes that Maslow describes even the higher urges in human nature in terms of need (metaneeds), which seek satisfaction. Despite this simplistic explanation of complex dimensions, the accent still remains on restoring the psychic system. The values and meanings of life are portrayed in much of humanistic theory as merely providing opportunities for the experience of psychological well-being. In this way, humanistic theorists still miss fully viewing man in his psycho-spirituality plane of selfless living. This is where man is willing to give all for the sake of that which transcends himself, even at a cost to himself.

2.6.3 Significance of Maslow's theory for the present study

Maslow's theory (1968: 64) was found to be relevant for the present study, specifically for its emphasis on the mechanisms that can make it possible to influence a change in behaviour. Of significance too, is its emphasis on the fact that only the behaviour of the youth that have not attained maturity can be transformed by an introduction of a new value system. This theory was used as basis to formulate the recommendations related to how transformation of behaviour of children can be effected (see Chapter 5).

2.6.4 Conclusion

An exposition of the five theories which components were used as a basis for the formulation of the **TRC's Revelations Aftermath Model** (see Figure 2.1) was given. In this research the model thus made it possible to explain the experiences of the victim respondents more comprehensively than the use of a single theory.

2.6.5 TRC's Revelations Aftermath Model

The **TRC's Revelations Aftermath Model** was constructed to explain how the victim respondents in this study came to terms with the impact of their trauma. This culminated from the revelations which confronted them when they submitted their testimonies to the TRC.

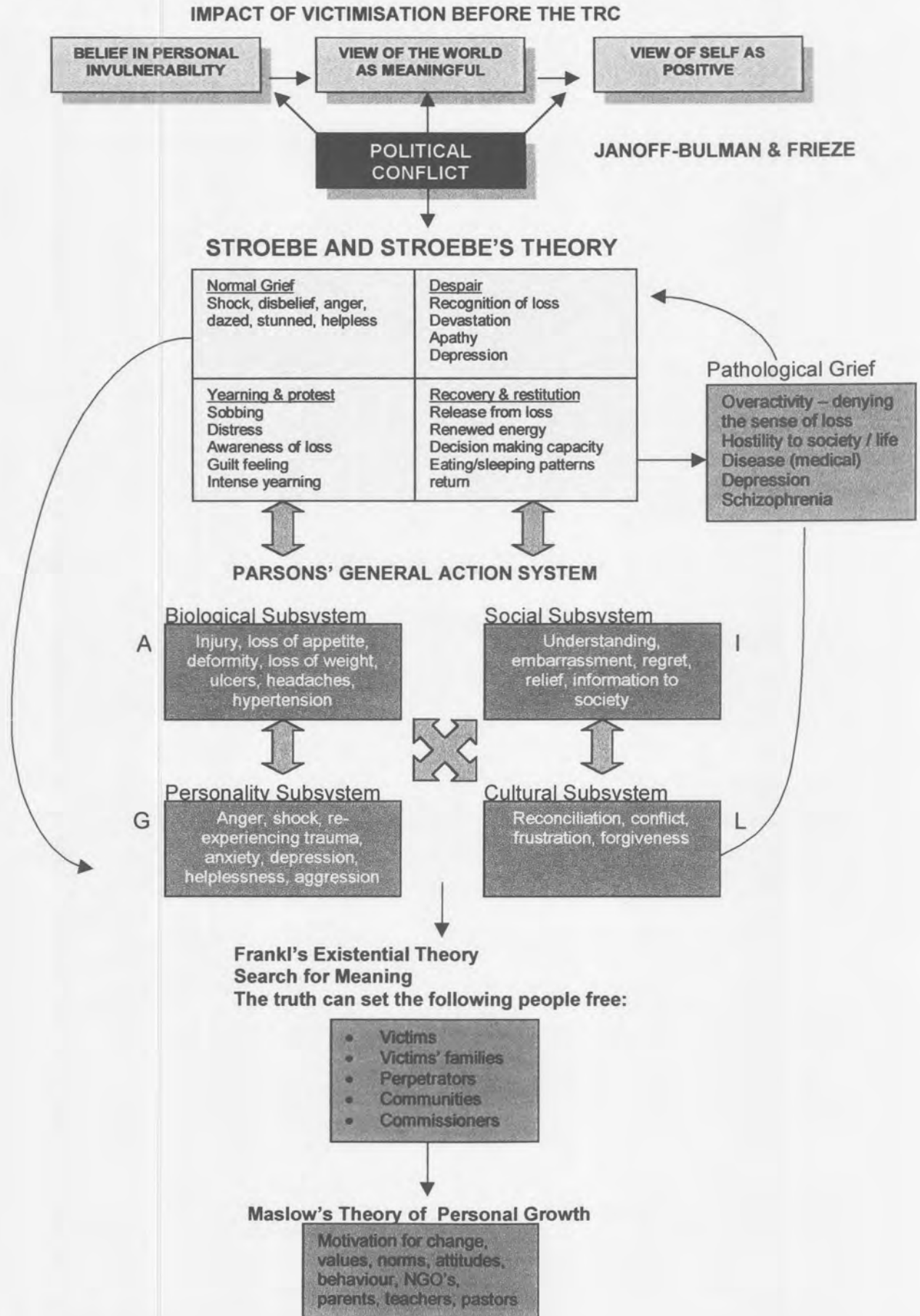# THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION'S REVELATIONS AFTERMATH MODEL

IMPACT OF VICTIMISATION BEFORE THE TRC

| BELIEF IN PERSONAL INVULNERABILITY | → | VIEW OF THE WORLD AS MEANINGFUL | → | VIEW OF SELF AS POSITIVE |

POLITICAL CONFLICT

JANOFF-BULMAN & FRIEZE

STROEBE AND STROEBE'S THEORY

Normal Grief
Shock, disbelief, anger, dazed, stunned, helpless

Despair
Recognition of loss
Devastation
Apathy
Depression

Yearning & protest
Sobbing
Distress
Awareness of loss
Guilt feeling
Intense yearning

Recovery & restitution
Release from loss
Renewed energy
Decision making capacity
Eating/sleeping patterns return

Pathological Grief

Overactivity – denying the sense of loss
Hostility to society / life
Disease (medical)
Depression
Schizophrenia

PARSONS' GENERAL ACTION SYSTEM

A

Biological Subsystem
Injury, loss of appetite, deformity, loss of weight, ulcers, headaches, hypertension

Social Subsystem
Understanding, embarrassment, regret, relief, information to society

I

G

Personality Subsystem
Anger, shock, re-experiencing trauma, anxiety, depression, helplessness, aggression

Cultural Subsystem
Reconciliation, conflict, frustration, forgiveness

L

Frankl's Existential Theory
Search for Meaning
The truth can set the following people free:

- Victims
- Victims' families
- Perpetrators
- Communities
- Commissioners

Maslow's Theory of Personal Growth

Motivation for change, values, norms, attitudes, behaviour, NGO's, parents, teachers, pastors

Figure 2.1 The TRC's Revelations Aftermath Model

2.6.5.1 Janoff-Bulman and Frieze's Model of Victim Experience

When the victim respondents began to suffer from the trauma brought about by the political conflict on them and their family members, their positive assumptions about themselves and their world could have collapsed. However, the respondents were faced with the task of re-establishing a view of the world that is meaningful while of acknowledging that individuals are not singled out by unpleasant incidents. Thus they approached the TRC with the goal of understanding a world which had been unjust to them so as to be able to have control over their lives. According to Janoff-Bulman and Frieze's Model (1983:2) respondents in this study suffered from a variety of psychological reactions because their experiences differed (see paragraph 4.4.1).

2.6.5.2 Bereavement theories

The trauma endured by the respondents who approached the TRC because they did not accept the circumstances under which their family members had died, had been explained by making use of the bereavement theories. Some were not informed as to how and why their relatives had died and consequently had suffered from symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder. Included in this category were those research participants who could only have discovered through the revelations of the TRC that their family members had in fact been killed and how it happened. These individuals could have transcended the first three phases of bereavement, viz., numbness, yearning and protest, as well as despair (see Table 4.2).

In conjunction with this, most of the victims who approached the TRC could have experienced symptoms of pathological grief which bordered on depression. However, because they chose to make submissions to the TRC, they could, because of positive expectations have regressed to the phase of recovery and restitution. Consequently, whether this phase had been resolved was determined by the outcome of the TRC revelations. This depended on whether the victims were satisfied with the information they still needed, inter alia, pertaining to the murder of their loved ones.

2.6.5.3 Parsons' General Action System

The trauma of the victim respondents resulted in them experiencing pain from their injuries as well as, amongst other things, ulcers from the stress. These culminated in loss of appetite, which resulted in weight loss. The symptoms did not only affect their biological subsystem, but they also manifested in emotionally-driven responses such as anger, shock, anxiety as well as aggression. Some of the respondents in this study were in conflict with their emotions when the TRC's Investigation Unit could not supply them with the information they needed. This related to aspects such as the identities of the persons who ordered that people should be assassinated by means of bombing. Besides this, the fact that they had to reconcile themselves with their perpetrators, irrespective of the trauma they endured, frustrated them. Others were able to forgive in order to facilitate the process of unity (see paragraph 4.4.3.1).

2.6.5.4. Existential Theory of Frankl

A number of victim respondents in this study were willing to confront the TRC with the hope of deriving some form of understanding of the meaning of their grief. Thus some accepted that the Commission has assisted them in terms of coping with their pain. However, there were those who verbalised that the TRC had compounded their emotional problem, as they still needed more information about their trauma. There were victim respondents who required knowledge of the persons who ordered that they should be targeted as victims of bombings. Besides this, the fact that they had to reconcile themselves with their perpetrators, irrespective of the trauma they endured, frustrated them and thus they could not reconcile themselves with the perpetrators. Others were able to forgive for the sake of unity. However, the victim respondents who did not receive reparations for their victimisation perceived the TRC as biased, whereas, those who were granted the reparations declared that it was fair and necessary (see paragraph 1.3.4).

2.6.5.5 Maslow's Theory of Personal Growth and Motivation

This theory, which explains how transformation of behaviour can be effected, especially to the youth by the introduction of a new value system which encompasses a humanistic ethos, was implemented in Chapter 5.

2.6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter a number of theories were discussed to lay the foundation for this study. These contributions of Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983), Bereavement theories (Stroebe & Stroebe, 1987; Lindenmann, 1981), Parsons' General Action System (1998) as well as the Existential Theory of Frankl, (1970) assisted the researcher to analyse the way in which individuals responded to trauma in their lives.

2.6.7 Research expectations

As this is a descriptive study, the researcher will outline the research expectations in relation to the **TRC's Revelations Aftermath Model** (see Figure 2.1).

The following research expectations were formulated and are related to the assumptions that people accepted and held about themselves as well as the world before the impact of the political conflict on their lives.

2.6.7.1 Victims who attended hearings of the TRC will believe in personal invulnerability before the impact of the political conflict on them.

2.6.7.2 Victims who testified before the Commission will believe that the world is meaningful.

2.6.7.3 Victims who attended hearings of the TRC will have a positive view of the self.

The following research expectations are related to Bereavement Theories.

2.6.7.4 **Victims who lost their loved ones during the political conflict of the mid 1980s will suffer from numbness.**

2.6.7.5 **Victims whose family members were killed through murder during the apartheid era will experience yearning as they protest against such loss.**

2.6.7.6 **Victims whose loved ones were killed as a result of the political conflict of the apartheid era will suffer from despair.**

2.6.7.7 **Victims who lost family members during the political conflict of the apartheid era will experience restitution as they recover from their grief.**

2.6.7.8 **Victims whose family members disappeared during the apartheid era will suffer symptoms of pathological grief.**

The following research expectations are related to the Parsons' General Action System.

2.6.7.9 **The impact of the revelations of the TRC will have a direct effect on the biological (behavioural) subsystem (adaptation).**

2.6.710 **The impact of the revelations at the TRC hearings will have a direct effect on the personality subsystem (goal-attainment).**

2.6.7.11 **The impact of the TRC will have a direct effect on the social subsystem (integration).**

2.6.7.12 **The effect of the TRC's revelations will have a direct impact on the cultural subsystem (latency).**

The following research expectations about the search for meaning according to the Existential Theory of Frankl were identified.

2.6.7.13 **Victims who attended hearings of the TRC will expect to find meaning in their suffering through discovering the truth.**

2.6.7.14 **Victims who attended hearings of the Commission will expect to be freed from the burden of not having all the information related to the cause of their trauma.**

2.6.7.15 Victims who atten RC in this research will expect to begin the healing process by making submissions to the TRC.

2.6.7.16 Victims who attended hearings of the Commission will expect their family members to also begin the healing process after the revelations of the TRC.

2.6.7.17 Victims who attended hearings of the TRC will expect that the South African society will be healed by the revelations made to the Commission, as that can promote national unity.

The following research expectations, which pertain to the change of the behaviour of the youth according to Maslow, were identified.

2.6.7.18 The parents of children (who display deviant behaviour) will expect them to develop a positive value system.

2.6.7.19 Parents of former youth activists (who are still unemployed) will expect them to be engaged in skills training programmes to better their lives.

2.6.8   Conclusion

The **TRC's Revelations Aftermath Model** (see Figure 2.1) was constructed to explain the impact of the revelations of the TRC on the victims in this study. It was also possible to assess their needs as well as to establish how they could derive meaning in their suffering in order that they could begin with the healing process. In conjunction with this, it became evident how an attempt could be made to transform the behaviour of people, especially the youth, by the introduction of a new value system. After the completion of the theoretical perspectives for this study, the formulation of research expectations was undertaken and this is set out in Chapter 4.