

TRAUMA EXPERIENCED BY WOMEN WHO MADE SUBMISSIONS AT THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION HEARINGS

by

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**Presented in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree**

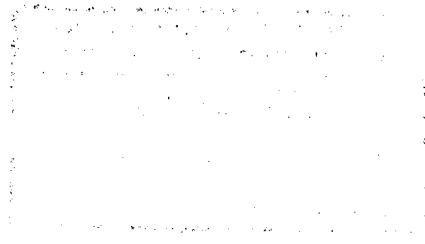
DOCTOR PHILOSOPHIAE

in the

Faculty of Arts

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

January 2000



Dedicated to:
My husband, Ben Nomoyi

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to the following persons for the support and assistance they provided during this study:

- Professor Ronelle Pretorius, my supervisor, for her efficient guidance, relentless enthusiasm, interest and encouragement.
- I am thankful to my husband, Ben for his sacrifice, support and understanding throughout.
- My children, Vuyiswa, Luyanda, Bulumko and Luvuyo for their sacrifice, understanding and support throughout.
- Mrs Estelle van Heerden for her interest, assistance with the typing of this manuscript, as well as the graphical representation of the data.
- Mrs. Mauer for her help with the statistical analysis.
- The 30 respondents who made this study possible.

DEO GLORIA

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TITLE : Trauma experienced by women who made submissions at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings

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DEPARTMENT : Criminology

DEGREE : Doctor Philosophiae

SUMMARY

This study focused on the impact of the revelations at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) hearings on 30 female victims of all races. An explanatory model, the **TRC Revelation Aftermath Model** was designed to direct the research and to interpret the data. Researcher made use of a non-probability sampling strategy. Five respondents were selected by purposive sampling and 25 were selected by means of the snowball sampling. The sample of this study consisted of **three components**, namely ten Commissioners of the TRC, ten Co-ordinators who worked in the TRC offices, as well as 30 **female victims of all races**. The Commissioners were interviewed to validate the data obtained from the victims while the Co-ordinators were consulted merely to obtain general information on the criteria which was used to process the applications submitted by the victims in order to receive the reparations.

The analysis of the data revealed that the respondents accepted **three assumptions**, namely, they were invulnerable with regard to trauma such as that caused by the revelations of the TRC. In addition to this they viewed life as **meaningful** and that they also had a **positive attitude** towards it before the political conflict of the apartheid era in South Africa impacted on them. These assumptions were interpreted in terms of Janoff-

Bulman and Frieze's theory. The research findings indicated that the assumptions were not only affected by the revelations but that they also influenced the way in which these women experienced the TRC process.

It was found that the victim respondents, whose family members had disappeared and were never confirmed dead, had suffered exacerbated emotions which were characterised by denial. This was the result of repressed memories associated with the grief. Of importance too, was the finding that a few of the victims were successful in deriving meaning from their suffering, while others, who could not achieve this, could not reconcile with their perpetrators and this was determined by their age. As the former were willing to forgive their perpetrators they had thus found inner peace.

During the interviews, the victims mentioned that although the TRC had appeared to be necessary before they made their submissions, however, after it had disappointed them by not granting them reparations, this exacerbated their suffering as they felt that they had been discriminated against in favour of the perpetrators who were granted amnesty irrespective of not having made full disclosures. According to **Parsons General Action System** all the respondents experienced their trauma as biological entities, and thus suffered symptoms related to psychosomatic illnesses such as, *inter alia*, headaches, insomnia, and ulcers. These were accompanied by personality characteristics such as anger, aggression, as well as hatred. As the victims could not function in isolation, they also endured ostracisation related to cultural stereotypes and in this way, their suffering was perceived as secondary to that of males. Furthermore, within the social system, the victims who perceived the TRC as biased, believed that it had caused the country embarrassment by bringing up the conflict of the apartheid era. However, others verbalised that the Commission was a good initiative for South Africa so that peace as well as reconciliation could be facilitated for the sake of unity. It is crucial to stress the finding that some of the respondents, although few, who had been granted reparations, were satisfied with the TRC and perceived it as fair and thus could reconcile with their perpetrators. The research report concludes with a number of recommendations for the establishment of support services for the traumatised victims as well as integrative

mechanisms, which could encourage co-operation between the citizens of South Africa so that the reconciliation which the TRC facilitated can be sustained.

KEY TERMS

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, amnesty, violence, human rights, reconciliation, apartheid, trauma, grief, bereavement.

TITEL	:	Trauma ervaar deur vroue wat onthullings gemaak het tydens die Waarheids- en Versoeningskommissie se aanhoor van getuienis
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GRAAD	:	Doctor Philosophiae

OPSOMMING

Hierdie navorsing let op die uitwerking van die onthullings voor die Waarheids- en Versoeningskommissie (WVK) op 30 vroulike slagoffers van alle rasse. ‘n Verduidelikende model, die **WVK Onthullings-nawerkingsmodel** (vgl. Figuur 2.1), was ontwerp om die navorsing te rig en die data te interpreteer. Die navorsing het gebruik gemaak van ‘n strategie vir nie-waarskynlikheidsmonsterneming. Vyf respondentte was geselekteer deur gerigte monsterneming en 25 deur middel van sneeubal-monsterneming. Die monster van hierdie studie bestaan uit **drie komponente**, naamlik tien Kommissarisse van die WVK, tien Ko-ordineerdes werksaam in die WVK-kantore, asook 30 vroulike slagoffers van alle rasse. Onderhoude was gevoer met die Kommissarisse om die data, verkry van die slagoffers, te bekragtig, terwyl die Ko-ordineerders genader was om algemene inligting te bekom rakende die kriteria wat gebruik was om die slagoffers se aansoeke vir genoegdoening te verwerk.

Die analise van die data het aan die lig gebring dat die respondentte **drie aannames** aanvaar het, te wete dat hulle onkwesbaar is aangaande trauma soos navore gekom het in die onthullings voor die WVK, dat die lewe **sinvol** is en dat hulle ‘n **positiewe instelling** daarteenoor gehad het voordat die politieke konflik van die apartheidstydperk

in Suid-Afrika op hulle geïmpakteer het. Hierdie aannames is geïnterpreteer ooreenkomsdig die teorie van Janoff-Bulman en Frieze. Die navorsingsbevindinge toon aan dat die aannames nie net geraak was deur die onthullings nie, maar dat dit ook die wyse waarop hierdie vrouens die WVK-proses ondervind het, beïnvloed het.

Daar is vasgestel dat die slagoffer-respondente, van wie familie-lede verdwyn het sonder dat sodanige persone se dood ooit bevestig was, se emosionele lyding vererger was, welke lyding gekenmerk was deur ontkenning. Hierdie was die gevolg van onderdrukte herinneringe gekoppel aan hul smart. Van belang is dat enkele van die slagoffers daarin geslaag het om sin uit hul lyding te verkry, terwyl ander vir wie dit nie beskore was nie, hul nie met die daders kon versoen nie en dit was die gevolg van hulle ouderdom. Aangesien die eersgenoemdes bereid was om die daders te vergewe, het hulle innerlike vrede ondervind.

Gedurende die onderhoude het die slagoffers genoem dat die WVK vir hulle belangrik gelyk het voordat daardie slagoffers hul betoë voorgelê het, maar toe die WVK nie aan hul versoek vir genoegdoening gevolg gegee het nie, is hulle lyding vererger want hulle het gevoel dat hulle uitgebuit word ten voordele van die daders wat amnestie verkry het afgesien daarvan of hulle volle onthullings gedoen het of nie. Volgens **Parsons se General Action System** het al die respondentे hul trauma as biologiese wesens ondervind en daarom aan simptome gely wat verband hou met psigosomatiese siektes soos byvoorbeeld hoofpyn, slaaploosheid en maagsere. Laasgenoemdes het gepaard gegaan met persoonlikheidsreaksies soos woede, aggressie asook haat. Aangesien die slagoffers nie op hul eie kon funksioneer nie, was hulle ook sosiaal uitgeskuif as gevolg van kulturele stereotipes en hierdeur was hul lyding gesien as onderskik aan dié van mans. Voorts, binne die sosiale sisteem, sien die slagoffers die WVK as bevooroordeeld en glo dat dit die land benadeel het deur die konflik as gevolg van apartheid in die kalklig te plaas. Daar was egter ander wat die mening gehuldig het dat die Kommissie 'n goeie inisiatief vir Suid-Afrika was sodat vrede en versoening gefasiliteer kan word met die oog op eenheid. Dit is noodsaaklik om daarop te wys dat enkele van die respondentе, wat genoegdoening ontvang het, tevrede was met die WVK

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

-
1. The use of the pronoun he throughout the text is not intended as gender discrimination but an attempt to make reading easier.
 2. limpimpi 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 Mbasheru 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 Lian 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 Ngupe, 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 Mantata, Mcebisi Xundu and Smangele Mgawaza.

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 (CSV) 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-Croatian 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 Reconciliation 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 relevant 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 reinforcement 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

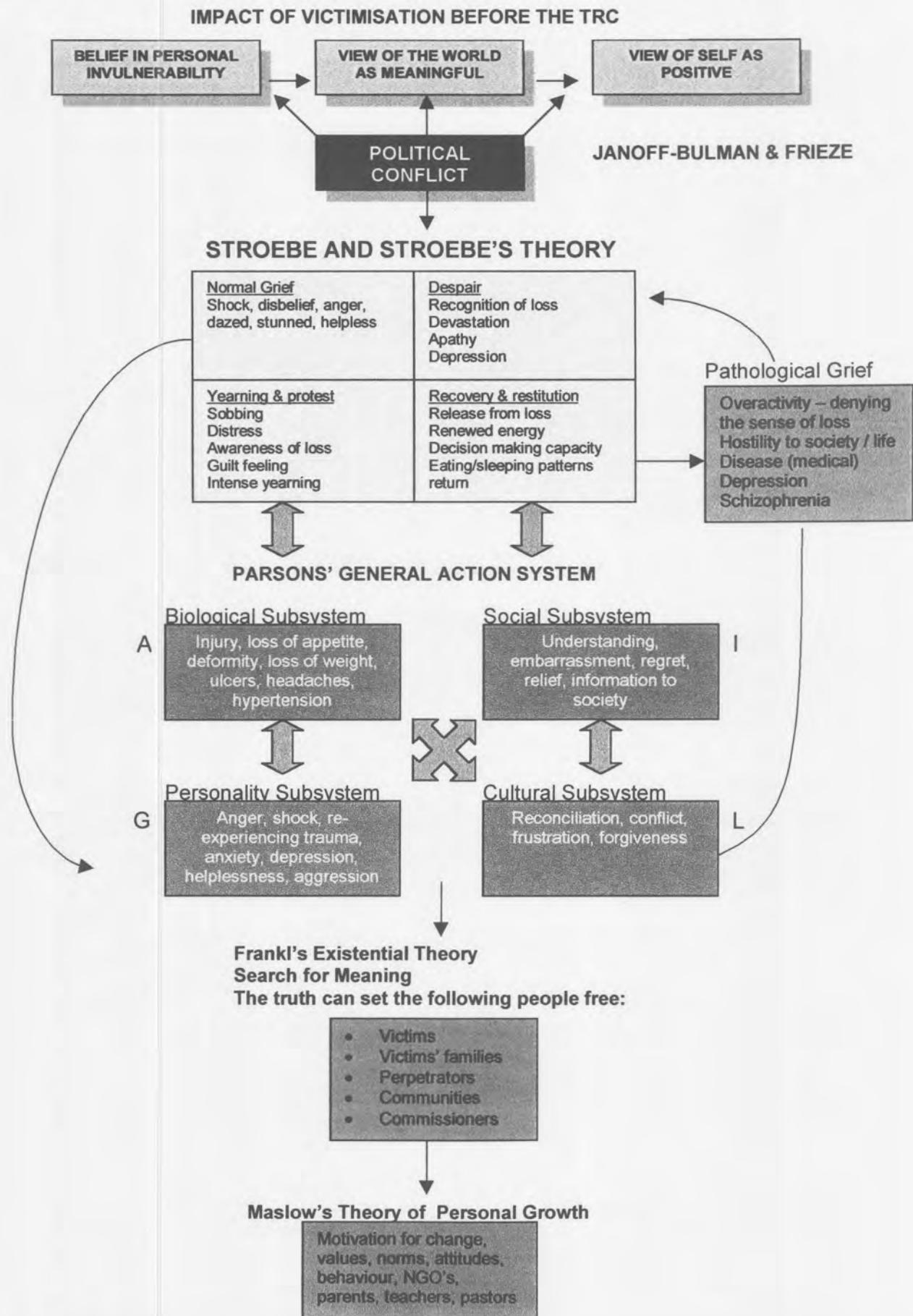


Figure 2.1 The TRC's Revelations Aftermath Model

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 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).**
- 2.6.7.10 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 attended hearings of the TRC 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.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY, PROCEDURES AND TECHNIQUES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the methodology for this study is outlined, detailing the procedures and techniques of research, data collection and analysis. A qualitative methodology was used as it seems to be able to elucidate what the victims experienced, how they interpreted their experiences and how they structured the world that they will have to live in in the future (Bailey, 1994:62). Lastly, a profile of the research participants was given.

3.2 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Bailey (1994:34) explains that methodology entails the philosophy of the research process, which includes assumptions and values that serve as rationale for research as well as criteria used for interpreting the data. According to Brown, Esbensen and Geis (1996:11) a researcher's methodology is determined by factors such as how he formulates the hypotheses or research expectations and what level of evidence is necessary to make the decision whether or not to accept these hypotheses. Hagan (1997:14) who holds this view, points out that methodology refers to the techniques or methods that criminologists use to learn facts as they attempt to answer the "whys" of crime.

This is a **qualitative study** of a sample which consisted of three components, namely:

- Ten TRC Commissioners who presided over the three Committees through which the TRC functioned, namely, The Human Rights Violations Committee, The Amnesty Committee as well as The Reparations and Rehabilitation Committee.

- Ten Co-ordinators of the Commission's offices who processed the reparations and the amnesty applications which were submitted by the victims as well as the perpetrators of human rights violations (see paragraph 3.6.1.1).
- Thirty victims who suffered trauma as a result of the political conflict of the mid-1980s in South Africa and who had already approached the TRC for reparations.

As the study is **exploratory** a qualitative methodology was opted for. Its aim was to describe and understand the impact of the revelations of the TRC on the research participants and the remedies which could be provided to alleviate pain, suffering, as well as other needs that were identified. Bartollas (1997:50) concurs that some researchers found that qualitative methods, such as non-structured interviews, content analysis of written statements as well as participant observation techniques, are useful in shaping a more holistic perspective by focusing on social dynamics. According to Bailey (1994:244), "the primary nature of the relationship between the observer and the subjects allows an in-depth study of the whole individual".

Royse (1991:217) observed that researchers who used a qualitative research methodology seek to understand lifestyles and social phenomena first hand. In this way, they try to describe the dynamic interaction between subgroups or cultures (e.g. the world of drug addicts or the chronically mentally ill) from the point of view of the persons being studied. Hagan (1997:14) postulates that in quantitative research, concepts are assigned numerical value, whereas in qualitative research they are viewed as sensitising ideas or terms that enhance understanding. By the utilisation of a qualitative methodology, it became possible for researcher to elucidate the sense of meaning that the victim respondents gave to their victimisation, how this affected the way they viewed reality, as well as the effect that their experiences had on their significant others. Besides this, it became apparent what their immediate needs were, as well as their subsequent requirements.

Researcher commenced with an exploratory exercise with the TRC Commissioners to be sensitised to the dynamics of the trauma of the victims. The Commissioners suggested that researcher should also consult with the Co-ordinators of the TRC

offices. She thus merely conducted general discussions with the latter and in this way obtained valuable information pertaining to the applications for reparations which they processed on behalf of the victims. This clarified some of the expectations the victim respondents had about the TRC.

Lastly structured interviews were undertaken with only **30 female victims of all races** who made submissions to the Commission to obtain a balanced view on the impact of the TRC on them. This was followed by a documentary study of their files which were kept by the TRC. In addition, an in-depth study as well as an interpretation of the TRC Report in order to validate the information contained in the respondents' files was done (see paragraph 3.6.1.1). Bailey (1994:294) distinguishes between **primary documents**, or eyewitness accounts written by people who experienced the particular event or behaviour, and **secondary documents**, prepared by persons who were not present at the scene, but who received the necessary information to compile the documents by interviewing witnesses. As an illustration, this was done by the police working for the Investigating Unit of the TRC in order that decisions about the needs of the victims could be taken only after the facts had been officially documented. Researcher was thus in a position to compare the responses of the research participants with the above information for authenticity (see paragraph 1.4.10).

3.3 RESEARCH PROCEDURES

Procedures refer to the different steps and phases in a research project. A research procedure was developed in accordance with the requirements set by different authors such as Lin (1976:145); Van der Westhuizen (1982:41); Mouton and Marais (1991:43); Bailey (1994:176); Hagan (1997:16). Lin (1976:135) identified four types of studies, viz, descriptive, hypothesis generating, hypothesis testing, and exploratory study which can be applied in research.

Because descriptive studies require a representative sample, this method was not suitable for this study due to its sensitive nature as well as ethical considerations

and it was therefore decided to make use of an **exploratory research methodology**. For illustrative purposes some respondents in this study experienced this research as further trauma as they had already testified before the TRC. In this regard, Hagan (1997:166) argues that such discussions of ethics generally focus upon the degree of harm that the respondent can be subjected to and ways in which this can be alleviated.

According to Bailey (1994:40), exploratory studies are undertaken primarily for four reasons:

- To satisfy the researcher's desire for a better understanding of a phenomenon.
- To test the feasibility of undertaking a more representative study.
- To develop methods to be used in a more comprehensive study.
- To better formulate a problem for more precise investigation, or for developing hypotheses.

Lin (1976:137) substantiates this by saying that exploratory studies supply the researcher with his first exposure to the existing information in his area of interest, and provides the basis for later, more rigorous studies. As researcher aimed to gain insight and comprehension into the dynamics of the impact of the revelations of the TRC on the victims and the need for rendering support to them, this research can be viewed as an **exploratory study**. She therefore employed the procedures stipulated for this type of study, namely consultation as well as general discussions with experts, in-depth interviews, documentary studies, case exploration and observation.

3.3.1 Literature study

Royse (1991:221) postulates that the ideal is to become familiar with literature relevant to your topic. However according to him there is no requirement that in qualitative research the literature review should come before data collection. The

purpose of a literature review is to enable the investigator to look for unanswered questions that the present study might address, as well as to compare findings. According to Lin (1976:34) a literature review involves becoming acquainted with literature dealing broadly with the selected topic, and directly with the related research in the field of study. The importance of literature and documentary studies is based on the fact that a researcher is made aware of the studies of others, as well as theories relevant to the phenomena that are being studied. Leedy (1989:67) postulates that a literature study refers to searching for relevant information, reading through it, abstracting and summarising available data.

3.3.1.1 Scientific books

The books which formed researcher's basic knowledge of the subject include Frankl (1970; 1976), Lindenmann (1981), Baron and Byrne (1987), Stroebe and Stroebe (1987), Liebenberg (in Rhoadie & Liebenberg (1994), Hass (1995), Bornman, Van Eeden and Wentzel (1998), Hamber (1998), Joseph (1998), Minnaar, Pretorius and Wentzel (1998), Murray (1998), Meiring (1999) and Jeffrey (1999).

Frankl (1970) gave an extensive analysis of how persons who are confronted with traumatising life experiences adapt to be able to survive. He focused on the process of searching for meaning in the suffering itself by the victim so that the burden can be minimised. This gave an indication to researcher that a possibility could exist that some of the respondents in this study might have survived the adverse effects of political conflict by searching for meaning in their suffering.

Lindenmann (1981) gave the most detailed account of the process of pathological grief, which broadened researcher's insight into the problem. It therefore became possible for her to envisage the many dimensions of the loss of a family member, which could manifest in abnormal grief.

Baron and Byrne (1987) rendered a detailed account of the task of understanding the causes of social behaviour by identifying factors that could impact on people's feelings, behaviour as well as thoughts. The authors further illustrated how it could

be possible to change the behaviour of the young especially the pre-adolescents by an inculcation of a new value system. This insight was crucial for the recommendations for this study (see Chapter 5).

Stroebe and Stroebe (1987) shed extensive light on the somatic as well as the psychological consequences of the loss of a loved one. The authors emphasised that although bereavement is experienced uniquely by different people, it involves a slow process, which can be characterised by an unending unconscious search for the deceased. As a result of this, individuals could experience symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder.

Liebenberg (in Rhoodie & Liebenberg, 1994:27) provided insight into the complexity of nation building by pointing out the following, namely that:

- South Africans should not have misconceptions about reconciliation between conflicting cultures.
- They should rather accept the challenge of continuing tension as being consistent with a pluralist world and of tension-generating as well as enriching diversity of a post-modern culture.
- Citizens should be aware of the ideal of a democratic society which tolerates different cultures, views and conflict as part of an ongoing process.

This author made this researcher aware of the need for the formulation of realistic as well as practical recommendations (see Chapter 5).

Hass (1995) offered a comprehensive perspective of how a person, who has lived with terror for years, can be able to avoid paralysis and move forward with life. This book gave an exposition about how people cope with growing doubts and uncertainty concerning their past actions as well as inactions. This gave researcher insight into the elasticity and the limits of endurance, the human need and capacity to reassert a vigorous life.

Bornman, Van Eeden and Wentzel (1998) explored the gender perspective on violence during the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. These authors highlighted that women were often partly discriminated against because they were perceived to be less significant victims of human rights violations. The findings of the above researchers sensitised researcher on how the respondents in this study would react to questions related to the findings of the above-mentioned authors.

Hamber (1998) rendered an exposition of Commissions which were undertaken in other countries as an aftermath of the transition from an authoritarian rule to a democratic society. Researcher thus gained insight into how victims of abuses react to such Commissions. It was also enlightening to note how international bodies such as the United Nations as well as the League of Nations measured the successes of such initiatives.

Joseph (1998) supplied an illuminating discussion of how racial discrimination was implemented on political prisoners who were indicted. The author, was a white female activist during the South African Treason Trial, which lasted from December 1956 to March 1961. She contrasted the treatment meted out to her in detention to that of Lillian Ngoyi - a black colleague who was indicted for the same crime. She found that the latter was treated harsher than she was. This made it possible for researcher to validate the findings of Goldblatt and Meintjes (1998) on racial as well as sexual discrimination of female political prisoners in detention in South Africa (see paragraph 1.4).

Minnaar, Pretorius and Wentzel (1998) gave insight into the dynamics of the political conflict of the mid-1980s in South Africa. Researcher was thus able to obtain a broad approach of situations where it could be problematic to distinguish between the oppressors and the oppressed. One example of this was the political assassinations, particularly of middle-level community leaders who were regarded as iimpimpi (sell-outs) by township youths.

Murray (1998), a blind female herself, gave a detailed explanation of the permanent grief and frustrations experienced by visually impaired adults and in this way she disputed the fact that time changes everything. This broadened researcher's insight

into grief, which was compounded by a personal disability, such as blindness. Given that a number of the victims who made submissions to the Commission had lost their eyesight as a result of political violence, therefore this report sheds light on their trauma.

Meiring (1999) rendered a comprehensive as well as a systematic account of the experiences of the victims of human rights violations, which he balanced, with the submissions of the perpetrators. He completed the circle of the Commission by highlighting the impact of these dynamics on the Commissioners, translators, psychologists as well as social workers. These persons had to be medically as well as psychologically assisted because of the trauma they endured. This sensitised researcher to the importance of maintaining objectivity when conducting the interviews with the respondents.

Jeffrey (1999) criticised the TRC because it made its findings of accountability for the killings and other violations by relying primarily on the statements made by the victims as well as the perpetrators. She mentioned that most of the amnesty statements were either irrelevant or had yet to be verified, while the victim's evidence was not sufficiently substantiated. This author further pointed out that the statements by the victims were often based on hearsay because in 17 500 instances victims reported abuses which were perpetrated against persons other than themselves. The account rendered by this author made researcher aware of the legal dimension associated with the processing of testimonies.

Various other works from which researcher drew enriching information, such as those by Sutherland and Cressey (1970), Reeves (1985), Jacobs (1990), Glanz (1992, 1994a; 1994b) were also studied. Geen (1958), Frankl (1976), Parsons (1978), Adriaansens (1980), Price and Rossberg (1980), Haralambos (1982), Ritzer (1982), Van Vuuren, Rhoadie, Wiehan and Wiechers (1988), Schreiner (1994), Nel and Bezuidenhout (1997), Forster and Durrheim (1998), Liebenberg (1998) as well as Minnaar and Liebenberg (1998) were also consulted.

Other sources that related to the methodology of the study included the books of Lin (1976), Mannheim (1977), Denzin (1990), Groenewald (1990), Royce (1990), Bogdan and Biklen (1992), Leedy (1993), Bailey (1994), Mouton and Marais (1994), Marshall and Rossman (1995) as well as Hagan (1997). Researcher used these research methodology books interchangeably for the planning and implementation of the study. This enabled her to gain information on valuable strategies and procedures that served as guidelines towards an ordered and cohesive research approach. Although these authors presented various points of departure, they all agreed on the fundamental basics of research.

3.3.1.2 Scientific articles

It was also necessary to focus on research articles, which broadened researcher's insight gained from the available scientific books. The following proved relevant to the unique circumstances of the victims as well as the trauma endured by them (see paragraph 1.1), namely Liebenberg and Williams (1996); Wiechers (1998); and Hamber (1995). It is also important to mention that these authors stressed the significance of understanding and accommodating all the conflicting dimensions, which are related to the transition from autocracy to democracy in order that reconciliation could be possible. A common denominator of these scientific articles was the recommendation that complete honesty amongst the negotiating parties should be ensured and maintained.

Liebenberg and Williams (1996:12) point out that the end results of South Africa's political transition from an authoritarian rule to democracy was the establishment of the TRC. Although the culmination of this process cannot be gauged, these authors emphasise that its effects should not be underestimated. According to these authors it could impact on the military (the South African Defence Force), its morale, structures of command and control as well as on issues that involve military professionalism and ethics. Ultimately it is important to remember that the search for truth should be dealt with in such a way that it does not complicate already existing tensions in the broader military system. This is even compounded by the fact that the military is going through a process of simultaneous restructuring.

Wiechers (1998:14), a constitutional expert at the University of South Africa, advances a compelling argument thus:

Tragically, political expediency will not remove South Africa's legacies of apartheid. Besides this, notwithstanding one's intense desire for peace and reconciliation, one has to ask the agonising question whether trading with blood, guilt for political expediency does not simply become negotiations in blood.

Hamber (1995:4) postulates that the process of the TRC could be psychologically healing as well as rehabilitating to those who live with the experiences of the past abuses. The resulting individual and collective emotional responses to political violence, like responses to trauma in general, can be understood as a cognitive process. Trauma and violence can destroy individual cognitive assumptions about the self and the world. The author further observed that severe forms of trauma could alter cognitive assumptions of personal invulnerability, which might result in the victim experiencing insecurity. It is these distortions which can cause posttraumatic stress phenomena. In terms of Hamber's above proposals to the TRC, and from a psychological perspective, he states: "some survivors were left feeling vulnerable, helpless, deprived of the explanation of events as well as humanity".

The author also points out that by creating a realistic perspective of past human rights abuses it can lead to individual and collective cognitive recovery. This could also aid survivors by allowing them to accept what happened to them and deal with their emotional responses. Of importance too is that it could absolve the feelings of guilt and personal responsibility that some of the victims may experience. It is for this reason that the silence and misinformation, which sometimes characterise repressive societies, should be reversed.

3.3.1.3 Newspaper reports

Since the official opening of the TRC in Cape Town on 13 February 1996, the printed media daily reported on its dynamics, which involved testimonies from both the victims as well as the perpetrators (Meiring, 1999:14). A number of victims

expressed anger and bitterness at their traumatic experiences, others upheld the spirit of reconciliation by verbalising their forgiveness to the perpetrators who made full disclosures. The same can be said of the perpetrators, some of whom alleged that they had been betrayed by the apartheid Government. Articles in Rapport, The Sunday Times, The City Press, The Daily Dispatch, Die Burger, Beeld, The Sowetan, The Star, The Sunday Independent, Business Day, Mail and Guardian, Cape Argus, as well The Evening Post were regularly studied between August 1998 and August 1999 to understand the relevance of the problem to society, and to cast light on the multi-faceted nature of political crime in South Africa. All these sources highlighted the experiences of the victims of political crime of the apartheid era, with its resultant manifestations on the quality of people's lives. Articles by Carter (1998), Brand (1998), Sepotokele (1998) were of assistance to researcher as they all set out human rights violations perpetrated by both the defenders of apartheid (the State security forces) as well as those who opposed it (political activists). Thus a balanced view on the trauma endured by South Africans of all races was obtained (see paragraph 1.1).

Although the above sources were studied prior to the research, researcher contended that irrespective of the completion of the TRC Report on 29 October 1998, its revelations continue to impact on the victims. This emanates from the disclosures, which were made by the perpetrators, since the Amnesty Committee of the TRC at the time of compiling this thesis had not yet completed its task. The following newspaper articles can be regarded as proof of this:

- Brown (1998:19) and Northly (1998:3) identified the intensity of the victims' experiences of the TRC as some were willing to forgive for the sake of reconciliation. However, others were angered by their seemingly senseless suffering at the hands of known as well as unknown perpetrators.
- Seale (1998:3) and Radebe (1998:6) as well as Banda (1998:6) documented that the former liberation movements with the exception of the United Democratic Front (UDM) were angered that the Commission's Report had equated the struggle against apartheid with apartheid transgressions. The authors pointed

out that, the above political parties alleged that since apartheid had been declared a crime against humanity internationally, victims of the system could not be placed on the same scale as its defenders.

- Chandler (1998:3) and Yazbek (1998:12) expressed the people's mixed feelings about the completion of the long awaited TRC Report. Some persons verbalised that the recommendations of the Commission could only widen the gap that exists between black and white citizens in South Africa. However, others believed that it could be the healing document, which the country needs.
- Malala (1999:1) and Rickard (1999:2) reported that the ANC had signalled that the government will not pay reparations to more than 20 000 people classified as victims of gross human rights violations. This action was described as a betrayal to the victims by the head of the Reparations Committee, Hlengiwe Mkhize.
- Makone (1999:25) alluded to the so-called untold story of District Six, a coloured residential area in Cape Town, which was demolished in the late 1960s. During this process the State forcefully removed the residents to the Langa Township in Cape Town.
- The South African Press Association (SAPA) (1999:10) reported on the TRC's Amnesty Committee hearing into the 1992 Boipatong massacre in which one woman was also sexually assaulted in the attack by members of the security forces.

3.3.1.4 Popular articles

Researcher gained insight into the trauma endured by the victims who testified before the TRC by studying magazines such as *Bona*, *Drum*, *Huisgenoot*, *Pace*, *Rooi Rose*, *Sarie* and *True Love*. These popular magazines gave researcher information on the general public's perceptions. In this way, she was able to access the victimisation experiences and how this affected the respective family systems of the victims of all races. This created a challenge to researcher to adapt the available

literature and to contextualise the experiences of the research participants.

3.3.2 Documentary studies

Bailey (1994:96) postulates that a major source of data that is sometimes neglected, is the analysis of records, such as any written material that could contain information about the phenomena which is studied. According to Hagan (1997:243), documentary studies that were originally gathered for other purposes such as the census, are a good economiser of research time in data gathering and are non-reactive. For this specific research, a documentary study refers to the structured records, which were compiled by the TRC researchers, and files containing statements of the victim respondents in the study. The latter were made when they gave their testimonies to the TRC and, besides this, the TRC Report was also studied and interpreted.

According to Hagan (1997:243) researchers can also obtain original data from official reports. The TRC Report is a good example of such a document. Bogdan and Biklen (1992:68) identified several **advantages** of a documentary study, which were also practically applied to this research, namely:

- It allows a researcher to have insight into the experiences of the victims and the incidence of violent crime, even if the victims are not physically available, due to death or other reasons.
- In terms of Bogdan and Biklen's argument, the documents were written by the officials of the Investigation Unit of the TRC for later use by the Commission during the hearings. These were subsequently utilised as they were considered non-reactive.
- It allows verification of information, since the contents of the documents can easily be compared with the victims' interview responses. In this way the respondents may be reminded of aspects they did not mention thus also controlling the credibility of the information contained in the document.

3.3.3 Audio-visual reports

Audio-visual reports, such as television, can have a great effect in that the event being covered is taken to viewers' homes through news and current affairs programmes. In this way, researcher became aware of the impact of the revelations of the TRC on victim respondents. In conjunction with this there was also the Special Assignment Report which was presented every Sunday by Max du Preez, the then SABC journalist who reported on the TRC hearings until they were concluded. The following programmes contributed further to researcher's knowledge of the nature and effect of the manifestations of the political conflict of the apartheid era on both the victims as well as the perpetrators.

- In the Ceasar Molebatsi's Two-way show on SABC TV1, December 8, 1998, at 21:00, victims who made submissions to the TRC verbalised their trauma. These people represented all the racial groupings in South Africa that had suffered in different ways as a result of the conflict of the past. The common denominator amongst them was the re-living of their trauma through the revelations given at the Commission. Noteworthy is that most agreed that this had been the beginning of the healing process for them. The Deputy Minister of Education and also a Catholic priest, Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa, also a victim of past abuses, was one of the panellists on this show. Responding to Mr Molebatsi's question on the possibility that one could be healed by testifying, he stated:

You have to connect with your anger as this is a very important part of healing. I thought I could be capable of committing murder as a means of revenging myself on my tormentors, but when I confronted my anger, I forgave them.

Speaking about reconciliation, another panellist, Pastor McCaully of the Rhema Church, pointed out that it could be possible for individuals to have the capacity to forgive if they drew their strength from God. However, he stressed that the victims as well as all South African citizens should lower their expectations of the TRC. He also stated that people should accept that it is difficult to measure the financial trauma endured by the victims.

There were many examples of people from all races, who were willing to reconcile and negotiate, despite the trauma they and their families had suffered. As an example, Linda Biehl, the mother of Amy, the American Fullbright student who was murdered by APLA members in Cape Town during 1993, verbalised that although she is heartbroken, she nevertheless forgave the perpetrators for the sake of peace in South Africa (TRC Report, Extract 5, 1998:12).

- Sibongile Sokhulu, reporting in the 19:30 SABC TV1 news bulletin on June 14, 1999, stated that Eugene de Kock, the former Commander of Vlakplaas, while applying for amnesty at the TRC hearings, verbalised his trauma, anger and contempt. These were directed at a former President of South Africa, PW Botha and his reformist successor, FW de Klerk, whom, he claims, knew about the activities at Vlakplaas. However they used him and others as sacrificial lambs by denying any knowledge thereof. Explaining his past actions he pointed out that he beat, suffocated and even murdered anti-apartheid fighters, detonated bombs and fuelled violence between rival black groups with the aim of destabilising the country before the 1994 General Election.

3.4 TECHNIQUES

According to Mouton and Marais (1991:64) techniques are instruments which are applied to conduct research. Bailey (1994:182) supports this as he explains that techniques are tools for research as they enhance the research process. Researcher employed the following techniques:

3.4.1 Sampling

Bailey (1994:83) notes that sampling involves the designation of a population of interest, such as all registered voters in the USA, then an attempt should be made to select a subset of some predetermined size, which should represent the entire population. Depending upon the size of the body of research participants to be selected, sampling usually takes place after a research problem has been identified

and the most appropriate type of sampling techniques has been selected. According to Hagan (1997:136), sampling is a method of selecting some part of a group to represent the total. The latter is known as the population, while that part of the total that is selected represents the sample.

Two different types of sampling methods can be distinguished, namely **probability** and **non-probability sampling** (Bailey, 1994:93). In the first instance, the probability of selection of each respondent is known, thus the universum's boundaries are known. In the non-probability sampling, the probability of selection is unknown because the universum's boundaries are not known and this represents the dark figure in research. Hagan, (1997:136) further indicates that non-probability sampling techniques include convenience, purposive (judgemental), snowball, quota, theoretical, partial, as well as saturation sampling.

Lofland (1971:91) points out that since qualitative studies are based on intensive interviewing, typically, only 20 to 50 respondents are interviewed. Given the material management problem, numbers in that range seem reasonable, as one legitimately sacrifices breadth for depth. Beck (1990:122) is of the opinion that the end product of qualitative research is not control and prediction but the understanding of human experience.

Both the purposive as well as the snowball sampling methods were used to gather the data for this study. When the point of saturation was reached and no further victims could be obtained, researcher concluded the search for additional respondents. Bailey (1994:67) postulates that in purposive or judgemental sampling the investigator does not necessarily have a quota sample. Besides this, the researcher also does not, in Bailey's terminology, "just pick the nearest warm bodies", as in the convenience sampling method. Hagan (1997:181) who supports this view endorses that the researcher uses his own judgement about which respondents to choose, and only includes those who best meet the purpose of the study.

According to Guy et al. (1987:190), the term snowball is taken from the analogy of a

snowball which begins small but becomes larger and larger as it rolls downhill. However, Newman (1994:199) states that most researchers, who use qualitative methods, do not allow the snowball to proceed unguided on its downhill course. Once it has started to roll, theoretical sampling is used to direct its course. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990:190), theoretical sampling is the process of data collection employed to generate theory whereby the researcher jointly collects, records, codes and analyses data. In this way, he constantly decides which data to collect next and where it should be collected in order to develop a grounded theory as it emerges. Data is systematically collected and analysed until the sample is saturated. Thus, no new or relevant data emerges and the correlation between categories are well established and validated.

3.4.1.1 Composition of the sample

The sample of this study consisted of **three components**, namely ten Commissioners of the TRC, ten Co-ordinators who worked in the TRC offices, as well as 30 **female** victims of **all races**.

3.4.1.1.1 Sample of TRC Commissioners

The **ten** respondents were drawn during the period 1 May 1999 to 15 May 1999, and was taken from the Commissioners of the TRC, as researcher was of the opinion that they could enrich the findings of this study (see paragraph 3.6.1.1).

The final sample of the Commissioners of the TRC was structured as follows:

- After attending a conference on Truth and Reconciliation on 21 and 22 April 1998 in Johannesburg, researcher requested **four** TRC Commissioners, who were present at the conference, to form part of her study group. Two of them completed their task when the final draft of the TRC Report was presented to President Nelson Mandela by Archbishop Desmond Tutu on October 29, 1998. The other two were still serving on the Amnesty Committee while this study was conducted.

- The other six Commissioners were introduced to researcher by the two Commissioners who were still serving on the TRC at that time.

The following resulted from the interviews that researcher had with the Commissioners.

- Researcher was sensitised to the dynamics of the factors that could influence the experiences of the victims, this knowledge assisted her in the construction of an interview schedule for the victims.
- Thus the interview schedule consisted of questions which were relevant to the problems that the victims experienced and duplication could therefore be avoided.

It was important for researcher to commence the study by exploring the perceptions of the Commissioners, as they were the pillars of the TRC, for the following reasons:

- They assessed the submissions made by the victims of human rights abuses (the Human Rights Committee).
- They evaluated the applications made by the perpetrators for amnesty (the Amnesty Committee).
- They participated and made rulings about the payment of reparations to the victims (the Reparations and Rehabilitation Committee).

These Commissioners advised the researcher to liaise with the Co-ordinators of the TRC in order to obtain insight into the relevant issues pertaining to the needs of the victims.

3.4.1.1.2 Co-ordinators of the TRC offices

Researcher held general discussions with the ten Co-ordinators who were recommended to her by three of the Commissioners. The first five were consulted in East London during the period 16 to 26 May 1999. It was convenient for her to begin with this first group as she had lived in this area for 20 years. Thus she was

familiar with the people and also spoke their language, namely Xhosa. She then completed the discussions between 28 to 29 May 1999 with the remaining five that worked in the Johannesburg offices.

Discussions were held with the Co-ordinators as they interacted ongoingly with the victims of abuses whom they assisted with the completion of the application forms for reparations. In this way, the applicants were made aware of relevant documentation they had to attach to the forms to validate their claims (e.g. school registration documents) which proved that a child which belonged to a deceased parent was a student and was thus eligible for reparations. They also availed themselves to the victims who were unable to complete the forms themselves, for reasons such as semi-literacy or illiteracy.

After these general discussions, researcher excluded irrelevant questions from the interview schedule that she had prepared to interview the victims.

3.4.1.1.3 Sample of the victims

The third component of the sample consisted of 30 female victims and the interviews were completed in Johannesburg during the period 1 June 1999 to 12 August 1999. This number of the respondents was decided on for the following reasons:

As this is a descriptive study, generalisation was not planned and the 30 respondents were regarded as sufficient because of the sensitivity of the topic under discussion. These **30 female victims were deliberately not demarcated by race** in order that an analysis of the experiences of all races could be done. As this is a qualitative study, requiring in-depth interviews of the victim respondents' experiences, this number was seen as a manageable group.

Researcher personally conducted all the interviews and, as such, she was convinced that a larger sample would not be time or cost effective. Because of the trauma experienced by the victim respondents, they could recall memories, and

researcher anticipated that situations could occur where she would have to interrupt the sessions to allow the respondents some time to compose themselves.

The composition of the sample, which originally consisted of 37 victim respondents, was undertaken by means of the purposive as well as snowball sampling techniques. The sample was composed as follows:

- The first **five** victims were obtained through a **purposive sampling** technique in the following way:

During the literature search, researcher became aware of the existence of the Khulumani Support Group in Johannesburg, Gauteng, and she made contact with Ntombi Mosikare, who was its Co-ordinator. This is a non-governmental group (NGO), which supports victims of human rights violations as well as political violence. She then invited researcher to an Annual General Meeting of the group, which was attended by 150 female victims who had testified before the TRC. With the permission of the respondents, researcher randomly selected **five** of them through the numbers-in-the-hat system.

Researcher only opted for **five** respondents from the above-mentioned because the Khulumani Support Group is an organisation which had already been motivated by its Co-ordinators to approach the Commission with clearly demarcated requirements, which related to human rights violations. It was researcher's contention that a large sample drawn from a group, which shared common goals, could be biased and therefore could compromise the objectivity of the study. The composition of these above-mentioned five victims were as follows:

- Two had buried activist brothers (one each) who had been fatally dead by the security police during 1985.
- One suffered physical injuries when a stray bullet which had been aimed at a mob, fleeing from the police, hit her erroneously.

- One had buried a family member who was a victim of a necklace slaying in a township.
- Another female's son was abducted by members of the then Mandela Football Club, which was under the management of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and was never seen alive again.

The rest of the sample was composed as follows:

- Five female victims who personally suffered violent victimisation as a consequence of their political activism were introduced to researcher by the Co-ordinators of the TRC offices in Johannesburg.
- Five respondents whose children were victims of bomb attacks of whom four were killed, at the hands of political activists, were obtained from newspaper clippings.
- Five research participants whose children were victims of necklace murders in black townships. These were introduced to her by two of the above respondents.
- Seven victims whose loved ones sustained various physical injuries which were inflicted by the security officers as well as unknown persons. The details of these participants were obtained from the TRC Officers when researcher interviewed them.
- Ten victims (also political activists) whose family members disappeared or were killed by unknown persons during the apartheid era and were thus never buried by their families. The particulars of these respondents were obtained from members of the Khulumani Support Group. However these victims did not belong to this group.

The sample then became **saturated** when researcher could not obtain any further victims and at this point she decided that these **37 respondents** were sufficient.

However seven of these victim respondents were later excluded from the sample during the interviews because they verbalised that they were exhausted from the stress of recalling the accounts of their trauma during testifying before the TRC and that they were not willing to complete the interviews. For ethical considerations researcher then decided to eliminate respondents who manifested emotional symptoms. Thirty victim respondents thus formed the final sample of this study. The composition of the sample also met researcher's need for diversity and represented their trauma experiences, namely:

- **Violations perpetrated to the victims as a consequence of their political activism.**
- **Abuses of victims who were not discriminated against by the apartheid system as a result of their race.** However, they became indirect victims of the system for example, **victims of bomb attacks** by members of progressive movements.
- **Violent victimisation committed by members of their own groupings** for example **necklace slayings** of the persons who were suspected of being police informers (**iimpimpi**).
- **Torture of political detainees** by members of the security forces and which resulted in death.
- **Human rights violations** which were perpetrated by unknown persons during the political conflict of the mid-1980s.

3.4.2 Interviews

Hagan (1997:164) says that interviewing can refer to a variety of face-to-face situations in which the researcher orally solicits responses, which can range from in-depth, lengthy interviews of one or a few subjects to fairly structured surveys of large groups. This author mentions that, as with the other techniques of data gathering, the **advantages and disadvantages** of interviewing as a means of obtaining

information should be carefully considered along with other techniques before a decision is made to proceed. Hagan mentions the following **advantages** of interviewing:

- The interview provides an opportunity for personal contact between the researcher and the subject.
- Because of the face-to-face relationship, interviews generally bring about a higher response rate than mail surveys. Besides this, being present, the interviewer can prevent misunderstandings or confusion the respondents may have in interpreting questions.
- Additionally, the interviewer can also act as an observer, and not only record verbal responses, but also make notes of body language such as fidgeting with their hands or the clenching of fists.

Bailey (1994:175) mentions the following **disadvantages** of interviewing, namely:

- Interview studies can be costly especially when complex research requires small bureaucracies with a number of administrators, field supervisors, interviewers, and in some cases even public relations personnel.
- Interview bias can be introduced to the study when the interviewer misunderstands the respondents' answer or understands it but makes an error in recording it, or may simply record an answer even when the respondent failed to reply. According to Singleton, Straits and Straits (1993:271) the problem of bias may be produced not only by the wording, order and format of the questions, but also by the interaction between the interviewer and the respondent.
- The interview offers less assurance of anonymity than a mailed questionnaire study, particularly if the latter includes no follow-up. In this way, the interviewer poses a potential threat to the respondent if the information is incriminating, embarrassing or otherwise sensitive. Thus the respondent can minimise the

threat by referring or responding in a way he thinks the interviewer wishes him to respond.

Given the advantages as well as the disadvantages of interviewing researcher decided to construct an interview schedule with the **TRC Revelations Aftermath Model** (see Figure 2.1) as a theoretical basis with the aim of attaining objectivity.

3.4.3 Interview schedule

Bailey (1994:188-189) defines an interview schedule as a data collection method in which one person puts questions to another from a list of topics and/or subtopics within an area of enquiry. He further postulates that one may employ semi-structured interviews by using a combination of open- and closed-ended questions or semi-structured focused ones. Hagan (1997:166) substantiates this by pointing out that on the one hand the structured interview schedule consists of questions which are comparable to an objective educational test. On the other, the unstructured one is similar to tests in which a person is asked to explain the topics that are being tested. He states that semi-structured focused interviews do not provide predetermined response categories. Researcher was therefore obliged to make use of the semi-structured interviews because they best suited the majority of the respondents in the study due to the fact that they had never been exposed to research before. However, Hagan (1997:166) cautions that because in-depth interviews are more intensive and detailed, a researcher has to exercise great discretion and flexibility in the manner, timing, as well as direction of questioning. At the end of the interview, respondents were asked, in line with the aims and goals of the research (see paragraph 1.4), to offer solutions towards addressing their needs, as well as suggestions relating to reconciliation and national unity in general. This information was also taken into consideration when recommendations were made in Chapter 5 (see paragraph 5.3).

3.4.3.1 Composition of the interview schedule

The interview schedule was structured according to the **TRC Revelations**

Aftermath Model in the following manner (see Figure 2.1):

- Assumptions
- Bereavement
- Biological subsystem
- Personality subsystem
- Social subsystem
- Cultural subsystem
- The meaning of suffering
- Transformation of behaviour.

3.4.3.2 Interviews with the respondents

The researcher interviewed the following categories of respondents:

- **Commissioners**

It took researcher one hour to interview each Commissioner, as the interview schedule (see Appendix A) that was used was much shorter than that for the victims. She had already established rapport with them at the time she arranged the appointment with them and thus also explained the purpose of the study (see paragraph 3.4.1.1.1). The Commissioners advised researcher to have informal discussions with Co-ordinators as they assisted victims to complete documentation to appear before the TRC. As researcher regarded this as valuable advice she contacted four Co-ordinators.

- **General discussions with the Co-ordinators**

Although no use was made of an interview schedule with the Co-ordinators nevertheless general discussions took place. These discussions lasted between one to one and a half-hours. The Co-ordinators explained the application forms for reparations, which the victims had to complete. This conversation proved to be both cost effective and practical as researcher was able to ask questions

based upon those to which the victims in general had already responded (see paragraph 3.4.1.1.2).

- **Interviews with the victims**

First of all researcher explained the aim of the study and assured the respondents of the **confidentiality** of the research. In terms of the victim respondents, researcher spent an average of two and a half hours with each interviewee. An attempt was made to establish rapport within the first 15 minutes of such a meeting. This involved asking them about their daily activities in general and included a less intense discussion of life events in the post election South Africa.

The above-mentioned time interval, for a study as emotionally sensitive as this one, could be construed as traumatising to the victims. However, it is crucial to emphasise that researcher was responding to the latter's requests. The victim respondents explained to her that it would be stressful for them if there had to be more than one meeting, since it was difficult to deal with the pain of recalling the past. Thus researcher decided that she would attempt to have only one long interview with each respondent which proved to be possible and successful.

3.4.3.3 The use of the tape recordings

Hagan (1997:208) points out that tape recorders, videotapes as well as films can greatly improve the ability to recall information gathered during interviews. Nevertheless such devices must be used with caution if the subject matter is a criminal activity. Saunders (in Hagan, 1997:208) reports that during a participant observation study of detectives, he soon realised that taking notes made his subjects nervous. He thus argues that if the researcher sought permission to make use of a tape recorder, this could be acceptable and of practical value.

Therefore researcher made use of tape recordings to collect data for this study as all the respondents had reacted positively to her request. The tape recordings were

transcribed and missing information was added to the interview schedule. In this way, researcher could also verify that the information that she gathered was correct and comprehensive.

3.4.3.4 Probing

Bailey (1994:189) identifies several functions and characteristics of probing (follow-up questions) in qualitative research when open-ended-questions are used. He defines the latter as questions that yield lengthy statements requiring the respondents to structure their thoughts on a topic about which they may not have thought of before. In conjunction with this Denzin (1994:506) states that it creates the conditions for authentic, or deep emotional understanding of a phenomenon. According to Mouton and Marais (1991:64) the main functions of probing are:

- To get the respondent to answer in more detail and accurately, or at least to provide a minimal acceptable answer. Probing can thus be used whenever the respondent hesitates in answering, or gives an unclear or incomplete answer, and this does not form part of the interview schedule, as each interview is unique.
- A second function is to structure the respondent's answers and to make sure that all the topics of the research problem are covered and that irrelevant information is reduced.
- Probe questions may be written on the questionnaire in advance or developed in the pre-test phase if it becomes evident that respondents' incomplete answers fall into several predictable categories.
- A specific probe may be written for each category, thus probes are essentially contingency questions to be used only when the respondents had previously given a vague answer.

3.4.4 Scientific validity and reliability of the study

In accordance with Schurink (1995:6) qualitative studies lack hard, strict, controllable and rigid rules and, as such, qualitative researchers are often confronted with questions which can make them feel uncomfortable. These could relate to customary standards that are set for scientific research. Denzin (1990:502-506) argues that because qualitative studies entail understanding of people's meanings, it is significant that great emphasis is placed on internal validity and, thus, the production of accurate findings that correlate with the subjects' life world. Therefore, an indication is given by researcher of how this study met the ethical standards (see paragraph 3.4.1.1.3).

Athens (1994:206) mentioned that there are two issues associated with authenticity, namely **reliability** and **validity**. Reliability concerns consistency in collecting, analysing and interpreting data, validity refers to the fact that a particular method yielded accurate and true-to-life results about the phenomena that were studied. The author further describes reliability of a measuring instrument as its level of precision of measurement - in other words, **how well** it measures what it is supposed to measure.

According to Hagan (1997:270), in the **test-retest method** of determining reliability, the same instrument, if administered twice to the same population, and if the results are the same, stability of measurement is accepted. In this way, a strong relationship between the two measures is assumed to indicate reliability. In the final analysis the following goals have to be reached:

- Research results must be convincing and meaningful.
- The subject studied must be better understood.

To ensure reliability and validity researcher made use of an interview schedule as well as open and closed-ended questions. This was followed by the construction of questions in such a way that the answers given by the research group were double-checked by cross questions which were built in (see paragraph 3.4.7.1).

3.4.5 Observation

According to Bailey (1994:242), observation is the primary technique for collecting data on non-verbal behaviour. Neuman (1997:112), who shares this view, points out that observation refers to a variety of strategies in which researchers study groups in their natural settings by observing their activities. Bailey (1994:243) has identified several **advantages** of observation, namely:

- The observer studying the respondents can discern ongoing behaviour as it occurs, as well as making field notes that record the salient features of the behaviour.
- Behaviour takes place in a natural environment and is, thus, less likely to be manipulated than other data-collection techniques such as interviewing and experimentation.
- While the respondent may experience some memory loss about events that occurred in the past, researcher is, by being the observer, studying behaviour as it occurs. A researcher can also observe telescoping of information, which could occur, for example when a respondent is not sure when the victimisation took place (Brown, 1998:211). Especially with traumatic events this is possible as respondents tend to be confused as to when the incidents took place.

Shafir and Stebbins (1991:140) also warn against the **disadvantages** of observation, namely:

- In a natural environment the researcher often has no control over extraneous variables such as family members who volunteer information because they were

present when the violence occurred, and this could affect the outcome of the data. Researcher resolved this problem by politely excusing family members who did not testify before the TRC from participating in the interview.

- Measurement in observational studies generally takes the form of the observer's unquantified perceptions, rather than the quantitative measures often used in survey research and experimentation.
- Since the observer is often in contact with the subjects for an extended period of time, the relationship between them can become more intimate and informal. However, the survey is different in that the interviewer only sees the respondents for a short period and on a very formal basis; or makes use of mailed questionnaires and never sees the respondents at all (Bailey, 1994:69).

Denzin (1990:86) also warns against the researcher over-identifying with the study group, as well as being antagonised by them, which raises the question of objectivity in social research. Researcher realised that no data-gathering technique is devoid of problems and this could also be applicable to the information contained in the files of the victim respondents kept by the TRC. To a great extent over-exposure to the respondents was prevented which could introduce biasness.

3.4.6 Case analysis

Groenewald (1986:9) postulates that case analyses entails the study of a number of cases, events or phenomena in terms of factors which occur in a causal relationship to each other. In doing so, the ultimate aim is to determine the statistical probabilities of relationships between the causes and effects. Bogdan and Taylor (1982:59) point out that the general design of a case study is best explained by using the example of a funnel. In this way, the study begins wide and then narrows down to the data that is relevant to it. Hagan (1997:111) contends that case studies involve in-depth analysis of one or a few cases as a way of a sensitising strategy when approaching the subject matter.

The Commissioners were asked about their perceptions of the experiences of the victim respondents based on the submissions they had received at the time the hearings of the TRC were in progress. In addition, it was inquired from them whether the Commission has accomplished what it had set out to achieve. These were correlated with the information which emanated from the general discussions researcher had with the Co-ordinators of the TRC offices, and this resulted in some of their answers validating what most of the victim respondents had verbalised. They were asked about the manifestations of the impact of the TRC on them and their families. Researcher enquired from them what their needs were and what their opinion was in relation to the role played by the Commission in their lives. They were also asked if they had received any reparations, the nature thereof and whether that was in line with their expectations. Thus, researcher got insight into a complicated problem and analysed her data in such a way that enabled her to make practical recommendations at the end of the study (see Chapter 5).

3.4.7 Pilot Study

According to Neuman (1997:68) a pilot study can be defined as a small scale study of the problem, conducted before the onset of a larger research project, to test its relevance, as well as the possibility of the research being done in the proposed way. Hagan (1997:147) endorses that a pilot study is a reconnaissance operation or exploratory testing of the instrument, using subjects who are similar to the group to be studied. By employing a pilot study, researcher was able to identify problems in the research methodology and, in this way, effected some corrections and re-adjustments before commencing with the actual study.

Two groups of respondents were included in the pilot study. The first group consisted of **two (20%) Commissioners** and the second of **five (16,66%) victims**. According to Lofland (1971:191) usage of 10 to 20 percent of the sample for a pilot study is acceptable.

Thus the final composition of the pilot study was made up of **two Commissioners** which served on two of the main Committees that processed the issues of the

victims, namely one officiated in the Human Rights Committee and the other served in the Committee for Reparations. After conducting the interviews with the TRC Commissioners, researcher was advised to consult the Co-ordinators of the TRC to get insight in to the dynamics of the needs of the victims. She thus had general discussions with ten of them (see paragraph 3.4.1.2.2). The Co-ordinators did not form part of the formal interviews but were incorporated to obtain information on the structure of the application forms for reparations (see Appendix C).

Five victim respondents took part in the pilot study of which **two** lost family members, that were murdered by the security forces, **two** who had been tortured and detained for political activism and **one** who's loved one had been assaulted and had their homes gutted by fire because they were labelled as sell-outs.

All the respondents were subsequently included in the actual research as they were already familiar with the goal of the study. Researcher explained to them that certain questions needed clarification, that some questions had to be altered or adapted. Therefore a second interview with these respondents who formed the pilot study, was necessary. Although the respondents indicated that they would have preferred a single interview they expressed their willingness as they understood why it was necessary to arrange a second meeting (see paragraph 3.4.3.2).

3.4.7.1 Problems experienced during the pilot study

Hagan (1997:234) attests to the limitations of official data by stating that the problem with this type of information for research purposes is that it may not contain the degree of accuracy the researcher desires, since the data had been gathered for agency purposes. Researcher experienced some problems during the pilot study, which she attempted to resolve as follows:

- During the pilot study with the TRC Commissioners, researcher discovered that the issue of amnesty might have been less simplistic than the victim respondents assumed. For illustrative purposes they believed that they would be consulted by the TRC before the perpetrators could be granted amnesty. However, the

Commissioners made it clear that the decision pertaining to amnesty was the Committee's responsibility. For this reason researcher built the following question into the interview schedule, which reads: "Which of the following describe your perception of the TRC?" (see Question 45, Appendix A).

It was discovered that, although important basic information to assess the needs and circumstances of the victims in the study was contained in the TRC Records, some limitations, nevertheless, existed. As these documents were not originally intended for research purposes, information such as educational qualification, marital status, as well as political affiliation of the respondents, which was important for this study, was omitted.

Researcher, however, circumvented this handicap by arranging her questions to the respondents in such a way that biographical characteristics preceded the incident of political conflict as can be seen from Questions 1- 7 (Appendix A).

- Researcher had the perception that most of the victim respondents who were not political activists would experience the violent conflict of the past as a result of the involvement of their sons in the struggle for democracy. However, it became apparent at this stage that a number of the victim respondents were adversely affected by the political conflict because of the involvement of their daughters in the liberation struggle. Researcher then included a question whose answer would reveal the gender of a victim respondent's child as Question 11 (Appendix A) shows which reads: "What is/was the gender of your child/children?"

It became clear that friends of the children of the victim respondents, who had been visiting the victims' homes were also being assaulted, arrested or killed as a result of the political conflict. Researcher therefore added Question 12 (Appendix A), which was directed at the relationship of the arrested, injured or murdered persons to the victim respondents which reads: "What was the relationship between you and the injured/arrested or the murdered person/persons?"

- At this stage, researcher discovered that some victims were still unable to trace their family members who had disappeared many years before the political conflict and that they were thus presumed dead. She thus built in Question 10 (Appendix A) which reads: "Did you lose a family member through death as a result of the incident?"
- It became clear that the TRC had evaluated the needs of the victims for which reparations were promised. However, at the time of conducting the interviews the respondents were angered by the fact that although this was promised during June 1996, no reparations had yet been effected. The following question was added, namely Question 29 (Appendix A) which reads: "How do you feel about the fact that reparations have not been effected?"
- The researcher discovered that some victim respondents were traumatised by not being informed about the whole truth concerning their experience during the TRC hearings. Others again, received no information at all from the TRC, which frustrated them. This made them lose all hope of ever getting any feedback, given that the Commission had concluded the hearings on the violations of human rights. Researcher thus built in a cross-question, namely Question 31 (Appendix A) which reads: "Do you think it was worthwhile to make submissions to the Commission?".

Researcher realised that the five respondents who had formed part of the pilot study were of value to this research. By verbalising to her their misunderstanding of the questions made it possible for her to make adjustments to the interview schedule before beginning with the actual interviews. After the above-mentioned interview schedule for this study was rectified in terms of the information as discussed above, researcher was of the opinion that the schedule was ready for empirical testing and she thus proceeded.

3.5 TECHNIQUES USED TO ANALYSE DATA

According to Denzin (1990:31), in the social sciences, nothing speaks for itself and as such data must be interpreted. Confronted with a gross amount of impressions, documents, and field notes, the qualitative researcher faces the difficult and challenging task of making sense of data gathered. Schurink (1995:2) states that the aim of the analysis and interpretation in qualitative studies, as in social science research generally, is to attempt to gain insight and understanding into the phenomena under investigation. Bailey (1994:338), who holds this view, asserts that this is achieved logically through:

- systematically ordering and re-ordering of the data
- continually trying to classify and categorise data according to similarities and dissimilarities in the study
- looking for, and extracting patterns, themes as well as universals.

Graphical representation of various categories of respondents' profiles was constructed in line with data analysis. As Shaffir and Stebbins (1991:153) point out, one way in which researchers can illustrate qualitative data graphically is to construct an outline chart depicting different types and subtypes of patterns.

3.6 RATIONALE FOR ACCEPTING OR REJECTING RESEARCH EXPECTATIONS

This is an in-depth study of 30 research participants whose responses were tested by using an interview schedule. Ten Commissioners of the TRC were also interviewed to sensitise researcher to problems that she could encounter. Information was also collected from the Co-ordinators (see paragraph 4.2). Researcher made use of both open-ended as well as closed-ended questions which were coded to correlate certain information as well as to enhance reliability and validity. As a result of the sample size and the intensity of the in-depth interviews no

statistical techniques were used. Researcher decided to use percentages and to interpret research expectations as follows:

- If 75 percent of the research participants supported a research expectation, the findings was fully accepted.
- If 50 percent of the research participants agreed with a research expectation, it supported the findings of this study.
- If respondents who accepted a research expectation were below 50 percent, the findings were rejected.

3.7 PROFILE OF THE RESEARCH GROUP

3.7.1 Commissioners

A discussion of respondents' biographical characteristic will now be rendered.

3.7.1.1 Age group of the Commissioners

The age group of the Commissioners who participated in this research is set out in Figure 3.1.

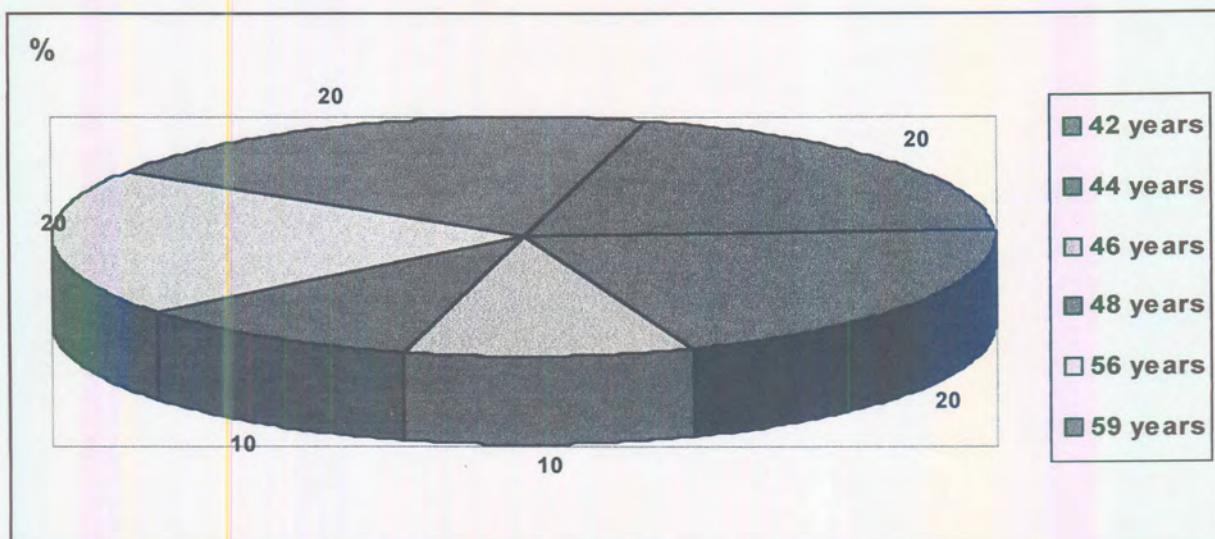


Figure 3.1 Age distribution of the Commissioners

As can be observed from the above Figure, six (60%) of the Commissioners were in the mid-forties age group. This could be an indication that they were selected as professional people who had been successful in their work, had sufficient experience as well as wisdom which could contribute to their objectivity.

3.7.1.2 Race of the Commissioners

The race of the Commissioners who participated in this research is set out in Figure 3.2.

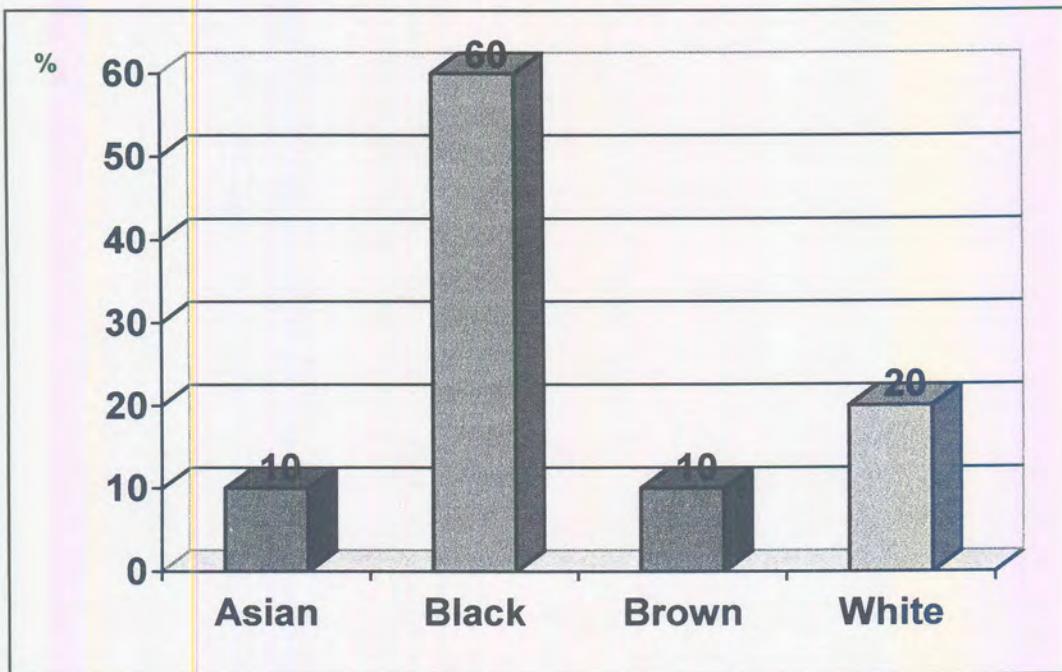


Figure 3.2 Race of the Commissioners

The above Figure 3.2 shows that there were more black Commissioners in this study than others, namely six (60%). Because the snowball sampling technique was used the above was a spontaneous result of the technique. Researcher is of the opinion that it was much easier for the black Commissioners to suggest the names of persons they were more familiar with (i.e. other black colleagues).

3.7.1.3 Gender of the Commissioners

As can be seen from Figure 3.2 there were nine (90%) males and only one (10%) females Commissioner. As this was not planned, researcher believes that since she had started with the males, it had been easy for them suggest other male colleagues, as they were also over represented and thus she only ended with one (10%) woman Commissioner. To illustrate this point only one (16,33%) woman served on the Committee on Amnesty, out of the total of six (83,77%) male Commissioners.

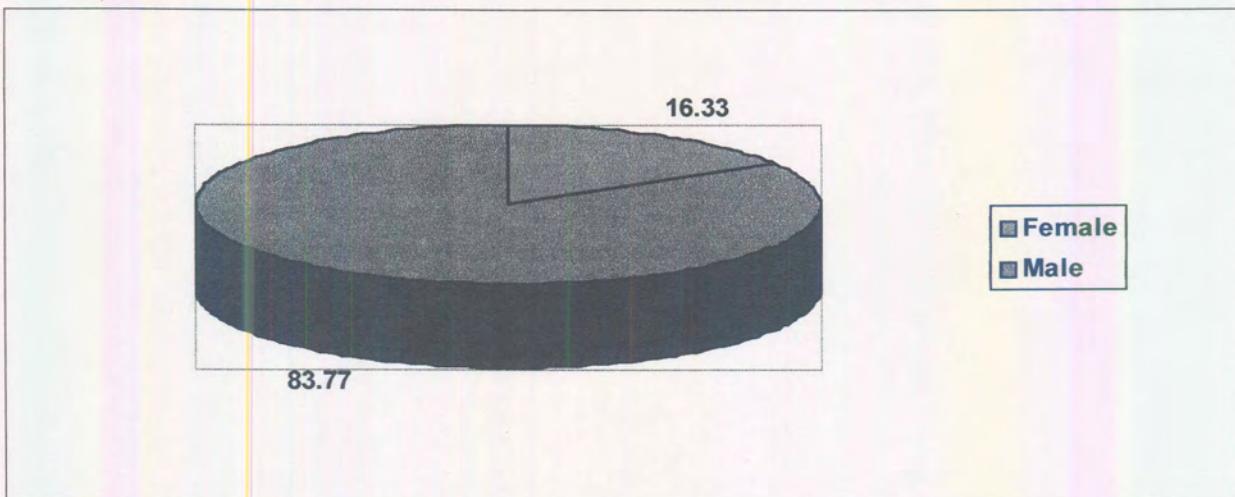


Figure 3.3 Gender Distribution of the Commissioners

3.7.2 Victim respondents

3.7.2.1 Age group of the victim respondents

The age group of the victim respondents who participated in this research is set out in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1

Age Distribution of Victim Respondents

Age	N	%
26	1	3.3
28	1	3.3
29	1	3.3
34	1	3.3
35	1	3.3
37	1	3.3
38	2	6.7
40	1	3.3
46	1	3.3
48	1	3.3
49	2	6.7
50	2	6.7
51	2	6.7
52	1	3.3
55	1	3.3
58	2	6.7
64	1	3.3
66	3	10.00
69	1	3.3
70	1	3.3
71	1	3.3
74	1	3.3
79	1	3.3
Total		100.00

The above table indicates the age distribution of victim respondents. It is clear that respondents of all the age groups were included in this study as South Africans, of all age groups, suffered the negative consequences of the political conflict. Researcher is thus of the opinion that this distribution could give an objective opinion over a broad lifespan of victims.

3.7.2.2 Profile of victim respondents

The race of the victim respondents who participated in this research is set out in Figure 3.4.

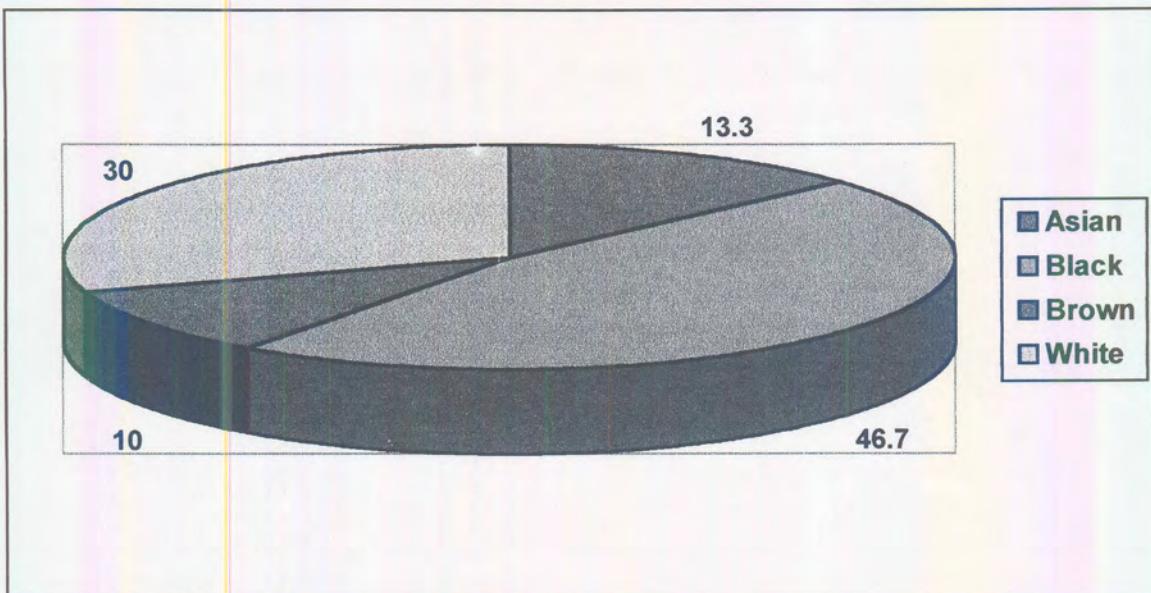


Figure 3.4 Race of Victim Respondents

Figure 3.4 shows that whites formed only nine (30%) of the respondents and although this is not absolute, it can be seen as a reflection of the demographic distribution of the white population in South Africa.

3.7.2.3 Employment status of the Victim Respondents

The current employment status of the victim respondents who participated in this research is set out in Figure 3.5.

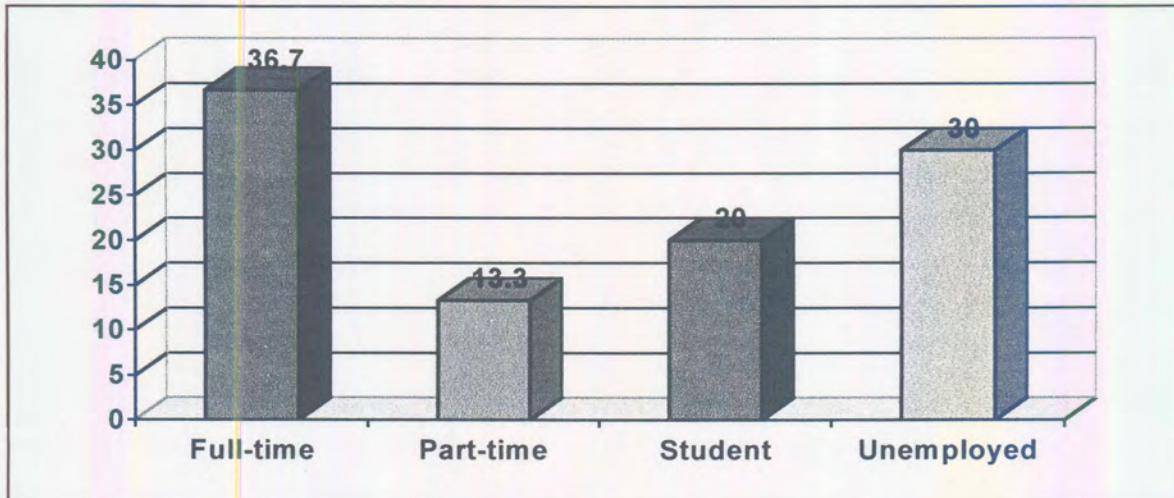


Figure 3.5 Current employment status of the Victims Respondents

Figure 3.5 indicates that six (20%) of the victim respondents were students at the time of the incident and the political situation at schools made it impossible to complete their education. At the time of conducting the study they did not have the opportunity to pursue further studies which could also be one of the reasons for the high unemployment figure, namely nine (30%) of the respondents.

3.7.2.4 Educational qualifications of the Victim Respondents

The educational qualifications of the victim respondents who participated in this research is set out in Figure 3.6.

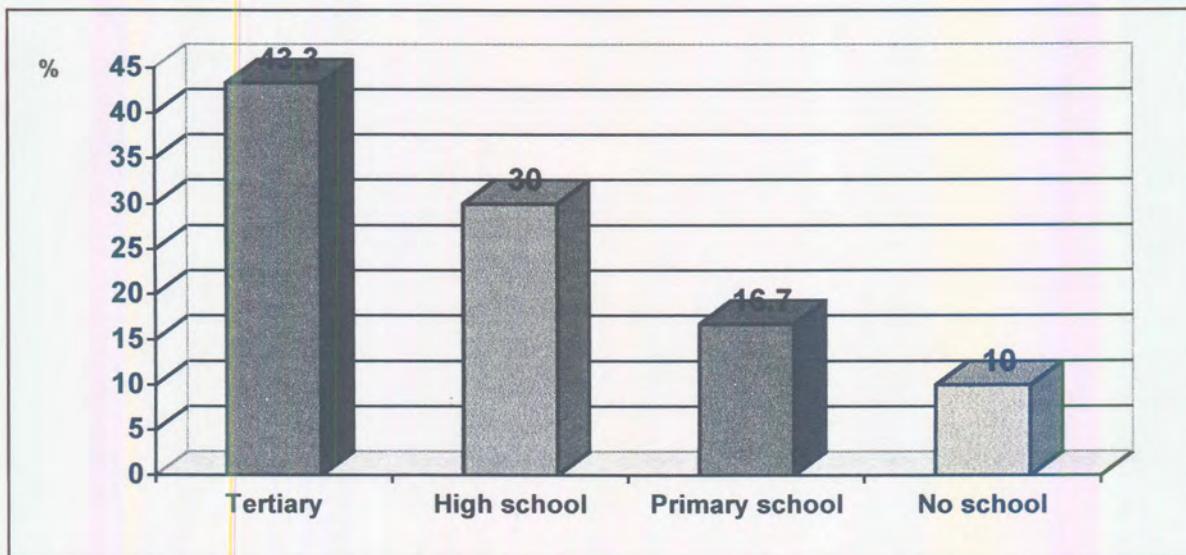


Figure 3.6 Educational Qualifications of the Victim Respondents

As can be seen from Figure 3.6 most 13 (43.3%) of the victim respondents had tertiary education as to a third who had no education at all which was one of the reasons that an interview schedule was important. The discussion with the Co-ordinators especially sensitised the researcher to the fact that victims could be semi- or illiterate and this is indicated in this table.



Figure 3.7.

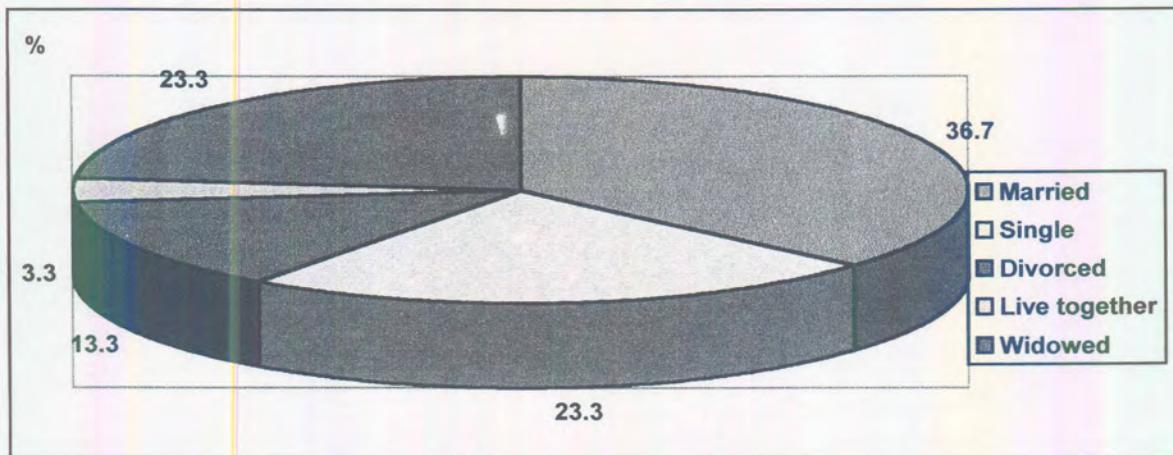
**Figure 3.7** Victim Respondents' marital status

Figure 3.7 shows that 11 (36.7%) of the victim respondents were married while seven (23.3%) were widowed. This implies that for these 18 (60%) women there were no husbands to care for them.

3.8 CONCLUSION

The research procedures, which were employed to collect the data for the study as well as the profile of the respondents, were discussed in this Chapter. In Chapter 4 the analysis and interpretation of the data, which was collected according to the stipulated procedures and techniques, was done.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the data obtained qualitatively was analysed and interpreted. The explanatory model: the **TRC Revelations Aftermath Model** (see Figure 2.1) was used as a basis. The analysis was conducted according to the information obtained from the Commissioners, the Co-ordinators as well the victims. The following is a cursory exposition of how the data was interpreted.

Component 1: **The Commissioners**

Component 2: **The Co-ordinators**

Component 3: **The victims**

As the victim respondents formed the central focus of this study only the data obtained from them was therefore analysed and interpreted according to the **TRC Revelations Aftermath Model** (see Figure 2.1). This model was developed to explain their experiences of the TRC revelations, and was therefore discussed as follows:

- Janoff-Bulman and Frieze's Victim Experience Model (see paragraph 4.4.1).

The assumptions, which the above authors postulate about how people view themselves and also experience the world, were relevant in the interpretation of the effect of trauma on the victim respondents in this study. Thus it was possible for researcher to explain that before the impact of political violence on the research participants, they had believed in personal invulnerability, which resulted in them having a positive regard of themselves. They also viewed the world as controllable and thus predictable. However, when they were confronted with the trauma of the

apartheid era, these assumptions collapsed and this compounded their grief in such a way that they experienced anxiety, distrusted people and also viewed themselves in a negative light (see paragraph 2.1.1).

- The Bereavement Theories (see paragraph 4.4.2).

The phases which bereaved people cope with namely, numbness, despair, yearning, (which leads to protest) as well as recovery (which precedes restitution) were appropriate in the analysis of the experiences of the victim respondents in this study. Although they did not necessarily experience these stages in the above-mentioned order, when their loved ones were murdered during the political violence, they were adversely affected. It was therefore possible to explain how some suffered shock and disbelief, while others had guilt feelings, sleeping disturbances as well as release from the loss (see paragraph 2.2).

- Parsons' General Action Theory (see paragraph 4.4.3).

The impact of the revelations on the respondents was discussed in terms the following:

- Victims' experience of the revelations at the TRC hearings in terms of adaptation (biological subsystem) (see paragraph 4.4.3.1).
- Victims' experience of the revelations at the TRC hearings in terms of goal-attainment (personality subsystem) (see paragraph 4.4.3.2).
- The impact of the revelations at the TRC hearings on the victim respondents in terms of the social subsystem (integration) (see paragraph 4.4.3.3).
- Victims' experience at the TRC hearings process in terms of the cultural subsystem (latency) (see paragraph 4.4.3.4).

The above-mentioned subsystems of Parsons' General Action System were used effectively during the interpretation of the data. Thus researcher explained the impact of the trauma of the revelations of the TRC on the victims. Based on this theory the victim respondents in this study, as biological entities, experienced symptoms related to injuries, ulcers and weight loss, inter alia. They also functioned as personality subsystems, who were angry as well as depressed. However, they did not suffer these symptoms in isolation as through the social subsystem, they had to cope with regret for having testified, as some did not receive the reparations promised to them. In conjunction with this, others were not satisfied with the information they got from their perpetrators. Lastly, despite the fact that a number of the research participants by means of their cultural subsystem, came to terms with their trauma and reconciled, many others did not succeed in finding the meaning in their suffering and were thus non-forgiving. Lastly, the victims coped with their biological manifestations through adaptation and goal-attainment was used to fulfil their personality problems. In addition to this, integration and latency managed conflict and maintained equilibrium respectively (see paragraph 2.4).

- Victims' experience in terms of the Existential Theory of Frankl (see paragraph 4.4.4).

The exposition by Frankl (1970:66) that some people can derive meaning from their grief was used by researcher to interpret how the victim respondents, as individuals, responded differently to their trauma. Thus to some, it was possible to reconcile with their perpetrators and find inner peace despite their trauma. Researcher also explained why others could not understand their grief and thus were unable to forgive (see paragraph 2.5).

- Victims' perception of behavioural change in terms of Maslow's Theory of Personal Growth (see paragraph 4.4.5).

Maslow's exposition that behavioural change can be effected among the youth by the introduction of a new value system was relevant mainly for purposes of making recommendations in Chapter 5. The author however stresses that only the value system of the youth and not of adults can be influenced. However, this theory also

made it possible for researcher to interpret the responses of the research participants when they were asked to make some suggestions on changing deviant behaviour (see paragraph 2.6).

It was significant to assess how the victim respondents experienced life in general before political conflict impacted on them, which culminated in their interaction with the TRC. This was discussed in relation to how they perceived themselves, which could be determined by the assumptions they had about life events, such as political conflict in South Africa. According to this model (see Figure 2.1) the victim respondents experienced the revelations of the Commission in various ways, which determined how they coped with their trauma.

4.2 THE COMMISSIONERS

As the Commissioners of the TRC formed a significant dimension of this study researcher viewed it important to discuss their perceptions of how the victim respondents adapted to the impact of the TRC process on their lives. It was therefore necessary to analyse their responses, as this was used to corroborate some of the disclosures made by the victim respondents (see paragraphs 4.2 - 4.6).

4.2.1 Perceptions of the Commissioners of the TRC

Ten (100%) of the Commissioners highlighted the fact that they felt privileged to have been involved with the TRC process in that it had enriched their lives. However all of them said that the experience traumatised them. As a consequence of this, all (100%) of them had consulted services of the TRC psychologist who was employed solely for the purpose of dealing with members of the TRC's emotional trauma. This emanated from having to repeatedly listen to the testimonies which related to violent actions perpetrated on the victim respondents or their loved ones in varying degrees. It could be linked to the statements made by the victims to the Commission during the hearings, concerning the effect of political conflict on their lives.

The following response of a Commissioner could possibly summarise the experiences of the others

When I came on board, I was very reluctant since I had mixed feelings. However, practical experience changed my attitude, as I began to realise that it is imperative that I carry out the task of facilitating reconciliation in South Africa – I had no choice.

Of course I was apprehensive and very sceptical to an extent that I had to constantly search my soul from the day I was invited. I also know that had I not received valued and enriching support from my wife, my children as well as friends, perhaps I could have declined to participate. However, when I assessed in retrospect the few strides which have been accomplished thus far, I realised that I have no regrets. Inroads have been made and the results thereof could be seen in the future.

Questions 6 to 8 (Appendix B) probed the performance of the Commission in terms of its mandate. In responding to it ten (100%) of them mentioned that they accepted the fact that the TRC could have partially accomplished its mandate as it resolved the problems of some of the victims. However, others needs were not fulfilled. In some cases, human rights abuses were adequately investigated and this resulted in the perpetrators being subpoenaed to give evidence in terms of their transgressions. Although a number of the victim respondents were not satisfied with the disclosures made, others reported that they felt a sense of accomplishment because the TRC made it possible for them to see the persons responsible for their trauma.

Emphasising the limitations of the TRC's Investigation Unit, one Commissioner stated:

The Investigation Unit of the TRC could not have escaped blame, as it was faced with many practical problems. As an illustration they did not have enough time at their disposal nor were the resources such as financial assistance as well as manpower sufficient. Besides this, as a means of promoting reconciliation, they opted to also employ services of ex-police personnel to undertake the investigations. However, as the latter did not have credibility in the communities because of having worked within the apartheid system in the past, this resulted in people withholding valuable information. As a result of this, many cases could not be concluded as evidence was

inadequate and in some cases, lacking. Hence amnesty could have been granted to undeserving people because of insufficient evidence. Another possibility could have been the labelling of an innocent person as the perpetrator because of uncorroborated evidence by the victim respondent. One can thus appreciate why many victims have the perception that even though the TRC has finished its work, they are still left with more questions than answers. However, some perpetrators have also been vindicated for accusations made against them.

Another Commissioner reported that:

All the victims were eager for information or more information than they had received. For illustrative purposes those who knew the identities of their perpetrators still wanted to be told of the persons who authorised their imprisonment. Other victims required knowledge of the persons who ordered the detonation of the bombs, which maimed them or their loved ones. Although some victims knew the comrades who necklaced their family members, nevertheless, they still required information about the identities of the youths who accused their family members of being police informers.

It is significant to highlight that nine (90%) of the Commissioners agreed that all the respondents said that they felt that it was necessary for them to be given the opportunity by the TRC to relate their experiences. In conjunction with this, one Commissioner reported the following reply from a victim who was asked during the submissions: "What can we do for you?" and the answer was "Nothing! It is good to be here, to be able to speak, this is a healing experience for me." However one (10%) Commissioner differed on this, as she stated that a number of the victims were angry for having wasted their time by coming to testify when their needs could not be satisfied.

Furthermore nine (90%) of the respondents emphasised that the gap between the submissions of the testimonies on the human rights violations and the implementation of the reparations could be one of the major failures of the TRC. In addition, they also stressed the fact that although many victims reconciled with their perpetrators they still verbalised their anger. One (10%) of the respondents had the perception that the role played by the TRC in the transition from authoritarian rule to

democracy should not be measured within compartments. He stated that its successes could only be seen holistically. In this way, he disagreed with the view held by the other nine above (see paragraph 4.5).

Alluding to the issue of reparations one Commissioner said:

We were all concerned about the reparations, and as a result of this we took a long time studying the needs of the victims. This exercise involved many role players and culminated in us writing out a proposal which was first sent to the Provincial Government and subsequently to the National Government. We all believed that the proposal was both acceptable and implementable. It is for this reason that we are disturbed by the fact that reparations have only been paid to 8 000 out of the 21 000 victims of Human rights abuses. Thus I strongly feel that had the reparations been commenced as soon as the Human rights abuses had been processed and evaluated, the TRC could have accomplished much more.

Six (60%) of the ten Commissioners conceded that some of the victims admitted that they forgave their perpetrators, while four (40%) stated that not all perpetrators were forgiven by the victim respondents. Responding to Question 10 (Appendix B) all (100%) Commissioners mentioned that some victims received reparations but others not. They cited as the reason for this discrepancy the fact that the TRC failed to process the reparations to the victims simultaneously with the granting of amnesty to the perpetrators.

4.2.2 Information about the victims' experience of bereavement

Ten (100%) of the Commissioners, while answering Question 11 (Appendix B), agreed that victim respondents' well-being was affected by the revelations of the Commission in relation to their bereavement. Victim respondents who lost loved ones stated that they suffered from despair, low self-esteem, distrust, anxiety, depression, guilt, anger, self-blame, numbness, shock, disbelief as well as being stunned. These emanated from the emotions which are associated with listening to the revelations concerning the way in which their loved ones met their deaths.

However, four (40%) of the research participants said that some victims cried uncontrollably, others had “wooden appearances” and were uncomfortable with the perpetrators (see paragraph 4.4.2). One Commissioner pointed out those three families; the Mxenges, the Ribeiros as well as the Bikos could be sighted as examples. According to the TRC Report (1998:5) these family members approached the Commission for redress as a result of having lost their loved ones through death.

- **The family of Griffiths Mxenge**

This family was represented by a brother of the late Griffiths Mxenge, formerly a lawyer who had a practice in Durban. The latter was assassinated by security police as well as State agents through the instructions of Eugene de Kock (under the Vlakplaas Operations). His wife, a qualified nurse, who also trained as a lawyer after the slaying of her husband was also ambushed and executed during 1983.

- **The family of Fabian Ribeiro**

The eldest son, who was the family spokesperson during the submissions of the testimonies, was bereaved when both his parents were executed by security forces in their home during 1985. The father was a medical doctor in Soweto.

- **The family of Steve Biko**

Ntsiki Biko, the widow of the late Steve Biko, former black consciousness leader, and also a member of the Azanian Peoples Organisation (AZAPO) who died in police detention during 1971, also opposed the granting of amnesty to the perpetrators.

4.2.3 Information on the search for the meaning of suffering through the revelations

Eight (80%) of the Commissioners pointed out that victim respondents experienced problems in adjusting to their trauma. However, two (20%) disagreed with this statement. These problems were associated with the fact that the victim respondents

experienced anger as well as resentment towards the perpetrators for having abused them.

On being asked what an achievement of the TRC had been through of Question 18 (Appendix B) all (100%) the respondents believed that the fact that it could reconcile some of the victims of abuses could be seen as an achievement.

One Commissioner concluded by saying:

If I were to grade the success of the TRC, I would give it 70% since even the Act itself was not conclusive.

When researcher probed the limitations of the Act the respondent highlighted that the TRC Act (Act 34 of 1995) premeditated the outcome of the process. In doing so, it stated that full disclosures should be made so that amnesty could be granted. This resulted in the perpetrators telling it all; some of which could have been perceived as lies; yet the Act did not specify anything for the victims.

However, another Commissioner said:

Although the amnesty process took away from the victims the right to legal assistance, by promising the granting of reparations, it acknowledged their suffering.

4.2.4 Information about the introduction of a new value system

Although this section consists of questions on behavioural change as well as recommendations, the latter received attention in Chapter 5 where recommendations were made in this respect.

When Questions 19-22 (Appendix B) were put to the Commissioners their response were as follows: Nine (90%) were emphatic that the value system of the deviant youth in South Africa could be changed. However, one (10%) disagreed with this,

and explained that transforming the conduct norms of children had to be contextualised. When researcher asked for an explanation, the respondent said:

The militant youth who were struggling for the attainment of democracy during 1976 are adults now. They are the teachers who are too eager to go on strike and leave the pupils unattended to in the schools. It is therefore not difficult to imagine how they socialise their offspring and the pupils at school. Unless something is done from Government level, especially if recognised politicians could be at the forefront of transforming the value system of young people, it will not change. However, [she warned], they would have to lead by example.

Responding to Question 21 (Appendix B) six (60%) of the respondents were positive about the possibility of reconciliation in South Africa. They stressed that the TRC did achieve this in some cases, where both the victims and the perpetrators embraced each other, expressing joy at discovering one another through their trauma. In addition to this, some perpetrators had offered to do community service in the neighbourhoods they had violated. However, three (30%) were reluctant to commit themselves, stating that a lot more should be done to facilitate reconciliation as the TRC was merely the beginning of the process. However, one (10%) stated that: "reconciliation in the country could only be effected by the children, as adults have left it too long".

4.3 THE CO-ORDINATORS

Researcher had informal unstructured discussions with ten Co-ordinators as a result of the advice given to her by the Commissioners. However, although the information, which emanated from these were not intended for interpretation, it proved to be of value for this study. Researcher got insight into the criteria used for the granting of reparations to the victims by perusing the application forms which victims had to complete in order to get reparations (see Appendix C).

4.4 THE VICTIMS

The results are thus presented according to the **TRC Revelations Aftermath Model** (see Figure 2.1) as explained in paragraph 2.1.

4.4.1 Janoff-Bulman and Frieze's victim experience model

The way in which the victim respondents perceived themselves and their world during the conflict of the apartheid era and how it impacted on their lives is discussed. Questions 8-9 (Appendix A) were used to test the impact of political violence on the victim respondents. All 30 (100%) of them accepted the assumptions of vulnerability, which resulted in them having a high regard of themselves and also viewing life as controllable. However, after the impact of political violence on them, their responses changed, as can be observed in Table 4.1:

Table 4.1
Victims' Experience of Political Conflict

Victims' assumptions About themselves	N	%
Perception of unsafety	26	86.67
Perception of safety	4	13.33
Total	30	100

In answering Question 8 (Appendix A), 26 (86.67%) of the victim respondents disclosed that they perceived themselves to be unsafe from being the victims of political violence, while four (13.33%) verbalised that they were certain of their safety.

Ten (38.46%) of the 26 (86.67%) respondents who perceived themselves to be unsafe were political activists. Seven (26.92%) of the 26 (86.67%) stated that their lives were subjected to frequent raids by the security police. However, three (38.46%) of the 10 activists (30%) verbalised that though they were harassed only twice by the security police, they had anticipated eventually being injured or arrested.

When the research participants responded to Question 9 (Appendix A), the four (13.33%) of the total research group who had verbalised that they had the perception of safety, still experienced the world as controllable, predictable as well as meaningful. However, the 26 (86.67%) who had felt unsafe as mentioned above, regarded the world as meaningless and uncontrollable. One (3.33%) of these victims, verbalised how her outlook in life transformed after her son became a victim of a bomb blast which was detonated by members of progressive movements during 1983:

Before my boy was injured and sustained paralysis which culminated in his quadriplegic status, I was virtually at peace with the world and myself. I never thought that my family could be confronted with this tragedy. I could have been guilty of taking many things for granted. Many black persons were suffering hardships in the country at the time, but I had always felt safe from victimisation. It was only when our safety was shattered that my view about the world and myself changed. I experienced a sense of imbalance, vulnerability as well as loss. For the first time, I knew that something was unhealthy and evil in the country, a perception I never had about the beautiful South Africa before.

This quotation summarises the trauma endured by some families of the victims of political conflict and the way in which this adversely affected the positive assumptions they held about themselves.

Another victim respondent stated that:

We were a happy family, although poor and were at peace with the world as Christians, who never interfered in other persons lives and circumstances. Thus we expected people to leave us in peace. However, when my younger daughter returned home to inform us that my grandson had been necklaced during the night, I could not comprehend this. Although in denial, I went to investigate and yes, it was him. The remnant of the yellow skipper I had bought him was all that confirmed for me that it was my child, as the face was completely disfigured. Yet, his legs and feet helped me to be certain of his identity. From that day onwards, I developed a negative regard of myself and lost all the passion to live. This culminated in my distrust of people because of what befell my grandson.

The above findings can be regarded as an indication that traumatic life experiences had a negative effect on those who were victimised, whether directly or indirectly.

These results are similar to what Getzel and Masters (1983:85) reported, namely, 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 violent crime, had come true. The trauma to which they had been exposed could also have contributed to the collapse of their belief in personal invulnerability as well as safety. Although the violence others were confronted with may not have influenced them before, when they were victimised their fear concerning personal vulnerability and a safe existence was strengthened.

In conjunction with this, during group therapy with indirect victims of murdered children, Getzel and Masters (1983:81) found that the following could determine how the family of the deceased would come to terms with their grief:

- The situation and the circumstances surrounding the murder.
- The state of the murdered child's body.
- The parents' perception of their murdered child's possible complicity.
- The parents' perception and experience of the criminal justice system.
- The characteristics of the offender and the way in which he is treated by the criminal justice system.
- The position and role of the murdered child in the family.

The above findings of Getzel and Masters can be linked to those of Lurigio, Skogan and Davis (1999:51). These authors observed that reactions to crime and other traumatic experiences are often varied. Thus it is important to study individual

differences in response to criminal victimisation. According to Kilpatrick, Veronen and Best (in Lurigio, Skogan & Davis, 1999:52) researchers should abstain from engaging in the client uniformity myth (which does not allow for the uniqueness in man). This, they do when examining victim distress and adjustment. Findings suggest that the recovery of victims of traumatic episodes can be a function of their characteristics, predispositions as well as the assumptions they had about themselves.

- **Conclusion**

Data was analysed and interpreted in terms of the assumptions the victim respondents had about themselves and their world before they were victimised. Research findings were compared with the reports of other authors who obtained results, which could be related to those in this study. Thereafter, research expectations in terms of respondents' assumptions were analysed:

Research expectation 2.6.7.1.4 which states: **Victims of the TRC will believe in personal invulnerability before the impact of the political conflict on them** as well as research expectation 2.6.7.1.5, namely: **Victims who testified before the Commission will believe that the world is meaningful** and research expectation 2.6.7.1.6, which reads as follows: **Victims of the TRC will have a positive view of the self** will be interpreted together, as one leads to the other and could be viewed as interrelated. Responding to Questions 8-9 (Appendix A), 26 (86.67%) of the victim respondents accepted that they had experienced fear of being victimised, which resulted in them having a negative view of themselves. However, four (13.33%) of all the respondents verbalised that they did not have any reason to expect political victimisation, as they had the perception of safety, which resulted in a positive attitude to life. As these research expectations were supported by the findings of this study, as shown by the responses of the 30 (100%) research participants, they are therefore fully accepted.

These findings correspond with that of Hamber (1995:4) although he researched the influence of the TRC as a psychologically healing initiative for the victims, he also observed that the resultant individual and collective emotional responses to political violence could be understood as a cognitive process. Linking this reaction to

adaptations to trauma in general, he highlighted that adverse experiences shattered people's assumptions about their safety, the self, as well as the world. Severe forms of trauma could alter personal invulnerability, viewing oneself positively and the world as meaningful and a comprehensible place. In addition to this, Ramsay and Happeé (1977:55) postulate that the above-mentioned psychological processes, which can be linked to posttraumatic stress symptoms, can manifest themselves on the victims for years after their confrontation with the trauma. Viano (1990:29) who states that victims of recurrent violation of their rights experience a heightened awareness to the aggressive exploitative potential of the other. Their paranoia is generalised to the world and in this way, they view it as being unpredictable. As all (100%) of the respondents viewed life as meaningful they were in general positive towards it and therefore felt safe before the political violence affected them, 26 (86.67%) of the respondents mentioned that their viewpoints were shattered; thus all three of the research expectations are therefore fully accepted.

4.4.2 Bereavement Theories

It was important for researcher to ascertain how these victim respondents, who lost loved ones as a result of political violence, coped with their bereavement. Responding to Questions 10-16 (Appendix A) nine (30%) of all the victim respondents confirmed that they had lost loved ones, 11 (36.67%) verbalised that they had no such experience, while eight (26.66%) had relatives who disappeared but were never confirmed dead and were thus never buried. As a result of this, these victims refused to accept that their relatives were deceased, hoping that they were still alive. All the research participants whose family members had died experienced trauma which varied in intensity, duration as well as frequency, as can be observed from Table 4.2.

Table 4.2

Impact of Bereavement on the Victim Respondents

Impact of bereavement	N	%
Experienced shock and disbelief	9	30
Suffered guilt feelings	6	20
Were recovering from the pain	3	10

The above table shows the impact of bereavement on the victim respondents.

Responding to Question 19 (Appendix A), nine (30%) bereaved respondents who lost a loved one through death, experienced shock and disbelief when they heard about the death of such family members. Six (66.67%) of the nine, suffered guilt as well as intense feelings of pain which related to their failure to prevent their loss. However, three (33.33%) of them, verbalised that although they were devastated shortly after receiving the news, they subsequently learnt to live with the pain which was no longer as intense as in the beginning. All nine (100%) of them stressed that they no longer enjoyed life as much since the tragedy. This was corroborated by all ten (100%) TRC Commissioners when they answered Questions 11-16 (Appendix B). All the Commissioners verbalised that the victim respondents experienced adverse effects from their bereavement (see paragraph 4.4.1). The above findings are similar to those of Stroebe, Stroebe and Hansson (1993:160) who reported that grief from the loss of a loved one produces different reactions from people. All these were associated with pain, depending on the attachment of the deceased to the survivor, as well as the factors associated with the death. Recovery from grief could be an ongoing process, as the deceased could not be forgotten. In addition, factors like special occasions such as birthdays brought back memories which were sometimes distressing and could leave a permanent feeling of loss.

Van den Berg and Pretorius (1999:5) who did research on the impact of the murder of a loved one on the family members also obtained the above findings. They reported that shock at the news of the death could manifest itself in various ways.

For example, physical pain, a feeling of emotional bluntness, apathy, withdrawal or an abnormal emotional calmness. In conjunction with this, the authors point out that the indirect victim's line of thought could at this stage be incoherent, confused and vague. Besides this, the bereaved person could also harbour guilt feelings for not having been able to protect their loved ones.

The above findings concur with those which were obtained by Shneidman (1980:266) in his study of bereaved children. This author is of the opinion that:

just as dying children benefit from being able to communicate their feelings of grief, anger and bewilderment, those whose loved ones are deceased have also a need to talk to someone about their grief. This can be attributed to the fact that the death of a parent can be particularly traumatic for a child. It can be characterised by emotions of betrayal, as the child may feel that if the parent had loved him enough, he would not have died and thus abandoned the child.

In conjunction with this, bereavement can be accompanied by physical symptoms including panic attacks, insomnia, lack of appetite and nightmares. However, unresolved grief, especially in children, can lead to ongoing somatic illnesses as well as long lasting psychological problems.

- **Conclusion**

Data was analysed and interpreted in terms of the impact of bereavement on the victim respondents. Research findings were compared with other similar studies and subsequently research expectations in terms of the impact of bereavement were then analysed.

Research expectation 2.6.7.1.4 which states that: **victims who lost their loved ones during the political conflict of the mid-1980s will suffer from numbness** and research expectation 2.6.7.1.5 which reads as follows: **victims who lost family members through murder during the apartheid era will experience yearning as they protest against the loss** as well as research expectation 2.6.7.1.6 which states that: **victims whose loved ones were killed as a result of political conflict of**

the apartheid era will suffer from despair as well as research expectation 2.6.1.7.1.7 which states that: victims who lost family members during the political conflict of the apartheid era will experience restitution as they recover from their grief (see paragraph 2.6.7.2) will be interpreted together as the symptoms overlap and are also interrelated. As nine (30%) of the total victim respondents who lost family members through death accepted that they suffered from emotional symptoms which were related to grief, so this research expectation is therefore rejected.

4.4.2.1 Victim respondents' experience of pathological grief

It was crucial for researcher to analyse the effect of pathological grief on the research participants. The aim was to accommodate victims who lost family members through traumatic deaths such as those who were killed by bomb explosions. In addition to this, there were also victim respondents whose relatives could not be traced by the Investigation Unit of the TRC and thus they could also be incorporated into this category (see paragraph 2.2.5). Rando (1995: 211) classifies sudden, unanticipated death, especially if it is violent as morbid or pathological. In response to Question 19 (Appendix A), all the nine (100%) victim respondents whose family members were killed, as well as the ten (33.33%) victims whose family members disappeared, verbalised that they did not suffer the symptoms of pathological grief. Richardson (1995:xiii) also reported on similar findings about the experiences of persons who cope with bereavement by accepting the death, and as the pain receded, they were then liberated from the past. In this way, they experienced growth, deeper insight, understanding, openness, as well as personal freedom, which protected them from suffering the symptoms of pathological grief. Although 19 (63.33%) of the total respondents did not experience pathological grief they did however admit that they were bereaved. This finding could be linked to a similar research report of Tedeschi and Calhoun (1995:27) who studied the negative effects of trauma on victims. These authors reported that some persons who are exposed to grief would not admit or show any signs of distress. However they also observed that such individuals are denying their pain, by not admitting the awareness thereof. The conventional expectation is that such denial will produce a lack of apparent distress but that the repressed emotions could cause psychological problems for them in the future.

The above findings can be linked to the observations of Freeman (1984:1) although she studied the effects of conjugal bereavement by comparing the experiences of widows and widowers. She found that bereavement has psychological as well as physical consequences for those who mourn, which can be characterised by anxiety, anger, hostility and depression. However, this author emphasises that the loss of a spouse appears to increase the risks of mental and physical illnesses, and can also result in the premature death of the survivor.

- **Conclusion**

Research expectation 2.6.7.1.8, which reads as follows: **victims whose family members disappeared during the apartheid era will suffer symptoms of pathological grief**, was interpreted. Although 19 (63.33%) respondents of the total research group did experience symptoms of bereavement, none (0%) of them reported pathological bereavement symptoms. As none (0%) of the bereaved victims reported that they had experienced symptoms of pathological bereavement this research expectation is therefore rejected.

4.4.3 Parsons' General Action Theory

4.4.3.1 Victim's experience of the revelations of the TRC in terms of adaptation (biological subsystem)

The way in which the biological manifestation impacted on the victim respondents will now be discussed. Questions 21 and 22 (Appendix A) were used to test the impact of the revelations of the TRC on the biological subsystem of the victims. The following findings were obtained: thirty (100%) of the victim respondents admitted that they suffered the effects of emotional trauma, as can be seen from Table 4.3

Table 4.3

Victim Respondents' Adaptation to the Biological Effect

Biological effect	N	%
Suffered from recurrent headaches	30	100.00
Suffered from gastric ulcers	15	50.00
Experienced insomnia	7	23.34
Were treated for hypertension	6	20.00
Chronic hypertension	2	6.66

The above table shows how the victim respondents adapted to the biological effect of the testimonies they had to make.

In answering Questions 21 and 26 (Appendix A), all (100%) of the victim respondents admitted that when the revelations at the TRC were made, they suffered from recurrent headaches, which resulted in them being dependent on painkillers. As a complication of the above treatment, 15 (50%) of them developed gastric ulcers. This could also be linked to the stress brought about by bereavement. However, to seven (23.34%) of the total group of respondents, it was problematic to sleep at night during the testimonies as they relived the trauma they had endured during the incarcerations and torture of their sons. Nine (30%) of the 30 victims verbalised that although they had prayed that the perpetrators should disclose the truth, the trauma of the revelations was unbearable. As a consequence of this, six (20%) of the total research group victims had to be treated for hypertension during this phase and two (6.66%) of them developed chronic hypertension.

However, mixed feelings followed from what was unearthed by the Investigation Unit of the TRC as well as the disclosures made by the perpetrators. One respondent summarised her experiences as she addressed the TRC (TRC Report, Extract, 1998:4):

On the 13 November 1985, it was a Wednesday morning. A crowd of people who were stoning him drove my son out of the house. Shortly afterwards he was killed and his body burnt. I have been scarred by my son's death. After the incident, I had to remove my children from Upington and enrol them at schools elsewhere. During this time I suffered so much, I felt I had been ostracised by the community. People said I had betrayed my son to the police, for which I was paid.

In addressing the Chairperson of the TRC one respondent reported the following:

I know Chairperson, that the Commission has got a programme of therapy, but I hope it can be sustained. My own experience in the few months has been that the wounds of some of the women who testified about the Human rights abuses they endured, had been opened. However, not much time, nor enough opportunity was given to them to allow the healing process once they left these halls (TRC Report, Extract 4, 1998:7).

The findings of this study bear similarities to those of Egan (1975:294) who reported on how people adapt to the emotional impact of violent victimisation. The author observed that when a person is victimised, particularly if it is unanticipated, he could undergo an initial period of shock. This can be followed by disbelief, which can be characterised by a gradual mobilisation of counter forces to recover from it. However, the author cautions that in terms of individual trauma, the process of recovery may be relatively predictable and time limited, or may be life-long and never fully completed. Stavrou (1992:69) also found that the emotional effect of violent victimisation on victims could be characterised by a feeling of anger, sadness, depression, generalised anxiety as well as bitterness.

The above research results can be linked to those of Conklin (1996:109), who observed that many victims of violent crime can sustain injuries from which they can be permanently incapacitated. The trauma can compromise a person's well-being to such an extent that he may suffer from debilitating medical conditions such as diabetes or hypertension. In conjunction with this, Hamber (1995:9) highlights that severe victimisation may result in emotional symptoms such as fear, anxiety and well as insomnia, although this may vary from one individual to another.

These findings correspond with those of Salasin (1981:22) who points out that when a psychological wound is sustained, it can result in a continuing condition of subclinical hyperstimulation. This is often characterised by irritability and persistent nightmares, fright reactions, as well as fear.

- **Conclusion**

When the data was analysed and interpreted in terms of the impact of the revelations of the TRC on the biological subsystem and how the victim respondents adapted to this, research findings were compared with reports of other authors that obtained similar results. Thereafter the research expectation in terms of the effect of the revelations of the TRC upon the biological subsystem was analysed.

Research expectation 2.6.7.1.9, which states: **the impact of the revelations of the TRC will have a direct effect on the biological subsystem (adaptation)** will now be interpreted. Responding to Question 21 (Appendix A) all (100%) of the victim respondents admitted that the revelations of the TRC affected them to such an extent that they suffered a variety of psychosomatic illnesses. As this research expectation is fully supported by the findings of this study, it is fully accepted.

4.4.3.2 Victims' experience of the revelations at the TRC hearings in terms of goal-attainment (personality subsystem)

Responding to Question 27 (Appendix A), Table 4.4 indicates how the victim respondents experienced the impact of the TRC in terms of goal-attainment.

Table 4.4

Victim Respondents' Personality Manifestations

Personality subsystem	N	%
Accepted that the TRC affected their psychological well-being	30	100.0
Verbalised that the TRC had caused them second wounds	8	26.66
Stated that their trauma made them angry at the TRC	5	16.67

The above table shows the personality manifestations of the revelations at the TRC.

As can be seen from the above figure, 30 (100%) of the victim respondents who responded to Question 25 (Appendix A) admitted that in submitting testimonies to the TRC their psychological well-being was adversely affected. The fact that they were confronted with the persons who traumatised them, although it could also have been cathartic, caused them to suffer mental anguish. They also attempted to reconstruct what had taken place during the incident. Eight (26.66%) of the 30 respondents' relatives disappeared during the 1980s. The TRC could however not assist them in tracing these persons. These respondents were dissatisfied, disillusioned and perceived that the Commission caused them further trauma. Five (16.67%) of the 30 respondents whose loved ones were victims and had suffered as a consequence of the necklace slayings of their children experienced anger towards the TRC. This could be related to the fact that their perpetrators wanted to be pardoned. In reaction, the victims stressed that the latter never exercised justice at the time they were interrogating their children and they asked the question "Why should they receive sympathy now?"

Responding to Question 25 (Appendix A) five (16.67%) of the 30 respondents whose loved ones were victims of bomb explosions which were set off by youth activists,

expressed that they were shocked by this violation and were angry at the perpetrators.

The above findings correlate with the TRC Report (Extract 4, 1998:2) which commented on studies involving the reactions of the victims of abuses and stated that:

Human rights violations can be characterised by patterns and trends, in relation to the psychological effects these have on the victims as well as their families. Internationally the best-documented psychological consequences of Human rights violations relate to be effects of torture. These include depression, anxiety disorders and psychotic conditions, *inter alia*. It is vital to observe that these effects are multidimensional and interconnected, leaving no part of the victim's life unaffected.

Ten (33.33%) of the respondents accepted that the TRC had partially accomplished its mandate by resolving some of their problems for example allowing them to meet the perpetrators of their abuses. However the others were not satisfied with the process. Human rights abuses were adequately investigated and this resulted in the perpetrators being subpoenaed to give evidence of their violations. Although eight (26.66%) of the total group of respondents were not satisfied with the disclosures made, nevertheless, the fact that the TRC made it possible for them to see the persons who were responsible for their trauma, was a victory for them and provided answers to some of the unanswered questions with which they had to live.

Meiring (1999:67) also reported on similar psychological manifestations which could impact on the whole family:

When Johan Roos began talking, many people buried their faces in their hands. This person's family were victims of a landmine explosion in Nelspruit on 27 August 1976, which killed his wife who had been driving their car. Marietjie's right leg was amputated below the knee, her left one crushed while her throat was ripped open. I knew that a piece of her skin was still in the wreck. I went looking for it so that I could bury it. Instead I found a piece of my son's forehead. I found parts of his brain on the seat, picked everything up, put it in a tissue wrapped it and went to bury it at my house. After such an experience, how can one ever be normal again?

The above quotations from victims emphasised the psychological impact of the revelations to the Commission on their personality subsystem. Lurigio and Resick (in Lurigio, Skogan & Davis, 1998:51) also found that there was increasing evidence that victims of serious crimes may suffer adverse psychological consequences. For example, in a study of burglary, robbery and non-sexual assault, it was found that these victims expressed higher levels of vulnerability, fear, anxiety, unpleasant thoughts, as well as upset stomachs.

The above findings can be linked to the research results of Snyman (1992:475) who concluded that victims of violent crime can be confronted with a variety of emotional and psychological problems which can easily be overlooked.

- **Conclusion**

An account of the manifestations of the revelations of the TRC on the personality subsystem of the victim respondents was outlined. After the findings had been analysed and interpreted, it was compared with the results of other researchers. Similarities were obtained between the results of this study and the other findings. Research expectations in terms of the personality subsystem were then analysed.

Research expectation 2.6.7.1.10, which reads: **the impact of the revelations of the TRC will have a direct effect on the personality** will now be interpreted. Responding to Question 25 (Appendix A), 30 (100%) of the respondents agreed that having to make submissions to the Commission affected their well-being adversely. As this research expectation if fully supported by the findings of this study, it is thus accepted.

4.4.3.3 The impact of the revelations at the TRC hearings on the victim respondents in terms of the social subsystem (integration)

The victims' experiences of the TRC in terms of the social subsystems were interpreted and it was found that all (100%) of the respondents accepted that the

Commission was necessary to obtain information about past abuses. However, they had different views on the effectiveness of the TRC as is shown in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5

Victim Respondents' Experience of the Social Subsystem

Social subsystem	N	%
Perceived the TRC as Necessary	30	100.00
Were disappointed at the reparations and viewed the TRC as biased	20	66.67
Were satisfied with the reparations and viewed the TRC as fair	8	26.67
TRC had caused embarrassment which could divide the people	2	6.67

The above table shows the impact of the TRC on the social subsystem.

In answering Questions 29-32 (Appendix A), as can be seen from the above, 20 (66.67%) of all the respondents were disappointed with the Reparations Committee for not redressing the trauma they had suffered and thus viewed the TRC as biased. Only eight (26.67%) of the 30 respondents were satisfied with the reparations they received and perceived the Commission as being fair. It is significant to stress that the victims whose needs had been fulfilled by the TRC were content with its performance, as one of the respondents confirmed:

The people who shot me were brainwashed by the apartheid system, they were not themselves. Knowing that has made it possible for me to forgive them, I appreciate what the Government has done through the TRC. It has brought some balance between perpetrator and victim.

Two (6.66%) of the 30 respondents verbalised that the TRC had caused the country embarrassment, which could divide the racial groups by looking into the conflict of the past.

In verbalising her anger at the biasness of the TRC, one respondent stated that:

The Commission ignored the victims of abuses when it structured the whole process. We were never consulted on suggestions we may have had concerning our own welfare. It is the poor people of South Africa who desperately need the money in order to survive. Most of us do not work as a consequence of the injuries we sustained and this excludes those who are able to work but do not get employment opportunities.

Another said:

The ANC had an influence on the TRC which resulted in it over-emphasising on the violations perpetrated by our sons. These were young men, who had to obey the laws and had to go to war at all cost. Do you know how this TRC process has traumatised my child? How can they be called perpetrators, when they need all the support they can get to deal with the mental scars caused by the border war?

According to the TRC Report (Extract 4, 1998:8) Winnie Madikizela-Mandela was found to be responsible for gross human rights violations which were perpetrated by the Mandela Football Club members. She was also convicted of the murder of a 14-year-old youth activist, Stompie Seipei (see paragraph 1.1). However, researcher is of the opinion that the manner in which the chairman of the TRC Archbishop Desmond Tutu dealt with the allegations against Winnie Madikizela-Mandela at the Human rights hearings can be construed as biased. This can also be seen to be discriminating against the other perpetrators in favour of the ANC. In Special Report, at 22:00 on SABC TV 1 News Bulletin on August, 9, 1999, Archbishop Tutu begged Winnie Madikizela-Mandela to apologise to Stompie's mother and also told her to say, "certain things went horribly wrong" during the struggle. The fact that he forced a perpetrator to say she was sorry, left many South Africans embarrassed, as a person cannot be forced to apologise, especially in an initiative encompassed by truth and reconciliation.

Meiring (1999:91) who was part of the Reparations and Rehabilitation Committee as a Commissioner confirmed this. He reported that he had to conduct consultations with certain victims who were reported to be impatient or frustrated with the performance of the TRC in terms of the reparations. The author points out that most of them were elderly people who were dependent on their children. As they had lost sons during the political conflict, they were left with nobody to take care of them.

- **Conclusion**

Based upon the analysis and interpretation of data regarding victim respondents' experience of the social subsystem the research expectations in terms of the effect of the TRC upon the social subsystem will now be analysed.

Research expectation 2.6.7.1.11 states that the: **impact of the TRC will have a direct effect on the social subsystem (integration)**. This research expectation was fully accepted as 30 (100%) of the victims who responded to Question 32 (Appendix A) stated that they did expect the TRC to fulfil their social needs which impacted directly on their social subsystem.

4.4.3.4 Victim respondents' experience of the TRC process in terms of the cultural subsystem

Table 4.6 shows how the victim respondents experienced the impact of the TRC in terms of the cultural subsystem.

Table 4.6

Victim Respondents' Experience of the Cultural Subsystem

Cultural subsystem	N	%
TRC affected them	30	100,00
Did not experience problems for having made submissions to the TRC	20	66,67
Were under strain in their neighbourhoods	5	16,67
Victim respondents' whose loved ones disappeared were in conflict with their communities	2	6.67

The above table shows the impact of the TRC on the cultural subsystem.

Responding to Questions 39–42 (Appendix A), 30 (100%) of the respondents said that the TRC had an effect on their cultural subsystem. Twenty (66.67%) of them mentioned that they did not experience problems with members of the communities for having made submissions to the TRC. However, five (16.66%) of the total group admitted that they were under strain in their neighbourhoods. The latter explained this as resulting from the fact that their children were victims of necklace slayings in the black townships. This also resulted in the whole family being perceived with suspicion and being ostracised. Five (50%) of the ten (16.66%) who testified that family members had disappeared under suspicious circumstances verbalised that they were in conflict with members of their communities who ostracised them. They also did not receive the sympathy which was usually shown to the families of activists.

Five (16.66%) of the victim respondents experienced strain in their neighbourhoods and elaborated on its dynamics, which they described as discrimination. They verbalised that since they were women and seven (23.3%) of them widowed, members of their communities, men especially often overlooked them or were disrespectful to them. According to Reynolds (1994:5) patriarchy had resulted in

women being subjected to male dominance and in this way they endured hardships. These are related to not having an important role to play in terms of decision making nor for their own welfare. This also impacted on how other males in general perceived women and thus some children took advantage of this and victimised their mothers (see paragraph 1.2.1).

The above findings can be linked to those of Reiff (1987:86) who observed that members of their communities often accused victims of being responsible for their own victimisation. This author states that this blaming may take a subtle form by which the other person may ask seemingly helpful questions or advice that indicates that the victim is at fault. For example questions such as "Why didn't you?" or "Don't you think you could have done this?" can be asked. One (3.33%) victim reported the following on the failure of the TRC to grant reparations to them:

It is unfair that the Commission had to raise our expectations for nothing. Since its inception, we were given the impression that it was founded on Christian principles, which to me, implied that the truth and honesty would prevail. Archbishop Desmond Tutu assured us that our needs will be met by the granting of the reparations and thus we should be willing to forgive for the benefit of reconciliation. We were asked to be the forgiving children of God, which we have done. However, we got nothing in return, but the perpetrators have been awarded amnesty even if they told lies. It is difficult for me to have faith in the Commission. What the TRC has done was to deprive us of our right to sue the perpetrators of these abuses. Are we expected to reconcile?

From the above the impact of the cultural subsystem on the victims is indicated. As the TRC could be construed as a symbol of the criminal justice system, the disappointment with which the victim respondents were confronted could be linked to that which can impact on victims of traumatic events for which there are no benefits. The above findings are similar to the research results of Lurigio, Skogan and Davis (1998:61) argue that the participation of victims in the prosecution of criminal cases may be regarded as stressful and disruptive to their recovery. This could especially be worsened amongst victims of emotionally disruptive life stresses such as the revelations to the TRC. In addition to this, individuals can be described as the forgotten persons of the criminal justice system.

According to Meiring (1999:314) dissatisfaction at the granting of amnesty by the TRC was not only limited to the victims. The author postulates that when the 37 ANC members were granted amnesty many people, including some TRC Commissioners and other members of the Commission, were dissatisfied. This also impacted negatively on both the National Party as well as the Democratic Party who threatened with legal action. It is significant to mention that these persons included, *inter alia*, President Thabo Mbeki as well as Trevor Tutu, Archbishop Tutu's son. A statement could therefore be made that some instances, such as the one above, the creditability of the TRC was questioned even by the Commissioners themselves. This could lead to the conclusion that the 20 (66.67%) victim respondents who perceived the Commission as biased could not be blamed (see Table 4.5).

Given the diversity of the victim respondents' requirements, and the problems which had been mentioned concerning the disjunction between the awarding of reparations and the granting of amnesty, researcher decided to test their perceptions. Question 38 (Appendix A) yielded the following responses: Twenty (66.66%) of the 30 respondents agreed that their perception of the TRC was that it was biased in favour of the perpetrators. However, ten (33.33%) of the 30 respondents were satisfied with the reparations, as they had already received it.

- **Conclusion**

Data was analysed and interpreted in relation to the impact of the revelations made at the TRC hearings on the cultural subsystem and compared with other studies, which had similar results. Thereafter research expectations in terms of the impact of the TRC on the cultural subsystem were analysed.

Research expectation 2.6.7.1.12 reads as follows: **the effect of the TRC's revelations will have a direct impact on the cultural subsystem (latency)**. Thirty (100%) of the victim respondents mentioned that the impact of the TRC on the cultural subsystem manifested in different ways. The fact that only eight (26.66%) of the 30 victims who were promised reparations did receive them and the rest of victims, 22 (73.33%) did not, compounded this groups' trauma and uncertainty. These victim respondents were responding to Questions 39-42 (Appendix A).

Therefore the deduction can be made that the TRC's revelations had a direct impact on the cultural subsystem of the victim respondents. This expectation was thus fully accepted.

4.4.3.5 Victims' experiences in terms of the Existential Theory of Frankl

It was crucial to analyse what the revelations of the TRC meant to the victim respondents in terms of the meaning they attached to their trauma. The fact that the Commission was a new initiative in the country which had a mandate to facilitate unity through reconciliation, the victim respondents would be in position to share their perception of this process with society.

It is important to highlight that when the victims', responses were analysed it appeared as if age could be linked to their search to find meaning in their suffering. In turn, this influenced their coping mechanisms. When all the 30 (100%) of the victim respondents answered Questions 43-45 (Appendix A), nine (30%) who were in the early adulthood (26-40) age group, as can be observed from Table 4.7, could not derive meaning in their suffering. As a result of this they failed to reconcile with their perpetrators. The above have been interpreted together with the 13 (43.33%) of those who belonged to the middle adulthood (41-65) age group. The reason for this is that they shared similar perceptions in terms of the search for the meaning of suffering. As can be seen in Table 3.1, these 13 (43.33%) research participants, although middle aged, were nevertheless younger as their years ranged from 46-55 years and thus none were within the 56 to 65 year old range. However the remaining eight (26.77%) who succeeded in finding meaning in their trauma belonged to the late adulthood (66-80) age group. It is significant to stress that although these eight (26.7%) victim respondents, who succeeded in finding meaning in their trauma had received remuneration from the TRC it could not replace their emotional trauma. Bee (1992:434) found that all human beings undergo sequences of changes in their personalities, which could have an influence on peoples' reaction to life stresses such as the TRC revelations. These can inter alia be influenced by the age category into which a person falls with the persons in the late adulthood coping better with their trauma than the younger individuals. This could result in persons being anxious and

disturbed that they cannot accomplish their needs. In addition their health can also be put at risk and thus deteriorate. Some people may lack the capacity to come to an understanding of changing life events such as coping with the socialisation of problematic adolescent children. The above author describes three developmental phases known as early adulthood (26-40 years), middle adulthood (40-65 years) as well as late adulthood (young/old) (66-80 years) as indicated in Table 4.7. The age division of the victims is done according to Bee's (1992:436-437) classification of the stages of adult life development.

Table 4.7

Age Distribution of Victims

Development stage	N	%
Early adulthood (26-40)	9	30,0
Middle adulthood (41-65)	13	43,3
Late adulthood (66-80)	8	26,7
	30	100,0

Table 4.7 shows the different domains of adult functioning over the years from 25 years to late adulthood of the respondents in this study.

Given the exposition of Bee (1992:436-437) the nine (30%) victim respondents were in their optimal physical as well as mental functioning age. This is also a time when the conformists worldview begins to give way to a more individualistic approach, which could be characterised by independence. Thus, the significance of National Unity and Reconciliation was less important to them than their trauma as well as their disillusionment.

The above can also be said of the 13 (44.3%) respondents in the 41-65 age group, as has already been explained. Bee (1992:440) postulates that most persons have completed at least some of the social roles ascribed to them, such as that of bringing up children. It is, however, significant to mention that a greater openness to one-self emerges, which includes openness to unexpressed emotions as well as the

development of a deeper dimension of one's personality. There is also a likelihood of some inner growth or transformation. At this phase, especially females might be likely to experience depression, which could be the result of a midlife crisis. However, others may have uplifting feelings as people's temperaments determine their attitude to life. As has been explained, these 13 (43.3%) persons were still on the earlier stages of early adulthood (see Table 3.1). This can be related to the findings of Cavanaugh (1997:277) who reports that the debate over the degree to which personality in adulthood remains stable or changes has resulted in the development of numerous theoretical perspectives.

In the light of the argument of Bee (1992:437), the eight (26.7%) victims could have succeeded in deriving meaning in their suffering possibly because they had already found inner peace. Some could have redefined their life goals and sense of self, which can be characterised by not being selfish and a willingness to sacrifice. For example, these were the victims who overlooked their needs for the sake of unity and reconciliation in South Africa. In conjunction with this, the absence of challenges such as marital conflicts, problematic children as well as demanding jobs, could have allowed these people space to be content with life. However, researcher argues that a factor, which cannot be overlooked, is that during the liberation struggle in South Africa, the youth were conditioned to be militant and thus they were self-centred, violent and intolerant. On the other hand, many parents were disregarded and intimidated by these children and especially females and were thus scared of them. As a consequence of this, they could have been conditioned to be co-operative for the sake of peace (see paragraph 4.4.3.4). Bee (1992:437) could be challenged for not including the cultural dynamics of the socialisation of children within the black culture. Researcher stresses that most black females in this age group are still confronted with bringing up grandchildren as well as great-grandchildren because of the following reasons:

- Children who are born out of wedlock become the responsibility of their grandparents when their mothers or fathers work. If the parents get married eventually, then the children remain permanently with their grandparents. It is crucial to mention that the old people do not perceive these children as a burden, but rather as important gifts from God who have been sent to them for a purpose.

In this way, many complain if these children are welcomed to stay with their stepparents in the event of their single parents getting married, and their spouses verbalising willingness to adopt these stepchildren.

- Most couples, who still have parents, send their children to them when they divorce, and especially if they then re-marry.

Based on the above argument, it could be stated that the eight (26.7%) victim respondents in the late adulthood, despite having succeeded in deriving meaning in their suffering, could still have been experiencing the stresses associated with providing guidance to children experiencing problems (see paragraph 5.3.3). The above argument is similar to the findings of Dlamini (1987:638), who observed: "although families all over the world do have similarities, African researchers, lecturers and schools often find western textbooks on the family unsuitable for a full understanding of the dynamics of African family life". This substantiates Kayongo-Male and Onyango's findings (1984:1) that there is a need for research on family law in respect of black people.

Table 4.8

The search for the meaning of suffering through the revelations

Search for meaning	N	%
TRC compounded the trauma	22	72.72
They found the meaning of their suffering	8	26.66
TRC was necessary	27	90
TRC was not necessary	3	10

Table 4.8 shows the search for the meaning in suffering of the respondents in this study.

The 22 (72.72%) victim respondents in the early and middle age category, namely 26-65 years, who did not find meaning in their suffering, admitted that after testifying before the TRC, they realised that their trauma had been exacerbated. They explained that as they had not received any reparations, they found it difficult to reconcile themselves. However, the eight (26.66%) belonging to the late adulthood category, namely 66-80 years, who had succeeded in reconciling themselves with their perpetrators reported that they were ready to carry on with their lives.

The Commissioners did not have an estimation of the victim respondents who had found meaning in their suffering. However in validating the victims' statements, they mentioned that some perceived their pain as meaningful, while others regarded the Commission as unsuccessful. Thus, 22 (73.33%) of the 30 respondents who failed to reconcile themselves, admitted that their suffering had been aggravated, while the eight (26.67%) acknowledged that they had resolved the pain and had redefined their loss. This finding can be linked to the research of Meiring (1999:26) as he reported about an individual who had found meaning from her suffering and in this way was able to forgive those that had caused her injuries. According to Meiring (1999:26) Beth Savage's testimony was one of the most moving reports he had heard during the TRC process. She was a victim of the King Williams Town bomb explosion and sustained the injuries that lead to open heart surgery, a part of her intestines had to be removed and she had pieces of shrapnel which could never be removed from her body. Members of APLA detonated this bomb on 28 November 1992. Despite the above, Meiring (1999:26) points out that she stated that not everything was bad because what had happened enriched her as she could relate to other people who may be going through the same trauma. When she was asked how she felt about her attackers, she replied:

What I really want, is to meet the man who threw the hand-grenade. I would want to do it in a spirit of forgiveness, in the hope that he, for whatever reason, will also forgive me.

Shantall (1998:9) who studied the trauma endured by the victims of the Holocaust, which, though different in many ways to South Africa's apartheid, obtained findings, which are similar to the present study. This author observed that victims of trauma

can find meaning in their suffering and that they are “also prepared to endure hardship and to make sacrifices for the sake of a cause or purpose they could identify with”. Frankl (1970:122) emphasises that the search to find meaning in suffering should be viewed as an individual exercise. Although the respondents in this study could share their unique experiences on this issue, their individual traumas should not be generalised for the sake of reconciliation without acknowledging the individual needs and traumas. It is however important to emphasise that according to the **TRC Revelations Aftermath Model** (Figure 2.1) researcher envisaged that some of the persons who attended the Commission’s sessions could also have been encouraged by those victims and perpetrators who had disclosed that they found purpose through the impact of the revelations.

- **Conclusion**

The data was analysed and interpreted in relation to the impact of the TRC on the victims in their search for meaning in their suffering. Research findings were compared with other similar studies and the research expectations were analysed.

Research expectations, 2.6.7.1.13 to 2.6.7.1.17, which relate to the experience of the meaning of suffering by the victims through the revelations at the TRC will now be interpreted. Research expectation 2.6.7.1.13 which reads: **victims that attended hearings of the TRC will expect to find meaning in their suffering through discovering the truth** and research expectation 2.6.7.1.14 which states that: **victims who appeared at the TRC hearings will expect to be freed from not having all the information related to the cause of their trauma**, research expectation 2.6.7.1.15 which reads: **victims will expect to begin the healing process by making submissions to the TRC** as well as research expectation 2.6.7.1.16 which states that: **victims who made testimonies to the TRC will expect that the South African society will be healed by the revelations of the Commission as that can promote national unity**. The fact that one leads to the other, caused researcher to interpret them together for continuity.

In answering Questions 43-45 (Appendix A), 27 (90%) of the 30 victim respondents accepted that the Commission was a successful venture, but three (10%) disagreed.

Thus these research expectations are supported by the findings of the study and are therefore fully accepted.

4.4.4 Victims' perception of behavioural change in terms of Maslow's Theory of Personal Growth

Responding to Question 46 (Appendix A), 15 (50%) of the 30 respondents verbalised that although there are deviant children in the country, the majority are well behaved. However, three (10%) respondents of the total research group stated that because the majority of criminals in South Africa is found amongst the youth proves that they are deviant and can therefore not be trusted. Nine (30%) of the 30 respondents said the behaviour of the youth is unacceptable since they experiment with liquor as well as drugs while still attending school. Three (10%) of the 30 respondents were non-committal about this issue. The perceptions of the victim respondents of the behaviour of the youth are illustrated in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9

Victim Respondents' Perceptions of the Behaviour of the Youth

Behaviour of the Youth	N	%
Majority of children are well-behaved	15	50,00
Behaviour of youth can be Changed	10	33,30
Behaviour is hopeless	9	30,00
Respondents were non-committal	3	10,00

The above table shows the perceptions about the behaviour of the youth.

All the respondents were optimistic that the youth could be motivated to change their value system for the better. Responding to Question 48 (Appendix A), ten (33.33%) respondents stated that children should be educated in human rights and that it

should form part of the school curricula. Six (20%) of the 30 victims stressed that politicians should set an example for the youth by conforming to the normative rules. This could be linked to Maslow's Theory in which it was stressed that the value system of the youth could be influenced in order that their behaviour may change. However, 11 (36.66%) of the 30 respondents were of the opinion that an organised learning environment at school had to be ensured to facilitate this transformation, while three (10%) could not suggest anything. The 11 (36.66%) of the 30 respondents concluded that there is such destruction of the moral fibre of society that nothing could be done to change it and that therefore the value system could not be used to make a significant impact on the morals of the youth.

The above findings are consistent with the reaction of the ten (100%) Commissioners, who responded to Question 15 (Appendix B) by saying that the implementation of various projects such as including human rights education in the school curricula could equip young people who are uneducated. In this way these life skills might dissuade them from deviant ways.

As indicated in Table 4.9 five (16.66%) of the 30 respondents whose trauma was caused by the actions of youthful comrades rejected that the value system of the deviant youths in South Africa could ever change. However, 15 (50%) of them were positive that it could improve, while three (33.33%) said they could not commit themselves.

- **Conclusion**

The data was analysed and interpreted in terms of the victim's perceptions regarding the possibility to introduce a new value system in the country and the research expectations were analysed.

Research expectation 2.6.7.1.18 reads: **the parents of children who display deviant behaviour will expect them to develop a positive value system** and 2.6.7.1.19 states: **parents of former youth activists who are unemployed will expect them to be engaged in skill programmes to better their lives**. In analysing the respondents answers to Questions 46-48 (Appendix A) only ten

(33.3%) of the respondents said that the behaviour of the youth could be changed. Therefore this research expectations was rejected in the findings of this study.

4.5 CONCLUSION

In this Chapter the data, which was obtained by conducting interviews with respondents, was analysed. Interpretation was done against the research expectations which were formulated in Chapter 2. The findings of this study confirmed the relevance and practical application of the **TRC Revelations Aftermath Model** (see Figure 2.1). Research findings of this study formed the basis from which conclusions and recommendations were made in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this study the impact of the revelations at the TRC hearings on the female victims who made submissions about their trauma was assessed. Emphasis was placed on the traumatic effects that these victims and their family members had to endure as they relived their experiences through the revelations. Of importance too were the respondents' perceptions of the achievements as well as the limitations of the TRC, which were primarily based on the support they had received from the Commission.

The revelations were based on the following:

- Those which came from the evidence supplied by the Investigation Unit of the TRC.
- Testimonies supplied for the first time at the TRC hearings by the perpetrators.
- Information provided by the victims to the TRC which had not been disclosed by some of the perpetrators. In this way the respondents observed that, for example, police records which were obtained by the Investigation Unit of the TRC had contained distortions.

The analysis of the research data presented in Chapter 4 was done in accordance with the **TRC Revelations Aftermath Model** (see Figure 2.1). In this way researcher was able to determine whether the aims of this study have been met. Finally recommendations in general as well as those pertaining to further research are presented in paragraph 5.3.2.

5.2 CONCLUSIONS

5.2.1 Conclusions in connection with the aims of this investigation

Aim 1.8.1 was to construct a theoretical model according to which data could be analysed. This aim was fully met as researcher constructed the **TRC Revelations Aftermath Model** (see Figure 2.1) and succeeded in explaining the dynamics of the TRC hearings as well as the trauma the victims experienced while testifying and listening to the revelations. It was also possible to analyse the data of this study effectively according to this model. Researcher is thus of the opinion that she succeeded in this aim.

Aim 1.8.2 reads: **to ascertain whether the TRC had fulfilled its mandate of granting reparations to the victims.** The data in paragraphs 4.2 to 4.7 showed that this aim was fully met as it became clear that some of the victims were re-victimised by not receiving the reparations, which were promised to them. What compounded their trauma was the perception that the TRC was less sensitive to their needs as some of their perpetrators had been granted amnesty. It was also reported by one Commissioner that the frustration of the victim respondents relating to the non-payment of reparations could be linked to the fact that the government allocated money for only 8 000 victims although there were 11 000 applications. It should also be noted that it took the Commission two and a half years to effect the above payments to the victims. It therefore became clear that the TRC did not succeed to fulfil its mandate to grant reparations to the victims.

Aim 1.8.3 was 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. The Investigating Unit of the TRC acknowledged that it disappointed a number of victims whose loved ones were killed or disappeared by not being able to successfully trace them. However in some of the hearings, reconciliation was effected between the victims and the perpetrators. Victim respondents did admit that after exchanging some

information with the perpetrators some of their unanswered questions were answered and this eased the anger they had felt before the TRC hearings. Researcher is of the opinion that this aim was met.

Aim 1.8.4, which reads: **to ascertain whether the victims did not require therapeutic support as a consequence of the revelations.** It was emphasised by the respondents that the evidence they had to give in the hearings as well as to listen to the perpetrators' accounts of the abuses, traumatised them. This resulted in them re-experiencing the physical and psychological symptoms they had experienced when political violence affected them. It is important to state that some of the respondents had limited medical aid, which made it possible for them to obtain only basic therapy. However, this was later exhausted and they had to make use of their life savings or go to state hospitals and clinics. By implication, those respondents who were unemployed and could not access professional help were still in need of support services at the time that this study was conducted. As it became evident that the research participants in this study did require therapeutic support, it proved that this aim had also been met.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

5.3.1 Healing and rehabilitation

Recognising that the victims of abuses as well as their perpetrators needed healing, it is recommended that the following should be effected:

5.3.1.1 Support services

As victim respondents in this study experienced a biological, psychological as well as social impact of the revelations at the TRC hearings it is recommended that support services should be established to assist them. Because of cost implications it is recommended that existing facilities such as municipal clinics must be used and service providers such as nursing personnel should also organise themselves to co-

ordinate their skills and services in order to prevent duplication, which could ensure that they could function cost effectively as well as to be multi-professional in their approach. As the perpetrators and the victims who made submissions at the TRC hearings live in various places around the country it should be considered that for them to access these services, use must be made of existing clinics in their areas to extend these services. Volunteers should be trained to assist them to render an effective support service.

Women victims of political violence should be motivated by the above-mentioned service providers to organise themselves into support groups in order that they can share experiences as well as coping mechanisms. This could accommodate single parents and other victims who did not have the opportunity to attend or testify before the TRC.

5.3.1.2 Non-Governmental Organisations

Existing NGOs should be sensitised to the need to interpret the TRC Report, which could give them an account of the health needs of the victims and the perpetrators. This could enable them to explain the TRC findings and recommendations to the people at grass roots level. This could help to prevent recurrences of human rights abuses. Funding should be allocated to all NGOs who are working in the field of reconciliation and support so that the granting of reparations to the victims can continue and thus not be centralised. However it should be effectively controlled and monitored by the relevant appointed personnel without compromising its effectiveness.

5.3.1.3 Reintegration and rehabilitation

In terms of promoting national unity and reconciliation in the country the rehabilitation of people of all political perspectives and reintegrating them into the South African society could be done as follows:

- People who were accused of being collaborators (former State agents), political activists as well as informers (iimpimpi) could be involved in community organisations and other bodies such as Community Police Forums (CPFs). The CPFs have already made numerous attempts and in some areas made substantial progress with community integration. It could be of value if the CPFs could be a component of this initiative as they have already overcome a number of problems like the distrust shown in them by community members especially people living in black townships. The reasons for the distrust could be associated with the fact that the police were viewed as if they supported the State in promoting apartheid. At meetings organised by community leaders mediation mechanisms can be implemented which might encourage forgiveness and integration by promoting dialogue and feedback between the perpetrators and the victims in order to enhance and sustain communication. Youth organisations such as the ANC Youth League as well as individuals should also be involved in this community integration, as they could take responsibility for normative behaviour which could curb deviancy.
- Communities should be motivated and educated by political and church leaders to be willing and prepared to accept people like the perpetrators back into their midst if forgiveness and peace is to be attained in the country.

5.3.1.4 Lustration

Consideration should be given to the possibility of allowing perpetrators who held high profile positions in the Government to remain in these positions so that they do not become frustrated and use their experience to revenge themselves. They should however be motivated to undergo rehabilitation, which could be effected by trained therapists employed by the Government. As these persons could have guilt feelings due to the fact that they were either forced to perpetrate abuses or gave orders for violations to be committed to citizens of the country, therapy could assist them to resolve these feelings.

5.3.1.5 Popular publications

As the work of the Commission and its Report are vital resources for human rights education, Government should make sure that the contents of the Report are made available as widely as possible. This information should also be made available to those who are not literate. This can be done by means of advertisements in newspapers, distribution of pamphlets, announcements at schools, churches, pension pay points, taxi ranks, shopping malls, local shops, bus terminals, airports as well as train stations with the request that literate people should communicate and distribute information regarding the TRC findings as far and wide as possible. Furthermore NGOs, welfare organisations, political parties and other organisations that have public platforms can be asked to bring the existence of the TRC Report to the attention of all South African citizens.

5.3.1.6 Promotion of a human rights culture

To enhance the development of a human rights culture, which is central to reconciliation, the following is recommended:

- Regular and fare elections should be promoted.
- Transparent, non-corrupt Government should be strived for.
- Human rights curricula should be introduced in formal education, specialised education and in the training of law enforcement personnel. Issues such as, inter alia, racism, gender discrimination, conflict resolution as well as the rights of women and children should be addressed.

5.3.2 Reparations

A structure should be developed in the President's office whose function would be to oversee the implementation of reparation and rehabilitation policy proposals as well as

recommendations. This structure should be responsible for the following:

- Facilitation of mechanisms to implement the financial reparation as promised to the victims.
- Members of the above-mentioned NGOs could consult with organised business and civil society to establish a trust fund to support reparation and restitution. This fund must be well managed by officials appointed for this task and treated with the same seriousness as trust funds in general. There should be zero tolerance on any form of corruption.

5.3.3 Recommendations for further research

After completing study researcher came to the conclusion that there is still a great deal of this research to be done in the field of alleviating the impact of psychological trauma on victims. The following recommendations are therefore made:

- As this was the first study of its kind it was exploratory in nature. The sample consisted of ten Commissioners, ten Co-ordinators and 30 female victims. Researcher thus recommends that this study be repeated with a more representative sample. She envisages that the findings could be different inter alia because as the Commission has finish its task with the exception of the Amnesty Committee, which will conclude its functions in March 2000, a more holistic perspective of the experiences can be given by the victims.
- She further recommends that a study on the functioning of support services for victims of trauma induced by political conflict should be undertaken and compared with the findings of this study.
- It is imperative that a study should be undertaken on how an effective and objective reparations awarding criteria for victims of political induced trauma should be developed and evaluated, as this remains a great obstacle for communities to help victims.

- It is also important that a similar study should be done on male victims of the TRC revelations.
- A study of the impact that politically motivated victimisation can have on children should be undertaken in South Africa.
- Research on the influence that political violence can have on desensitising citizens' attitudes towards violence is also of importance.
- Research on the evaluation of the effectiveness of reconciliatory measures on previously divided groupings should also be considered.
- Research on the family life of black people from a sociological point of view.

5.4 CONCLUSION

This study shed light on the way the revelations at the TRC hearings impacted on the research group. As no victimisation incident can be studied in isolation the **TRC Revelations Aftermath Model** was developed and the data was evaluated according to it (see Figure 2.1). The dynamic nature as well as the multi-causal influences that these revelations had on the respondents could successfully be analysed.

It became clear that there is a definite need for effective and urgent reparations as well as facilitation of a reconciliation scheme. These should both be done to ease the trauma suffered by the victims as well as to make an attempt at unifying South Africans of all races.

Researcher would therefore like to conclude by emphasising the following recommendation from the TRC Report (Extract 5,1998:2):

- .That institutions should be created, that are conducive to a stable and fair society.
In addition to this, institutional, administrative as well as legislative measures should be introduced to prevent the commission of human rights violations.

It is clear that reconciliation and national unity could not be achieved without commitment, honesty and involvement by members of all communities. However, as these values should be individual choices, which should be free from coercion, it can be dangerous, if not simplistic, to assume that the foundation laid by the TRC alone will achieve this.

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INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

PLEASE NOTE: The questions refer to your experience of having made submissions to the TRC.

INSTRUCTIONS: Please answer all the questions by marking the appropriate block with an X.

For office use

Respondent no.

V1 1-2

Card no.

V2 1 3

A. BIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

1. Age

V3 4-5

2. Race

Asian	1
Black	2
Brown	3
White	4
Other (specify)	5

V4 6

3. Employment status

Full-time	1
Part-time	2
Unemployed	3
Student	4

V5 7

4. Highest educational qualification.

No school education	1
Primary school education	2
High school education	3
Tertiary education (e.g. College, Technikon, University)	4

V6 8

5. Marital status

Single	1	191
Married	2	
Divorced	3	
Widowed	4	
Living together	5	

V7 9



6. Religious affiliation.

None	1
Roman Catholic Church	2
Protestant Church	3
African Church	4
Other (specify)	5

V8 10

7. At the time of the incident were you

Employed	1
Not employed	2
Student	3

V9 11

B. ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT YOURSELF BEFORE THE INCIDENT OCCURRED

8. Did you perceive yourself as safe from being a victim of political violence?

Yes	1
No	2

V10 12

If no, go to question 10.

9. If yes, how do you react to the following statements?

	1	2
	Yes	No
I had self respect.		
I valued life.		
I believed that I could control my life.		
I believed that I could never experience something I did not deserve.		
I believed that no relative of mine could experience something they did not deserve.		
I believed that political violence could never affect me personally.		
I believed that only people who were non-related to me could become victims of political violence.		
I believed that one only reads about victims of political violence in newspapers.		
I believed that victims of political violence are only seen on television.		

V11 13

V12 14

V13 15

V14 16

V15 17

V16 18

V17 19

V18 20

V19 21

C. THE IMPACT OF BEREAVEMENT ON THE RESPONDENTS

10. Did you lose a family member through death as a result of the incident?

Yes	1
No	2

V20 22

If no, go to question 17.

11. If yes, how many loved ones did you lose?

V21 23

12. What was his/their relationship to you?

V22 24-25
V23 26-27
V24 28-29
V25 30-31
V26 32-33

13. Which of the following describe how you found out about the death?

Knew about death before making submissions.	1
Never received the news of the death.	2
Discovered through the TRC's submissions.	3
Heard from other people who witnessed the death.	4
Heard from people who were told about the death	5
By viewing the body of the deceased	6

V27 34
V28 35
V29 36
V30 37
V31 38
V32 39

14. What was the nature of the injuries?

Gun-shot wound(s).	1
Necklacing slaying.	2
Mutilation by bombs/explosives.	3
Stab-wound(s).	4
Other (specify)	
	5

V33 40
V34 41
V35 42
V36 43
V37 44-45
V38 46-47
V39 48-49

15. Have you buried your loved one(s)?

Yes	1
No	2

V40 50

If no, go to question 17.

16. If yes, which of the following describe how you buried your family member(s)?

I buried his/her remains after they had been exhumed by the TRC.	1
I buried his/her remains after he/she had been picked up by the police in the township.	2
I buried his/her remains after I had identified the body at the mortuary.	3
Other (specify)	4

V41	<input type="checkbox"/>	51
V42	<input type="checkbox"/>	52
V43	<input type="checkbox"/>	53
V44	<input type="checkbox"/>	54
V45	<input type="checkbox"/>	55

17. After you became a victim of political violence, did your perception about your safety change?

Yes	1
No	2

V46	<input type="checkbox"/>	56
-----	--------------------------	----

18. Which of the following describe your experiences?

	1	2
Yes		
No		
I did not trust people.		
I did not trust the world.		
I was not certain about life.		
I experienced a feeling of powerlessness.		
I felt despondent.		
I experienced guilt feelings.		
I experienced anxiety.		
I experienced stress.		
I experienced imbalance in my life.		

V47	<input type="checkbox"/>	57
V48	<input type="checkbox"/>	58
V49	<input type="checkbox"/>	59
V50	<input type="checkbox"/>	60
V51	<input type="checkbox"/>	61
V52	<input type="checkbox"/>	62
V53	<input type="checkbox"/>	63
V54	<input type="checkbox"/>	64
V55	<input type="checkbox"/>	65

Respondent no.

V56 1-2

Card no.

V57 2 3

D. THE IMPACT OF PATHOLOGICAL GRIEF ON RESPONDENTS

19. Which of the following describe how you experienced your bereavement?

20. How do you react to the following statements?

	Yes	No	
I feel I cannot relax.			V83
I feel I have suffered loss.			V84
I suffer from physical ailment (e.g. headache).			V85
I experience emotional symptoms (e.g. anxiety).			V86
I do not have a friendly relationship with my friends.			V87
I do not have a friendly relationship with my family.			V88
I no longer get involved in social activities (e.g. parties).			V89
I often overspend my money.			V90
I feel depressed (e.g. lose interest in life).			V91
I feel irritable.			V92
I feel emotional discomfort.			V93

Respondent no.

V94

Card no.

V95 0 3 3



E. BIOLOGICAL IMPACT OF POLITICAL CONFLICT

21. Did you sustain any injuries?

Yes	1
No	2

If no, go to question 25.

22. If yes, which of the following describes the situation?

	1	2
	Yes	No
I sustained injuries alone.		
I and my loved one were injured.		
I and two of my family members were injured.		
I and all of my loved ones were injured.		
One family member was killed.		
All my loved ones were killed.		
None of us were killed.		
None of us sustained physical injuries.		
Other (specify)		

V96

4

V97	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
V98	<input type="checkbox"/>	6
V99	<input type="checkbox"/>	7
V100	<input type="checkbox"/>	8
V101	<input type="checkbox"/>	9
V102	<input type="checkbox"/>	10
V103	<input type="checkbox"/>	11
V104	<input type="checkbox"/>	12
V105	<input type="checkbox"/>	13-14
V106	<input type="checkbox"/>	15-16
V107	<input type="checkbox"/>	17-18

23. Did you receive medical attention for your injuries?

Yes	1
No	2

V108

19

If no, go to question 25.

24. If yes, which of the following describe your experience?

	1	2
	Yes	No
I paid myself.		
My family paid for me.		
The medical aid paid for me.		
I cannot afford all the treatment I need.		
I have requested the TRC to assist me.		
The TRC paid my medical costs.		
The TRC cannot pay for all my medical bills.		
Other (specify)		

V109	<input type="checkbox"/>	20
V110	<input type="checkbox"/>	21
V111	<input type="checkbox"/>	22
V112	<input type="checkbox"/>	23
V113	<input type="checkbox"/>	24
V114	<input type="checkbox"/>	25
V115	<input type="checkbox"/>	26
V116	<input type="checkbox"/>	27-28
V117	<input type="checkbox"/>	29-30
V118	<input type="checkbox"/>	31-32



25. Did the violent encounter affect you or your family member's emotional well-being?

Yes	1
No	2

V119

33

If no, go to question 27.

26. If yes, did you suffer from any of the following emotional manifestations?

	1	2	
	Yes	No	
Ulcers			V120 <input type="checkbox"/> 34
Loss of appetite			V121 <input type="checkbox"/> 35
Loss of weight			V122 <input type="checkbox"/> 36
Distrubed sleep patterns			V123 <input type="checkbox"/> 37
Disbelief			V124 <input type="checkbox"/> 38
Headaches			V125 <input type="checkbox"/> 39
High blood pressure			V126 <input type="checkbox"/> 40
Palpitations			V127 <input type="checkbox"/> 41
Chest pains			V128 <input type="checkbox"/> 42
Other (specify)			V129 <input type="checkbox"/> 43-44
			V130 <input type="checkbox"/> 45-46

F. PERSONALITY IMPACT OF CONFLICT

27. Did the impact of the revelations affect your psychological well-being?

Yes	1
No	2

V131

47

If no, go to question 29.

28. If yes, did you experience any of the following?

	1	2	
	Yes	No	
Anger			V132 <input type="checkbox"/> 48
Uncertainty			V133 <input type="checkbox"/> 49
Fear			V134 <input type="checkbox"/> 50
Loneliness			V135 <input type="checkbox"/> 51
Aggression			V136 <input type="checkbox"/> 52
Depression			V137 <input type="checkbox"/> 53
Helplessness			V138 <input type="checkbox"/> 54
Suspiciousness			V139 <input type="checkbox"/> 55
Anxiety			V140 <input type="checkbox"/> 56
Nightmares			V141 <input type="checkbox"/> 57
Other (specify)			V142 <input type="checkbox"/> 58-59
			V143 <input type="checkbox"/> 60-61



Respondent no.

V144 1-2

Card no.

V145 4 3

G. SOCIAL IMPACT OF THE TRC

29. How do you feel about the fact that reparations have not yet been effected?

Disillusioned	1
Disappointed	2
Angry	3
I understand	4
Shocked	5
Not applicable	6

V146 4

30. How do you perceive the Commission?

Fair	1
Biassed	2
Good	3
Bad	4

V147 5

31. Do you think it was worthwhile to make submissions to the commission?

Yes	1
No	2

V148 6

32. Which of the following describe your experience?

	1	2	
	Yes	No	
Relief at discovering the truth			
Relief at knowing why you had to be detained			V149 7
Relief at knowing why you were assaulted			V150 8
Relief at knowing who ordered your detention			V151 9
Relief at discovering who assaulted your family member			V152 10
Relief at knowing who ordered that your loved one should be detained			V153 11
Relief at knowing who necklaced your loved one			V154 12
Feel that the perpetrator(s) lied			V155 13
Feel that the perpetrator(s) did not make full disclosures			V156 14
Feel that you were going to be assisted by the commission through reparations			V157 15
Feel that you forgave the perpetrators			V158 16
Feel that the perpetrators were remorseful			V159 17
Feel that the TRC was biased			V160 18
Feel that an old wound which had started to heal had been reopened and left gaping			V161 19
Feel that nothing could bring your loved one back			V162 20
Feel angry at the perpetrators			V163 21
Begrudge the perpetrators			V164 22
Feel angry at the person who ordered that your family member should be killed			V165 23
Feel hatred for the perpetrators			V166 24
Feel hatred for the person who ordered the assault of your loved one			V167 25
Other (specify)			V168 26
			V169 27-28
			V170 29-30
			V171 31-32

Respondent no.

V172 1-2

Card no.

V173 5 3



H. INFORMATION ON REPARATIONS

33. Has the TRC acknowledged you as a victim of gross human rights violations?

Yes	1
No	2

If no, go to question 35.

34. If yes, did you experience any of the following?

Vindicated	1
Satisfied	2
Relieved	3
Honoured	4

35. Which of the following describe your needs?

	1	2	Yes	No
Financial assistance with the education of my family member.				
Exhumation of my loved one and reburial.				
Financial assistance for the erection of a tombstone for my family member.				
Psychological counselling for myself.				
Psychological counselling for my family member.				
Financial assistance for loss of support.				
Assistance with medical costs.				
Financial assistance with alternative accommodation for a destroyed house.				
Other (specify)				

V174 4

V175 5

V176 6

V177 7

V178 8

V179 9

V180 10

V181 11

V182 12

V183 13

V184 14-15

V185 16-17

V186 18-19

36. Why have you not received reparations?

Do not know	1
Do not qualify	2
There are no funds	3
Not applicable	4

V187 20

37. Are you certain of obtaining reparations?

No	1
Yes	2
Not sure	3
Not applicable	4

V188 21

38. What is your perception of the Reparations Committee?

Fair	1
Biased	2
Good	3
Bad	4

V189 22

I. CULTURAL IMPACT OF THE TRC

39. Did the fact that you made submissions to the TRC affect the way the community relate to you?

Yes	1
No	2

40. Did they react to you in any of the following ways?

- V190 23

41. Did you approach the TRC to make submissions about a loved one who was killed/had disappeared and presumed dead?

Yes	1
No	2

V204

If no, go to question 43.

42. If yes, did you expect any of the following?

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------|-------|
| V205 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 41 |
| V206 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 42 |
| V207 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 43 |
| V208 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 44 |
| V209 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 45 |
| V210 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 46 |
| V211 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 47 |
| V212 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 48-49 |
| V213 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 50-51 |
| V214 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 52-53 |



Respondent no:

V215 1-2

Card no:

V216 6 3

V217 4

K. INFORMATION ON THE SEARCH FOR THE MEANING OF SUFFERING (THROUGH THE INCIDENT).

43. What was your understanding of the TRC before you made your submission?

Necessary	1
Worthwhile	2
Good	3
Not sure	4

44. Has the fact that you have testified before the TRC changed this understanding?

Yes	1
No	2

45. Which of the following describe your perception of the TRC?

	1	2
Yes		
No		
That it has been a waste of time.		
That it has exacerbated your trauma.		
That it has made it possible for you to understand why you had to suffer trauma.		
That it has added a new meaning to your victim's action.		
Other (specify)		

V218 5

V219 6
V220 7
V221 8
V222 9
V223 10-11
V224 12-13
V225 14-15

K. INFORMATION ON POSSIBILITY OF THE INTRODUCTION OF A NEW VALUE SYSTEM

46. Given the history of the political struggle against apartheid in South Africa, what is your perception of the behaviour of the youth in general.

Good	1
Bad	2
Hopeless	3
Fair	4
Discouraging	5
Other (specify)	6

V226 16
V227 17-18
V228 19-20
V229 21-22



47. What do you think is the cause of this behaviour?

Political transition	1
June 1976 riots	2
Absence of role models	3
Other (specify)	4

V230	<input type="checkbox"/>	23
V231	<input type="checkbox"/>	24-25
V232	<input type="checkbox"/>	26-27
V233	<input type="checkbox"/>	28-29
V234	<input type="checkbox"/>	30-31

48. What could be done to change the behaviour of the youth?

	1	2
	Yes	No
Teaching of children about societal rules and morals.		
Teaching children from primary school level to respect people.		
Teaching school children to resolve conflict through negotiation.		
Teaching school children to value life.		
Teaching scholars to have self-respect.		
Teaching children to respect the basic rights of other people.		
Provision of an adequate learning environment at schools.		
Provision of adequate security in schools.		
Teaching children not to use violence to assert themselves.		
Identification of pupils who manifest with emotional problems.		
Provision of professional assistance to pupils who experience emotional problems.		
Identification of pupils with unacceptable behaviour.		
That pastoral services should continuously condemn violent acts.		
Identification of dysfunctional homes.		
Rendering of support to dysfunctional families.		
Condemnation of violence by political leaders.		
Condemnation of violence by non-governmental organisations.		
Other (specify)		

V235	<input type="checkbox"/>	32
V236	<input type="checkbox"/>	33
V237	<input type="checkbox"/>	34
V238	<input type="checkbox"/>	35
V239	<input type="checkbox"/>	36
V240	<input type="checkbox"/>	37
V241	<input type="checkbox"/>	38
V242	<input type="checkbox"/>	39
V243	<input type="checkbox"/>	40
V244	<input type="checkbox"/>	41
V245	<input type="checkbox"/>	42
V246	<input type="checkbox"/>	43
V247	<input type="checkbox"/>	44
V248	<input type="checkbox"/>	45
V249	<input type="checkbox"/>	46
V250	<input type="checkbox"/>	47
V251	<input type="checkbox"/>	48
V252	<input type="checkbox"/>	49



COMMISSIONERS OF THE TRC

PLEASE NOTE: The questions refer to your experience of having made submissions to the TRC.

INSTRUCTIONS: Please answer all the questions by marking the appropriate block with an X.

For office use

Respondent no:

V1 1-2

Card no:

V2 1 3

A. BIOGRAPHICAL CHARACTERISTICS

1. Age: _____

V3 4-5

2. Gender

Male	1
Female	2

V4 6

3. Race

Asian	1
Black	2
Brown	3
White	4
Other (specify)	5

V5 7

4. Are you a member of a political party?

Yes	1
No	2

V6 8

If no, go to question 5.

If yes, which party? _____

V7 9

B. INFORMATION ABOUT THE TRC

5. Can you describe your experience of the TRC?

V8 10-11

V9 12-13

V10 14-15

6. In your opinion, has the TRC accomplished this mandate?

In some cases yes	1
In others no	2
No	3

V11 16

7. Which of the following have been accomplished by the TRC?

	1	2	
	Yes	No	
Discovery of the truth.			V12
Obtainment of full disclosures.			V13
Reconciliation between the victims and the perpetrators			V14
Adequate investigations of abuses			V15
Provision of reparations			V16
Identification of victims of human rights violations			V17
Granting of amnesty to people who met the criteria			V18
Provision of a full report of abuses			V19
Provision of recommendations to the government, aimed at the achievement of national unity and reconciliation			V20
Other (specify)			V21
			V22
			V23

8. What is your perception of the performance of the TRC?

Good	1	V24	29
Fair	2		
Bad	3		
Better than nothing	4		

9. Has reconciliation been achieved between the victims and the perpetrators?

Yes	1	V25	30
No	2		
Some cases	3		

If no, go to question 11.

10. If yes, which of the following reflects the attainment of reconciliation?

	1	2	
	Yes	No	
Victims forgave the perpetrators			V26
Perpetrators made full disclosures			V27
Perpetrators apologised to the victims			V28
Perpetrators showed remorse			V29
Victims received reparations			V30
Victims satisfied with the reparations			V31
Perpetrators granted amnesty for full disclosures			V32
Other (specify)			V33



Respondent no:

V34 1-2

Card no:

V35 2 3

C. INFORMATION ABOUT THE VICTIMS - (BEREAVEMENT AND THE ACTION SYSTEM)

11. In your opinion, did the revelations of the TRC have an impact on the well-being of the victims?

Yes	1
No	2

V36 4

12. Which of the following describe the experiences of the victims?

	1	2
Yes		No
Despair		
Low self-esteem		
Distrust		
Anxiety		
Depression		
Guilt		
Anger		
Self-blame		
Numbness		
Shock		
Disbelief		
Stunned		
Helpless		
Uncontrollable sobbing		
Hostility		
Wooden appearances		
Stress		
Powerlessness		
Headache		
Hyperventilation (e.g. irregular breathing)		
Shortness of breath		
Other (specify)		

V37 5
V38 6
V39 7
V40 8
V41 9
V42 10
V43 11
V44 12
V45 13
V46 14
V47 15
V48 16
V49 17
V50 18
V51 19
V52 20
V53 21
V54 22
V55 23
V56 24
V57 25
V58 26

13. Did the victims identify some needs during the submissions?

Yes	1
No	2

V59 27

If no, go to question 15.



14. If yes, which of the following describe those needs.

	1	2	
	Yes	No	
Information needs			V60 28
Acknowledgement needs			V61 29
Financial needs			V62 30
Medical treatment			V63 31
The need to be reconciled with the perpetrators			V64 32
The need for further investigations by the commission			V65 33
To have the perpetrators indicted by the courts			V66 34
The need to be re-integrated into their communities			V67 35
The need for acceptance			V68 36
The need for understanding			V69 37
The need for emotional support			V70 38
The need for psychological support			V71 39
The need for psychiatric support			V72 40
Other (specify)			V73 41

Respondent no:

V74

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 1-2

Card no:

V75

	3
--	---

 3

D. INFORMATION ON THE SEARCH FOR THE MEANING
OF SUFFERING THROUGH THE REVELATIONS

15. Which of the following describe victim's perception of the TRC?

	1	2	
	Yes	No	
The beginning of a healing process			V76 4
The beginning of the process of reconciliation in South Africa			V77 5
Discovery of the truth			V78 6
An unifying initiative for South Africa			V79 7
A learning process for every one			V80 8
Other (specify)			V81 9



16. Did the victims have a negative perception of the TRC?

Yes	1
No	2

V82 10

If no, go to question 18.

17. If yes, which of the following describe their perception of the TRC?

	1	2
Yes		
No		
That it was biased		
That it was a witch hunt		
That it created more divisions among the racial groups		
That it was a waste of time and money		
That it lacked credibility		
Other (specify)		

V83 11
V84 12
V85 13
V86 14
V87 15
V88 16
V89 17-18
V90 19-20

18. What, in your opinion had been the successes of the TRC?

That it could reconcile some persons	1
That it could unearth the truth in some cases	2
That it could reveal past abuses	3
That it could repair some victims	4
Other	5

V91 21
V92 22
V93 23
V94 24
V95 25-26
V96 27-28
V97 29-30

Respondent no:

V98 1-2

Card no:

V99 4 3

E. INFORMATION ABOUT BEHAVIOURAL CHANGE

19. Is it possible to change the value system of deviant youth in South Africa?

Yes	1
No	2

V100 4

If no, go to question 21.



20. Which of the following could be done?

Educational talks in communities	1
Teaching students about the constitution	2
To inculcate religious values	3
Teaching children moral values	4
Other	5

V101	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
V102	<input type="checkbox"/>	6
V103	<input type="checkbox"/>	7
V104	<input type="checkbox"/>	8
V105	<input type="checkbox"/>	9
V106	<input type="checkbox"/>	10-11
V107	<input type="checkbox"/>	12-13

21. Can there be reconciliation in South Africa after the TRC?

Yes	1
No	2
Perhaps	3
Don't know	4

V108	<input type="checkbox"/>	14
------	--------------------------	----

22. Can there be national unity in South Africa amongst the people?

Yes	1
No	2
Perhaps	3
Don't know	4

V109	<input type="checkbox"/>	15
------	--------------------------	----

23. What role can civil society (NGOs) play?

Interpret TRC report	1
Encourage tolerance	2
Encourage understanding	3
Other (specify)	4

V110	<input type="checkbox"/>	16
V111	<input type="checkbox"/>	17
V112	<input type="checkbox"/>	18

24. What role can be played by political leaders?

Facilitate tolerance	1
Facilitate understanding	2
Facilitate unity (e.g. through sport)	3
Other (specify)	4

V113	<input type="checkbox"/>	19
V114	<input type="checkbox"/>	20
V115	<input type="checkbox"/>	21

PRACTICAL GUIDE - REPARATION APPLICATION FORM

ATTENTION : Mrs Caroline Nomoyi

SECTION A

Question 1. Did you make a statement to the TRC ?

No - An amnesty applicant did

Question 2. If yes, when did you make it ?

Do not worry yourself about this as you did not submit one.

Question 3. If you your Reference Number please write it here (.....)

Yours would be AM0087/96

Question 4. Where did you make the statement

N/A Because you do not know where the applicant made the statement

PROVINCE - Would surely be the EASTERN CAPE

Question 5. Does not apply to you either

SECTION B

Are you a; Victim who made a statement

Victim who was named in a statement - Tick this one

Person who acted in the place of a parent - N/A

Person whom the victim had a legal duty to support - N/A

SECTION C

This is clear as it only requires your personal details. Type of ID would be SA, Ciskei, etc.

SECTION D

Your bank details

SECTION E

Is also clear

SECTION F

Is the most important section of the form as it would enable the assessors to know what form of Urgent Interim Reparation one qualifies for.

Question 1

On Physical injuries - You should say how the injuries you had then affect you now

Question 2

Emotional effects - Say how what those people did affected you.

Question 3

Applies to people whose schooling was affected by the violation.

Question 4

Is only applicable to people whose homes were either bombed or damaged in some way.

Question 5

This is where the question of Urgent Interim Reparation is going to be clarified. Things like Medical care, educational assistance, psychological care, material assistance, exhumations, reburials, etc.

Say what problems has the violation caused you that you need help with.

SECTION G

Is applicable to people who had relatives who disappeared and were never buried.

Question 2 @

Applies to those who received compensation

Question 3.

Refers to people who were charged for acts of terror and served some term in prison.

SECTION H

Applies to people who fill in the form as relatives of deceased victims.

YOU ARE NOW FINISHED WITH YOUR APPLICATION FORM.

You need to submit a certified copy of your ID, the letter you received from the TRC informing you that you are a victim, and some medical records if you are still consulting doctors for the injury you incurred.

You are no longer required to send the form to the President's Fund but to your Regional office.

If you experience any problems phone **Tantaswa Gubevu** at (0431) 726 0740

An introduction and guide to completing this Application for Reparation
prepared by:

The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Today you have received a letter from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), informing you that you and/or people mentioned in your statement have been found to have suffered a gross violation of human rights. You may thus apply for reparation on the attached Reparation Application Form.

•Why do I need to complete the form?

The Government will provide reparation only to those who apply for it on the official Reparation Application form.

Reparation will be provided in two stages – Urgent Interim Reparation (UIR) and Final Reparation. At this stage, the Government is able to provide UIR to people in urgent need.

To help us determine whether you and/or your relatives and dependants are in urgent need, we need as much information as possible under sections D and E of the form. If you have any documents to support your application, like a doctor's report or a letter from our religious leader, this will greatly assist us.

•What if I don't understand English, or need help completing this form?

You could try to find someone in your community who does understand English, and/or could help you translate the questions and help you with your answers. If this is not possible, please phone the TRC office in your region and they will put you in touch with someone who can translate. See phone details below.

Western and Northern Cape	Shireen Brown	021-24 5161
Free State & KwaZulu-Natal	Bontle Ledimo and Moses Pitso	031-307 6767
Eastern Cape	Tantawwa Gubevu	0431-43 2885
Gauteng, Mpumalanga, Northern Province and Northwest Province	Dudu Chili and Mbongeni Shabangu	011-333 6330

What happens to my form once I have posted it?

When your form reaches our office, the information will be studied by a member of the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee (RRC) who, using the information provided by yourself, will decide whether you are in need of assistance or not. The decision of this Committee Member will then be checked by the Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson of the RRC.

If you qualify for UIR and have provided banking details, a payment may be made directly into your account. You will also receive a letter from us to inform you if a payment has been made and advising you where you can go if you need additional services. If you do not have a bank account, we recommend that you open one.

The process will take a few weeks, so please be patient. If you would like to check whether we have received your form and what stage it has reached in the process, or if you have any other questions, please phone *The Reparation Enquiries Secretary* in your region.

If any of your details change between the time you complete the form and the time you receive final reparation, please send us the new information at:

Please keep this
information sheet -
you may need it later.

Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee,
c/o The President's Fund, Private Bag X81,
PRETORIA, 0001.

