Former SADF soldiers' experience of betrayal: A phenomenological study

by

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements for

the degree of

Master of Arts in Psychology with specialisation in Research Consultation

at the

University of South Africa

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November 2013

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I declare that Former SADF soldiers' experience of betrayal: A phenomenological study is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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Summary

Existing literature identify betrayal as one of the major challenges that former SADF soldiers face in the "new" South Africa, and identify a need for studying the nature and types of betrayal and the effects it has on relationships. This study aimed to describe and interpret former SADF soldier's lived experience by focusing on the psychology of betrayal. A cross-sectional qualitative research methodology was used, guided by an interpretive phenomenological approach. Data was gathered through semi-structured interviews, and the data was analysed using Heidegger's hermeneutical principles. The identified themes are (1) in the belly of the beast, (2) different agendas, (3) volte-face, (4) keeping the score (5) and just carry on. The findings offer deeper insights and understanding into how former SADF soldiers experience betrayal and the impact it has on their everyday lives.

***Key terms*:**

Betrayal; trust; phenomenology; lived experience; post-apartheid; South African Border War; former SADF soldiers

Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge many people who aided me in this study.

Prof. Martin Terre Blanche, Department of Psychology, University of South Africa, under whose supervision this study was completed. His everlasting encouragement and critical scrutiny were important in bringing this work to realisation.

My immediate family Dave, Ansie and Roxanne who always supported me in everything I did. I greatly appreciate your love, encouragement and support. You provided me with great opportunities for the future ahead.

All the students in the MARC 2011 course for their scrutiny, sharing their feelings, support throughout the year and enriching my life. The University of South Africa, Faculty of Human Sciences, Department of Psychology, for the opportunity to complete this study.

My colleagues at the Foundation for Professional Development (FPD) who supported me to create a balance between work and studies for more than a year.

And most of all, I would like to acknowledge God; without God this would not have been possible.

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

Mental health is increasingly acknowledged as an important public health issue in South Africa. Williams *et al*. (2007) found that 16.5% of South Africans report having suffered from common mental disorders such as depression, anxiety and substance abuse in the specific year.

> Mental health is the foundation for the well-being and effective functioning for the individual and communities. Mental health is influenced by individual factors and experiences, social interaction, societal structures and resources, and cultural values. (World Health Organization, 2004, pp. 12-13)

The mental health of many South Africans is still very much affected by apartheid and its aftermath. In 1967 all white South African men over the age of 16 were conscripted by the South African Defence Force (SADF) to go to Angola and other conflict zones to fight in a war known today as the *South African Border War* and the *Angola Bush War*. Military conscription became compulsory as soon as the men left school, unless they could obtain a deferment for tertiary study. Conscription into the SADF included a training period, continuous active service of up to two years followed by shorter periods of military service at regular intervals.

After independence from Portugal, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) rapidly seized control of Angola. The South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), which was committed to the liberation of South West Africa (now Namibia) from South African control, was supported by both the MPLA and communist Cuba. SWAPO training camps

quickly sprung up in Angola and fifty-thousand armed Cuban troops poured into Angola. This created a major security threat for the South Africa government and this influenced their decision to enforce military conscription (Korff, 2009).

Conscription took place between 1967 and 1993. The last SADF soldiers officially returned home from the Border War during 1989. The SADF soldiers were not sufficiently debriefed before demobilisation. They were given a pep talk by their commanding officer, listened to a prayer by the chaplain and in some cases participated in a superficial collective counselling session by a psychologist (Baines, 2008a).

Medical health practitioners fully recognized the existence of psychosocial problems, such as Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome (also known as *bossies*) amongst former national servicemen (Baines, 2008a), but in the rush to demobilise there was limited concern for the possibility that demobilised soldiers would suffer from the syndrome, or from less severe mental health problems.

1. Research problem

It can be argued that for former SADF soldiers the psychological impact of the war went beyond the trauma of the violent events they were involved in, but also included an element of having their belief in the justness of their cause challenged, and of being betrayed by those who had compelled them to take up arms. Gear (2002a) identifies betrayal as one of the major challenges that former SADF soldiers face in the "new" South Africa; Baines (2003) compared border war literature with Vietnam literature and found betrayal to be a universal war theme.

In order for SADF veterans of the border war to heal and reach closure, Baines (2008a) suggests that they should receive therapy; he refers to the healing of both the individual and the nation. Gear (2002a) discusses feelings of deception, of being let down and of anger targeted towards various people and groups of people by ex-combatants. Some of these targets are the former enemy, the present regime, the South African National Defence Force, the Church, apartheid politicians, their white fellow citizens and Africa in general. These men see themselves as being under attack literally and figuratively. According to the shattered assumptions theory this betrayal that the former SADF soldiers experience, may cause disillusionment, despair, posttraumatic stress, amnesia, avoidance, flashbacks, intrusive thoughts and nightmares (Janoff-Bullman, 1992). According to betrayal trauma theory (Freyd, 1999, 2001), traumas arise from two distinct dimensions of harm: life-threat (or fear) and social betrayal. Symptoms of the life threat dimension include anxiety, hyperarousal and intrusive memories. Symptoms characteristic of the social betrayal dimension include dissociation and numbness. These symptoms have an impact on more than just the mental health of individuals; Gear (2002b) identifies betrayal as one of the multiple factors that could possibly lead to social violence in the post-conflict environment.

This dissertation focuses on the betrayal that the former SADF soldiers experience. It tries to understand, and to provide a rich description of former SADF soldiers' lived experience by focusing on the psychology of betrayal. This chapter provides a broad overview of the psychology of betrayal. It also discusses the research problem, the necessity of this study, objective and aim of the study.

2. Significance of the study

In addition to the importance, from a social and mental health perspective, of studying the sense of betrayal among former SADF soldiers, it is also of significance from the perspective of psychological research and theory. There is a need for studying the nature and types of betrayal and the effects of the violation on human bonds and connections. An extensive literature review has revealed no in-depth qualitative psychological literature on betrayal focusing on former SADF soldiers.

Furthermore, it is hoped that this research will inform both therapists and the general public. The study could form a platform, from which further qualitative and quantitative research can be done on the psychology of betrayal in the organisational and group context.

3. Purpose, research questions and objectives

How do former SADF soldiers experience betrayal? What impact does betrayal have on their everyday lives?

The aim of this research is to try to understand and to provide a rich description of former SADF soldiers' lived experience by focusing on the psychology of betrayal. It aims to understand and describe the experience of betrayal as it is lived. What follows is a brief summary of the aims and objectives:

- The aim of this research is to try to understand and to provide a rich description of former SADF soldiers' lived experience by focusing on the psychology of betrayal.

- The objective of this study is to explore and describe former SADF soldiers' lived experience of betrayal.

Research has been done on the effects of betrayal, but there is a gap in literature on the nature of betrayal. There is a need to place former SADF soldiers' experience of betrayal at the centre of the study to discover the meaning of betrayal. The aim is then to abstract superordinate themes from the presented reflections of the former SADF soldiers while they experience betrayal.

4. Research approach

A qualitative research methodology was followed, in order for the research objectives/aims to be achieved. An interpretive phenomenological approach was used for the purpose of getting a better understanding of the psychological and social phenomena. This approach is suited for the study in regards with the specific aims. The approach and methodology is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

5. Overview of the study

The remainder of the dissertation will be developed in the following way:

A literature review discussing betrayal is provided in Chapter 2. The chapter discusses the definition of betrayal, relevant psychological theories, the process of betrayal, relationship contexts and types of betrayal, effects of betrayal, psychopathology, culture and society, gender,

research recommendations in existing literature, border war literature and finally the need for studying former SADF soldiers' experience of betrayal.

Chapter 3 discusses phenomenology and how it will serve as the theoretical basis guiding the study. The research methodology is discussed in detail. This chapter outlines the population, sample, data collection, data analysis, ethics and the limitations of the study.

The findings of the study are reported in Chapter 4. A summary of the interviews and the participants are provided in the chapter, to support the individual experiences of former SADF soldiers as well as the themes and sub-themes identified in the analysis process.

Chapter 5 provides a discussion of the findings and how it is related to the literature review. A reflection on the research process and identified themes are also discussed; it provides recommendations for future research and clinical psychologists. A final conclusion is provided along with the summary of the chapter.

CHAPTER 2: Literature review

> Much has been said about the effects of trauma, especially about fear, anxiety, and terror induced by overwhelming events. Less has been said about the effects of the violation of human bonds and the effects of loss of important human connections. (Birrell & Freyd, 2006, p. 49)

Rachman (2010) emphasises the need for studying the nature and types of betrayal through conducting quantitative and qualitative research which can make a contribution to the understanding of betrayal.

There is a need to examine former SADF soldiers' experience of betrayal seeing that limited studies in this field have been conducted. Understanding the role of betrayal in relation to SADF soldiers' experience can serve two functions. First, it could enhance our understanding of the psychology of a particular historical context, namely the transition from apartheid to post-apartheid South Africa. Second, it could enhance our understanding of betrayal in general, as a particular kind of psychological experience. Gear (2002a) identifies betrayal as one of the major challenges that former SADF soldiers face in the "new" South Africa. It has a major psychological effect on the person experiencing betrayal; in this case former SADF soldiers may experience psychological effects such as disillusionment, despair, posttraumatic stress, amnesia, avoidance, flashbacks, intrusive thoughts and nightmares (Janoff-Bulman, 1992). Gear (2002b) identifies betrayal as one of the multiple factors that could possibly influence violence in the post-conflict environment.

The focus of this chapter is to provide an overview of the relevant literature and to put forward an argument for the importance of studying former SADF soldiers' experience of betrayal using a phenomenological approach. This chapter firstly seeks to define betrayal, and then examines psychological theories of betrayal. It continues by looking at the process of betrayal, relationships contexts and betrayal types. The effects of betrayal, psychopathology, culture and gender are also discussed. The chapter then turns to existing Border War literature and an argument for why former SADF soldiers' experience of betrayal should be studied.

1. Defining betrayal, trust and power

Koehler and Gershoff (2003) point out that not all researchers agree on a simple definition of betrayal. For the purposes of this study, betrayal will be defined as "a violation of pivotal expectations or assumptions of an individual that puts his or her trust in another" (Elangovan & Shapiro, 1998, p. 548).

> Betrayal is a sense of being harmed by the intentional actions, or omissions, of a person who was assumed to be a trusted and loyal friend, relative, partner, colleague or companion. Many betrayals are unexpected events that come as a surprising shock; not infrequently, the betrayal is disbelieved at first. (Rachman, 2010, p. 304)

Elangovan and Shapiro (1998) identify five key characteristics of betrayal. The betrayer acts voluntarily; the fundamental expectations of the trustor is violated; both parties must be aware of

the expectations as vital to the relationship or contract, but don't need to accept these expectations; betrayal is not only the thought of betraying, but also involves an actual behaviour (violation); and betrayal has the potential to harm the well-being of the trusting party.

Many of the sources mention trust as an integral part of betrayal (Fitness, 2001; Koehler and Gershoff, 2003; Rachman, 2010). It is believed that betrayal cannot be understood without taking *trust* and *power* into consideration. The next section discusses both *trust* and *power* as an integral part of betrayal.

1.1. Trust

Rousseau *et al*. (1998, p. 395) define trust as the following: ''a psychological state compromising the intention to accept vulnerability based on positive expectations of the intentions or behaviour of another''.

Betrayal requires a breach of an agreement or trust. Trust has to be viewed in the context of the psychological agreement as previously discussed. "Trust is integral to betrayal because of its intimate connection with relational expectations" (Fitness, 2001, p. 3). Lewis and Weigert (1985) argue that trust develops from a model of rational thinking, together with an examination of one's feelings, instincts and intuition. Both the cognitive and emotional dimensions are included in this model of trust.

1.2. Power

"Trust and the violation of trust are aspects of interpersonal power and abuse of interpersonal power. A focus on betrayal is thus implicitly a focus on power" (Freyd, 1997, p. 28). Fitness (2001) identifies the *disruption of power* as a theme in a study of betrayal, revenge, rejection and forgiveness. An individual who has been betrayed may feel *powerless*.

We find that power and the relationship between two parties play a significant role in the process of betrayal. Betrayal shifts the power from a previously established status quo and the relationship between the parties changes. When the betrayed party responds to the betrayal another shift of power takes place. This process is discussed in more detail in the sections below.

The following section discusses the psychological theories of betrayal.

2. Psychological theories of betrayal

Existing literature on psychological theories of betrayal, focus mainly on betrayal in the context of inter-personal relationships. A gap in organisational and social psychology on the topic of betrayal, specifically focusing on former SADF soldiers, has been identified. Some literature was found discussing betrayal in a group context; this literature mainly focuses on the work environment and the impact it has on different parties.

There appears to be two main psychological theories of betrayal: Janoff-Bulman's Shattered Assumptions Theory (1992) and Freyd's Betrayal Trauma Theory (1994, 1996). Both theories focus on cognitive psychology and memory, but have different approaches to betrayal. The

Shattered Assumptions Theory (SAT) and *Betrayal Trauma Theory* (BTT) are critical for understanding betrayal. What will follow is a discussion of both theories. The effects of betrayal are mentioned in this section but will be discussed in more depth in a separate section later in the chapter.

2.1. Shattered assumptions theory

Janoff-Bulman's (1992) Shattered Assumptions Theory (SAT) holds that there are three fundamental assumptions all human beings make. These are: (1) the world is benevolent, (2) the world is meaningful and (3) the self is worthy. According to the first assumption, people are seen as kind and the world is seen as a safe environment. The second assumption entails believing that everything happens for a reason; good people do not get punished, but bad people do. Finally, the individual believes that he/she is a worthy, good, capable and moral person. The origins of these assumptions lie in the individual's childhood experience (Janoff-Bulman, 1992).

These fundamental assumptions support another core belief, namely the belief that one is invulnerable (Janoff-Bulman, 1992).

Humans are resistant to change and display cognitive conservatism. The fundamental assumptions discussed above remain constant or change gradually over a lifetime. Humans tend not to change the pre-existing schema, but would rather process new information to fit with the existing schema. Early beliefs influence later beliefs. A traumatic experience, such as betrayal, causes sudden and powerful threats for the assumptive beliefs. This can cause the assumptions to

be shattered and in turn causes disillusionment, despair and possibly posttraumatic stress (Janoff-Bulman, 1992).

Core coping tasks involve the rebuilding of this trust through the reconstruction of the assumptive beliefs. If this is not done, it causes denial, amnesia, avoidance, flashbacks, intrusive thoughts and nightmares. This forces the individual to process the trauma and to construct a new assumptive world (Janoff-Bulman, 1992).

Individuals have certain expectations, or assumptions, in relation to the other party involved. According to Berscheid (1983), when a relationship partner acts in such a way that the other's expectations is violated, the scene is set for an emotional interaction between the partners; the partner whose expectations have been violated must decide what it means in relation to his or her desires and objectives (Fitness & Strongman, 1991; Lazarus, 1992). The key to betrayal is identified by Elangovan and Shapiro (1998) as the understanding of the relationship, the individual's theories, viewpoint, and expectations and assumptions about how the relationship should work; in how the partner will share and respect these beliefs and meet those expectations, building or breaking trust. Betrayal sends a threatening sign about how little the betrayer cares about, or values his or her relationship with, the betrayed partner (Fitness, 2001). Psychological social contracts play a vital role in the understanding of betrayal, and will be discussed in more depth later in the chapter.

2.2. Betrayal trauma theory

Betrayal Trauma Theory (BTT) stems from evolutionary, cognitive and developmental psychology (Freyd 1996; 2001; Freyd, DePrince, & Gleaves, 2007). Betrayal Trauma Theory argues that remaining blind to betrayal serves a social function and that betrayal trauma can be very toxic (Brown & Freyd, 2008).

According to BTT (Freyd, 1999, 2001), traumas arise from two distinct dimensions of harm: life-threat (or fear) and social betrayal. Symptoms of the life threat dimension include anxiety, hyperarousal and intrusive memories. Symptoms such as dissociation and numbness are that of the social betrayal dimension. Trauma that arises from both dimensions produces symptoms of both classes. High levels of both life-threat and social betrayal characterize many of the most severe traumas; with both dimensions present we expect both classes of symptoms (Birrell & Freyd, 2006). Interpersonal power, interpersonal trust and betrayal are fundamental components of betrayal trauma theory (Freyd, 1994, 1996).

Dissociative Memory and Betrayal Blindness

Betrayal trauma theory predicts that the victim will use various cognitive mechanisms to stay unaware of the betrayal (Freyd, 1994, 1996). Dissociation during trauma or repression is understood to be a psychological defence against psychological pain (Freyd, 1997). Described here, is the dissociative memory of BTT.

Betrayal blindness is the unawareness, not knowing, and forgetting exhibited by individuals towards betrayal (Freyd, 1996, 1999). This happens in order to preserve relationships,

institutions, and social systems upon which they depend (Freyd, 1997). The information may be partially blocked, but more often we find a more profound disruption in awareness and autobiographical information; this prolonged blockage of information leads to difficulty in assessing trustworthiness of people in the future (Freyd & DePrince, 2001b). The similarities and differences between Shattered Assumptions Theory and Betrayal Trauma theory are summarised in Table 1.

Table 1. Comparison of Shattered Assumptions Theory and Betrayal Trauma Theory

Shattered Assumption Theory	Betrayal Trauma Theory
Focuses on cognitive psychology and memory.	Focuses on cognitive, developmental and evolutionary psychology and memory.
Based on three assumption: The world is benevolent The world is meaningful The self is worthy	Based on two dimensions of harm: Life-threat or fear Social Betrayal
People tend not to change pre-existing schema, but would rather process new information to fit with the existing schema.	
A traumatic experience, such as betrayal, causes threats for the assumptions and existing schema.	The individual will use cognitive mechanisms to stay unaware of the betrayal. This, in turn, causes betrayal blindness
If the individual does not reconstruct new beliefs, it causes denial, amnesia, avoidance, flashbacks and intrusive thoughts.	Symptoms are anxiety, hyperarousal and intrusive memories, which all fall under the life threat dimension. Dissociation and numbness are that of the social betrayal dimension.
This forces the individual to construct a new assumptive world.	

In addition to considering the psychological mechanisms of betrayal, it is also important to examine the *process* through which acts of betrayal unfold. The following section provides an overview of this process.

3. Process of betrayal

> The process and outcomes of interpersonal betrayal may be regarded as a form of interpersonal script in that people hold socially shared beliefs about the kinds of behaviors that constitute acts of betrayal and expectations about the ongoing thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of both parties to the betrayal. (Fitness, 2001, p. 6)

Detecting, reacting and accounting for betrayal are the main stages within the process of betrayal (Fitness, 2001). For the purposes of this research, we will focus on detecting and reacting to betrayal. The accounting stage focuses specifically on the betrayer and not on the betrayed. The different stages of the betrayal process are discussed below. The structure of the discussion is partially based on Fitness's (2001) structure and discussion.

3.1. Discovering betrayal

Humans have an exquisite sensitivity for detecting cheating and betrayal, and this has played a crucial role in survival and reproductive fitness. This gives human beings the capability to choose with whom they engage in social agreements and who to avoid (Freyd, 1997).

Discovering a betrayal may come suddenly and unexpectedly and constitute a deeply distressing shock (Fitness, 2001). In discovering betrayal, Freyd's BTT (1994) may be very useful in trying to understand how an individual detects betrayal and how such a person's memory of the betrayal functions.

According to Morrison and Robinson (1997), the initial discovery and experience of betrayal go beyond mere cognitive awareness that a violation has occurred; rather, the feeling of violation is registered at a deep visceral level.

> It is interesting to speculate whether humans may affectively register betrayal before very much conscious cognitive work is undertaken at all, particularly when the revelation constitutes a severe interruption to the betrayed party's expectations of their partner. Under such circumstances people may register pain through an emotional calculus, rather than a so-called rational, cognitive one. At some point, however, the powerful emotional impact of betrayal will motivate a considerable amount of conscious, cognitive effort to figure out its causes and implications, both for the betrayed partner and for the relationship. And, depending on how the betrayed partner interprets the situation, a variety of negative emotions other than hurt may then be experienced. (Fitness, 2001, p. 8)

Shackelford and Buss (1996) suggest that people are attuned to detect different types of betrayal in different types of relationships. Different types of relationships involve different kinds of rules and expectations (Fitness, 2001). The different types of relationships include spouses, friends and coalitions. People tend to think of betrayal in the context of romantic relationships; spouses and romantic partners are the most frequently cited sources of betrayal (e.g., Jones & Burdette, 1994; Fitness, 2001).

3.2.   Reacting to betrayal

"The next important step in the interactional sequence, then, is for the betrayed to respond to the act of betrayal and to the shift of power it implies" (Fitness, 2001, p. 7). At this stage of the betrayal process, SAT (Janoff-Bulman, 1992) is of use when trying to understand betrayal. As discussed above, shattered assumptions theory tries to explain how a betrayed individual processes the betrayal cognitively.

The emotional impact of betrayal motivates a conscious effort to figure out its causes and consequences for the betrayed individual and for the relationship.

> The emotional reactions of the betrayed party, then, are cues to how he or she has interpreted the betrayer's behavior, and what the consequences might be. The next move is for the betrayer to react to those cues with his or her own interpretations, emotions and behaviors. (Fitness, 2001, p. 9)

The betrayed may experience a variety of negative emotions. Different emotions motivate different kinds of behaviour from the betrayed individual. This behaviour, in turn, plays a major role in how the betrayal process progresses. Typically, anger tends to motivate confrontation and engagement with the betrayer; and hate tends to motivate avoidance and emotional withdrawal (Fitness & Fletcher, 1993). Some try to disentangle themselves from the betrayer (Buunk, 1982), others punish the betrayer, and some individuals do not respond at all (Koehler & Gershoff, 2003).

3.3. Accounting for betrayal (by the betrayer)

The next stage in the betrayal process is for the betrayer to provide explanations of his/her behaviour (Cody et al., 1992). Relational goals have to be taken into consideration when betrayers give account of their actions. Accounts given by the betrayer naturally have an impact on how the offended will react. Accounts of betrayal fall into four broad types, each one serving to accomplish different kinds of relational goals (e.g., Cody *et al*., 1992). The different types of accounts are discussed below.

Acknowledgement/Mitigating type. The first type of account involves acknowledging the offence; an expression of sincere remorse is shown and possibly an offer to compensate for the offence (Fitness, 2001). An example of this type of account could be seen in what is known as the 'Profumo affair'. John Profumo, a British politician, admitted to having an affair. He also expressed deep remorse to the prime minister, resigned and withdrew from politics. Afterwards Profumo worked as a volunteer at a charity organisation.

Excusing type. This type of account includes excuses why the offence was committed and various external factors are given as reasons (e.g., alcohol, stress, illness) why the offence was committed (Fitness, 2001). An example of such an excuse is Toronto's mayor Rob Ford who admitted that he had smoked crack cocaine in a "drunken stupor" (McVeigh, K, 2013).

Defensive type. "The third, even more defensive type of account involves justifications, whereby the offence is admitted, but the offender minimizes its wrongness or seriousness" (Fitness, 2001, p. 10). An example of this type is the two boys, arrested for the murder of a schoolgirl, response to the offence. They stated that they were 'only playing'.

Denial. The fourth type of account involves denial. This type of account denies that the offender committed an offence and refuses to take responsibility (Fitness, 2001).

Conclusions of types of accounts

Accounts involving justifications and refusals, are judged more harshly by the offended than mitigating accounts of betrayal (Gonzales, Haugen, & Manning, 1994). As mentioned, if the betrayer apologizes and shows a sincere expression of remorse, it serves as a more constructive account of betrayal (Fitness, 2001).

After the account is given by the betrayer, the emotional balance is shifted and the betrayed party gets the opportunity to forgive the betrayer. On the other hand, the betrayed party may decide not to forgive and to terminate the relationship and possibly decide to take revenge. "Or the partner

may decide that long-term, forgiveness is not impossible, but that the betrayer has a great deal more suffering to do before the debt is paid" (Fitness, 2001, p. 85).

3.4. Forgiveness

It is not betrayal per se that makes an offence unforgivable. The frequency and perceived severity of the specific offence also have an impact on the betrayed person's decision to forgive or not to forgive. When offences are repeated, it is regarded as a sign that the betrayer does not truly regret his or her behaviour. The perceived humiliation and emotions of shame and hatred also have an impact on the betrayed person's decision to forgive or not to forgive; the emotions motivate different kinds of behaviour, and therefore emotions have an impact on whether the person decides to forgive or to not forgive (Fitness, 2001).

The type of account given by the betrayer has an impact on the betrayed party's decision to possibly forgive the offence.

> Until recently, the study of forgiveness was the almost exclusive preserve of philosophers, theologians, and clinicians; consequently, there is very little material in the social psychological literature on laypeople's theories of how forgiveness works, or what is forgivable or unforgivable in close relationships. (Fitness, 2001, p. 87)

Verbal apologies may indicate that the betrayer is sorry for his or her actions, but this is not necessarily the best indicator. The betrayer must work hard to regain the trust to repair the

damage done to the relationship. "They can expect to be periodically reminded about the offence" (Fitness, 2001, p. 92).

3.5. Unforgiving

Where the betrayed party perceives that the offence indicates that the relationship is not important to the betrayer, it might be very difficult for the betrayer to convince the other party that he/she is truly sorry (Fitness, 2001). Fitness (2001) argues that feelings of humiliation, shame, powerlessness, hatred, and revenge tend to lead to the betrayed party not forgiving the offence. These feeling could possibly motivate attempts to escape from the situation, or to take revenge on the betrayer (Fitness, 2001).

Both the betrayed individual and the offender may experience feelings of shame. Shame is an agonizing, self-focused emotion that tends to motivate people to hide or escape from the situation or to retaliate against the person who caused or only witnessed the shame. Fitness (2001) argues that "if a betrayer's shame-induced withdrawal or defensive anger are misinterpreted by the betrayed party as signs of callous unrepentance then the delicate interactional negotiations involved in seeking and being granted forgiveness will run into problems" (pp. 88-89).

3.5.1. Punishment

According to Koehler and Gershoff (2003) "One reason broken promises are punished severely is that they undermine the fragile trust and order upon which our social world is built" (p. 257). The betrayed party may remind the betrayer of their offence to fine-tune the degree of mutual

suffering, to readjust the balance of power, and to encourage the offender not to engage in similar acts of betrayal again (Fitness, 2001).

3.5.2. Revenge

A fundamental human passion is to get even with the people that betrayed us. This passion to get even has ancient roots and is universal (Frijda, 1994).

Stuckless and Goranson (1992) define revenge as the infliction of harm in return for perceived wrong. Fitness (2001) claims that very little psychological research has been done on the topic of revenge. An important motivation to take revenge on the betrayer is to "even the score" between parties (Fitness, 2001). Revenge is a mechanism to "even the score" by making the betrayer feel guilty, causing the betrayer to suffer (Planalp & Hafen, 1998). As mentioned, betrayal causes humiliation and has an effect on a person's self-esteem and social status; therefore, revenge may be seen as a way of repairing dignity and repossessing some control over the situation (Fitness, 2001). Revenge is influential and deeply human, but can also cause problems when it encourages further revenge by the other party and may lead to a "tit-for-tat" cycle of revenge (Fitness, 2001).

Rusbult, Morrow, and Johnson (1987) state that high self-esteem can also been associated with damaging responses to relationship conflict; this could be due to the fact that people with high self-esteem believe they are supposed to be valued and not to be treated badly. However, it can also be argued that people with low self-esteem are more likely to feel that their fragile dignity has been threatened by an act of betrayal, and to lash out in response.

Individuals' attachment styles also play a role in the response to betrayal. Attachment styles have an influence on people's expectations and insecurely attached individuals hold sceptical beliefs about the trustworthiness and reliability of the relational person/group (Shaver, Collins, & Clark, 1996). Therefore, insecurely attached people may always be on the lookout for betrayal cues.

4. Relationship context and betrayal type

Elangoven and Shapiro (1998) discuss the different types of betrayal. If the betrayal is not intentional, it is called *accidental betrayal*. The betrayer has no intention of violating the expectations of the trustor and may even be keen on supporting the expectations. In contrast to accidental betrayal, we find *intentional betrayal* where the trustee intentionally violates the expectations. Intentional betrayal can be subdivided into a further two categories called *premeditated betrayal* and *opportunistic betrayal*. *Intentional betrayal* refers to the intent to betray even before the betrayal takes place or even before the initiation of the relationship. "A highly political and conflict-ridden organizational environment is a prime breeding ground for premeditated betrayal" (Elangoven & Shapiro, 1998, p. 551). If there was no intent to betray initially, but it arises in response to a specific situation, it is categorized as *opportunistic betrayal*. In addition to these three broad types of betrayal, it is also possible to categorise betrayal into five categories based on the type of action involved.

> The most common types of betrayal fall into five categories: harmful disclosures of confidential information, disloyalty, infidelity, dishonesty, failures to offer expected assistance during significant times of need. In many cases there are elements of more than one type of betrayal. The seriousness of

the betrayal appears to be determined by an interaction between the significance and depth of the trusting bond, and the magnitude of the harm caused. (Rachman, 2010, p. 305)

To get a better understanding of betrayal, the types of relationship and context have to be taken into consideration. The literature on betrayal tends to focus on two contexts: interpersonal relationships such as friendships and romantic attachments, and the workplace context.

Shackelford and Buss (1996) argue that the experience of various components of betrayal might be context dependant. Therefore the relational context has to be taken into consideration when studying the psychology of betrayal. The following section provides a brief overview of the relationship types and contexts found in existing literature on betrayal.

4.1. Communal and exchange relationship

Clark and Waddell (1985) distinguish between communal relationships and exchange relationships. Communal relationships refer to the type of relationship where both parties will care about each other's welfare, and not expect any reward immediately. In an exchange relationship, the parties are not responsible for each other's welfare, and the benefits from both partners should be promptly shared. Feelings of betrayal might be experienced when one party in a perceived communal relationship suddenly demands benefits associated with an exchange relationship (Shackelford & Buss, 1996).

4.2. Market pricing relationship and authority ranking relationship

Fiske (1992) added two additional types of relationship, called market pricing relationships and authority ranking relationships. A market pricing relationship is the type of relationship where people are seen as material resources, where they have a market value (e.g., employer/employee relationship). Authority ranking relationships are relationships where people are ordered according to status differences (e.g., the military). Each type of relationship implies different expectations and rules (Fiske, 1992), and therefore also different forms of betrayal.

4.3. Interpersonal betrayal

Boon (1994, p. 88) define interpersonal trust as "the confident expectation that a partner is intrinsically motivated to take one's own best interests into account when acting - even when incentives might tempt him or her to do otherwise". Betrayal occurs in established relationships where both parties trust each other when one party acts in such a way that he or she benefits from the act at the expense of the other party's interests.

Most of the psychological literature found focuses on betrayal within the interpersonal relationship context. This literature mainly discusses betrayal between life-partners, and betrayal by caregivers and family-members. Examples of this kind of betrayal include infidelity, sexual abuse, some forms of emotional abuse, sadistic abuse by caregivers, and so on.

Fitness (2001) states that betrayal occurs in an established relationship, where both parties trust one another, and that betrayal is devastating because it disrupts an on-going relationship, which partners have invested in emotional resources.

Both the shattered assumptions theory and BTT are primarily discussed within the interpersonal

betrayal context in existing literature. This does not, however, mean that the theories are not

relevant to other contexts, but that care should be taken in applying them to such contexts.

4.4. Organisational/Group betrayal

> Change stimulates complex cross-currents between institutional requirements
> and the psycho-social arrangements that have formed around existing
> configurations. In navigating these complex forces leaders are sometimes
> confronted with the need to betray, even if in the service of higher purposes.
> (Krantz, 2006, p. 221)

The dynamic impacts of decisions that breach psychological social contracts are the least

understood/recognized dimension of significant change; the betrayal disrupts the status quo and

emotional equilibrium that existed initially (Krantz, 2006, p. 223). Both leaders and followers are

embedded in the institutional contexts, where they communally permit each other to function in

their roles (Krantz, 2006).

Klein (1940, 1946) distinguishes between two different coping strategies to deal with betrayal. In

the *paranoid schizoid mode*, people rely on primitive defences of splitting and denial to

externalize disturbing feelings to cope with anxieties and fears. This defence causes inflexible

patterns of thought and distorted perceptions (Krantz, 2006). In the *depressive mode*, people have

the ability to integrate experiences and assess reality from multiple perspectives (Krantz, 2006).

In an organisational context, managers acting out of the paranoid schizoid mode tend to

persecute others around them, whereas the managers who act out of the depressive mode tend to

do so to a lesser extent.

Morrison and Robinson (1997) argue that psychological contracts play a vital role in betrayal.

These psychological contracts include the beliefs that individuals hold about obligations between

themselves and the other party, the procedural and interactional fairness and the right to be

treated with respect. When an individual is deceived or unfairly treated, it will be perceived as a

violation of the psychological contract. This, in turn, elicits outrage and a sense of betrayal.

The psychological contracts have to be constantly renegotiated in an environment of constant

change, uncertainty, blurred boundaries and weakened links between leaders and followers. This

loss of security causes psychological withdrawal and reduces emotional investments in

institutions (Krantz, 2006).

> One source of trust that precedes betrayal resides in the unconscious substrata
>
> of organizational life. It concerns the faith, belief and dependence that shape
>
> the texture of group life and organizational dynamics. Through involvement in
>
> group and organizational life unconscious role relations, tacit internalized
>
> expectations and covert agreements about behavior evolve. (Krantz, 2006, p.
>
> 230)

An experience of betrayal heightens mistrust and blame. In many cases, the betrayer and betrayed still have to work together, even after the actual betrayal took place; both parties are bound by a shared purpose. Working well together depends on maintaining an emotional contract, but betrayal has a significant impact on these contracts (Krantz, 2006).

> The depressive position enables leaders to be effective only at the emotional cost of experiencing the impact of their betrayal for people on whom they have depended, perhaps trusted or even loved. Fending off the distress from causing injury, or avoiding the experience of mourning the destructive consequences of one's actions, leads to anxious flight or, worse, reversion into paranoid-schizoid modes of thought and action. (Krantz, 2006, p. 228)

4.5. Public trust and government betrayal

In addition to the two contexts discussed above that are primarily focussed on by psychological literature on betrayal (namely interpersonal relationships and the workplace), there is also substantial (not strictly psychological) literature on a third context – that of citizenship and politics. Political trust exists when citizens asses the government as being trustworthy. Citizens continually appraise the government's institutions, policy making, promise-keeping, fairness, efficiency and honesty (Blind, 2006) and, based on this appraisal, invest a certain degree of trust in the government.

Citizens place some trust in their governments, as is evident from their continued participation in the processes that put those governments into place. If the trust is betrayed, the betrayed can

suffer from what may be termed "betrayal trauma". The symptoms of psychological betrayal trauma are similar to those of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). This trauma can cause dissociation and amnesia, as stated in the section on Betrayal Trauma Theory (BTT). PTSD is mainly caused by fear, whereas betrayal trauma is primarily a response to anger. Wrongful arrest/conviction, discrimination or other serious mistreatment by the government are all causes of pure political betrayal trauma. Public trust is only rebuilt gradually after political betrayals (Phelan, 2005). The effects of betrayal trauma are discussed in more detail in the sections below.

> These webs of betrayal which emerge when the conflict is over are much more complex than the perpetrator/victim standard template of transitional justice. Achieving reconciliation can be even more difficult, as however hard it is to forgive an enemy, it is harder to forgive a betrayal: an enemy met on equal terms can be forgiven for the killing of a loved one or a comrade. One of your own side, whose betrayal led to such a death, cannot be so easily forgotten. (Cherry 2000, p. 140)

Betrayal may even occur in terms of the justice system's treatment of trauma or the media's portrayal of the events (DePrince & Freyd, 2002). Many Vietnam veterans were treated with hostility by the public and media when they returned home.

5. Effects of betrayal

> The effects of a betrayal tend to be widespread and lasting. Depending on the nature of the betrayal there is an overlap between the negative effects. The

effects of a betrayal tend to be long-lasting, even permanent, and are well-

remembered. (Rachman, 2010, pp. 304-306)

This section discusses the effects of betrayal in more detail. The section consists of two

divisions, *psychological* and *physiologica*l effects, followed by a section discussing the

psychopathological effects of betrayal.

5.1. Psychological effects

Betrayal is an intense form of interpersonal rejection. It may have a serious impact on the healthy

functioning of the betrayed (Fitness, 2001). In fact, Dudai and Cohen (2007) claim that "the

feeling of betrayal is one of the strongest in personal and political lives in general" (p. 38).

Symptoms of betrayal are very similar to PTSD and include: distress, emotional numbing,

avoidance of reminders, intrusive images, rumination, anger, disbelief, foreshortened future, a

morbid pre-occupation with the breach of trust, and self-doubt (Rachman, 2010). Martin *et al*.

(2013) found that greater betrayal trauma exposure was related to more symptoms of depression,

dissociation and PTSD. Goldsmith *et al*. (2013) also found that "betrayal trauma indirectly

impacted symptoms of intrusion, avoidance, depression and anxiety" (p. 376).

Pain and hurt. Some of the first and most acute feelings are pain and hurt when one is betrayed

(Leary, Springer, Negel, Ansell, & Evans, 1998; Vangelisti & Sprague, 1998).

Anger and hatred. Feelings of hatred are also linked to an experience of betrayal, and this may cause the betrayed to act in a revengeful and destructive way (Fitness, 2001).

Humiliation. Humiliation and/or the perception that one has been treated disrespectfully intensify the experience of betrayal. Humiliation includes feelings that one has been treated disgracefully (Rachman , 2010). From an evolutionary viewpoint, one has to be accepted and respected by others; it is crucial that one's reputation is protected and this in turn has critical effects on survival (Fitness, 2001).

Distress. DePrince (2001) states that survivors reporting traumatic events high in betrayal were particularly distressed.

> Even if the victim only learns of the act of betrayal belatedly, perhaps months or years later, it can produce considerable distress and have a profound effect on the person's life. Somewhat surprisingly, it turns out that one of the possible consequences of betrayal is the spread of mental contamination. (Rachman, 2010, p. 310)

Mental contamination is produced by perceived violations and the betrayer becomes a source of contamination; people suffering from mental contamination strongly avoid any contact with the contaminated betrayer and could even experience difficulty saying the person's name (Rachman, 2010).

Fear. Social betrayal (e.g., sexual abuse by a parent, acquaintance rape, or government mistreatment of citizens) generate symptoms of trauma, even intense fear (Brown and Freyd, 2008).

Breaking bonds and social relationships. "Betrayal traumas involve the depended-upon person or institution breaking an explicit or implied social agreement, such that a violation of trust occurs" (Freyd, Klest, & Allard, 2005, p. 84). Betrayal breaches existing bonds of trust and are normally irreversible; and is replaced with a barrier that also tends to be permanent (Rachman, 2010).

Betrayal is a violation of basic assumptions of interpersonal and social relationships (Freyd, 1996); and healing involves forming relationships and handling the trauma within the relationship (Miller & Stiver, 1997). Betrayal traumas are damaging to well-being, relationships, self-concept and beliefs about others and the world (Freyd, Klest, & Allard, 2005).

Memory. According to BTT, survivors of interpersonal trauma may remain unaware of betrayal. Being unaware maintains the necessary attachment (Kaehler & Freyd, 2009). "Those high on betrayal produce emotional numbing and amnesia for the event" (McNally, 2007, p. 281). Ehlers *et al*. (2005) state that trauma causes fragmentary amnesia.

Intrusive memories and amnesia are common symptoms of PTSD. Contrary to BTT, Rachman (2010, p. 307) states that betrayal differs from PTSD, seeing that betrayal victims do not

experience memory problems and uncontrolled re-experiencing and amnesia is not common under victims of betrayal.

Concentration. Betrayals are emotionally damaging, it impairs concentration, and individuals who have experienced betrayal are pre-occupied with this breach of trust and may find it difficult to switch to other topics during conversation. They are aware of the fact that it is irrational but many claim that it is uncontrollable (Rachman, 2010).

5.2. Physiological effects

Freyd, Klest and Allard (2005) studied betrayal trauma's relationship to physical health, psychological distress and a written disclosure intervention and found "strong associations between betrayal trauma exposure and negative physical and psychological status" (Freyd, Klest, & Allard, 2005, p. 98).

The following section will discuss the *biochemical effects* of betrayal found in various studies.

Biochemical effects. Nauert (2008, para. 1) claims that: "investigators have discovered the neurophysiological basis of human trust and the reaction to it being breached". While such claims are perhaps a little inflated, there is clear evidence that the hormone oxytocin promotes a feeling of trust. However, the neurophysiological basis of that effect and reasons why it increases trust are unknown. Oxytocin also has an influence on how human beings deal with breaches of trust. Oxytocin is responsible for the activation in structures of the brain that deal with fear and in adaption of behaviour following a betrayal experience (Nauert, 2008).

What follows is a discussion of existing literature about betrayal and its relationship with psychopathology.

6. Psychopathology

Borderline Personality Disorder (BPD). Betrayal is significantly associated with Borderline Personality Disorder characteristics. Both high-and medium–betrayal trauma are significant predictors for BPD. Interestingly, it was found that low betrayal traumas were not associated with BPD. "Betrayal may be a key, and yet heretofore unaddressed, feature of borderline personality disorder" (Kaehler & Freyd, 2009, p. 261).

Depression. Goldsmith (2004) conducted a longitudinal study of young adults and found that betrayal trauma correlated with highly with depression, anxiety and dissociation subscales that were used. Further regression analysis also showed that trauma with more betrayal significantly predicted depression.

Obsessive Compulsive Disorder (OCD). Betrayal can produce or worsen *Obsessive Compulsive Disorder* (OCD) like symptoms such as feelings of dirtiness/pollution and compulsive washing (Rachman, 2010).

Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). Medical health practitioners recognize the existence of psychosocial problems, such as PTSD (also known as bossies) amongst former national

servicemen (Baines, 2008a). Betrayals can also produce or worsen PTSD-like symptoms; these symptoms include emotional numbing, distress, avoidance of reminders, intrusive images, rumination, a pre-occupation with the breach of trust, self-doubt and anger (Rachman, 2010).

Diagnostic Criterion A of PTSD in the DSM-5 (American Psychiatric Association, 2013) requires that the person has been exposed to death, threatened death, actual or threatened serious injury, or actual or threatened sexual violence in which one of the following were present:

- Direct exposure

- Witnessing, in person

- Indirectly, by learning that a close relative or close friend was exposed to trauma. If the event involved actual or threatened death, it must have been violent or accidental

- Repeated or extreme indirect exposure to aversive details of the event(s), usually in the course of professional duties (e.g., first responders, collecting body parts; professionals repeatedly exposed to details of child abuse). This does not include indirect non-professional exposure through electronic media, television, movies, or pictures

A victim of betrayal did not necessarily experience a death threatening situation. But as mentioned, many psychological symptoms shown by victims of betrayal are the same as the symptoms of PTSD. Brown and Freyd (2008) propose that the DSM Criterion A has to be revisited, and that it should possibly incorporate betrayal traumas.

7. Culture, society and betrayal

With regard to the treatment of betrayal and trauma Birrel and Freyd (2006, p. 60) write "an ethic of compassion and mutuality requires that we look at the wider social, cultural and economic systems of oppression and violence". Sloan (2001) states that Western psychology has overlooked cultural conditioning and political philosophy. The culture and context is thus left unexamined (Birrell & Freyd, 2006). Relationships should be studied and examined in the context surrounding the problem; this is important for the mental health of the individual and possibly even a nation (Birrell & Freyd, 2006). Therefore, the context is very important when trying to understand betrayal at a societal level.

8. Gender

Gender is one of the primary factors that structure any society. In contemporary industrial society men appear to experience more non-betrayal traumas than women do, and women seem to experience more betrayal traumas than men (Freyd, 2009). As mentioned, betrayal has a significant impact on the betrayed; this includes both men and women. Freyd (2009) argues that these gender differences are caused by socialization factors – in many modern societies there is a tacit understanding that women should be passive and faithful in relationships, whereas men are prone to occasional transgressions.

9. Research recommendations in existing literature

There is a great need for clinical research, quantitative and qualitative, into the nature and types of betrayal. A start has been made but the process is inevitably

lengthy and slow. The range of betrayals and their effects need to be elaborated. The full range and nature of these 'nonphysical' trauma is worthy of investigation. (Rachman, 2010, pp. 310-311)

Rachman (2010) further suggests that betrayals that affect many people or communities require separate analysis and states that there is no literature on the psychological analysis of treason. He states that the serious effects of betrayal should be recognized, for it is the first step towards helping the victims of betrayal. The existing literature mainly discusses the theories and psychological impact of betrayal; the nature of the relationship between interpersonal betrayal and rejection has not been explicitly addressed in the social psychological literature (Fitness, 2001).

From 1937 up until 2010, the subject of betrayal has only been published on once in the *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*; in this 74 year period the *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* did not publish any papers on betrayal (Rachman, 2010).

Freyd and DePrince (2001a, p. 308) suggest that "trauma research can provide a framework for questioning and understanding widespread oppression in society". The ability to intervene and prevent trauma and violence increases as our knowledge about trauma increases.

According to Freyd (1997) BTT could also be useful in studying cases of oppression by powerful others, when the betrayed feels dependent upon the powerful other and betrayal occurs, the theory predicts some degree of information loss about the betrayal event. Ben-Yehuda (2001)

states that by studying loyalty and betrayal, we bring forward issues of social boundaries, moral boundaries and power.

The recommendations in existing literature have been discussed above; it is clear that there is a gap in the existing knowledge about betrayal. This phenomenological study is intended to provide a better understanding of how betrayal is experienced by former SADF soldiers.

10. Border war literature and betrayal

Birrell and Freyd (2006) are both American Psychologists, writing about the mental health of an American nation. As South Africans, we can also use this existing knowledge to further study the relationships between individuals and groups as well as the context seeing that this is important for the mental health of individuals and the South African nation.

The rapid, fundamental and often traumatic change that characterizes recent South African history provides an ideal context for the study of political betrayal and how it intersects with the psychological health of individuals and communities. There is a very extensive body of literature on apartheid and its aftermath, and on its psychological implications. Of particular interest for this study is a particular genre of literature known as "border war" literature. Border war literature (also known as *grensliteratuur*) consists of conventional military history about the war between the apartheid state and the guerrilla forces that opposed it, academic writing, fiction, memoirs of soldier-authors, as well as novels which provide first-hand accounts of military life known as cathartic literature (Baines, 2003). Each of these is discussed in more detail below.

10.1. Existing academic literature

Baines (2007, 2008a, 2008b) has published extensively on the psychological effects of the "border war" and the transition to democracy. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, Baines (2008a) describes a particularly emblematic incident where no debriefing took place before South African Defence Force (SADF) soldiers were sent home; they were merely given a pep talk by their commanding officer, a prayer and a superficial collective counselling session by a psychologist.

Gear (2002a) discusses feelings of deception, being let down and anger targeted towards various people and groups of people by former SADF soldiers. Some of these targets are the former enemy, the present regime and all people that represent it, the South African National Defence Force, the Church, apartheid politicians, their white fellow country people, and Africa in general. According to Gear, many white men who were members of the SADF, now see themselves as being under attack literally and figuratively (Gear, 2002a). The betrayal experience includes feelings of being discarded, neglected, forgotten and cast aside by those for whom they had fought (Gear, 2002b). Some of these men began to question the motives behind the war, and questions were raised as to why the supposedly noble cause they fought for was simply abandoned (Gear, 2000b). Many former SADF soldiers tried to understand why they had been asked to sacrifice so much and some felt that their former leaders had betrayed them; most remained silent out of a sense of loyalty or fear of being held accountable for deeds committed in support of the previous regime (Baines, 2008b). Graham (2012) also discusses the stories of the former SADF soldiers from an historical point of view and found that the soldiers reconstruct their past experience within their present context in post-apartheid South Africa.

Most conscripts do not direct their anger towards the people who gave the orders. Gear (2000a) states that the former regimes created a sense of a "nation under siege"; this was cultivated mainly among some segments of the white male population. A small minority of former SADF conscripts believe that the former government destroyed their lives; these feelings of anger can, in part, be explained by the economic circumstances of the former SADF soldiers, but this does not adequately explain their sense of betrayal (Gear, 2000a). Nortje (2004) describes one act of defiance when SADF soldiers first heard that they were being demobilised:

> SADF General Georg Meiring's speech was interrupted for several minutes when one of the early members, Lieutenant Gert Kruger, marched onto the parade ground and told the assembled troops in Portuguese and in no uncertain terms that they had been misled and let down by the South-African Government. But a group of Kruger's colleagues removed him before the situation got out of hand. That night, however, feelings of bitterness and betrayal reached boiling point. (Nortje, 2004, p. 281)

A sense of betrayal experienced by former SADF soldiers is of course not unique to South Africa. Vietnam veterans experienced betrayal when they returned to a country that blamed them rather than celebrating their return, as had happened after previous wars (Gear, 2000b). As discussed earlier, Gear (2002b) identifies betrayal as one of the multiple factors of war-related trauma that could possibly influence violence in the post-conflict environment. Shay (2004)

states that if a soldier experienced betrayal his trust in his own perceptions and cognition probably does not recover when returning home from the war.

Despite the sense of abandonment and betrayal experienced by some former SADF soldiers, it cannot be said that no attempt was made to psychologically manage the transition to democracy in South Africa. One example of such an attempt is the South African *Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (TRC). The TRC was set up by the government to help deal with the conflict and violence that happened under apartheid and to bring closure for both victims and perpetrators. Of particular significance for former SANDF soldiers was the opportunity to gain amnesty in exchange for full disclosure of any misdeeds. The amnesty hearings started in 1996 and continued for several years, and provided an opportunity for many former soldiers and government officials to tell their stories to the public. The former apartheid authorities promised that they would defend the SADF soldiers' actions, but in many cases failed to do so and left the former SADF soldiers with a sense of betrayal; this trauma involved a betrayal of trust and an abuse of the relations of power, and left many veterans to embrace victimhood (Baines, 2008a). However, according to Baines (2008a), many have grown beyond embracing victimhood and have committed to contributing to the "new" South Africa.

The pattern of being betrayed in fact predates the transition to democracy. Baines (2007) claims that during the border war the SADF's motto that "troops were never forsaken behind enemy lines" was often not met in practice. The SADF soldiers' experiences of betrayal were worsened by the negotiated settlement and the outcome of the war. Not only did the former leaders expect soldiers to stay silent; but the soldiers themselves wished that they could forget (Baines, 2007).

Individual as well as collective amnesia played a vital role in the silencing of a segment of the nation (Baines; 2007; Baines, 2008a; Baines, 2008b). According to Baines the experience of trauma and conflict cannot simply be wished away; former soldiers' stories should be told, and therapy is needed in order for them to reach closure (Baines, 2007).

10.2. Former SADF soldiers using the internet as a platform

Lacking other means of expression, many former SADF soldiers have turned to the internet as means of airing their grievances. On the social networking website, Facebook, there are many comments by South African border-war veterans; these comments seem to support the notion found in the literature that some former SADF soldiers feel betrayed. The following are some of the comments that can be found on Facebook.com.

> "We fought and died for no cause whatsoever, because we were betrayed and delivered to the terrorists".

> "Watchin the british and yanks fightin in the middle east reminds me how futile our war was, and that young men and friends perished, for the old farts who played games with us!"

> "Thank you for keeping the terrs at bay until the politicians stuffed it up".

> "We are treated like criminals".

Other sources that can be found on the World Wide Web mainly focus on former SADF soldiers experiences in general and not on their feeling of betrayal per se. These sites nevertheless frequently highlight the pathos of having fought for a "lost cause" that was

propagated by those in power and then abandoned for reasons of expediency. Some examples of such websites include *War in Angola* (www.warinangola.com) and the following quote was found on 32 *Battalion Veterans Association* website called 32battalion.org in 2013.

> For those who betrayed us, or families and have dishonoured our fallen for political exploit, the day will come when we are all together again and you will stand alone before the Almighty to explain! (Evans, 2013)

10.3. Boetman's story

A particularly poignant example of the sense of betrayal experienced by those who fought for apartheid is that of Chris Louw (2009), an Afrikaans journalist who wrote the famous "Boetman is die bliksem in" (roughly translated as "this boy is pissed off") open letter addressed to Dr. Willem De Klerk, editor of *Beeld* newspaper brother of former president F.W. de Klerk. In the letter he lashed out against the previous South African leaders who led the younger men of South Africa into war against the *African National Congress* (ANC). Louw discussed the oppression of the patriarchal system which young white men of his generation were socialised into. The men of his generation relied on and trusted in the government and never asked any questions, only to be betrayed later on. Shortly after Louw wrote his open letter, a tragic event occurred:

> Journalist Chris Louw, who was found shot in the head with an AK-47 on Tuesday, committed suicide, North West police said. He told his wife to stay indoors, then went outside. There's a place he planted some flowers, it's a

special place to him we understand. And in that place is where he shot himself

with an AK-47 rifle. ("Chris Louw dead", 2009)

Ironically, this weapon was known to have been used by SWAPO (South West Africa

People's Organization) guerrillas during the South African border war, where Chris Louw

served as a South African soldier. The AK-47 is also an illegal firearm in South Africa.

11. The need for studying former SADF soldiers' experience of betrayal

At this point it is important to review the major findings of the literature on soldiers' betrayal.

From an examination of various forms of existing literature, it is clear that some former SADF

soldiers experience feelings of betrayal. Gear (2002b) identifies multiple factors that could

possibly influence violence in the post-conflict environment such as betrayal, anger, economic

needs, opportunity and skills.

Betrayal trauma has a significant psychological impact on the betrayed. Studies show that

betrayal can contribute to the onset of or worsening of borderline personality disorder,

depression, obsessive compulsive disorder and post-traumatic stress disorder.

This study aims to try to understand and to provide a rich description of former SADF soldiers'

lived experience by focusing on the psychology of betrayal. It seeks to identify important issues

and challenges faced by former SADF soldiers. It is anticipated that the study may make a

contribution to a better understanding of former SADF soldiers' experience of betrayal by using

a methodology not yet used in studying former SADF soldiers' experience of betrayal. There is a

need to examine former SADF soldiers' experiences, to identify what their reflections are about

betrayal using phenomenology which focuses on a human lived experience. The

phenomenological approach will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

In summary, the lived experiences of former SADF soldiers are important to all South African

therapists as well as the general public. Previous studies have identified betrayal as one of the

major challenges facing former SADF soldiers in post-apartheid South Africa. The current study

is important as it will offer insights into former SADF soldiers' experiences of betrayal that may

contribute to a new way of thinking about betrayal in the post-conflict contexts. A

phenomenological approach will be used to help illuminate this experience.

From the literature reviewed in this chapter, an argument was made that betrayal has significant

psychological impacts on the lives of the betrayed; as supported by both Shattered Assumptions

Theory and Betrayal Trauma Theory. Betrayal causes feelings of pain, hurt, anger, hatred,

humiliation, and fear; it also affects the levels of distress, memory and concentration. It is

important to note that most reviewed literature also mentioned that betrayal causes interpersonal

and social bonds to break. Various other literatures showed that betrayal could be associated with

borderline personality disorder, depression, obsessive compulsive disorder and post-traumatic

stress disorder.

Various forms of Border War literature were reviewed and it was found that academic writings

and non-academic writings show that come former SADF-soldiers experience betrayal. As

mentioned, betrayal is one of multiple factors that could possibly have an influence on violence in post-conflict environment such as South Africa (Gear, 2002b).

The contribution of this study is timely since limited research has been carried out that focuses only on the experience of former SADF soldiers in post-apartheid South Africa. As far as the researcher is aware, no study has used a phenomenological psychological research methodology to study former SADF soldiers' lived experience of betrayal. This study will contribute to the understanding of betrayal and will inform both therapists and the general public. There is a definite and urgent need for a study of this nature to be carried out. In the next chapter the research methodology will be discussed.

CHAPTER 3: Methodological framework

The main purpose of the study was to investigate former SADF soldiers' lived experience of betrayal. A qualitative framework was used to guide the investigation, specifically concentrating on phenomenological understandings. A brief rationale is provided of why a qualitative and phenomenological approach was used, followed by a discussion of the different versions of phenomenology. This is followed by a detailed description of the design and procedures used in this study. The chapter concludes with an explanation of the steps taken to ensure rigour and to attend to ethical considerations.

1. Why a qualitative approach was followed

The main objectives of the study were to explore and describe former SADF soldiers' lived experience of betrayal. This exploratory study was undertaken to better understand the given phenomenon. A cross-sectional qualitative research methodology was followed, in order to achieve the research objectives/aims. A cross-sectional study refers to a study based on observations representing a single point in time (Babbie, 2005).

Burns (2000) suggested that qualitative research reveals the meaning of the experience one tries to understand. Qualitative research explores issues and does not make use of hypotheses.

It differs from other paradigms, such as the positivist paradigm that uses standardised instruments that have been shown to be valid and reliable. The task of the researcher conducting research within the interpretive paradigm also differs from one that conducts research within the

constructionist paradigm, where the task involves deconstruction, textual analysis and focuses on power and possibly politics.

Qualitative research makes used of an inductive approach. By observing a set of particular instances, the inductive approach starts off with unclear speculations about the research question and then tries to make sense of the social phenomenon (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2006). Schwandt (1994) defines interpretive research as fundamentally concerned with meaning as it seeks to understand a social phenomenon within a specific context. This paradigm will be used to understand the social phenomenon of betrayal, rather than trying to explain it; it recognizes the relationship between the researcher and the phenomenon; it does not predefine the interrelationship between variables; and it does not test hypotheses.

> The ontology of the interpretive paradigm involves taking people's subjective experience seriously as the essence of what is real for them; the epistemology of the interpretive paradigm makes sense of people's experiences by interacting with them and listening carefully to what they tell us. (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2006, p. 274)

Phenomenology aims at exploring the subjective meanings that people attach to their experiences and defining the essential aspects of the phenomenon under investigation (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). The phenomenological approach's main focus is on understanding the essence of lived experience. An interpretive phenomenological paradigm will serve as the epistemological and

conceptual foundation for the research. This approach is suited for the study in that it fits with the study's specific aims.

2. Phenomenology as a research method

Phenomenology, in the modern sense, was originally intended to be a philosophy and was first developed by Husserl. The assumptions of this philosophy are important to consider when doing phenomenological research. Husserl also proposed a methodology for analysing phenomena, and many researchers have expanded on his ideas to create a more systematic method.

> Phenomenology's principal position is that the most basic human truths are accessible only through inner subjectivity and that the person is integral to the environment. (Flood, 2010, p. 7)

Phenomenology is a research approach that falls under the interpretive tradition as it tries to describe and interpret human experiences as they are lived (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). Husserl coined the term *Lebenswelt*, which refers to the world of experiences (Van Manen, 1997). This *Lebenswelt* is independent of knowledge and is the starting point of all knowledge (Valle, King & Halling, 1989). Lived experience is what is real for each individual.

Phenomenologists can be placed under various schools of thought due to the variety of approaches used. These schools all have one thing in common, namely the desire to uncover and understand the meanings of experienced phenomena. This is done by interpretation of the descriptions of the lived experience. Phenomenological research methodology deals with four

main common qualities, according to Merleau-Ponty (1962): reduction, essences, description and intentionality. These key qualities are discussed later in this chapter.

The different variations of phenomenological philosophy are discussed in the next section.

Phenomenological approaches

There are two main phenomenological approaches used in social research: Transcendental phenomenology (from here-on referred to as *descriptive phenomenology*), as expressed by Husserl, which is descriptive in nature; and Hermeneutic phenomenology (from here-on referred to as *interpretive phenomenology*), as conveyed by Heidegger, which is interpretive in nature (Cohen & Omery, 1994).

What follows is an appraisal of the philosophical foundations of both transcendental and hermeneutic phenomenology when choosing one as a research methodology. The discussion highlights the differences between the two approaches and argues that using a hermeneutic (interpretive) approach is better suited to answering the research questions in the current study.

2.1. Descriptive phenomenology

The concept of 'reduction' is central to the descriptive phenomenology approach, which implies that the researcher has to 'bracket' by withholding preconceptions and knowledge about the phenomenon (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2008). Following are the philosophical foundations of the descriptive phenomenological approach as identified by Spielberg (1982):

- *Ideal of rigorous science* refers to the belief that the phenomenological approach would critique the fundamental concepts and assumptions of objective scientists.

- *Philosophic radicalism* refers to phenomenology seeking the essences and meaningful structure of an experience.

- *Ethos of radical autonomy* refers to the belief that each individual is responsible for themself.

- *Respect for wonders* refers to the individual being aware of its own being and the being of other individuals.

Giorgi and Giorgi (2008) highlight the following four assumptions of the descriptive phenomenological approach:

- *Bracketing* refers to the researcher "setting aside" his or her own biases, preconceived ideas and knowledge about the phenomenon. Reflection is used as a method to minimise these biases, but does not guarantee a bias free attitude (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2008).

- *Not recognising the existence or reality of the object* refers to the researcher believing that the object is something that is presenting itself to him or her, but does not assert that the objects really exist in the way that it appears (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2008).

- *Imaginative Variation* is a reflective process that seeks to discover which characteristics or qualities of the phenomenon are essential and which are incidental (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2008). Participant feedback is given to identify essential themes and incidental themes.

- *Generalisation* refers to imaginative variation discovering the essence of a phenomenon which implies that there is one correct interpretation of experiences (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2008).

All research participants have shared commonalities of their experience of the phenomenon, and it can thus be generalised.

The foundations and assumptions of the descriptive phenomenological approach were discussed above in order to get a better understanding of the interpretive phenomenology that was used as a guiding philosophy for this study. An overview of what is meant by interpretive phenomenology, and how it was used as a research approach in this study, is given in the following section.

2.2. Interpretive phenomenology

Heidegger's interpretive phenomenological research approach mainly differs from descriptive phenomenology in that it seeks not only to describe a phenomenon, but also seeks to take the researcher's interpretation of the phenomenon into consideration. This implies that the research process is a hermeneutical process, whereby one continuously gains a deeper understanding.

Using an interpretive phenomenological approach, the researcher believes that one should go beyond merely describing the lived experience of a phenomenon by taking an ontological self-interpretation into consideration throughout the research process. Interpreting the phenomenon will "make us see what is otherwise concealed" and it is a process of "taking the hidden out of its hiding…and detecting it as the truth" (Cohen & Omery, 1994, p. 141).

According to the interpretive paradigm there is no objective knowledge and therefore knowledge is gained through shared meanings, consciousness and language (Klein and Myers, 1999).

Interpretive phenomenology goes beyond describing the essence of the experience or phenomenon, by analysing what the descriptions of the lived experience really mean; for example, to get an in-depth understanding of the meaning of former SADF-soldiers' experience of betrayal. This is an interpretive study that seeks to understand and to expand the knowledge base of former-SADF soldiers' lived experience of betrayal. The phenomenological research approach used for this study is discussed in more detail in the following section.

3. Research design

3.1. Units of analysis

The aim of this research is to try to understand and to provide a rich description of the lived experience of former SADF soldiers by focusing on the psychology of betrayal. The unit of analysis is former SADF soldiers that have served on the border during the South African border war for at least one year.

3.2. Target population

The border war took place between 1966 and 1989. The target population is former SADF soldiers that served in the SADF during this period.

3.3. Sampling

Sampling methods used in quantitative studies are not appropriate for the specific study. Following a qualitative approach, it recognizes the subjectivity, the *Lebenswelt* of human beings.

Each individual's experience will be recognised and discussed; therefore it is not necessary to make use of quantitative random sampling.

A purposive, snowball sampling method was used for the recruitment of former SADF-soldiers. Both purposive and snowball sampling are commonly used in qualitative research studies. These sampling methods are discussed in the following sections.

Five participants were selected for interviews. This study also made use of the principle of sampling to redundancy. Therefore, more participants would have been selected in the case where the original five participants have not provided sufficient information for an in-depth study.

Purposive sampling. Polkinghhorne (1989) states that there are two requirements when selecting participants; the participant must have had experience of the topic and the participant should also be able to articulate him or herself and provide a full description of the phenomenon under investigation.

Purposive sampling is a "type of nonprobability sampling in which the units to be observed are selected on the basis of the researcher's judgement about which ones will be most useful and representative" (Babbie, 2005, p. 520). This method requires the researcher to select participants who fit the inclusion criteria and who have undergone the experience of the phenomenon.

Between 10 and 15 participants is the usual number for a phenomenological study according to

Tesch (1984). Others, such as Andre (1985) used far fewer subjects. The Phenomenon should be

the key issue when selecting the number of participants. The nature of the phenomenon governs

how many participants should be selected for a research study. Five participants were selected,

who qualified as information rich cases by making use of a selection criterion for inclusion and

exclusion which is discussed below.

Snowball Sampling. Snowball sampling refers to "a nonprobability sampling method, whereby

each person interviewed may be asked to suggest additional people for interviewing" (Babbie,

2005, p. 522). This method is used to locate rare populations. A number of former SADF

soldiers have been contacted and they served as a starting point for the snowball method

discussed above.

Inclusion Criteria. Former soldiers that served in the SADF between 1966 and 1989 were

included as participants in the study. Both permanent force members and conscripts were

included in the study. Former soldiers who are fluent in English or Afrikaans were interviewed.

Participants were able to articulate their experiences of betrayal were selected.

Exclusion Criteria. Although the researcher's family members suggested a number of other

possible participants as part of the snowball sampling method, the family members were

excluded in the study. Family members were excluded because I might have found it difficult to

bracket any preconceived ideas about family members. I am fluent in both English and

Afrikaans, therefore former SADF soldiers that are not fluent in English or Afrikaans were not

interviewed. It is possible that important understanding of the phenomenon may be lost if the transcripts had to be translated.

3.4. Data collection

Contact was made with candidate participants by telephone. General information about the study and the rights of the participants were discussed. Each candidate was given the opportunity to accept or decline the interview. All candidates accepted the opportunity to be interviewed about their experiences. Arrangements concerning the interviews were made and will be discussed further in this section. Interview times were scheduled with the participants, ensuring that enough time had been set aside for a complete interview.

According to Glesne (1999), two factors should be taken into consideration when selecting an interview location. Both the location and the participants should be recognized. Most of the participants in the given study were middle aged men with full-time jobs and families to support. It was therefore decided that the interviews would take place at the participants' homes in a quiet room separated from the rest of their family members. The locations were selected to purposefully put the participant at ease and for them to feel safe in the environment. Privacy was also crucial seeing that some the interviews may have yielded sensitive information.

Before the interview started, it was explained to the participants that they could ask questions about the interview and interview questions at any stage before, during and after the interview. After each participant had signed an informed consent form, the interviews were conducted in settings of the participant's choice.

In-depth qualitative interviews served as the main method of data collection, as is usually the case in phenomenological studies. The interviews lasted anything from 45 minutes up to 90 minutes. The questions asked were open-ended, giving the participants the freedom to express themselves. Interviews in phenomenological research are usually unstructured, to ensure that no pre-conceived ideas about the phenomenon influence the data collection procedure. I have little experience in interviewing; therefore, semi-structured interviews were used to guide the progress of the interview and to ensure that sufficient information was yielded by each interview. The focus of each interview was on the experience of the former SADF soldiers, and was based on a set of topics rather than using standardised questions.

Phenomenological research interviews usually start with an open-ended question such as: "As a former SADF soldier, how do you experience betrayal?" A decision was made not to ask this question at the start of the interview, seeing that it might be too abstract for some of the participants to understand and answer sufficiently. Therefore the interview started by asking general questions about the history of the participant's life as a soldier. An example of such a question is: "Could you give me a brief history of your life as a SADF soldier?"

Funnelling was used as a method to explore the phenomenon of betrayal. The following types of questions were asked: "Why did the SADF go to war?" and "Why did you serve in the SADF?"

Probing questions were asked to elicit information about the impact betrayal had on the participants' every-day lives. The probing questions were of the following nature: "Can you

explain […] a bit more so that I can understand your statement better? I was unable to follow you when you said that […]". The participants were given as much time as needed to respond on the question. Clarifications regarding the question/s were given to the participant when needed. The questions asked were non-leading and no optional responses were provided. The question "as a former SADF soldier, how do you experience betrayal?" was asked later during the interviews.

The length of the interviews ranged from 45 minutes to 1 ½ hours. Interviews continued until data saturation was reached.

An audio-recorder was used to capture the speech in digital format. Each digitally audio-recorded interview was transcribed by me. The audio-recordings were transcribed again by a transcriptionist after I lost the original transcriptions due to a computer malfunction. The content was verified by myself to ensure accuracy. The following section presents the approach to data analysis used in this study.

3.5.   Research instrument

In qualitative research, the researcher is the measurement instrument. As discussed above, I conducted interviews with the research participants. These qualitative interviews, along with my interpretation, served as measuring instruments during the study. My subjectivity was taken into consideration throughout the study and certain measures were put in place to minimalize pre-conceived ideas about the phenomenon and the participants. The data analysis section will include a discussion of the measures that were put in place to ensure trustworthiness.

3.5.1. My story

I served as the primary research instrument in the study. My primary task was to understand the phenomena with empathy and to accept that it is not possible to be objective. Not only was I the primary instrument for collecting the data, but I was subjectively involved in the analysis of the data.

I was born on 22 September 1984 in South Africa under the apartheid regime. Throughout my childhood I was exposed to names and words such as: 'war', 'the border', 'Angola', 'ANC', 'SWAPO', 'UNITA', 'discipline', 'communism' and 'betrayal'. White males between approximately the ages of 18 and 45 mainly used these words. In all innocence, all I knew was that as soon as a man reaches the age of 18 he had to do service in the SADF. This meant going to "the army" and fighting in the war. As I matured as an individual, growing in my sensitivity towards others' feelings, I soon witnessed stronger feelings of happiness, sadness, anger, hate, guilt etc. when white South Africans used the above-mentioned words.

The elections came and went in 1994, the apartheid regime fell and the ANC would be our new government. At the age of nine I did not understand the political talk and serious and concerned South African faces all around me. 'Democracy', 'New South Africa', 'change', 'apartheid', and 'civil war' were some of the new words that were generally used by South Africans in combination with the earlier mentioned words. What is 'change'? What is 'apartheid'? What is 'democracy'? 'Communism'?...These were but some of the questions children such as myself asked, but could not grasp in totality. What is wrong with dad? Why is dad in such a foul mood? "The army caused a lot of baggage for the men that went to fight in the army" was a common

answer to that specific question. "I will never let them force you to go the army", I was told by my father. "Why did you go to the army then?" I asked. "The army teaches you discipline, which is a good thing…but *they* used us, lied to us and we fought for the wrong reasons", was his answer.

The 'Truth and Reconciliation Commission' (TRC) was another name that was used in despair by white South Africans all around me. In 2005, I only really started to understand the acts and influences of the TRC, when I was given a prescribed book called *Chronicle of the Truth Commission* by Piet Meiring (1999) at the University of Pretoria.

Reaching an older age, I tried to understand my father and others like him. As my knowledge of the topic grew, I started to understand a little bit better. But certain questions still remain. What is this betrayal the former SADF soldiers frequently mention? What impact does this have on their current lives?

According to Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter (2006), the researcher will have to undergo some personal change by listening, looking, questioning and interpreting. Another task of the researcher is to "describe and interpret his/her own presence appropriately in the research" (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2006, p. 276). The researcher has to be curious and 'open'.

Although research within the phenomenological paradigm does not require the researcher to be objective, I will attempt to put aside my prior understandings (preconceptions) of the phenomena

under study. The process of being aware and putting aside these preconceived understandings is called *bracketing*.

Not only is it important that the researcher should be aware of his or her own understanding and preconceived ideas of the phenomenon, but he or she should also be able to reflect and be aware of how this subjectivity influences the study. Reflections on the research process and the superordinate themes are supplied in chapter 5 and are discussed in more detail there.

3.5.2. Relationship between participants and the researcher

Interpretive research recognizes the intimate relationship between the researcher and the phenomena that he or she tries to understand. The researcher tries to understand the process by which the phenomena affect and are affected by the social context. Therefore, the participants affect the researcher as well. This influence on one another is inevitable within the interpretive paradigm. The participants and their responses had an effect on me during the interview, it had an effect on how I conducted interview and it also had an effect on my understanding of their experience of betrayal.

3.6. Data analysis

Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter (2006) emphasise that qualitative research should be viewed as a process, rather than a set of distinct procedures. Hycner (1999) warns researchers against the use of the word *analysis* when doing a phenomenological study. Analysis refers to breaking the whole into parts and therefore the meaning of the phenomenon is lost; he suggests using the word *explicitation* when using a phenomenological approach. Although the study wants to stay

as close as possible to the phenomenological philosophy's roots, the rest of the report will use the word *analysis* to make it easier for the reader to follow.

> The purpose of interpretive data analysis is to provide thick description, which means a thorough description of the characteristics, processes, transactions, and contexts that constitute the phenomenon. (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter 2006, p. 321)

Guided by a phenomenological philosophy, the goal of the data analysis was to abstract essences from the transcriptions of the interviews. "The aim is to try to understand content and complexity of those meaning" (Smith & Osborne, 2003, p. 66). Although Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter (2006) suggest that interpretive analysis does not proceed in an orderly manner, they supply the researcher with steps in interpretive data analysis to guide the research process. The data analysis process discussed by Smith and Osborne (2003) and by Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter (2006) are very similar and both were used to guide the analysis of this study.

Familiarization and immersion. I familiarized and immersed myself within the transcribed text, looking at each case separately. Each transcript was read a number of times and notes were made if something interesting or significant was said by the participant, as suggested by Smith and Osborne (2003). New insights were gained by re-reading the transcript. Comments were also made on similarities, differences and contradictions in what a participant said.

Identifying themes. The process continued by going back to the beginning of the transcript to induce themes from the text, in terms of processes, functions, tensions and contradictions as described by Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter (2006). Initial notes were then transformed into summarising phrases that capture the essential quality of the text (Smith & Osborne, 2003). Themes were induced from each separate case. Qualitative analytic techniques were used instead of strict phenomenological analysis.

> The skill at this stage is finding expressions which are high level enough to allow theoretical connections within and across cases but which are still grounded in the particularity of the specific thing said. (Smith & Osborne, 2003, p. 68)

Connecting the themes. The next step of the data analysis process entailed the listing of all the identified themes. Connections between the themes were then made. "Some of the themes will cluster together, and some may emerge as superordinate concepts" (Smith & Osborne, 2003, p. 70). The clusterings of themes were then checked within the original text.

> This creates a certain interaction between the reader and the text when one is drawing on one's interpretative resources to make sense of what the person is saying, but at the same time one is constantly checking one's own sense-making against what the person actually said. (Smith & Osborne, 2003, p. 72)

The identified clusters of themes were then listed and given names which represent the superordinate themes. These identified superordinate themes were then coded and the text itself was coded accordingly.

Continuation of analysis with other cases. Analysis continues by moving to the other cases and identifying new themes in each case. It is possible that the same themes may emerge in separate cases. The table of themes from the first case was used to orient the analysis of the succeeding cases. Similarities and differences between accounts from participants were identified at this stage.

When all themes and superordinate themes were identified in all of the cases, a final table of superordinate themes was constructed. Themes were then reduced and certain themes were focused upon. The focus is placed on certain themes based on the richness of the information and not necessarily on the prevalence of the themes. Smith and Osborne (2003) state that prioritization of data is necessary at this stage of the analysis. These superordinate themes are then once again checked against the text of each case and interpretation is made.

The process discussed above was repeated until no further significant insights emerged (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2006).

Writing up the meaning. Using the themes identified, the final statement outlining the meanings in the former SADF soldiers' experience was then written up. Analysis continued

during the writing of the statements. The themes were then translated into narrative accounts at

this stage as suggested by Smith and Osborne (2003).

> The themes are described, demonstrated and nuanced. The table of themes is
>
> the basis for the account of the participants' responses, which takes the form of
>
> the narrative argument interspersed with verbatim extracts from the transcripts
>
> to support the case. (Smith & Osborne, 2003, p. 76)

Interpretation and discussion of the findings using the categories that have been identified then

took place. My own involvement was also considered at this stage of the process, as suggested

by Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter (2006) and is discussed in a following chapter.

What follows is a discussion of the trustworthiness which includes validity issues and reliability

concerning various aspects of the study using a phenomenological psychological research

methodology.

3.7. Trustworthiness and rigour

The concepts of 'objectivity' and 'validity' are not applicable to qualitative inquiry in the same

way as they apply to quantitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Qualitative researchers

prefer to talk about 'integrity', 'competence' and 'rigour' (Aroni, 1999). Qualitative research

seeks to establish trustworthiness and rigour rather than validity or reliability. Credibility,

dependability, transferability and confirmability needs to be established when trying to establish

trustworthiness. Strategies to ensure trustworthiness were put in place, and will be used throughout the research. The following section discusses the trustworthiness of the study.

Credibility. Credibility can be attained by presenting the themes that emerged from the analysed data in a follow-up interview which allows the participant to evaluate their own experiences and compare it with the identified themes. This process, called member validation, was used to increase the credibility of the study.

> To carry research out in such a manner that the likelihood of the findings being found credible is improved and secondly having the findings approved by the constructors of the multiple realities studied refers to the credibility of the study. (Maritz & Visagie, 2011)

Transferability. By describing the context and participants, the transferability can be increased. In this study the context was described to give a better understanding. The participants' socio economic background, family status, employment and history of their service in the SADF are discussed.

> The research meets this standard when the findings fit into contexts outside the study situation that are determined by the extent of goodness of fit between the two contexts. (Maritz & Visagie, 2011)

Dependability. Dependability of data analysis is improved by coding-recoding as described by Krefting (1991). The data is analysed and then gets left for a while. The data is then analysed again and the initial and second analysis is compared and combined. Coding-recoding was used in this study to improve the dependability of the data.

> During dependability the researcher attempts to account for changing conditions to the phenomenon and changes in design created by the increasingly refined understanding of the setting. (Maritz & Visagie, 2011)

Confirmability. Supervision, throughout the research process, by another psychologist improved the confirmability of the study.

> Confirmability refers to the evaluation of the characteristics of the data and not the researcher. It focuses on whether the results of the research could be confirmed by another. (Maritz & Visagie, 2011)

4. Research ethics

4.1. Autonomy (respect for the person)

Privacy and confidentiality are important aspects in any research. The purpose of this study was explained to the participants and they were encouraged to ask questions. They were ensured that the study was focused on their experiences and it did not set out to do them any harm. Participants were informed of the voluntary participation and that they could withdraw from the

study at any time without any penalty. They were also informed that at any time during the interview they could decline to answer any question, request that the tape-recorder be turned off or terminate the interview. Written consent was obtained from the participants to tape the interview (Appendix A).

I explained that to ensure confidentiality I would be the only person to link names with the interviews. The participants were also informed that the tapes and interview transcripts would be kept in separate safe places and destroyed on completion of the study. It was explained that certain quotes from the interviews would be included in this dissertation, but the participants were assured that their names or any identifiable information would not be revealed in the dissertation. The identifying details of the participants were kept on a separate hard-drive and their personal information will be anonymous for the purpose of this study.

It was important that I remain non-judgemental and that my body language did not convey any disapproval during the interviews.

4.2. Non-maleficence (absence of harm)

Psychological and physical harm to participants were taken into consideration. There was little possibility of harm caused to participants, although there were risks involving asking questions about trauma and oppression.

> When assessing the risk of completing questionnaires about trauma, subjects
>
> report no more harm than they do for more common types of psychological

research and participants perceived trauma questions as more important to
include in psychological research than questions about body image and grades.
This research suggests that investigators and Institutional Review Boards
should not assume trauma questionnaires pose as any higher risk than
questionnaires about body image or questions about grades. (Binder, Cromer,
& Freyd, 2004)

Arrangements were made with the Unisa Psychotherapy Clinic, for participants to contact the

clinic if needed. The psychotherapy services were made available to all participants free of

charge. The Unisa Psychotherapy Clinic contact details were also given to all participants prior

to the start of the interview. In the event that a participant had indicated distress, the researcher

would have offered to terminate the interview and would have assured the participant that a

counsellor is available. As an extra measure of caution, the researcher contacted the participants

within a week after the interview took place, to remind participants of the services that the Unisa

Psychotherapy Clinic offered them. There was no distress indicated by or observed in the

participants and the counselling services were not required for any participants.

4.3. Beneficence (balancing risks and benefits)

When considering risks and benefits that the study might produce, we find that the benefits

outweighed the risks. The study posed certain risks to participants as mentioned above, but

certain measures were put in place to minimalize these risks. The information this study

produced is very informative in understanding the experience of the former SADF soldier.

4.4. Justice (equal distribution of risks and benefits between communities)

As mentioned above, the participants' identities were kept anonymous. Therefore the individual

participants' identities were not revealed and they will not be able to be held responsible for any

information the study produces. I am also aware of the former SADF soldiers as a community

and the final report will be reported in such a way that no discrimination takes place. Other

entities involved were also taken into consideration throughout the research process and the final

product reported purely on experiences.

Interpretive phenomenology as a philosophy and as a research methodology is appropriate seeing

that it provided an approach that could help us understand the phenomenon of betrayal among

former SADF soldiers. This would shed new light on the experience of betrayal. A

phenomenological approach was relevant seeing that it provided a method of understanding the

experiences of former SADF soldiers. A research design that fits phenomenology was discussed;

this includes the participants, sampling, the research instrument, data analysis, and

trustworthiness. The chapter was completed by discussing the research ethics along with

limitations of the study.

CHAPTER 4: Findings

"To me, the thing that is worse than death is betrayal. You see,

I could conceive death, but I could not conceive betrayal."

— Malcolm X

This chapter provides an overview of the interviews. An introduction to the individual

participants is given with some background information of the former SADF soldiers. In this

section the context is also described. The findings are also presented, which are made up of

specific or situated statements representing each experience. Identified themes, which were

derived from specific statements, are discussed along with the sub-themes. A series of statements

are provided that represents the identified themes and sub-themes. The statements are provided

in the spoken language of the participant along with an English translation where necessary. The

validation process used throughout the analysis is also provided.

1. Overview

When contacted telephonically for the first time, several of the participants humorously asked me

if the interview could be done at a social gathering, such as a "braai". It was explained to the

participants that it would have to take place in a quiet environment where they could express

themselves without being overheard by others. No participants declined the interviews, but some

light-heartedly insisted that we should have a beer while doing the interview. It was very

interesting to notice that most participants would prefer a social environment, over a weekend,

with alcoholic refreshments when doing the interview. It appears that for these men "debriefing"

about their army experiences has predominantly happened in a relaxed, social environment and they were keen to induct me into this safe space rather than to on different, more formal terms.

Five former SADF soldiers participated in the study. The interviews took place over a period of three weeks and feedback was received from the participants a period after the analysis took place. The interviews were relaxed and informal. The participants were given background information to introduce them to the study; this included a brief summary of the existing border war literature and literature related to soldiers' experience of betrayal.

Confidentiality and anonymity was once again emphasized to build trust and rapport. The interviews were conducted with a sense of warmth and empathy.

I asked general questions about the participants' history before they served in the SADF and about their time in the SADF. These questions also helped the participants to feel comfortable and to establish rapport. Most of the participants easily told their stories without much encouragement. After the rapport building process, I started asking open ended questions relating to the phenomenon, followed mainly by questions to encourage further exploration and to clarify certain comments made by the participants.

The subjects in this study were given pseudonyms to ensure anonymity. Each participant supplied different experiences than others during the interview. Therefore more experiences were identified as each interview was conducted. This was not surprising seeing that the participants have different interests, abilities and personalities.

2. Participants' experience

I knew a few former SADF soldiers who in turn supplied the contact details of other former SADF soldiers who could possibly be interviewed. These men were contacted telephonically where they were introduced to the study. They were informed of their rights and given an opportunity to decide whether they wanted to be interviewed or not. If the candidate agreed, arrangements were made with regard to a time and place where the interview would take place.

Before the interview began, all the participants were informed that they did not have to participate in the study and that participation was voluntary. Other rights were also explained, such as the right to withdraw from the interview at any time and to refuse to answer a question. None of the candidates refused to be interviewed.

All the participants were white males who served in the SADF during the South African Border War and lived in Gauteng and Mpumalanga at the time of the interview. These men ranged from 44 to 54 in age, with the age of one participant not known, but estimated to be in the mid-forties.

The participants all followed different career paths after the war ended. All of them were Afrikaans speaking and fluent in English. All the interviews were conducted in the language the participant felt most comfortable with. As discussed in Chapter 3, it is suggested that the participants should be able to articulate their experience of betrayal. The research candidates' linguistic abilities were not measured and I used my own discretion to decide whether each

participant was able to articulate his experience of betrayal. All of the participants had good linguistic abilities.

In terms of family composition, all the participants were married with children. The men were brought up in different social and economic backgrounds which are discussed in more detail later in this chapter middle. The participants grew up in various locations in South Africa.

A short description of each participant's demographic and background follows, together with a summary of the participant's experience of betrayal. Using a pseudonym, the five men described here are Joe (52), Phillip (50), Charl (44), Martin (age unknown), and Paul (54).

Broad themes were derived from reading through all the transcripts repeatedly. An account is provided of each participant's experience of betrayal organised in terms of these broad themes. The broad themes were refined and elaborated upon. Each participant's account of their experience is discussed below.

2.1. Joe

The interview with Joe was the first of five interviews conducted. I was anxious and afraid of conducting the interview, fearing that I might offend the participant or that the interview might not yield sufficient information. Joe created a comfortable environment for discussion to take place by accepting me as a guest in his house, and the interview continued in a relaxed fashion. I had to redirect the interview into a certain direction as Joe dwelled too far away from the topic of betrayal; this was to be a challenge in all of the interviews conducted. During the interview Joe

pointed to a statue on his office desk; Joe seemed very proud of his statue of a former SADF

soldier holding a rifle which is displayed in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1. Statue of SADF Soldier Standing on Joe's Desk.

2.1.1. Joe's background

Joe was born in 1960 and lived in Krugersdorp (West of Johannesburg) for most of his life as a

child. Joe's father was English-speaking and his mother was of German descent. His father was a

police officer who also had experience on the Zimbabwean border serving in a Special Forces

unit. They decided to send Joe to school at the early age of 5 years old. The English school in

Krugersdorp did not want to accept younger children, and Joe's parents decided to send him the

nearby Afrikaans school. Joe recalls that this school is where he was mainly exposed to, and

accepted the Afrikaans culture as his own. He finished school at the age of seventeen. South

African males had to decide whether to continue studying after leaving school or they would be

called for conscription to serve in the SADF. Joe's parents passed away when he was young and

therefore he did not have the opportunity to immediately go to university after leaving school. He

initially wanted to join the South African Navy, but was informed that he had to decide between

serving in the SADF for 1 year and serving in the South African Navy for 5 years. He decided to

complete his service in the SADF and shortly thereafter he was informed that he had to serve for

2 years and not for 1 year as he was initially informed. In 1977 Joe went to fight in Angola. After

finishing his service in the SADF, Joe continued his studies through a distance education

institution. At the time of the interview Joe was 52 and stayed in an upmarket security complex

in Pretoria with his wife and their two daughters and one grandson. He is the owner of a

company, and both he and his wife are brokers.

2.1.2. Joe's experience

In the belly of the beast

"We were restricted in our thoughts" Joe said. It is important to understand how the restriction of

information was used to control the thoughts of the South African masses historically. This

restriction of information was controlled by the National Party (NP). Propaganda was used as a

form of communication to influence the attitude of the South African community. The young

people were restricted in their thought and information was withheld from them by the people in

power. The information that was available to the public was censored information that upheld the

interests of the former government and their rhetoric. Joe feels that this restricted his thoughts

and decision making and said that "we were so gullible…we believed that it was the right thing

to do".

Afrikaner Calvinism played a huge role in Joe's understanding of the war and betrayal, and as a child he was taught to respect the Calvinistic traditions and views. If he did not respect it, he was punished. Missionaries visited Joe's school from time-to-time telling them that communism is on its way to South Africa, and that communism wants to destroy the Bible; also telling them that they should therefore destroy communism.

The South African church played a role in the indoctrination; the church rejected any thoughts, ideas and actions which were not in the favour of the church. Most young white South Africans unconditionally accepted the Church's messages; and the idea of forgiving unconditionally plays an essential role in Calvinism preached by the South African Churches. Joe believes that they were indoctrinated easily by accepting the Calvinistic understanding of forgiveness. A sense of nationalism was also enforced on the young people at school. According to Joe the school system was used to prepare the young people for war.

During the interview Joe started asking rhetorical questions, suggesting that I should question what I was taught at school. He continued by using the traditional Afrikaans story of Piet Retief's death and of Wolraad Woltemade. Children unconditionally accept these stories as being the truth and Joe suggests that the stories we are told at school about our nation are factually incorrect. He used this as an example of how information was used to indoctrinate people and to instil a sense of nationalism. Joe also believes that this nationalistic indoctrination took place over centuries and compares the Border War with the Anglo Boer war saying that the same nationalistic indoctrination took place before, during and after the Anglo Boer War as well. Thus

Joe presents himself as having grown up in the belly of the apartheid beast, subject to continuous

nationalist propaganda and thus prepared for doing his "duty" as a soldier.

Different agendas

According to Joe, the war was fuelled by individuals who were obsessed with power. These

power-obsessed men wanted to prove a point and they achieved absolutely nothing. As a matter

of fact, they caused people to lose their lives. He compares this to WWII and asks the question:

> Wat is die verskil tussen dit en wat Hitler gedoen het met sy jong mense? Niks!
> (What is the difference between this and what Hitler did to his young people?
> Nothing!)

> Gebruik hulle jou soos 'n slaaf (They used you like a slave)

According to Joe, the internal problems that South Africa faced were bigger than any external

threats at the time; South Africa was not even being attacked by external forces. The only reason

South Africa waged a war externally was for financial purposes, South-West Africa (currently

known as Namibia) and Angola had large diamond fields; and the power-obsessed individuals

had other agendas such as gaining financial profit from these diamond fields.

> So vir my was dit 'n klomp bullshit, wat hulle jong seuns gevat het as gevolg
> van hulle hebsug om 'n oorlog te gaan voer (It was a load of bullshit, when
> they took young boys to fight in the war because of their self-interest)

Volte-face

Although Joe started asking question while serving in the SADF, he said that his thinking only

changed a long time after the war. Directly after he came back from the war, he had a sense of

pride; then reality started to set in, he had to start opening his eyes and his perspective changed,

he started to view things in a different way, and then only did he realise what the truth and reality was. Joe describes a transition phase, moving from a "limited thought and information" phase to a phase where they were exposed to different thoughts, moving from a "closed" phase to an "open" phase.

The changing of phases was set in motion by the political changes in South Africa during the late 1980s and 1990s. The political changes made Joe realise that things can change, that he was living in a comfort zone all his life, it also made him understand that other South Africans living outside of the comfort zone were not as privileged as he was; there was "another" side of life. The internet also contributed in providing information to the masses and served as a catalyst for the changes in understanding.

The majority of young white people were raised in communities were racial segregation (apartheid) was generally accepted. Arriving in Angola, the white men had to share a lot of the facilities with the black men. Joe questions this sudden transition asking "How does this work?" At home the young men were taught to support racial segregation, at the border they are expected to do the opposite. "How do they bring the two together?" Joe asks. He now rejects the notion of apartheid which he was taught to support as a child. He tells the story of how black South Africans were prevented from receiving formal education from the 1940s onwards and he asks: "Where is the humanity in all of this?"

Referring to the nationalistic views that were imposed on them as young people, he said that it is "a load of bullshit". Joe expressed himself by stating that it is ridiculous to put your life at risk

for your culture and traditions, it is silly to risk all of this for a flag and an anthem. A

misperception was created under the former SADF soldiers and Joe does not agree with the

original purpose of the war anymore and says:

> Hulle het ons verraai as jong seuns, definitief (They betrayed us as young men,
> definitely)

Joe admits that other stakeholders were involved such as the Chinese and Cubans. These

countries supplied weapons to the SADF's enemy, but Joe believes they did not place any

soldiers in the battlefield as many others believe; and therefore Joe says that the war was not

against communism as the white South African people were originally told.

The white South African church leaders also changed their minds about apartheid as the political

environment changed, and this made Joe question everything he was taught by the church and its

leaders. Joe accuses the church of failing to serve its purpose which is to serve the community;

the church changed its mind about principles that should be constant according to Joe, and he

also accuses most Afrikaner churchgoers as being hypocrites; they do not live according to

Christian principles, and then they go to church on Sundays to receive forgiveness.

> Wat is ons geleer dan? 'n Klomp bullshit (What were we taught then? A
> load of bullshit)

He explained why the traditional church members are migrating to charismatic churches in the

modern day, and said it is because people do not want to abide by rigid rules anymore, they don't

want to be rigid in their thoughts, they want to be free thinkers. But Joe also complimented

Archbishop Desmond Tutu during the interview for having alternative views about the situation

in South African at the time.

Joe rejects the traditional Calvinistic idea of forgiving unconditionally. He says: "It does not

work that way". Joe says that the church rejects any ideas and thoughts outside the church's

understanding, and he does not agree with this because he feels that it is separated from the truth.

People should investigate to get a better understanding; we should not purely rely on face-value

to make decisions about the truth.

> Die Buddhisme sê vir jou…alles wat jy sien is 'n persepsie, jy moet dit
> ondersoek, en sodra jy dit ondersoek het kan jy 'n besluit neem, jy kan nie 'n
> ding op gesigwaarde doen nie (Buddhism tells you…everything that you see is
> a perception, you have to investigate, and you can make a decision as soon as
> you have investigated, you can't do anything based on face-value)

China did not want to impose their beliefs upon South Africans; and Joe believes that South

Africa should not have felt threatened by Eastern belief systems; it was unnecessary to fight the

communist countries for this reason, because they did not pose a real threat to South Africa in

this aspect. Currently Joe believes that most religions are based on the same core principles, and

that there is no reason to reject other belief systems just because they do not fit your accepted

belief and worldview.

When I asked Joe what impact the betrayal has on his life he said: "You do not accept anything,

you do not accept anything based on face-value" He now questions and investigates others'

views before making a decision or accepting those views himself; and suggests that we should

"open our eyes, remove the peels over our eyes to see actual reality". Another impact on Joe's

life is that he does not trust anyone or anything after the experience. He will not allow anyone to tell him what to do, he will decide for himself.

> Verstaan jy nou? Daar moet vrae gevra word (Do you understand now? Questions should be asked)

Ambivalence

As mentioned, Joe stated that he did not have a choice but to serve in the SADF. But he also mentioned that the government gave you two options, either serve in the SADF or go to jail. If you were conscripted into the SADF and refused to serve as a soldier, you were treated as a criminal and sent to jail. Joe's convictions was not strong enough at the time he was sent to war, he did not know how to challenge the norm at the time, and he was not prepared to go to jail. Joe said that they were not aware of individuals that were not prepared to serve in the SADF, and later on contradicts himself by saying that there were only one or two people who decided not to do so and face being treated like a criminal. Joe feels that those individuals did so because they did not want to go to war and it was not related to their political convictions. "This is ridiculous," Joe says; referring to being treated as a criminal when one does not agree with political ideologies. The censorship of information also restricted Joe's decision making and options he had at the time of conscription.

> Ek het nie eers geweet dat daar miskien 'n ander kant is nie (I did not even know that there may be another side)

Joe expressed feelings of anger during the interview - anger towards himself, because he cannot blame the ones that indoctrinated him. He feels that he is to blame because he believed

everything he was told and that he should have asked more questions at the time. Immediately after he said this he justifies his actions by saying that he had limited information to base his decisions on. After he gave this explanation of his actions he said that he was in a comfort-zone at the time; and if I understood him correctly he felt responsible towards himself and not others. Referring to the South African men who decided not to fight in the war, he said that they could possibly feel better about the situation compared to the men who decided to fight in the war.

With hindsight, Joe can now see there was a betrayal. He feels that they were deliberately misled going on from when he was a child.

Keeping the score

Joe feels that people died for no reason during the war. People on both sides of the war, South African and Angolans, lost their lives. South Africa did not achieve anything with the war.

> Wat het ons bereik? Niks! Absoluut-absoluut niks! Kostes aangegaan (What did we achieve? Nothing! Absolutely nothing! Costs incurred)

The Border War left parents of the deceased soldiers heartbroken. Some soldiers lost limbs during the war which still has financial implications on the lives of these men.

> Daar is geen voordeel uit gekry nie (No benefit was obtained)

The senior SADF members were incompetent in the fighting techniques that they taught the other SADF soldiers, it was out-dated. The soldiers were not equipped and trained sufficiently, which cost many SADF soldiers to lose their lives.

The post-apartheid South African government is doing the same as the old government; they do not consider different ways of thinking and Joe accuses them of one-way thinking. The SADF used the former soldiers as cheap labour and destroyed their humanity in the process. The old government destroyed the humanity of the black people and the new government is destroying everything the previous government has built, destroying the humanity of the white people. Discrimination against different races is still alive in South Africa. If I understand Joe correctly, he is saying that there is a vicious circle where the people in power destroy the others' humanity; we as South Africans take turns to destroy each other's humanity.

Being conscripted into the SADF, he missed his second daughter's birth, which he thinks is more important than serving in the army. He believes that this was very unfair towards his family and himself.

We cannot change the past…we just have to carry on living

Nearing the end of the interview I asked Joe how he felt about all of this. He replied by saying "I just carry on". Sometimes it does feel good to express how he feels about his whole experience and from time-to-time a few friends (former SADF soldiers) would come together and discuss the experience, only for him too "just carry on with life" afterwards. Although he likes discussing it, they have not learnt how to express their true feelings about the experience.

When I asked Joe whether he would have liked to see things work out differently than it did, he replied by saying that he would not achieve anything and that we should be realistic. His advice

is to rather concentrate on the future. Joe believes that the experience also taught him some valuable lessons, it taught him to be independent, how to survive and to value camaraderie. Pointing to the statue of the SADF soldier on his desk Joe said that this whole experience is part of his life and that it "cannot be wished away".

Talking about the future, Joe suggests that we should not let the same happen again; he believes that any conscripted person has a personal responsibility to protect the citizens of their country, but he suggests that the person should consider whether there is actually a need for war. As he discussed that the focus should be on the future, he also said that things might have been different now if white South Africans had acted in a different way in the past.

At the end of the interview I asked Joe if he wanted to mention anything else. He said that he spoke about all the different things related to his experience and that they should not be seen in isolation, but rather as part of the whole experience. What struck me about Joe was that he does not feel a sense of loss because ideals that he believed in and still believe in were betrayed. Instead his sense of betrayal stems from a sense of having been misled about the value of concepts such as race, religion and nationalism from the very start. In other words, his betrayal reaches back to his childhood – it was more than just the once-off event when the powers-that-be capitulated to the former enemy. Today Joe seems to cultivate a somewhat cynical world view (it's all bullshit, they're all liars), but seems in fact to be relatively positive about his current circumstances and about the future.

2.2. Phillip

Phillip and I knew each other for a number of years before the interview took place. The house on Phillip's property is somewhat intimidating, rising relatively higher than all the houses surrounding it in an affluent suburb in the East of Pretoria. His wife, whom I have also known for some years, welcomed me in a very friendly fashion at the front door. She called Phillip and after discussing personal matters left Phillip and me to continue with the interview. Phillip showed me to the study and we sat down on two big and comfortable leather couches.

The interview with Phillip had its own challenges; the main challenge being that of calling it an *interview*, as we were used to having casual conversations at regular intervals in the past. During the interview Ronny, their stay-in Zulu butler, entered the room asking whether we wanted anything to drink. Phillip asked Ronny for a glass of whiskey, which I expected because Phillip asked me if we could do the interview while having a few alcoholic beverages when I requested the interview per telephone. Phillip was not the only participant who had this request; and I agreed to this, having non-alcoholic beverages myself during the interviews. To build rapport I explained to the interviewees that I would have an alcoholic drink with them after the interviews took place.

2.2.1. Phillip's background

In 1962 Phillip was born in Sabie, Mpumalanga. He was raised by both parents and he had one younger sister. Phillip's father, John, was a medical doctor and in 1972, when Phillip was 10, the family relocated to Pretoria because John opened a medical practice in the city. Both Phillip and his sister went to Pretoria-East Primary School and later Phillip went to one of South Africa's

most prestigious schools, Afrikaans Hoër Seuns-skool. After finishing school at the age of 18,

Phillip went to serve his country in the SADF in 1982 for two years. After completing his

conscription, he wanted to work, but soon realised that he had to continue his studies if he

wanted to be successful. He completed his studies (BCom and MBA degrees) and was employed

by a firm shortly afterwards. He was not happy at the firm and decided to start his own jewellery

company. Phillip currently lives in Pretoria with his wife and 18 year old son.

2.2.2. Phillip's experience

In the belly of the beast

When Phillip served as a SADF soldier, he had a different understanding of the purpose of the

border war compared to his current understanding. He grew up in an era where the white schools

supported a very nationalistic rhetoric; young white South Africans were taught to value their

culture and traditions and were exposed to daily nationalistic propaganda. His understanding was

that his family was in danger, and that the communists and the black African people posed as a

threat to his family, culture, financial security and country. He stated that the children were

"brainwashed" by these ideas which were imposed on them. While Phillip served in the SADF as

a soldier he was not even allowed to watch a James Bond movie and he describes this as being

insane. South Africans were restricted to listen to certain music, view certain pieces of art, read

certain books. Everything that did not fit with the apartheid regime's reasoning was banned

through censorship. As Phillip recalls it, the people in power used the restriction of information

to achieve the goal of their own agendas; it was easy for the government to convince the young

men to fight in the war. The fact that the masses were following the instructions of the

government made it more difficult for the individual to act otherwise. Up until today authorities

are lying to their countrymen about the purpose of different wars being fought around the world;

people in power have agendas that others are not aware of.

> Hulle het met jou kop gesmokkel, 'n gat van jou gemaak (They played with
> your head, made an asshole out of you)

He is upset with his parents who allowed him to serve as a soldier in the war; and he feels that

they should have known better at the time. When Phillip looks at his son, he believes that he

would not allow his son to fight in a war; Phillip expected the same of his parents, to not have

put his life in danger for such a futile purpose. It was not only his parents that did so, all the

parents of the former SADF soldiers where proud to send their children to fight in the war,

family and fellow white country men were also proud of the soldiers. Looking back at the past,

Phillip says that it is "fucking stupid" and that he does not understand his parents' thoughts. He

tried to discuss this with his parents a few times after the war, but describes his parents' response

as a "closed book"; according to them it happened and the past cannot be changed. Everybody

was conscripted into the SADF, they had to do it. If they decided otherwise, they would have

been threatened with imprisonment and rejected by society to an extent.

Different agendas

Phillip currently believes that international political agendas drove the border war. At the time of

the war South Africa did not function independently and other countries such as the United

States of America (including the Central Intelligence Agency) had other political motivations to

support the on-going war. It is important to understand the international arena in which the war

took place; communism was on the rise and posed as a threat to certain countries, including the USA. After facing much international criticism about the Vietnam War, the USA government used South Africa to fight the war on communism on their behalf. The USA had a stranglehold on South Africa by supporting them with oil and other commodities during the sanctions. To protect the white people's voting rights, the old South African government waged the war outside the borders. The apartheid government faced minimal dangers within their borders, but there was no need to wage a war outside the borders if it was not for the other countries such as the USA that put pressure on the old South African government.

The apartheid government waged a war for economic reasons, and eventually it became too expensive to continue the war. The Berlin wall was broken down, communism was not a threat anymore and the USA and England stopped supporting the war financially and the sanctions against South Africa continued. Economically the border war was not viable anymore.

Volte-face

Phillip found it difficult to explain his change in understanding of the purpose of the border war. When he went to war he was scared and excited at the same time. Initially he viewed it as an adventure, but as soon as he arrived on the battlefield he realised how horrible war was; then he started to doubt whether it was the right thing to do.

He also mentioned that the international political arena changed over the past couple of decades and this influenced his understanding of the purpose of the war.

Ambivalence

When I asked Phillip whether he felt that the former SADF were betrayed, he said:

> Ek sou nie sê jy is verraai nie, maar onthou jy is, dis baie moeilik, natuurlik
> voel jy verraai (I wouldn't say that we were betrayed, but remember you were,
> it's difficult, of course you feel betrayed)

He explained that he felt betrayed because he believed in a nation, in people, in a way of doing things and he sacrificed something for those things. Only to later on realise that it was all in vain, the reason behind the war was a lie and the powers they fought against are currently in power anyway.

Keeping the score

A lot of people died during the border war, time and money was wasted unnecessarily. There is nothing to show for these lives that were lost and the war was a futile exercise. He may even have lost something and expressed a feeling of shame (to an extent) for participating in the war. People in power gain financially by supporting wars and the soldiers are just seen as money. Phillip asks the question: "How do they reconcile with themselves?" He compares the lives being lost to WWII and says that there is no valour in this; nothing can replace the lives that were lost during wars.

The authorities in power considered the costs of sending people to fight in the war, and if it was not too expensive they would send men to war and face the possibility of losing their lives. Phillip says: "If you have to pay the fucking price yourself, it is always too expensive".

Historically the old South African government fought against the current South African government. Along with the new government came good things and they should be credited for it; all people have rights now, white South Africans do not have to be ashamed anymore, and people have more freedom. Phillip remembers the 1990s up until 2005 as hopeful years (after the border war); the economy grew rapidly, foreigners invested in South Africa, new mines were established, new job opportunities came about and the price of property grew. After 2005 corruption and theft became more prevalent in South Africa, discrimination against race still continued, nepotism and cronyism is on the rise, and unemployment is very high; he has little faith in the current government to improve the situation and questions the future of South Africa. This makes Phillip think that the old government possibly might have been right all along, but he also believes in the principles of a democracy. Later on Phillip also explained that both the old and new government officials are guilty of corruption.

Phillip says that all people should have equal rights, which not everyone did have under the apartheid regime which he fought for during the war. He describes a process where he was "brainwashed" to believe in the principles of the apartheid regime, only to later on (during and after the war) starting to doubt these principles, then realising that it might me wrong causing him to be ashamed of his Afrikaner culture. He does not have to be ashamed of his culture anymore, or wishes for an environment where he does not have to defend his culture because all people are equal under the new government.

We cannot change the past…we just have to carry on living

What could or can the former SADF soldiers do about the situation? "You have to carry on living," Phillip says, and "I am angry about it, about the lost time and lost lives, it was unnecessary, but there is nothing I can do about it, we can't go back". The experience permeates everything in his life; it permeates his view of life. It changed his perception about political movements, it changed his feelings about people who do not keep their promises; all of this reminds him of the times of unhappiness these experiences brought to him. Philip said that one should not be nationalistic, governments come and they go, you should not value a country's flag and government.

> Maar die oomblik wat jy dit koppel aan 'n vlag en 'n land en 'n bestel en 'n sekere inslag van hoe mense dink, then you are letting yourself in for a huge let-down (The moment when you connect it to a flag, a country, a system and a certain way of thinking, then you are letting yourself in for a huge let-down)

He just has to carry on with life and make the best of the current situation and he said: "You pull yourself towards yourself, drink something (referring to alcohol), and then you get over it, what can you do?" It does get better over a period of time and he does see the possibility that the feelings might even go away. Phillip's focus is on the future, on his child's future which faces difficulties under the new government; difficulties such as discrimination against his own race. Ironically Phillip initially fought for a government which discriminated against race, later realising that he does not agree and then accepted the principles of democracy under the new government, and now he faces issues of discrimination against his own race under the new government. Phillip does not agree with nationalism anymore, and will support his son if he needs to emigrate elsewhere to have a better future.

> Ek is regtig klaar met daai tyd van my lewe, done and dusted, ek het nou genoeg ander probleme om oor te worry (I am finished with that time of my life, done and dusted, I have enough other problems to worry about now)

2.3. Charl

As I walked into Charl's office, I immediately noticed the Bible phrase as a screensaver on his laptop, a file marked as *Gideons* on the bookshelf and a family-photo on his desk. As the interview progressed Charl made it very clear that his Christian religion plays an integral part of his daily life and he is actively involved in various Christian organisations including Gideons and Heritage of Faith. The interview progressed much the same way as the others, starting with building rapport before continuing into a relaxed conversation revolving around Charl's experience of betrayal as a former SADF soldier. He also supplied me with the contact details of Martin whom he suggested I should also interview; Martin's interview was conducted in Pretoria a few days later.

2.3.1. Charl's background

Charl was raised in a less fortunate environment; his parents were divorced and he was one of four children. He comes from a very poor family, with the government looking after their financial needs when he was a child. As a family they relocated a number of times and Charl went to ten different schools. During this period Charl stayed in what was then known as *Wes Transvaal* - Klerksdorp, Christiana, Theunisen and various other locations. He matriculated in 1986 in the Free State where he also later met his wife-to-be. He is still happily married and they have three sons together. Charl is the owner of a small to medium printing company and stays in a mining town called Witbank situated in the province of Mpumalanga.

He was conscripted into the SADF in 1987, the year after he finished high school and he was sent to 1 South African Infantry Battalion in Bloemfontein (Tempe Military base) to do his basic training; he attended specialised training in medium-lift launch vehicles and returned to Bloemfontein for further training. The SADF sent Charl to Lohatla in the Northern Cape, where he was taught to operate army vehicles called Ratel 20s and Ratel 90s. He received a letter requesting him to go to Angola. Signing the letter was voluntary, but Charl was pressurised in various ways and he had a sense of responsibility towards the rest of his battalion, calling them *family*. Therefore, he did not have a choice but to sign the letter and to go to Angola.

2.3.2. Charl's experience

In the belly of the beast

Everybody's family members served in the SADF; therefore the young conscripts did not even consider refusing the conscription. According to Charl it would have taken a paradigm shift for a young man to refuse conscription; it would have gone against the accepted social norm.

The military training received shaped the conscripts to become robot-like; they just carried on like computers without thinking about their actions. By the time the men were finished with their basic training each individual felt responsible for the rest of the platoon; each soldier had a specific role to fulfil and the platoon relied on each individual's contribution. This sense of responsibility along with the indoctrination left the men with no choice but to sign the voluntary consent forms to fight beyond South Africa's borders. Some men found it difficult to accept the

reality of going to war, but the others kept on motivating them as a team. When I probed more about the voluntary consent, Charl said that some might not have signed if they were asked to sign before they attended the training, they might not have gone if the information was supplied to them earlier. The SADF asked for consent after the training took place on purpose, because the trained men and parents of the trained men would have refused if they were asked to give consent before the training took place.

The young white men were put under the wrong impression. Charl was taught to believe that the enemy was the communists, and that the black people were also communists; the black communists wanted to take the country from the white people, they wanted to destroy the Christian religion. Therefore the SADF had to defend the country from the black people; to defend the country successfully the black people had to be stopped even if it meant shooting them. The same thing was told to the soldiers repeatedly, this indoctrination made them to believe the SADF and the government; not only did they believe them but the soldiers also started spreading the same messages they were indoctrinated with.

The SADF chaplains also supported the old government rhetoric, and Charl felt that the chaplains told the soldiers what the government wanted to tell the soldiers. During the war some soldiers started questioning the words of the SADF leaders, and they saw how the SADF manipulated them; the soldiers even rejected the opportunity to be addressed by the SADF general, Jannie Geldenhuys. They former SADF soldiers were betrayed because they were made to believe that they were fighting a war against communism, which wanted to destroy Christianity; and even with the enemy achieving what they wanted to, today Christianity is not

destroyed, which makes Charl believe that the soldiers were put under the wrong impression by the SADF and the apartheid government from the start.

Volte-face

When I asked Charl about the accepted social norm in the past, he said that if he knew what he knows today, he would not have served in the SADF. He will not allow his sons to go to war, because he was put under the wrong impression as a young conscript. Charl realised that they were put under the wrong impression when he went to Angola to fight; where all of a sudden the fellow black countrymen were fighting on the same side as the SADF, contradicting what Charl was taught about the black people being communists. Charl asked why the black South African men would fight against communist Russians if they were communists themselves.

Military training did not prepare the men for the full reality of the battlefield. Training took place in a controlled environment and the soldiers' lives were not put at risk. As soon as the enemy starts firing back at you and your life is at risk on the battlefield, the "whole picture changes". This caused the soldiers to change their minds. Charl told me about a fellow atheist soldier who started to pray out loudly when they were under fire, inferring that the fellow soldier changed his beliefs when his life was at risk.

Returning home after the war, Charl worked alongside black South Africans and all of a sudden things did not makes sense. Before and during the war, indoctrination led Charl to believe that black people were very different to white people. He started working alongside fellow black

South Africans, which made him realise that they were human just like he was. He describes the former SADF soldier as being "lost".

> Wat `n groot eye opener was. Toe besef jy iets maak nie sin hier nie. Skielik is
> die soldaat nou verdwaald (What a big eye opener it was. And then you realise
> that something does not make sense. Suddenly the soldier is lost)

As the interview continued, Charl mentioned his understanding of his own identity and I asked probing questions to find out more. The army made Charl lose his own identity, it influenced him and he changed into becoming more of a soldier. He became aggressive, which proved to be difficult when he returned from war, settling back into society. He said that he went through a process where he had to rediscover his own identity, rediscover what he believed in and what he wanted from life, he had to "bring himself back".

At this stage of the soldiers' lives they had to make decisions about their understanding of what they were taught, and how they viewed black people. He described this as a "mind shift" he had to undergo, away from thinking that black people were the enemy. Before this change could take place, he had to "reset" his understanding and emotions because the two realms that he was faced with were far from each other. He had to reject his original understanding before he could analyse and inquire; the sooner this happened, the sooner the process would be over. According to Charl reality can easily be changed by one's way of thinking.

> Die sielkundige kant is dinge baie diep. Jy moet baie vinnig baie diep verander
> (Things are very deep on the psychological side. You have to make very deep
> changes very quickly)

The biggest struggle that Charl faced during this mind shift was to understand and accept that God created all races and that God loves all people from different races equally. This was contradictory to what Charl was originally taught by the apartheid government. The truth lies in what God says and not in what the government says; and his understanding of the meaning of the Bible has also changed since he returned from the war. Charl sees this in the context of development; he made the right decisions at the time. As time passed he matured, his understanding grew. Looking back at choices he made in the past he said that he would have made other choices if he had the knowledge and understanding he has now.

According to Charl some former soldiers made the wrong decisions and others did not; those who made the right decisions were able to adapt and fit in with post-apartheid South Africa. Charl joined the Memorable Order of Tin Hats where he could discuss his experiences and views with other former soldiers.

Keeping the score

Conscription into the SADF was compulsory for all the white men, but the young black men were overlooked in the conscription process; the SADF had their minds made about who was conscripted and who was not and these decisions were made by men in offices. The young country men who were affected had no say in this process. The men who refused to serve in the SADF had to serve a jail sentence.

> Dink jy dan ons het enige keuse? Verstaan jy? So vooraf is die penalty klaar vasgestel (Do you think we had any choice? Do you understand? The penalty was determined in advance)

As mentioned earlier, the soldiers started questioning the SADF leaders during the war, but they had a responsibility towards their fellow soldiers; this left them with no choice but to continue on fighting in the war.

> Jy is nie alleen nie, daar is makkers om jou. Jy is in `n situasie, soos in `n game, jy is gesnooker (You are not alone, there are buddies around you. You are in a situation, like in a game, you are snookered)

Charl also mentioned that the former SADF soldiers did not receive any psychological support services from the SADF after returning home after the war. Some former soldiers who could not adapt to fit back into society after returning from the war committed suicide.

A life in balance

Charl believes that his past experiences of the war and betrayal to an extent still has an influence on his life today. His experiences taught him valuable lessons, such as understanding his own norms and standards, and to make decisions based on these standards and what he believes in. Today, Charl believes that everything is "in perspective" for him, everything is "in balance", the way it should be.

2.4. Martin

Charl suggested that I should also interview Martin who would have interesting stories about near death experiences serving on the border. A meeting was soon scheduled with Martin, whom I met for the interview at a restaurant. We sat at a table where we could have a private conversation without anybody overhearing us. Very similar to Charl, Martin also freely talks about himself being a Christian and how this plays a crucial part of his daily life. It became clear

that it is very important for Martin to spread the Gospel as he handed pamphlets containing Bible phrases to myself and to another member of public. The original time scheduled for the interview was 90 minutes, but the contact session between Martin and me lasted for much longer, approximately 3 hours. I requested Martin's time to complete an academic interview, and I believe that Martin saw this as an opportunity to share religious stories, which I embraced. The interview flowed in a natural direction, with Martin being open for discussion, only having to redirect the discussion back to the relevant experiences a few times.

2.4.1. Martin's background

Martin describes his childhood as being good. He grew up in what was then known as the Western Transvaal. He went to serve as a SADF soldier after he completed school. He studied Industrial Engineering after returning from the war and is currently married and has one son. Martin was an Operations Manager at a well-known telecommunications company in South Africa for 17 years, but he lost his job before the interview took place and dedicated himself to do more work for God.

During the war, Martin survived on ordeal where his tank was destroyed on the battlefield, killing four of the ten men in the tank with six surviving. He described the event in detail and said that all the survivors were traumatised after the incident. Some of the surviving men are still struggling with the ordeal.

2.4.2. Martin's experience

At the start of the interview Martin said that during the 1980s the SADF was one of the best

military forces in the world; and contrary to Joe, Martin feels that the SADF soldiers received

excellent training; and the SADF also had some of the best equipment in the world. The SADF

achieved its goal by stopping the Russian army forces from entering South Africa.

In the belly of the beast

Martin was raised to believe that the war was against communism, and contrary to some of the

other participants, Martin still believes that the war was against communism, a war between a

Christian nation and the communists, and not against SWAPO. According to Martin, one feels

some degree of pride when one has served in the SADF; proud of the way in which one was

raised in the army, how one was trained, how one fought and the discipline. Martin admits that

he did not understand politics when he was younger; he just knew that there was a war to fight,

suggesting that he had learnt a lot about politics since then. Some people said it was financially

impossible for the old South African government to continue like it did after the war, and

therefore the country had to be handed over to the ANC, but Martin does not believe this.

Different agendas

Bigger world forces are at play, and the handing over of South Africa to the ANC was a well

thought over idea and was planned 100 years in advance. It was planned out in detail; the world

forces knew exactly which day South Africa would be handed over to the ANC by the apartheid

government. Quoting the Bible, Martin said "our struggle is against the world forces". He

continued by saying that the average soldier would not understand the idea of the world forces at play.

Not having hard facts, Martin said that leaders of both the apartheid government and the ANC negotiated and planned carefully how everything would unfold. Pik Botha also served as an informant to the Russian communists during the war. Martin describes all of this as being high treason, and that this treason is a reason why the former SADF soldiers feel the way they do.

Martin explained that he had first-hand experience of the finely detailed plan; during the last few days of the war, the SADF decided to fight in an area where they clearly were inferior and this serves as one of many reasons why Martin feels that the war, its outcomes and political outcomes were planned in advance.

The SADF leaders' goal was to stop the Russian army forces from entering South Africa, and they did not have the same agenda as the country's political leaders at the time. The SADF leaders did not intend to hand over the country to the ANC.

Volte-face

Martin is very proud of the weaponry that the SADF developed during the 1970s and 1980s. According to Martin the SADF dominated the battlefield, but after the war ended the country was handed over to the ANC; Martin finds this difficult to understand. He admits that the war should have ended at some stage, but not in the way it did; and asks how it is possible that South

Africa was handed over after they were clearly winning the war. Having far superior weaponry, Martin asked how this was possible.

> Dit is hoekom ons miskien mag voel ons is verraai jy weet. Want dit is onmoontlik, dit is totaal en al onmoontlik dat ons, dat die land so oorgegee is aan die ANC in so 'n kort tydjie (that is why we possibly feel betrayed you know. Because it is impossible, totally impossible that we, that the country was handed over to the ANC in such a short period of time)

Reiterating what he had said about not understanding how the change in government was possible after the war, Martin said that he understood why Nelson Mandela was released from prison and why it had to happen. What he does not understand is how his friends died next to him in the war, only for South Africa to be handed over shortly afterwards. Once again Martin stated that it was planned by world forces before it happened. It came to my mind that Martin could not make sense of the course of history unless he believed in this "planning by world forces in advance".

Twenty years after the war ended, Martin received more information about his near death experience on the battlefield. After Martin and his fellow soldiers returned safely, they were put under the impression that their tank was destroyed by enemy fire, only to find out that they were hit by friendly fire. The army did not inform the survivors of the truth because it would have been an embarrassment for the SADF and they did not want to break the other soldiers' fighting spirit. Martin said that he understands why the truth was held from him during the war and that he is not angry about it. To Martin's knowledge, the former SADF soldier who was responsible for the friendly fire committed suicide two years after the incident.

Ambivalence

I asked Martin if he felt betrayed when the country was handed over to the ANC, and he replied by saying that betrayal came to mind, but he does not feel betrayed; "sold out" and "betrayal" are very similar, but he still felt more comfortable to use the words "sold out" when talking about his experience. When talking about the former government he said that he can easily use the word betrayal in telling what the political leaders did to the former SADF soldiers.

Keeping the score

Many people lost their lives fighting for the SADF and it could easily have been many more. The old government knowingly put the men's lives at risk for no reason.

Martin said that everybody said that "South Africa was burning" after the war ended, referring to the atrocities, discrimination and the pain caused by apartheid. But Martin feels that South Africa is currently burning worse than it did before. They offered their lives to the SADF, and some men lost their lives next to Martin, all in vain.

> Ons het ons lewens opgeoofer, jy het daai buddy gevoel gehad, ons het baklei en alles, en mense langs jou het dood gegaan, nou als verniet (We offered our lives, we had that buddy feeling, we fought and everything, all in vain)

Many years after the war ended the ANC and Cubans commemorated the war and said that they won the war against the SADF. This upsets Martin because he believes that many publications, including newspapers, lie about what happened during the war and claims that this is propaganda; a strategy that communists use. The propaganda and lies attempt to destroy his history and religion. He has first-hand experience of what happened on the battlefield, he knows

the facts and repeatedly stated that the SADF won the war. A friend of Martin even made Martin

a t-shirt with the words "so who won the war?" suggesting that the SADF won the war.

We cannot change the past…we just have to carry on living

After the elections in 1994 the soldiers just carried on with life like they did before and Martin

asked: "What should we do?" and answering himself said: "There is nothing you can do about

it". He accepts the fact that they were betrayed and mentions that it has happened previously in

other wars.

After the war, the former SADF soldiers carried on with their separate lives and did not really

discuss anything with each other afterwards. Martin explained that men in general have different

life stages, as one stage finishes they go on to the next stage without spending too much time

thinking about the past. Martin now calls himself a "soldier for Jesus", a new stage of his life

where he serves God on a daily basis after losing his job. He would like to protect his history and

religion for the sake of his son.

Only later in life did Martin start to ask questions about his experience. He abused alcohol and

got involved in fighting regularly after the war and described himself as being "not such a nice

person" during that stage. Explaining to me how he currently feels, he said that has made peace

with the idea but one would probably never understand the full impact of the former SADF

soldiers' experience. Some former SADF soldiers may not have processed everything. Martin

gave his life to God on the day he had the near death experience during the war, and gave his life

to God again around 2006; and he glorifies God for helping him to cope, giving credit to Jesus

alone for giving him the peace he has. He is still very proud of being a former SADF soldier, but

he also said that the Bible warns us all against the dangers of being proud.

Coming closer to the end of the interview, Martin said: "Can you connect all of this to betrayal? I

don't believe so…it is not that simple".

2.5. Paul

Paul and I have known each other for 16 years by the time the interview took place. I only found

out that Paul served on the border war approximately two years before the interview was

conducted. He never discussed any of his experiences as a SADF soldier with me before the

interview.

As I walked into Paul's house in a security estate in Witbank, I was kindly escorted into the

kitchen by his wife. We quickly had a discussion before Paul and I went to the living room,

taking seats overlooking a big blue swimming pool. His wife brought us cookies and tea and left

the room jokingly telling us that we can continue the conversation without her. The interview

with Paul was very different when compared to the rest of the interviews; these differences are

discussed in more detail under the following sections. Although Paul's experiences are different,

it should be considered as being relevant. I probed a lot during the interview, but still his stories

were very different to the others' stories. The interview did not last as long as the other

interviews, because of Paul's different experience of betrayal. Interviewing Paul was frustrating

to an extent, because I felt that he did not want talk about the meaning of events, but portrayed

his experiences making use of occurrences and events and deliberately did not talk about his understanding and feelings of the occurrences and events.

2.5.1. Paul's background

Paul stays in Witbank, Mpumalanga and owns a small property development company. He is married and has two sons aged 28 and 30. He was born in Ladysmith in the province now known as Kwazulu-Natal and was conscripted to serve in the SADF in 1976, where he served on the border for 4 months in the fight against SWAPO. He never had any violent confrontation with the enemy and he believes that the SADF prepared him well for the war on the border. Later during the 1980s he served in the *kommandos* on the border of the Kruger National Park and Mozambique.

2.5.2. Paul's experience

Less complicated times

Paul served in the SADF in 1976, before the internal political situation became complicated; the war was purely against SWAPO and no one was aware that the ANC could pose a threat to the NP in the future.

> Nelson Mandela was in die tronk gewees, niemand kon ooit droom wat sou gebeur in 20 jaar se tyd (Nelson Mandela was in jail, nobody could even dream what would happen in 20 years' time)

The main purposes of the SADF soldiers during those times were to protect the borders, making sure that no one crossed the border illegally, and to find and deactivate landmines planted by SWAPO.

Exodus

Often the illegal immigrants were elderly people and young children; and they tried to hide from the SADF soldiers in the process of crossing the border into South Africa. Paul says that it is "bad to see". They were innocent people looking for better living conditions than they had in Mozambique at the time, their country was busy being destroyed and the famine was on the rise.

The Mozambican immigrants were willing to work for a fraction of the price compared to South Africans and therefore they were employed much more easily. Paul said that this might have led to the xenophobia that South Africa experienced from 2000 to 2008.

This place is not seeing me any longer

Paul said he served in the SADF during the good times of the war, but he did not enjoy his experience in the army; everyone just shouted at the soldiers and swore at them. Nobody had a choice but to serve in the SADF; but Paul said that he was not as accepting of SADF authorities because he was much older. His personality also did not fit in with the culture and typical behaviour of the normal SADF soldier. Paul felt that the army was shunting him around and that he had other more important priorities to attend to at that stage of his life - he was married and he had a child to look after. He decided to leave the army, only to be called back by the SADF

afterwards to explain why he had left, but managed to get the permission of SADF seniors to leave the army.

> Dis nie my lyn nie, dis nie my natuur nie (It is in that way that the army gets the maximum out of you)

Today Paul has a whole team of people working for him, and he believes that all people should be treated with respect, and not treated like he was as a soldier.

Keeping the score

The SADF used the young South African men to achieve the army's goals. Young men are very susceptible to perform effectively in dangerous situations; and the army knew that young men around eighteen years of age were obedient to authority when shouted and sworn at.

> Dit is presies wat hulle wil hê, sodat hulle jou kan gebruik. Dit is op daai manier wat die weermag maksimum uit jou uit kry (That is exactly what they wanted, for them to be able to use you. In that way that gets the maximum out of you)

As said earlier, nobody even expected that there would be a change in government in the future; and during Paul's conscription apartheid was still very much alive. Everything was in a perfect condition under the control of the old government. After making the statement that everything was perfect, Paul said that it was perfect for the white South Africans, suggesting that it might have been less than perfect for the other racial groups in South Africa. Paul later on described that the former South African political leaders betrayed them by negotiating with the ANC in the late 1980s and in 1994 Nelson Mandela was elected as the post-apartheid African president. Paul

feels that the new government took the country and destroyed everything the country had; the educational system, the public health system, the roads and municipal systems were destroyed and the crime rates increased. Although Paul feels that the apartheid system was not fair toward certain racial groups, he expressed himself by saying that things are possibly more unfair under the control of the new government; the majority of the previously disadvantaged people are still disadvantaged and not much has improved for them since the elections in 1994 and racism is still alive. Paul believes that the ANC gave the black population false hopes by promising them improvements which the ANC did not deliver on, and this promising without delivering is still continuing in South Africa today.

Volte-face

According to Paul, the change of understanding does not happen at a certain period of time, but rather happens gradually. Paul embraced all the advantages as a white South African under the control of the apartheid government, but now feels that racial discrimination is not right. In the apartheid era, nobody realised that they were doing the wrong thing. He still feels that there are differences in culture between different racial groups and he said that only certain racial groups are capable of developing and improving a country.

Paul also continued by saying that all the racial groups in South Africa need the other groups; each racial group has its strengths and weaknesses and racial groups should work together combining all the strengths of the different groups. Certain racial groups need leadership guidance by other racial groups according to Paul.

As discussed previously, Paul felt that everything was perfect for the white South Africans under the control of the old government. After the ANC was elected into power, many white South Africans said that the whole country would be destroyed in less than ten years' time. Ten years passed, almost twenty years passed and still the country is not been destroyed as a whole; but it is very close to being destroyed said Paul. The old government managed to maintain South Africa, but it was only the white population which was able to reap all the benefits of such a well working system; and Paul stated that this was not fair toward the other racial groups.

Ambivalence

First Paul said that South Africa has been destroyed by the new government, but later stated that it is not totally destroyed and is close to destruction. But he did discuss how South Africa has gone backward since the ANC has been elected into power.

We cannot change the past…we just have to carry on living

Paul does not believe that the new government is not capable of developing and improving South Africa. Unlike the other interviewees, who now almost completely renounce apartheid, Paul has not fundamentally changed his beliefs and does not depict himself as having been naïve and deluded when he was younger. Like the others, however, there is considerable ambivalence in his worldview. Unlike the participants, Paul is also not prone to dwelling on how he was betrayed by the previous regime. Instead, he portrays apartheid times as idyllic and directs most of his criticism at the present political order.

3. Themes derived from the analysis

Multiple themes emerged, deriving from participant's shared experiences. Most of these identified themes were experienced by nearly all participants and some themes are unique to one or few individual participants. Some themes arose more than others; the less experienced themes are still relevant to the experience and meaning of betrayal. Each theme was refined and elaborated upon, which is discussed in this section. This report includes quotes in the spoken language of the participant along with an English translation of the same. It was decided to include fewer quotes to make the reading of the report more interesting.

A summary of the identified themes and sub-themes are presented in Figure 2 below. This diagram provides a visual way of understanding the former SADF soldiers' experience of betrayal. All the different elements of the diagram are interlinked, and this served as a way to organise the different themes.
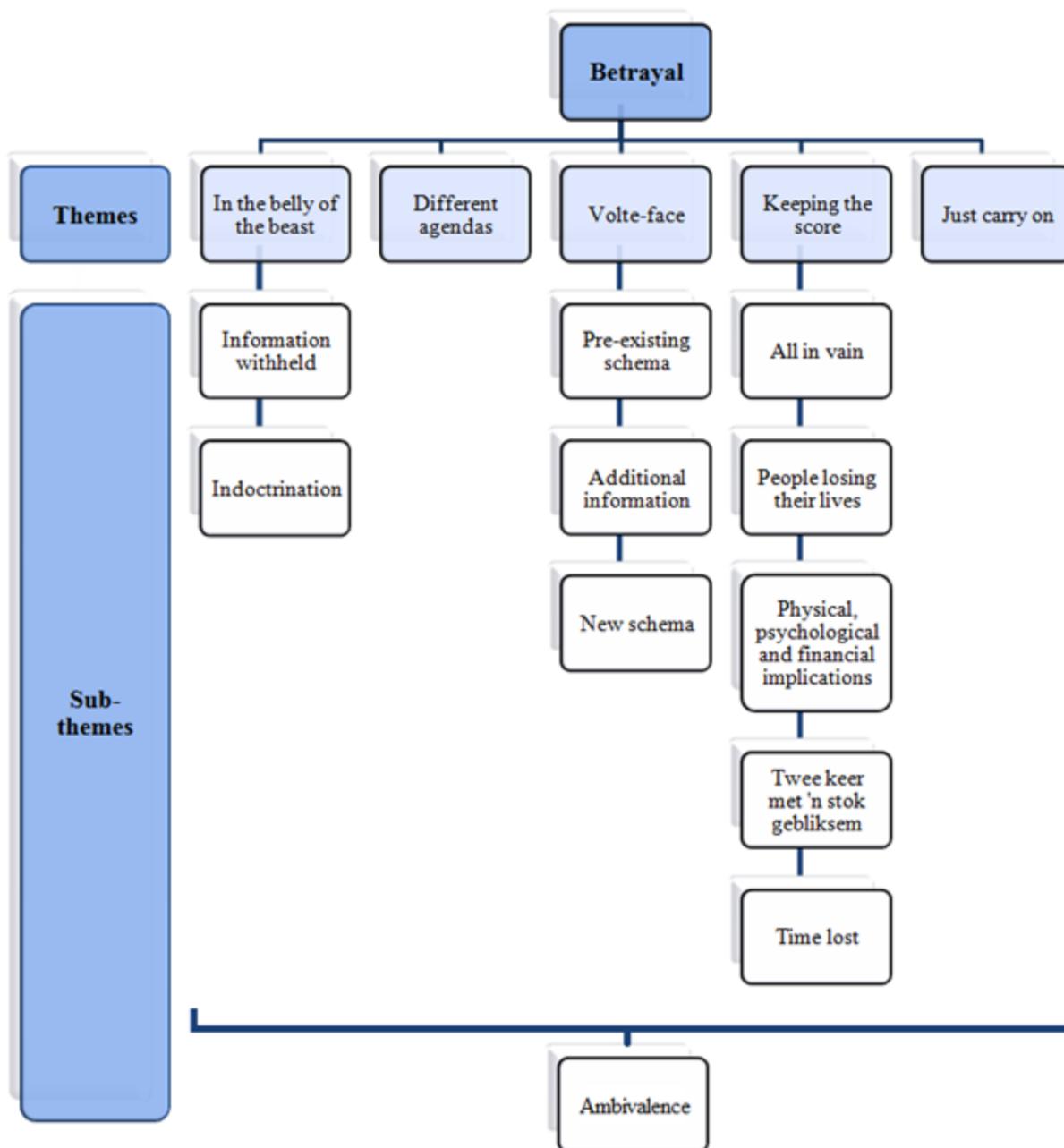
Figure 2. Identified themes and sub-themes.

3.1. In the belly of the beast

Almost all of the participants discussed the thought control which took place; important

information was withheld from them and they were indoctrinated to believe in the justness of the

apartheid cause. The thought control took place by withholding information from the former soldiers, and ideas were instilled in them by repeatedly teaching them certain ideas. The white masses supported these ideas, which made it more difficult for the white young South African individual to act against the norms of the white community.

3.1.1. Information being withheld

As the participants remember it, information was censored by the apartheid government; and the partial information the former soldiers received limited their thoughts and the choices they had. Some participants mentioned examples of the censorship and including music, art, movies and books which were controlled by the government. With the limitation of information, the government practiced control over the young white men, and they were easily convinced to support the supplied motives for the war and therefore served in the SADF. The majority of participants therefore locate the first act of betrayal right at the start of their narratives, having been lied to as young white men living under apartheid. This framing may also in part function as a post-hoc excuse for their participation in the apartheid army.

3.1.2. Indoctrination

From a young age the former SADF soldiers were taught not to question the doctrine they were taught. The indoctrination included religious indoctrination, military indoctrination and social indoctrination which instilled a sense of nationalism within the former soldiers. The participants were proud to serve their nation as young soldiers.

The sense of nationalism instilled by the indoctrination was something that was infused in the history of white Afrikaners, and many generations formed part of this indoctrination and the culture and traditions found in the white homes also helped to strengthen the sense of nationalism. The family members and friends of the formers SADF soldiers were proud to send the men to war, which they supported in the safety of their homes in South Africa. Phillip expressed strong anger towards his parents for allowing him to serve in the SADF during times of war, and felt that his parents should have known better than to send him to serve in the SADF.

The SADF infused ideas into the former SADF soldiers during their training. Charl described it as the soldiers becoming "robot-like"; acting without thinking about their actions. Camaraderie was built between the soldiers during the training, and by the time they had to go fight in the war they had a sense of responsibility towards the rest of the platoon, leaving them with no choice but to go to war to support the rest of the platoon.

Christianity and the Christian church played a role in the indoctrination. The former soldiers were taught to respect the church and its teachings. Church representatives preached about the threat that communism posed to white South Africans; a threat to their religion and the Bible. Church leaders and chaplains in the SADF also upheld this rhetoric.

The schools also shared the vision of the old government, indoctrinating the South African children from a young age and implanting a sense of nationalism; teaching them to value their culture and traditions by exposing them to daily traditional activities at school. Joe expressed himself by saying that the school system was used to prepare the young people for the war. Joe

also questions the truth of the traditional Afrikaans historical stories and the messages it conveyed to the school children, suggesting that it is used to indoctrinate the children.

The former SADF soldiers were led to believe that the black South Africans were their enemy and posed as a threat to the lives, their family's lives, their culture and their Christian religion.

Many participants believe that the indoctrination and lies are not a thing of the past; and around the world governments use indoctrination and the limitation of information to their own benefit to convince the masses to support wars; wars that the government officials personally benefit from.

3.2. Different agendas

In the view of several of the participants, the Apartheid government leaders had less than pure motives for supporting the war. The leaders could benefit financially from waging a war on SWAPO, seeing that Angola was rich in minerals. Joe called the Apartheid government leaders "power-obsessed individuals".

Some participants mentioned that the apartheid government waged a war for national economic reasons and after a period the war became too expensive to support any further, the war had to stop and negotiation soon took place.

International political agendas drove the war according to Phillip. Some other participants also acknowledge that countries were involved in supporting the war from a distance. Communism

posed a threat to a number of countries globally and therefore they had a vested interest in the Border War. Phillip believes that the USA had a stranglehold on the apartheid government by supporting them during times of sanctions.

Martin uses the words "bigger world forces" in a religious way when he explained his current understanding of the war; and he said that Christians are warned against these world forces in the Bible. Martin believes that the Border War and the change in government were planned by the world forces decades before the war even started. He believes that these plans should be viewed in context of the Bible's warnings.

3.3. Volte-face

The word *volte-face* is an Italian expression which refers to a change from one set of beliefs to another, a "complete reversal of attitude, opinion, or position" ("Volte-face," 2013). The word is typically used in the context of politics and business, and this change in opinion and position by the participants could be described as a volte-face. Most participants experienced a change in attitude and opinion and therefore *volte-face* has been identified as a main theme.

When I asked the participants about how their understanding has changed, they could not pinpoint a specific time; they described a whole process which took place over many years and included many events. They explained how they had an understanding of the world before they served in the SADF, and then they were exposed to additional information which changed their original understanding and views. This process was divided into sub-themes which are discussed below.

3.3.1. Pre-existing schema

Most white young men believed the rhetoric of the apartheid government and supported these ideas. Racial segregation was a generally accepted norm by white South Africans before the men went to war and many young men were led to believe that they were under threat of the black people who were communists. As young men, the former SADF soldiers believed and trusted the motives of the Government and different South African institutions.

3.3.2. Additional information

Initially the young soldiers were excited to go to Angola and viewed the war as an adventure; but when they arrived in Angola their excitement suddenly changed as they experienced the horrors and actualities of war.

Many of the participants started to question the purpose and motives of the war while they were still serving in the SADF. Arriving in Angola, their fellow black countrymen fought for the SADF, which contradicted the belief that all black South Africans were communists and part of the enemy. Other participants stated that they only started questioning the motives of the war after they returned back home.

Joe said that he realised that there was another side of life that he was exposed to, that he previously did not see. Advances in technology also opened the access to more information to the public. Most participants feel that they were put under a misperception before and during the time they served as soldiers. Some of them feel that the war was never against communism and

other participants still believe that the war was against communism; this misperception created among the former soldiers makes them feel betrayed.

Martin mentioned that the former SADF soldiers possibly feel betrayed because the same political leaders who urged them to fight in the war negotiated handing over the country to the ANC afterwards and there are rumours that some were informants for the Russian communists during and after the war.

After realising that he was put under a misperception, Charl went through a phase where he felt "lost". During this phase things did not make sense for Charl, he reflected on the ideas of his own identity; he had to make decisions about his believes by rejecting his original understanding and views, inquiring and analysing and in the process went through a "mind-shift". He rediscovered his own identity and in the process brought "himself back".

3.3.3. New schema

At the time of the interviews, a lot of the participants expressed their feelings toward apartheid, disagreeing with apartheid principles. Some of the participants also reject the nationalism that was imposed on them at a young age; and doubt in institutions such as some Churches and its teachings is also common among the participants. Joe questions everything he is told and said that he investigates before making a decision. Charl now believes that God created all human beings equally and that the truth lies in what God says and not in what governments say; and Martin is certain that "other world forces" are at play. All of the participants changed their views

about black people to an extent throughout the years, and feel that people from all races should be treated with respect.

Both Phillip and Joe discussed how their experiences have influenced their view of life; the way that they perceive political decisions being made now. They view promises made by others in a different light, questioning the promise and investigate, examine and take multiple sources into consideration before they trust the promises.

What is interesting about the strong emphasis most participants place on having fundamentally changed their world view is that at first glance this seems contrary to the basic phenomenological logic of betrayal. Per definition betrayal requires one party to remain constant while the other (the betrayer) introduces unilateral change. In fact, however, betrayal always does involve some change in the betrayed also – often imagined as taking on the role of victim (e.g., the lost innocence of the abused child who was betrayed by adults), but sometimes (as seems to be the case for most of these participants) imagined as becoming stronger and wiser, albeit somewhat tinged with cynicism.

3.4. Keeping the score

During the interviews the participants expressed ideas of being disadvantaged by the Border War. The former SADF soldiers' questioning should be understood in the context of *transactions*; and they compare their investments with their return. The theme of *keeping the score* is sub-divided into the themes discussed below.

3.4.1. All in vain

Believing the apartheid government's rhetoric, Phillip sacrificed some things by serving in the SADF; and he later realised that it was all in vain. Most participants said that the former SADF soldiers' lives were put at risk for no reason at all.

3.4.2. People losing their lives

People lost their lives during the war, soldiers fighting on both sides of the war. The participants felt that these lives were lost for no reason because nothing was achieved by fighting. The men did not gain anything by participating in the war. Phillip said that there is nothing to show for these lives that were lost and the war was a futile exercise.

A transaction took place during the Border War, with former political leaders gaining financially by putting the SADF soldiers' lives at risk, trading the soldiers' lives for money. A number of the participants drew a parallel between the Border War and WWII which had similarities; with people in power exchanging the soldiers' lives with money. Individuals in power made decisions on behalf of the conscripts, and the conscripts had no say in the process. Joe expands on this idea and blames the SADF for ill-equipping the former SADF soldiers which could have led to some soldiers losing their lives during the war. Phillip explicitly stated that "if you have to pay the fucking price yourself, it is always too expensive". Nothing can replace the lives that were lost, no amount of money can bring the deceased back to life.

Both soldiers and non-soldiers lost loved ones during the war and this left them heartbroken. Therefore, the non-soldiers also suffered a transactional loss. However, non-soldiers' experiences of betrayal might be different than the soldiers' experiences.

3.4.3. Physical, psychological and financial implications

Although none of the participants lost limbs during the war, one participant mentioned that other former SADF soldiers did lose limbs and now suffer from physical problems.

Although Charl did not discuss the psychological problems of the returning soldiers, he mentioned that they did not receive any psychological support services to adapt back into the South African society. Some of the former SADF soldiers committed suicide; and psychological support services could have helped these men.

Most participants did not explicitly state that they were ashamed of serving in the SADF, but expressed feelings that changed over a period of time, a certain extent of pride along with a sense of shame that followed afterwards, but some participants clearly said that they were proud of serving in the SADF as a soldier. Phillip was ashamed of his Afrikaner culture after the war, but said that he does not have to be ashamed anymore because all people are equal under the new government.

Although the participants did not mention that they themselves suffered financial implications, Joe stated that other soldiers may have suffered financially. The bodily harm caused to some soldiers still has financial implications on them today. Although Joe did not elaborate on this

idea, I would assume that he was referring to the implications on their work and medical costs they still have to incur today.

3.4.4. Twee keer met 'n stok gebliksem

Most participants expressed mixed feelings when they compared the apartheid government with the current South African government. The participants experienced benefits and disadvantages as citizens of both governments. During the interview Joe said that "we won the fight, but lost the war", which could refer to short term benefits, but with bigger long term losses.

Phillip fought for reasons that was imposed on him, only to later on realise that the given reasons were all a lie. A lot of the participants were put under the impression that the ANC formed part of the communist enemy; and a few years after the war the ANC won the first South African democratic elections. This made the participants question the reasons they originally fought for and whether it was worth it. When they returned home, the political situation in South Africa changed drastically and many former SADF soldiers were treated as war criminals having to go onto trial in front of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The Border War was driven by the South African leaders, and now they had to stand in front of the new leaders and explain what they have done during the war and why they have done so. Joe stated the following:

> Daars amper 'n backlash en 'n onreg wat, jy word amper twee keer met 'n stok gebliksem, die eerste keer as jy gaan fight daarvoor en nou kom jy terug en dan is jy magteloos ook...jy weet, so ja, jy raak upset oor die tipe van goed (It's almost a backlash and a unjust, one gets hit with a stick twice, the first time when you fight for it and then when you get back you are also powerless...you know, so yes, one does get upset about this kind of stuff)

Many participants compared the apartheid government with the new government and they accuse the new government of also discriminating against certain races, blaming them for discriminating against the non-black citizens. Most of the former SADF soldiers came to disagree with the apartheid principles after the war, but now face similar yet different problems under the current government. Martin expressed his idea that that South Africa might even be worse off currently than before the change in government. The participants displayed little faith in the current government; and Phillip said that both governments are guilty of corruption.

3.4.5. Time lost

The time of the former SADF soldiers were wasted during the war, time that they will never be able to claim back. Joe missed the birth of one of his daughters because he had to serve in the SADF at the time, and considers special occasions like these as being more important than fighting in a war. This is unfair towards him as a father and unfair against the rest of his family not having him there.

3.5. Just carry on

During the interviews, I asked questions about their current experience of betrayal, guiding the participants to rather talk about their current experience and not only about how they experienced it in the past. Several participants then replied by telling me how they currently cope with the whole experience. They tend to focus their thoughts on the future, rather than trying to understand the past, because they cannot change what had happened previously. The majority of the participants stated that they do not have control of the past, but expressed the idea that they have an influence on the future.

The participants learned valuable lessons throughout the process; their experience taught them how to be independent thinkers and to consider various sources of information before making a decision and Charl now has a better understanding of his own norms and standards. Most of them try to teach the next generation what they have learnt throughout the process; teaching their children to not trust without investigating first.

Some soldiers discuss their past experiences with other former SADF soldiers, and others do not. Joe said that the former SADF soldiers have not learnt how to express their true feelings about their experiences.

Most participants do not have much faith in the capabilities of the current South African government, but they keep on trying to contribute by teaching the younger generation what they have learned from their own experiences; trying to provide the next generation with information to improve South Africa as a country.

Both Martin and Charl are Christians and told me how their faith in Christ has helped them throughout the process and both of them are actively involved in spreading the Word of God today.

3.6. Ambivalence

Several participants displayed some ambivalence in their understanding of the choices they had about conscription; which was compulsory. They said that they only had one choice, to serve in

the SADF. After saying this, some participants said that they were aware of a second option, to serve a jail sentence. If I do understand the participants correctly, they did not view the second option as a possible choice.

Most participants were not clear whether they feel betrayed or not; with them stating that they do feel betrayed and other times saying that they do not feel betrayed. Feeling "sold out" can possibly describe their feelings and thoughts better, with some believing that they were "sold out" by the former government, other participants believing that they were "sold out" by the SADF, some feeling that they were "sold out" by both and some feeling that they were "sold out" by other institutions such as schools and the church.

4. Validation process

During the interview I gave feedback to the participants on how I understood their experience, which was generally well received by each individual. I also gave them the opportunity to verify the accuracy to a certain extent and gave them the chance to correct me if I did not understand them correctly.

5. Summary

Former SADF soldiers' experience of betrayal and the understanding thereof unfolded throughout the research process, this delivered rich material on the topic of betrayal. Each individual had his own experience of betrayal, but by analysing their narratives themes were identified where a shared experience and meaning of betrayal developed.

The participants provided narratives which were analysed and arranged according to themes, they explained their lived experience of betrayal and discussed growing up in a country where no-one questioned the norm, a country where they were indoctrinated from the top down; only to later on receive additional information which caused some of their views to change. They now find themselves in the same country with a different government, agreeing with the democratic principles but the country's people are still suffering from the effects of racial discrimination. The participants' narratives along with a phenomenological analysis give a voice and better understanding of betrayal.

CHAPTER 5: Discussion and recommendations

This chapter summarises the outcomes produced by this study, and compares it with existing literature as discussed in Chapter 2. My own reflections about the findings and research process have been included in the discussion because an interpretive phenomenological approach is grounded in the experiences, perspectives and insights of the researcher. An outline of recommendations for future research as well as recommendations for clinical psychologists is provided and a conclusion serves as the final section of the chapter.

1. Interpretation of the themes

Some interpretive work was already done in the previous chapter. However, this section provides further interpretation, in particular linking the derived themes to literature on betrayal. Elangovan and Shapiro (1998, p. 548) defined betrayal as "a violation of pivotal expectations or assumptions of an individual that puts his or her trust in another". Most participants initially put their trust in the apartheid government, the SADF, the church and other South African institutions and therefore they had certain assumptions of these institutions. As discussed above, these assumptions were violated. According to this definition it can be assumed that the former SADF soldiers experienced betrayal.

These former SADF soldiers placed their trust in the government. This trust was betrayed and they could possibly suffer from psychological betrayal trauma. Discrimination and mistreatment by the government are all causes of pure political betrayal trauma. Trauma such as this can cause amnesia and dissociation, as stated in the section on BTT. This study did not determine if the

participants suffer from amnesia, but some participants described an experience where they had to rediscover reality - possibly an experience of dissociation. This dissociation in discussed in more detail in the sections below.

This research study confirmed what Gear (2002b) had found previously - that (as Apartheid started drawing to a close) the men began to question the motives behind the war and questions were raised as to why the supposedly noble cause they fought for was simply abandoned. Similar to what was found by Graham (2012), all the participants reconstructed their experience of betrayal within their present contexts in post-apartheid South Africa.

The participants experienced others, such as the former government, as being disloyal, dishonest and as failing to offer the participants assistance during times of need. These types of betrayal are identified by Rachman (2010, p. 305) as some of the most common types of betrayal.

The experience of deception leads to feelings of betrayal and causes distrust in the relationship. The following sections discuss the interpretation of the themes in relation to existing literature.

1.1. In the belly of the beast

To get a better understanding of betrayal, the types of relationship and the context have to be taken into consideration. From the perspective of Fiske's (1992) typology of relationships, the relationship between the participants and the perceived betrayers could be viewed as an authority ranking relationship, where people are ordered according to status differences. The former participants found themselves in a relationship characterised by unbalanced positions in a

hierarchical system in which subordinates respect and obey, while superiors take precedence and "authorities often control some aspects of their subordinates' actions" Fiske (1992, p. 691).

Most of the participants discussed *brainwashing* when asked about their experience of betrayal. Most psychological literature prefer using other terms such as *thought control* instead of *brainwashing*; the participants mainly used the term *brainwashing* and therefore I use both terms interchangeably in this research study report.

Springer (2003, p. 147) states that leaders have used thought-reform processes to control many people and caused harm to their welfare in the process. Many terms are used for this process, including *brainwashing*, *thought reform*, *coercive persuasion*, *mind control*, *behaviour control*, and *exploitative persuasion*. The subjects are typically unaware that they are manipulated, controlled and being moved along a path that will lead them to serve interests that may cause them harm; in the process their attitudes and behaviours are controlled (Springer 2003). "When you are the subject of it, you are not aware of the intent of the influence processes that are going on, and especially, you are not aware of the changes taking place within you"; but "these programs do not change people permanently" (Springer, 2003, p. 148).

> Thought reform is a concerted effort to change a person's way of looking at the
> world, which will change his or her behaviour. It is distinguished from other
> forms of social learning by the conditions under which it is conducted and by
> the techniques of environmental and interpersonal manipulation that are meant
> to suppress certain behaviour and to elicit and train other behaviour. And it

does not consist of only one program – there are many ways and methods to accomplish it. (Springer, 2003, pp. 150-152)

The participants clearly narrated their stories of thought control; and discussed most of the criteria above. The do believe that they were deliberately kept unaware of what was going on, their time and physical environment was controlled, they experienced fear and a dependency on the organisations, new attitudes and behaviours were instilled in them and they feel that they were living in a closed system which did not allow input and criticism from outside. When considering all the criteria for thought control, as set out by Springer (2003), it is clear why the former SADF soldiers feel they were "brainwashed". It appears that for many of the participants the wrong done to them goes beyond merely being deceived. They present themselves as having been, in a sense, alienated from their true selves – indoctrinated to such an extent that they did not truly know who they were or what their true place in the world was. Their story is therefore not merely one of discovering that they had been lied to, but of having to emerge from immaturity and the fog of being brainwashed into some sort of mature clarity.

1.2. Different agendas

The former government, the SADF, the church and schools upheld apartheid ideologies by teaching the former soldiers that their country and families were threatened by the communist regime as well as black South Africans. The former SADF soldiers placed their trust in the institutions and therefore believed the rhetoric and subsequently supported the motives of the war and behaved accordingly.

After being sent to war, the participants began to realise that others may have had other motives to support the war and made the participants believe that they were put under a false impression. The deception broke the trust and the psychological contract assumptions the participants initially had. The participants believe that the one they trusted intentionally harmed them for their own benefit. Others' hidden motives thus play a crucial role in the former SADF soldiers' experience of betrayal.

Most participants experienced the betrayal as being intentional, intensifying their feelings of being harmed. The betrayal was driven by the betrayers' hidden motives and therefore the participants portray the betrayers as being deceivers. Elangoven and Shapiro (1998) distinguish between different types of betrayal and state that "a highly political and conflict-ridden organizational environment is a prime breeding ground for premeditated betrayal" (Elangoven & Shapiro, 1998, p. 551). None of the betrayers showed any remorse in the participants' accounts, possibly causing feelings of anger and hate towards the betrayers and affecting how the participants feel about the world at large.

The participants disagree whether the betrayal was *premeditated* or *opportunistic* intentional betrayal; the fact however remains that most participants feel that it was intentional, which heightens their feelings and distrust in the betrayers. Whereas the participants see themselves as having been brainwashed and therefore not culpable, they do not believe apartheid authorities to have been similarly brainwashed, but to have acted in a cold and calculating way, in full knowledge of the fact that they are perpetrating a lie.

There is a tinge of conspiracy theory in each of the participant's accounts. The common element is that the participants feel there were forces at work that they were too naïve to know about or that they were deliberately being kept in the dark about. The idea of a cabal of "knowing conspirators" who deliberately misled and brainwashed young people finds its most explicit (and perhaps far-fetched) expression in Phillip's account. However, the majority of the other accounts also contained traces of this same idea.

1.3. Volte-face

Most participants described a process in which their attitudes, opinion or position changed. Therefore, it is not possible to fully understand the former SADF soldiers' experience of betrayal without understanding their experience of a *volte-face*, their change in attitude, opinion or position.

The participants made certain assumptions, as suggested by Janoff-Bulman's (1992) Shattered Assumptions Theory (SAT). They trusted the former government, the SADF, the churches, the schools, their parents and others because they believed that the world is benevolent, the world is meaningful and the self is worthy. The participants formed social psychological contracts, shaped by unspoken internalised expectations and concealed agreements about behaviour as suggested by Krantz (2006, p. 230). An example of an internalised concealed agreement was the soldiers' willingness to fight for their country. They formed these social psychological contracts because they assumed they shared the same beliefs and motives as the ones they trusted. As mentioned, trust is an integral part of betrayal (Rachman, 2010; Koehler and Gershoff, 2003; Fitness, 2001). The information supplied by the government and other authorities created a

certain attitude and opinion that was instilled in the participants, and in-turn they supported the motives behind the war.

After being exposed to additional information and experiences the participants' opinion changed. Janoff-Bulman (1992) state that a traumatic experience, such as the participants' experience of betrayal, causes sudden and powerful threats for the assumptive beliefs, and in turn could cause the assumptions to be shattered. The participants did not mention the shattering of their own assumptions, but they do describe a process where they changed their attitude and opinion, a *volte-face*. Most participants experienced disillusionment, dissociation and possibly despair as suggested. For example, Charl speaks of having gone through a period of being deeply confused and acting in an uncaring, violent manner that he no longer sees as typical of himself

SAT suggests that coping tasks involve the reconstruction of assumptive beliefs, or to construct a new assumptive world. Fitness (2001, p. 8) state that betrayal will prompt conscious cognitive effort by the betrayed party, to figure out the origins and consequences of the betrayal, like many of the participants described themselves as having done. Some participants discussed a process of having to rediscover their own identities, rediscovering who they were and what they believed in, implying that they might have experienced dissociation. They do not believe that the world is benevolent anymore and they do not quite as readily assume that the world is meaningful after they experienced the betrayal. Most participants constructed a new assumptive world, mainly trusting themselves, and only trusting others that have proven themselves to be trustworthy, or in some cases God. Until they have taken additional information into consideration, they generally do not trust others anymore.

Interestingly, Paul's experience was not one of betrayal per se, and he did not mention the *volte-face* experience described by the rest of the participants. Betrayal Trauma Theory (Freyd, 1997) suggests that the betrayed might stay unaware or forget the betrayal in order to preserve relationships, institutions, and social systems upon which they depend. It could therefore be argued that Paul is staying unaware of the betrayal to preserve relationships on which he depends. My impression was that Paul, more so than the other participants, associated with friends and family who continued to believe in the basic principles of apartheid. Freyd and DePrince (2001b) state that prolonged blockage of information leads to difficulty in assessing trustworthiness of people in the future. Most participants, excluding Paul, have strong opinions on how they asses the trustworthiness of people currently.

However, it should be borne in mind that participants' experiences can also be understood more simply – as purely a process of growing from youth into adulthood in a time of political turmoil. The volte-face they describe can no doubt be attributed to many elements, including perhaps other, interpersonal, forms of betrayal they experienced and one should be careful not to over-interpret their sense of political betrayal as the only cause of their personal change. Moreover, participants were not simply recounting their experiences in a neutral manner. To some extent they were, no doubt, making a case for why they have no personal culpability for what happened under apartheid, while also trying to be helpful by fitting their narrative to what they perceived to be the requirements of my research.

1.4. Keeping the score

The participants questioned whether the Border War was worth it. As mentioned, the former

SADF soldiers' questioning should be understood in the context of *transactions*; they asked "was

it worth it?" and compared their investments with their return. Most participants came to the

conclusion that the investments outweigh the returns and therefore stated that "it was all in vain".

They were harmed in this process, not by a friend, relative, partner or colleague, but by leaders

and institutions they trusted. *Keeping the score* has thus been identified as one of the major

themes of the former SADF soldiers' experience of betrayal. The *transactions, investments* and

returns are discussed in more detail below.

The basic principles of transactions are as follow:

- If the return is *bigger or equal* to the investment, then the transaction is *worthwhile*.

- If the return is *smaller* than the investment, then the transaction is *not worthwhile*.

In the former SADF soldiers' context, the transaction would have been worthwhile if their

returns were bigger or equal to the investments made. The former SADF soldiers invested their

time, minds, emotions, and their bodies for what they believed to be a good cause. They feel

betrayed by the leaders and institutions they trusted, and in return the former SADF soldiers did

not gain any returns that were worthwhile. They invested a lot, and in return they lost a lot - they

received persecution, they received a country where they were perceived as being the

perpetrator, a country full of corruption and a failing system, a country where they feel they are

now discriminated against. In the process the former SADF soldiers lost trust, they lost fellow

soldiers, they lost family members, they lost vital time with their loved ones and they possibly

lost their own innocence. They experienced a loss of protection and security that citizens seek in a government. Some participants also mentioned that soldiers may have lost financially in the process and that citizens have lost emotionally by losing family members in the war. Therefore they feel that it was "all in vain". Not only do the participants feel that it was not worthwhile, but they feel that they were harmed by the betrayal; this experience of harm fits with Rachman's (2010, p. 302) definition of betrayal – a sense of being harmed by a trusted other.

The participants experienced a breach of psychological contracts and Morrison and Robinson (1997) argue that psychological contracts play a vital role in betrayal. The participants invested emotional resources in the relationships, they behaved in a way that respected the contract, only to be let down by their leaders. The breach of psychological contracts produced a sense of betrayal. In summary, participants' sense of betrayal goes beyond feeling that they have been misled and brainwashed – they also feel that in some sense they have ben swindled. They were lured into a transaction with the apartheid state, they paid their dues, and they came out the other side having been done it.

1.5. Just carry on

During the interviews, I asked the participants what impact the betrayal had on their everyday lives. Most of them clearly described how the betrayal influences the way they process information, how they perceive others' motives, how they decide if someone is trustworthy and how it influences their everyday behaviour.

According to Fitness (2001) the reactions to the betrayal are cues to how the betrayal was interpreted and what the consequences might be. Each participant interpreted the betrayal in a different way, they experienced different emotions. The participants integrated their experiences and assessed reality from multiple perspectives, which is consistent with Krantz's (2006) depressive mode of coping strategy.

The participants' experience of betrayal disrupted an on-going relationship with the perceived betrayers; the participants not only question the motives behind the war, but they also question motives given to them by similar people and institutions in their everyday lives. The participants not only distrust the betrayers, but they also distrust others who did not betray them in their in their daily lives.

In deciding who is trustworthy, most participants take existing sources of information into consideration and they also seek additional information which could inform their decision-making. The take their own experiences, their own knowledge into consideration and explore other sources from where they can gain new knowledge. They are sceptics because of their past experiences, experiences of deception by leaders and institutions with hidden motives; they question everyone and everything before believing. Again, however, one should bear in mind that participants' accounts are not necessarily a neutral reflection of how they are or feel themselves to be, but are to some extent a performance put on for my benefit. It is not difficult to imagine that on occasion a gullible and naïve individual might want to present himself as a hard-bitten skeptics.

The participants are not committed to the former or current government anymore, some are not

committed to the church and the SADF and some even question the role of schools and culture.

This loss of protection and security mentioned above arguably caused some psychological

withdrawal from and reduced emotional investments in institutions, which is consistent with

what Krantz (2006) stated. Griffith, Connelly and Thiel (2011, p. 516) found that when people

perceive their leaders as being ethical, honest, constant, and just, they feel more connected to

their leaders and in-turn the system works better; if people and their leaders do not have common

respect and trust, the people will be less committed to their leaders and their organizations. The

participants' trust was destroyed by the betrayal and therefore they are not committed to the

perceived betrayers and betraying institutions. The former SADF soldiers disentangled

themselves from the betrayers as suggested by Buunk (1982). They separated themselves by not

supporting the principles of the apartheid government, and some even separated themselves from

the church. The men displayed distrust in many of the betraying parties such as the old and new

government, the church, the schools and also is some cases their Afrikaans culture.

Koehler and Gershoff (2003) state that some betrayed individuals do not respond at all.

However, the participants said that that they "just carry on", it should not be assumed that they

do not respond at all. Some participants asked "what can we do?" suggesting that they might feel

helpless, feeling that a response will not make a difference to the outcomes and that they are

forced to accept outcomes that they do not voluntarily choose. Most participants respond by

exerting control over the things that are within their control and by teaching others what they

have learnt by their experience and teaching them to be aware of others' motives and how to make decisions.

1.6. Ambivalence

Many participants were inconsistent in their statements about conscription and whether they have been betrayed. *Ambivalence* has thus been identified as one of the major themes of the former SADF soldiers' experience of betrayal.

During the interviews many participants contradicted themselves by saying that they did not have a choice but to serve in the SADF, only to later on say that they were aware of individuals who decided not to be conscripted. These men had to serve a jail sentence, and therefore the participants possibly feel that it was not an option, leaving them with one option, to be conscripted into the SADF.

When I asked the participants if they feel betrayed, a lot of the participants were indecisive. They stated that they were betrayed and that they were not betrayed in the same interview. They were hesitant to use the word *betrayal*, and chose to use other words such as *deceit* and *sold out*.

It was mentioned that in general the former SADF soldiers have not yet fully shared their experiences before, during and after their military service with others, nor fully processed it for themselves. During the interviews all the participants had strong personal opinions about what had happened; but it is possible that they still try to make sense of their experience of betrayal.

2. Research process reflection

In a phenomenological study, the researcher plays an interactive role throughout the research process. It is therefore appropriate to include my own experience of conducting the interviews and doing the analysis.

Phenomenology came to be my best friend throughout the process, trying to understand its intricate details. At the same stage, this sophisticated philosophy also became my worst enemy in completing the study. A great deal of time was spent trying to understand the philosophy and valuable time that should have been spent on the actual study was lost. This effort to fully understand phenomenological philosophy was short-lived and I realized that I had to focus on phenomenology as a research method guiding the specific study. Grappling with the details of phenomenology as a philosophy was however beneficial as it could be used as a research approach in future without much hesitation.

The first interview was approached with a sense of hesitation after postponing the data gathering process by a number of months. I went through a process where I doubted my interviewing skills and where I did not start the interviews because of a fear of doing it incorrectly. I was reassured by my supervisor that this feeling was normal and that I should start by conducting the first interview and doing the analysis. After completing the analysis I found that the interviews elicited sufficient information. Having a passion for the research topic, I found the interviews themselves to be a very interesting, giving me new insight into the topic of betrayal. The interaction between the two parties ran effortlessly.

I believe it is practically impossible for the researcher not to introduce his own subjective thoughts and ideas during the interview. However, it is important that the researcher should keep the focus of the research in mind while conducting the interview without obstructing the flow of the narrative when eliciting the spontaneous lived experience of each individual. I found this to be a very difficult undertaking. Keeping phenomenology as the guiding philosophy in mind, I generated a number of questions that could guide the interview and explore the lived experience of the participants. This was done seeing that I do not have experience in conducting phenomenological interviews.

I also grappled to understand the principles of the hermeneutical process before the analysis was done. During the analysis I found that I gained a deeper understanding of the former SADF soldiers' experience of betrayal; taking the analysed themes back to the transcribed interviews and adjusting the themes repeatedly gave me better insight into their lived experience. This was painstaking as I tried to gain a deeper understanding by continuously repeating the process, and at a certain stage I realised that this report had to be completed, that I had to write-up the findings and conclusions. I believe that this process can still be repeated endlessly and a deeper understanding will be gained.

3. Reflection on betrayal in my own life

Although I set out to understand former SADF soldiers' lived experience of betrayal, I found myself thinking about what my lived experience of betrayal was. Before I started this research study, I never took much time to think what my understanding of betrayal was. Interviewing the participants, doing the analysis and reading existing literature made me think about my own experiences and understanding of betrayal and what it meant to me.

Before I undertook this research study, I never fully understood what betrayal meant in my own life. I was consciously aware of certain betrayal incidents in my life, but other incidents also came to mind in this research process; incidents that I would not have described as betrayals previously, but that I do now consider as betrayals.

What I found more interesting was not the newly identified experiences of betrayals in my life, but rather the self-reflection of these experiences. In some of the incidents I was the victim, and in other the betrayer without even noticing it in the past. This made me think about the experiences and in many of the incidents relationships were harmed. I strongly believe in asking for forgiveness and forgiving others; and I apologised to some of the people that I may have betrayed. Some of the betrayed forgave me and I believe others did not; but I now do understand why they reacted in the way they did when the betrayal took place. Currently I am more aware and sensitive to my own actions and how others may possibly perceive it as betrayal. Reflecting on the instances where I felt betrayed, I thought about how I dealt with it. Many times these thoughts were very uncomfortable and it hurt to realise how I have caused harm to others without even noticing it; it created an internal conflict, making me question my own identity. Am I a victim of betrayal? Am I a perpetrator of betrayal? Am I both a victim and perpetrator? What do I want to be? As a victim I now understand my thoughts and feelings better, and if I am betrayed in future, I now know what to expect and how to better cope with it. This research gave me insight into my own thoughts and will most definitely influence my actions not only as a person betrayed, but also as someone who can harm others in the process of betrayal. I try to be consciously aware of my actions, to not betray others; but I do accept the possibility that other

might feel that I have betrayed them, and therefore I need to act quickly to minimise the harm that may be caused.

My own experiences of betrayal have also influenced my worldviews. I had a certain worldview before each experience of betrayal, only for it to change after the betrayal took place. I agree with Phillip as he said "it permeates everything"; my view of religion, love, relationships, authority, my own identity, family, friends, work and many more has changed throughout the experience and process of betrayal.

4. Recommendations

Many key issues arose from the discussion of the themes and the implications of the study for practice is discussed. The aim of the study was to understand and to provide a rich description of former SADF soldiers' lived experience by focusing on the psychology of betrayal. The findings of this study come from a limited number of former SADF soldiers and therefore it cannot be generalised. However, it is still possible that the findings of this study may help both therapists and the general public to get a better understanding of the former soldiers' experience. Recommendations for future research and for clinical psychologists are discussed in the sections below.

4.1. Recommendations for future research

Further qualitative and quantitative research can be done on the psychology of betrayal in the organizational and group context. It is recommended that:

- Further research is conducted on former SADF soldiers' experience of betrayal over a longer period of time; seeing that they understand their experience in the context of an ever changing South Africa.

- A research project of similar format might take this opportunity to ask other population groups to reflect on their experience of betrayal.

- Different methodological designs could be used to obtain different aspects of betrayal.

- As suggested by Maggs-Rapport (2000), combining ethnography and interpretive phenomenology may yield information on the experience of betrayal in a cultural context.

4.2. Recommendations for clinical psychologists

The essential structures of the lived experience of betrayal could give new meanings to the way betrayal is viewed by psychologists. The essential structures found serve as the background from where the following recommendation is made.

Clinical psychologists typically familiarise themselves with their patients' history during the initial consultation intake interview. The information produced by the intake interviews guide the psychologists throughout their process with their patients. It is therefore suggested that, if a patient is a former SADF soldier, then the patient may have experienced betrayal. Understanding the former SADF soldiers' experience of betrayal could possibly assist clinical psychologists to better support their patients. The themes identified above could guide the psychologist to probe about the soldiers' experiences if needed.

As discussed in chapter 2, betrayal is related to Borderline Personality Disorder, depression, OCD and PTSD. It is suggested that clinical psychologists take this study's findings into consideration when dealing with the above mentioned psychopathologies.

5. Limitations of the study

5.1. Overview

There are limitations in both qualitative and quantitative research approaches. The participants were of one gender, interview transcripts were the single source of data used and researcher bias could all be possible limitations.

5.2. Methodology

Phenomenology served as an appropriate research approach which guided the methodology to study former SADF soldiers' experience of betrayal. Phenomenology as a research methodology was not without its problems. For example, conducting semi-structured interviews presented some issues. When using a phenomenological philosophy that guides the research, we find that the researcher has to bracket and suspend any presuppositions and knowledge pertaining to the phenomenon under study; therefore, unstructured interviews are more appropriate than semi-structured interviews. As a researcher with few phenomenological interview experiences, I decided to use semi-structured interviews.

The interview structure also proved to be a challenge. I did not want to impose the idea that all former SADF soldiers' experienced betrayal on the participants. The interview therefore did not

start with a general open-ended question relating to the phenomenon, as would generally be

expected in a phenomenological interview. Questions were asked that could possibly elicit the

mentioning of betrayal and probing into the topic would take place from there.

5.3. Sample size

Giorgi and Giorgi (2003, p. 258) state that the aim of qualitative studies is not to quantify and

that "quantification is not the only means of achieving precision". Phenomenological studies

typically make use of small sample sizes and are sufficient as long as the information is rich and

the meaning of the phenomenon is yielded.

Originally the aim was to interview at least eight participants; but when I started familiarising

and immersing myself in the transcribed interviews I soon realised that the five interviews that

was conducted yielded sufficient information and a deeper understanding of the meaning of the

betrayal they experienced.

5.4. Gender of the sample

The population from which the sample was drawn mostly consists of men. Females were not

conscripted into the SADF during the border war; therefore the sample was only made up of men

and it is possible that women may have a different experience of betrayal.

5.5. Interview transcripts as the singular source of data

The only method of data collection was through interviews that were transcribed afterwards.

Probing and funnelling were used as techniques to yield in-depth information, but some

information may have been lost in asking one question and not the other. Interviews gave the researcher the chance to clarify statements when they were ambiguous.

I was not an experienced interviewer before the interviews were conducted and this could have influenced the quality of the interviews. The process of improving my own interview skills are discussed in a later chapter when reflecting on the interview process.

5.6. Researcher bias

"Bracketing" in phenomenological studies aims to minimize researcher bias. Bracketing refers to the researcher putting aside all beliefs and presuppositions of the phenomenon. No method of research is free of limitations. Being aware of these limitations and putting measures in place to overcome the limitations is crucial in any research study; I therefore kept notes of my own beliefs and presuppositions to overcome this limitation.

5.7. Culture

This research included the experiences of white English and Afrikaans speaking South African males only. Individuals from other cultural groups, with different ideologies and expectations may have different experiences of betrayal. The SADF did not consist entirely of white soldiers, but also included many black, coloured and Indian South Africans. Interesting and valuable information may be yielded when comparing different cultural groups' experience of betrayal.

6. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to explore and understand former SADF soldiers' lived experience of betrayal. A lot of the themes resulting from this study produced concepts that have been described in previous studies. This study however, expanded on the descriptions, giving a richer meaning and new insight into the former SADF soldiers' experience of betrayal.

The study was guided by two research questions:

1. How do former SADF soldiers experience betrayal? and

2. What impact does betrayal have on their everyday lives?

In answering the first question, the themes yielded by the study provide a full description of the former SADF soldiers' experience of betrayal. The participants described South Africa under control of the apartheid government, the control of information and indoctrination and how it "brainwashed" the soldiers without them even noticing it. Many participants believe that their leaders had hidden motives, and that their leaders deliberately placed the soldiers under a misconception. The political environment changed drastically during the 1980s and 1990s and the participants experienced a *volte-face*; a change in their beliefs, attitude and opinion. They now believe that it was all in vain; they lost more than they have gained throughout the process.

The study also provided an in-depth understanding of what the impact of betrayal is on their everyday lives. Their experience of betrayal has led them to doubt the motives and intentions of others in the everyday lives. They are cautious of trusting others and prefer gathering additional information from various sources before believing something or placing their trust in someone.

Many of the participants focus on the present and future, because they have no control of the past. They do however express dissatisfaction with the current government, which played a role in their experience of betrayal.

It is evident that each participant's individual experience of betrayal is unique and the participants discussed various ways in which they interpret the betrayal. Therefore the findings of this study should be generalised with caution.

Betrayal has been identified as a major problem that former SADF soldiers face in their everyday lives. The psychological effects have also been highlighted in the literature review chapter; and it is clear that it may have an impact on the healthy functioning of the betrayed (Fitness, 2001). The study provides a deeper understanding of their experience of betrayal and recommendations were made about how the findings can assist clinical psychologist to deal with former SADF soldiers. Suggestions for future research about betrayal were also made.

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Appendices

FORMER SADF SOLDIER'S EXPERIENCE: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY

Informed Consent Agreement

Please read this consent agreement carefully before you decide to participate in the study.

You are being invited to participate in a research study about the lived experience of the former SADF soldier. This study is being conducted by David Olivier, a student from the Department of Psychology at the University of South Africa, under supervision of Prof. Martin Terre Blanche. The study is being conducted as part of a Master's dissertation.

There are **no costs to you** for participating in the study. The information you provide will serve as primary information in the proposed study. The interview will take about one hour to complete. The information collected may not benefit you directly, but the information learned in this study should provide more general benefits.

This interview is **anonymous**. No one will be able to identify you or your interview, and no one will know whether or not you participated in the study. Individuals from the University of South Africa may inspect these records. Should the data be published, no individual information will be disclosed.

Your participation in this study is **voluntary**. By completing the interview, you are voluntarily agreeing to participate. You are free to decline to answer any particular question you do not wish to answer for any reason and to withdraw from the interview at any time.

You will receive **no payment** for participating in the study.

For questions about the study, contact:

Prof. Martin Terre Blanche   Date:_____
Department of Psychology
University of South Africa   Name: _____
(012) 429 8085
terremj@unisa.ac.za   Signature:_____