

**INTERGENERATIONAL HUMILIATION: EXPLORING EXPERIENCES OF CHILDREN AND
GRAND-CHILDREN OF VICTIMS OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS**

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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(25/05/2016)

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I declare that Intergenerational Humiliation: Exploring Experiences of Children and Grand-children of Victims of Gross Human Rights Violations 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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MASTER'S DEGREE DATA

5. Full name of university conferring degree, and college or division if appropriate

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA, COLLEGE OF HUMAN SCIENCES, DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

6. Abbreviation for degree awarded
98570-RCO

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September, 2016

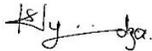
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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to God, in You I live and move and have my being. To my husband, Edgar, you have been there to spur me on when I thought I would not make it. You are my number one encourager. Thank you for being there. To my children Mazvita Zoe, Munotida Joanna and Jesse Joel, I know you have been asking when I will finish this work. It is finally complete and I thank you for your patience. To the memory of my mother, Dorothy Dube, whose courage, strength and wisdom continue to spur me on. To the greater family, Taffy and Marian Bvongo, Winders and Fadzai Mpofu, thank you all so much for your graciousness, hospitality and love. You were my home away from home during the undertaking of this project.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work has been a collaborative effort with many who gave of their time and advice. Special thanks are therefore extended to the following:

- ❖ To my supervisor, Dr. Cyril Adonis, I would like to thank you for your time, patience and encouragement to bring out the writer in me. Thank you for encouraging me to aim high, to be confident and creative in building a perspective.
- ❖ To Dr. Marjory Jobson of the Khulumani Support Group, thank you for paving the way for me to meet the children and grandchildren of victims. To the team at head office: Manini Nathane, Franz Mogajana, Angela Tembo, thank you for your administrative support and ensuring I get to my rendezvous points. Thank you to Nomarussia Bonase and Judy Seidman for helping me to gain a better understanding of the victim experience within the apartheid context.
- ❖ To the victims and their families, to me you are not ‘victims’ but ‘survivors’. Thank you for so graciously availing your time to sit and share with me about your experiences. I am truly indebted to you. Thank you so much and I also pray and hope that the many dreams and aspirations you have will one day come to pass.
- ❖ To Nako Setoboli, thank you for being my ‘cultural advisor’ helping to bridge the language gap and ensuring that I come to an increased understanding of the different ethnicities that make up the great nation of South Africa.
- ❖ To my lecturers in the Department of Psychology, thank you for allowing me the opportunity to embark on this masters’ programme. Thank you for the many lessons that were so ingeniously designed to ensure that I am empowered to become a researcher. Professor Eduard Fourie, I will always remember your encouragement to us as a group with the MARC programme being likened to a personal journey of discovery. One in which you discover yourself anew, and hopefully grow from that. Thank you.
- ❖ To Professor Kitty Dumont of the College of Graduate Studies, thank you for availing your time and a forum for us, students, to learn more about research and the many ways in which it may be understood and implemented.
- ❖ To my fellow MARC-2013 colleagues, I treasure the time we had together. It was a special year in which we got to learn and grow together. All the best in your endeavours!

ABSTRACT

While intergenerational transmission of trauma has been widely studied, there is a paucity of literature on intergenerational humiliation. Furthermore, humiliation is regarded as a significant feature of transgenerational transmission of trauma and revenge production. Therefore, the present study aimed to contribute to addressing this paucity and to explore and understand intergenerational humiliation as experienced by 20 children and grandchildren of victims of apartheid-era gross human rights violations. Conceptually, historical trauma theory framed the study. A hermeneutic phenomenological methodology was used to achieve the aims. Through purposive-criterion sampling, data was collected and analysed using interpretive phenomenological analysis. Results show that the consequences of intergenerational humiliation are varied as feelings of hurt and loss perpetuate through the generations. Although positive influences counter these feelings within a generation, they remain alive in memories. This has implications on ethnic and racial inter-group relations as transitional societies such as South Africa seek social cohesion.

KEY TERMS DESCRIBING THE TOPIC OF A DISSERTATION/THESIS

Title of Dissertation:

INTERGENERATIONAL HUMILIATION: EXPLORING EXPERIENCES OF CHILDREN AND GRAND-CHILDREN OF VICTIMS OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

Key Terms:

Intergenerational; humiliation; historical trauma; apartheid; victims of gross human rights violations; hermeneutic phenomenology.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following list of abbreviations was of terms used in the dissertation.

Abbreviation	Definition
APLA	Azanian People's Liberation Army
ANC	African National Congress
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
COA	Committee on Amnesty
CHRVs	Committee on Human Rights Violations
CRRVs	Committee on Reparations and Rehabilitation of Victims
GHRVs	Gross human rights violations
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IPA	Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis
IGH	Intergenerational Humiliation
KO	Khulumani Officer
LCP	Life Course Perspective
MK	Umkonto we Sizwe
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NP	National Party
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PAC	Pan-Africanist Congress
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
RDP	Reconstructive and Development Programme
RCT	Relational Cultural Theory
SACP	South African Communist Party
SAP	South African Police
SCT	Social Categorisation Theory
SIT	Social Identity Theory
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UDF	United Democratic Front

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CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

“Overcoming poverty is not the task of charity it is an act of justice; like slavery and apartheid, poverty is not natural. It is man-made and it can be overcome and eradicated by the actions of human beings. Sometimes it falls on a generation to be great. You can be that great generation. Let your greatness blossom”

Nelson Mandela¹

“To live that life, its money and to go and acquire a skill, its money. You see that, every day in this world – but where should I get this money? So humiliation it’s a daily thing, it’s a daily thing”²

1.1 Overview

On 10 May 1994, the first democratically elected, non-racial government assumed office in South Africa. This momentous occasion sought to introduce a human-rights culture to a country that had largely practised discrimination and marginalisation of non-White race groups well before 1948 when apartheid was formally introduced. However, despite these years of democratic rule, the country is still faced with overcoming the legacy of apartheid that amongst other factors, serves to “... affect the structure and situation of families” (Holborn & Eddy, 2011, p. 1). These negative effects gain particular salience in families that have endured traumatic experiences as was the case with many Black South African families.

Researchers have studied intergenerational transmission of man-made trauma extensively (Felsen, 1998; Solomon, 1998; Danieli, 1998). Findings revealed that traumatic effects are felt at family as well as at societal levels. For example, within the family context, diminished parenting occurs due to psychological disorders such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Felsen, 1998; Solomon, 1998). From a wider societal context, the resulting economic, social and political effects of trauma are felt both at family and society at large (Burns, Logue, & Bush, 2010).

These multigenerational effects of trauma have psychological, legal and political consequences (Danieli, 1998), all of which can be experienced as humiliating. In fact, some scholars argue that humiliation is a central feature in transgenerational transmitted trauma (Volkan, 2009). Lindner (2002) referred to humiliation as the nuclear bomb of emotions. Goldman and Coleman (2005) claimed that its potency also contributes to the intractability of conflict and, hence, according to Cobb (2004), the production of revenge. Nonetheless, not much is known about the intergenerational effects of humiliation. This

¹ Faison (2013)

² This is a quote from one of the participants of the present study.

may be so because humiliation has not been widely studied (Lindner, 2002; Klein, 1991). Furthermore, a review of the literature suggests that empirical studies of intergenerational humiliation are lacking. Hence, the present study aimed to explore and understand intergenerational humiliation as experienced by children and grandchildren of victims of apartheid-era gross human rights violations (GHRVs). It was envisaged that results from this study will make a contribution to knowledge on intergenerational humiliation and give insight into the possible implications it may have for individuals, families and society as a whole.

1.2 Conceptual Framework

Conceptually, historical trauma theory underpins the study. This theory is seen as appropriate as it adequately explains the environment within which transmission processes are likely to take place from one generation to the next. Developed in the 1960s, historical trauma theory was based on studies conducted with Holocaust survivors who exhibited persistent traumatic symptoms, which they transferred on to their offspring in a process referred to as “historical trauma response” (Sotero, 2006, p. 96).

According to Sotero (2006), historical trauma theory consists of three theoretical strands. The first one is the psychosocial theory, which posits that the social environment contains stressors that can trigger physical and/or mental illness. The second is the political economic theory, which focuses on political and socio-economic inequalities in disease and wellbeing. The third theoretical strand is the social/ecological theory, which in essence takes a life course perspective in trying to understand what causes physical and psychological disease. The life course perspective (LCP) “... emphasises the importance of time, context, process and meaning on human development and family life” (Bengston & Allen, 1993, p. 471).

In particular, it also takes into account that human development does not progress unabated, but that certain events that occur within the social environment have the potential to disturb this progression, therefore affecting both individual and family contexts (Sotero, 2006). Through the LCP, it will be possible to assess “... issues of transition and transmission in families over periods of time and the socially constructed meanings that result from transitions and transmissions” (Bengston & Allen, 1993, p. 469). Humiliation occurs within a social context that holds unique meaning to those affected by it (Lindner, 2001a). Within the LCP, this social context is seen as a crucial element in

understanding human development and change (Bengston & Allen, 1993). Applying life course principles will make it possible to obtain social meaning to events that occur in an individual's life, their development and relationships over time (Bengston & Allen, 1993). Moreover, it is important to assess the extent of this phenomenon that may have affected the interplay of the chronological, individual and generational family timeframe (Bengston & Allen, 1993).

1.3 Problem Statement

Children and grandchildren of victims of apartheid-era gross human rights violations (GHRVs) grow up in families that come from a traumatic apartheid past. Many victims had been tortured and Vorbrüggen and Baer (2007) have argued that torture is designed to humiliate the victim, group or entire society. The resulting effects of this type of trauma are defencelessness and feelings of humiliation which may persist for entire lifetimes (Vorbrüggen & Baer, 2007). Furthermore, traumatisation may potentially have protracted “interpersonal and multigenerational effects among family members” (Simpson, 1998, p. 489). The consequences of this apartheid legacy are further compounded by a milieu of social problems (Walaza, 2003).

Hamber (1998) indicated that today victims face challenges such as unemployment, drug abuse and psychological trauma caused by witnessing and experiencing atrocities that occurred during the apartheid past. Considering the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) process and the plight of victims of apartheid-era GHRVs, Campbell (2000) highlighted that victims wanted retributive justice mainly due to their perceptions that perpetrators were not remorseful for what they had done. Hence, after the TRC process, victims of apartheid-era GHRVs felt neglected both in terms of their health and psychological wellbeing, and called for another commission of inquiry (Campbell, 2000).

According to the TRC Final Report (as cited in Hamber, 2000) 38% of those who testified asked for monetary assistance, while 90% indicated financial aid would help them gain access to education, health and housing. These findings bring a sombre reality to the fore. Economic growth has failed to reach the poor, and so poverty remains while the gap between rich and poor widens (Morkel, 2011). Wilkinson, Kawachi, and Kennedy (as cited in Seedat, Van Niekerk, Jewkes, Suffla, & Ratele, 2009) indicated that poverty and inequality have the potential to produce feelings of humiliation, shame, and loss of self-respect. According to van den Heever (as cited in Sacco, 2002/2003), South Africa is

financially able to address poverty. However, Sacco (2002/2003) commented that victims of apartheid-era GHRVs “live with added challenges, and experience profound marginalisation” (para. 1). Furthermore, little is known of the plight of children and grandchildren of victims of apartheid-era GHRVs as they grow up in a society faced with these challenges. In the same vein, although much research has centred on intergenerational transmission of trauma, little is known about intergenerational humiliation. This may partly be because of a paucity of scholarly literature on humiliation (Ginges & Atran, 2008; Hartling, 2007; Lindner, 2002).

1.4 Research Aims and Objectives

The aim of this study was to explore and understand intergenerational humiliation as experienced by 20 children and grandchildren of victims of apartheid-era GHRVs. In order to achieve this aim, the following specific objectives were pursued:

- To explore and understand the causes of intergenerational humiliation in the lives of children and grandchildren of victims of apartheid-era gross human rights violations;
- To explore and understand the consequences of intergenerational humiliation in the lives of children and grandchildren of victims of apartheid-era gross human rights violations;
- To explore and understand how these consequences are managed or addressed.

1.5 Research Questions

The overall research question for the study was: *How is intergenerational humiliation experienced by the children and grandchildren of victims of apartheid-era gross human rights violations?* The following sub-questions were addressed:

- What are the causes of intergenerational humiliation in the lives of children and grandchildren of victims of apartheid-era gross human rights violations?
- What are the consequences of intergenerational humiliation in the lives of children and grandchildren of victims of apartheid-era gross human rights violations?
- How do they manage or address these consequences?

1.6 Research Approach

This study is grounded within the interpretive paradigm. Mack (2010) explained that the interpretivist paradigm is “heavily influenced by phenomenology and hermeneutics” (p. 7). Early thinkers such as Edmund Husserl and Arthur Schultz within the phenomenological philosophy, and Wilhelm Dilthey and Hans-George Gadamer within the hermeneutics philosophy, were associated with interpretivism (Mack, 2010). The interpretive paradigm’s main idea is that reality is not objective, but should be understood from the person/s subjective view (Mack, 2010). Therefore, the role of the researcher within this paradigm is to make sense of the multiple realities of participants (Mack, 2010).

The methodology for the study was seen as appropriate because of several reasons. The aim of the study was in line with the premise espoused in the interpretive paradigm, namely, that of considering the subjective experiences of the participant (Mack, 2010). Humiliation is fundamentally a subjective emotion (Hartling & Luchetta, 1999), thus Tangney and Fischer (as cited in Trumbull, 2008) indicated that humiliation is part of the self-conscious group of emotions. Therefore, it is better understood from the participant’s perspective. Furthermore, hermeneutic phenomenology is seen as ideal for this study as it accounts for historicity (Lavery, 2003). Heidegger pointed out that a person is who he is today because of his past and the culture he obtains from birth (Lavery, 2003). The children and grandchildren of victims of apartheid-era gross human rights violations come from a rich cultural heritage tainted by a traumatic past. The hermeneutic phenomenological methodology enabled the researcher to explore these past experiences, their effects over time, the way in which individuals made sense of them (Steeves, 2000) and, in particular, their understanding of humiliation and its intergenerational nature within this context.

1.7 Significance of the Study

It is envisaged that the study will help in bringing awareness of intergenerational humiliation as it is experienced by children and grandchildren of apartheid-era victims of GHRVs and how this is tied to apartheid’s structural legacy. Bengston and Allen (1993) argued that the focus on the family should go beyond the nucleus to the historical, as well as social environment it is situated in. Scholars of humiliation have also called for a wider focus on the subject (Hartling, 2007; Lindner, 2002). Hence the present study could

potentially contribute to the field by advancing our understanding of intergenerational humiliation within the South African context. In addition to this, by highlighting the psycho-social implications that South Africa's traumatic past has had for current generations, the results of the study may be beneficial to mental health practitioners and policy-makers.

1.8 Definition of Key Terms

The following definitions of key terms were utilised in the study:

Apartheid: Merriam-Webster's online dictionary (n.d.) defined *apartheid* as "racial segregation; specifically – a former policy of segregation and political and economic discrimination against non-European groups in the Republic of South Africa".

Conceptual Framework: Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 18) defined the *conceptual framework* as a product that "explains, either graphically or in narrative form, the main things to be studied – the key factors, or variables – and the presumed relationships among them".

Gross violation of human rights³. Chapter 1 of the TRC Act (1995, Section 1 [ix], p. 2), defines *gross violations of human rights* to mean: "the violations of human rights through (a) killing, abduction, torture or severe ill-treatment of any person: or (b) any attempt, conspiracy, incitement, instigation command or procurement to commit an act referred to in paragraph (a) which emanated from the conflicts of the past and which was committed during the period 1 March 1960 to the cut-off date within or outside the Republic and the commission of which was advised, planned, directed, commanded or ordered, by any person acting with a political motive".

Intergenerational. Merriam-Webster Learner's Dictionary (n.d.) defines *intergenerational* as "occurring between or referring to people between age-groups". Within the context of trauma, the term *intergenerational transmission of trauma* and the phrase *multigenerational legacies of trauma* are also used (Danieli, 1998). Others have also preferred to use the term *transgenerational transmission of trauma* (Felsen, 1998).

Victims of Gross Human Rights Violations: According to the TRC Act (1995, Section 1 [xix]) a *victim* is defined as "(a) persons who individually, or together with one or more persons, suffered harm in the form of physical or mental injury, emotional

³In the current study, the term *gross human rights violations* is used instead of *gross violation of human rights* since the former is the one that is most consistently used in the literature.

suffering, pecuniary loss or substantial impairment of human rights – (i) as a result of a gross violation of human rights; or (ii) as a result of an act associated with political objective for which amnesty has been granted; (b) persons who, individually or together with one or more persons, suffered harm in the form of physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, pecuniary loss or a substantial impairment of human rights, as a result of such person intervening to assist persons contemplated in paragraph (a) who were in distress or to prevent victimization of such persons; and (c) such relatives or dependents of victims as may be prescribed” (p. 3).

1.9 Chapter Outline

Following the introductory chapter, discussions in chapter two will centre on the contextual background of the study. In particular, a brief history of the struggle from apartheid rule from 1960 until the transition period is given. Discussions will then turn to the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (henceforth referred to as the TRC). This will include functions, structure, lessons learned from other truth commissions and an assessment of the TRC, highlighting its strengths, weaknesses and impact.

In chapter three, the relevant literature will be reviewed. Discussions will begin with a reflection of the paucity of scholarship on humiliation, the concept’s definitional complexities, and the contributions of various scholars who have attempted to shed light on what humiliation is at both an individual and a collective level. The chapter will also focus on the various psychological theories that have attempted to explain humiliation, followed by a discussion on the possible intergenerational dynamic there may be to humiliation and the mechanism through which it could potentially take place.

In chapter four the methodology is explicated. This will include the meta-theoretical assumptions that underpin the interpretive paradigm, and an exposition of the hermeneutic phenomenological methodology that guided the study. In addition to this, the chapter will also include a reflection on the challenges that were encountered during the process of conducting the research. Discussions in chapters five and six will cover the findings of the study as well as contextualising them in light of existing literature. Limitations of the study, conclusions and recommendations are also proffered in chapter six.

CHAPTER 2 - HISTORICAL CONTEXT

“In my country South Africa, we struggled for years against the evil system of apartheid that divided human beings, children of the same God, by racial classification and then denied many of them fundamental human rights”

Archbishop Desmond Tutu⁴

2.1 Introduction

South Africa’s freedom came at a great cost. Apartheid created an oppressive environment of unequal power where Whites dominated other race groups (Lockhat & Van Niekerk, 2000). This dominance manifested in such racial practices as urban-rural segregation, restricted movements (Nannan, Timæus, Laubscher, & Bradshaw, 2007), and the provision of inferior health (Kon & Lacken, 2008) and education (Abdi, 2003) services for non-White race groups. In the course of the struggle for freedom, many gross human rights violations were committed that stripped victims of their human dignity and well-being (Baldwin-Ragaven, London, & de Gruchy, 2000). These experiences have the potential to trigger feelings of humiliation, which could be transmitted onto future generations. The study aimed to explore and understand intergenerational humiliation in the children and grandchildren of victims of apartheid-era gross human rights violations.

This chapter provides the contextual background of the study. It outlines the trajectory of South African history from the clashes of 1960 that escalated the struggle for freedom, to the establishment of the first democratically-elected government in 1994. While apartheid was officially introduced in 1948 (Westermann-Behaylo, 2010) and, while racial oppression could be traced to when the first European settlers came ashore in the 17th century (Nannan et al., 2007), this study used 1960 as a starting point, mainly because the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act 34 of 1995 (herein referred to as the TRC Act, 1995) marks 1960 as the starting point in determining gross human rights violations.

This is also the time when the struggle for freedom became militant (Ellis, 1998), and the state began to tighten its hold in a bid to maintain the status quo. Included in this discussion will be the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and its role in providing a healing and restitution platform for victims of gross human rights violations. It is envisaged that this chapter will shed light on the trauma that primary generations and their families were exposed to and the environmental context within which

⁴*The Washington Post* (Tutu, 2010, March 12).

gross human rights violations took place. These are all pertinent to gaining an increased understanding of intergenerational humiliation.

2.2 South Africa during the 1960s – 1970s

From its birth until the 1960s, opposition against apartheid by and large took the form of non-violent resistance (Maharaj, 2008). The resistance movement began to question the effectiveness of non-violent resistance in light of the state's increasing use of violence to crush the opposition (Maharaj, 2008). Sampson (as cited in Maharaj, 2008), reported that the late Nelson Mandela commented at the time that “violence will begin whether we initiated it or not. If we did not take the lead now, we would soon be latecomers and followers in a movement we did not control” (p. 10).

In numerous ways, the extreme violence of the Sharpeville Massacre is demonstrative of how the State dealt with resistance against its policies; this proved to be a turning point for liberation movements (Maharaj, 2008; Ellis, 1998). Barber (as cited in Westermann-Behaylo, 2010) reported that on 21 March 1960, during a Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC)-led peaceful demonstration against the pass laws, police opened fire on protestors, killing 69 and injuring 180. Pass laws were instituted to enforce the requirement for Blacks to have identity permits that they had to carry all the time (“Repeal pass laws now” 1985, p. AI). The state declared a state of emergency on March 30, 1960 and banned the PAC, African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) (Maharaj, 2008; Ellis, 1998). Consequently, the resistance movement went underground (Maharaj, 2008).

Despite being banned, the resistance movement shared a common understanding of the need to use violence as a means to attain revolutionary change (Liebenberg, 1997; Maharaj, 2008). However, the strategies to achieve this change were different (Maharaj, 2008). Opposition groups formed military wings, with the *Umkonto we Sizwe*⁵(MK) of the ANC targeting pre-dominantly White developments without the intention to kill any persons (Maharaj, 2008). *Poqo*⁶ of the PAC on the other hand, unleashed terror on White and Black informers (Maharaj, 2008). In addition, members were taught to see Whites as

⁵ Umkonto we Sizwe means ‘Spear of the Nation’ (Mandela, 1990).

⁶ Poqo means ‘Pure’ or ‘Alone’ in Xhosa; this was the military wing of the Pan-Africanist Congress that was of the opinion that Africans should fight the liberation struggle alone without working with other groups (Senker, 2014).

enemies and carryout the *repossession* policy of what was perceived as belonging to them in the context of an unequal society (Maringira & Brankovic, 2013).

Poqo later changed its name to Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) in 1969 (Liebenberg, 1997). The state's efforts to counter these operations led to such arrests as the one carried out on ANC leaders at Rivonia in 1964⁷ (Liebenberg, 1997). This caused a major setback to the ANC operations during the 1960s (Liebenberg, 1997). Furthermore, increased detentions, torture and in some cases, death of detainees also occurred from the 1960s over a twenty-five-year period (Merrett, 2011). In the 1970s, the social and political landscape of South Africa was characterised by general unrest amidst an increased opposition against apartheid (Sonn & Fisher, 2003). From the labour perspective, the precarious condition of the economy due to apartheid, coupled with a number of strike actions, led to the legalisation of Black trade unions (Maharaj, 2008).

This gave impetus for unions to also participate in the struggle (Maharaj, 2008). In the same vein, during the mid-1970s the resistance movement represented by a number of anti-apartheid organisations, became largely militant (Coovadia, Jewkes, Barron, Sanders, & McIntyre, 2009). The concept of Black Consciousness, popularised by Steve Biko was also influential to students at that time (Maharaj, 2008). Ultimately, the strengthened resistance movement culminated in the Soweto Uprising in 1976 when school children and youths protested against Bantu education and the planned imposition of the Afrikaans language as an official language of instruction in schools (Deirdre, 1997). Barber (as cited in Westermann-Behaylo, 2010) reported that towards the end of 1977, more than 600 people, mostly children, had lost their lives. In September 1977, Steve Biko the leader of the Black Consciousness Movement, also died in detention (Maharaj, 2008).

Following the Soweto Uprising, widespread spontaneous rioting occurred as youths went on the rampage and sought to enlist with the MK (Maharaj, 2008). The governing National Party (NP), wanting to increase its imposition of apartheid laws both within and across its borders, considered itself to be the target of a *total onslaught* (Griffiths, 1995). As a result, the state began to activate its defence and security for a *total strategy* designed to respond to the opposition (Griffiths, 1995).

⁷ Following the Rivonia Trial, Maharaj (2008) indicated that Nelson Mandela along with Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Dennis Goldberg, Raymond Mhlaba, Andrew Mlangeni, Ahmed Kathrada and Elias Motsoaledi were given life sentences.

2.3 South Africa during the 1980s – 1990s

Both warring sides stepped up violence as tactics such as “murder, torture, smuggling, forgery, propaganda and subversion ...” were used, with the state having more resources at its disposal than the liberation movements (Ellis, 1998, p. 264). During the 1980s, the latter was strengthened through a concerted effort by organisations such as the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the churches (Maharaj, 2008) and ordinary people (Liebenberg, 1997) who were mobilised to take an anti-apartheid stance. The beginnings of black-on-black violence began in the mid-eighties with turf-wars breaking out between the Black Consciousness Movement and the UDF/ANC in the Eastern Cape; and between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the UDF/COSATU/ANC coalition in Kwazulu Natal (Maharaj, 2008).

This spread to the Witwatersrand areas where there was widespread violence between the IFP hostel dwellers and members of the local communities (Maharaj, 2008). In the same vein, clashes such as those that occurred in the Vaal Triangle quickly spread, as the masses were proving to be increasingly ungovernable (Ellis, 1998). By 1986, the state had declared a state of emergency (Griffiths, 1995). The South African Defence Force (as cited in Ellis, 1998) reported that during 1984-1989 a total of 399 deaths had occurred due to the horrific practice of what is referred to as *necklacing*. *Necklacing* involves placing a tyre that has been doused in petrol around the neck of a supposed traitor and/or informer, and setting it ablaze (Claiborne, 1987). Speculation as to the cause of black-on-black violence pointed largely to two opposing forces: the ANC and the apartheid regime (Ellis, 1998). However, suggesting the presence of a *third force*, the late Nelson Mandela raised concerns over the rampant killings occurring in trains and shootings from passing vehicles (Ellis, 1998). Investigations revealed that certain security operatives in the apartheid regime carried out operations to destabilise the opposition movement (Ellis, 1998).

As F. W. De Klerk became the new state president, the total strategy approach by his predecessor, P. W. Botha had brought about a militarised state that gave the army more influence in decision-making situations (Griffiths, 1995). Therefore, through a series of moves, De Klerk dismantled the security units set up by his predecessor and initiated mediation talks with the opposition (Griffiths, 1995). During the late 1980s, the negotiation process between F.W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, though complicated, was also driven by the realisation of both leaders that the grand objectives of their parties were

not going to succeed (Herbst, 1997/1998). Furthermore, in order for the negotiations to bear fruit, both leaders were keenly aware of the need for the full support of the parties they represented (Herbst, 1997/1998). In August 1990, a 15-hour meeting between the government and the ANC culminated in the production of the Pretoria Minute (Van Niekerk, 1990). This agreement saw both parties making concessions such as the release of political prisoners and the granting of amnesty to offenders (Van Niekerk, 1990).

The Pretoria Minute also recognised the need to include other parties in the negotiation process (Van Niekerk, 1990). Thus a multi-party meeting known as the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), comprising representatives from 19 parties, began deliberations in December, 1991 (Griffiths, 1995).

These mediation talks were seen as a crucial move and response to regional and international pressure for both sides to reach a consensus (Maharaj, 2008). This pressure was seen in the form of sanctions, non-approval of loans from foreign banks, and withdrawal from sports and cultural programmes by the international community who were protesting against the practices of apartheid (Herbst, 1997/1998). Regionally, neighbouring countries supported the ANC to put an end to apartheid (Arnold, 2006). A report brief from the South African Institute of International Affairs (1990) revealed that the ad-hoc committee of the Organisation for African Unity (OAU), together with members of the Frontline States⁸, Non-Aligned Movement⁹ and the United Nations (albeit with some amendments), supported the ANC's proposals in the Harare Declaration on the question of South Africa and apartheid, giving credence to them. The Harare Declaration became a rallying point during official discussions and negotiations between the NP government and the ANC (Lieberfeld, 2007). Ultimately, a negotiated settlement was reached and allowed for the first democratic elections to take place.

2.4 The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa

As a first step to paving a way to democratic governance through revisiting the atrocities of the past (Hamber, 2002), the South African Truth and Reconciliation

⁸ Frontline States in the 1980s (Botswana, Tanzania, Zambia, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe) lent their support to the ANC as it fought against apartheid in South Africa and also the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) in its armed conflict in Namibia; as Nelson Mandela came to power in 1994 the Frontline States dissolved as a political grouping (Arnold, 2006).

⁹ The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) is a grouping of more than 100 countries from Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Arab world, Europe and the Caribbean who share common interests of, amongst others, preserving their sovereignty in the face of super-power politics and war (Singham & Hune, 1986)

Commission (TRC) was established through the TRC Act (1995). The Commission was guided by the following objectives in accordance with the TRC Act (1995, Section 3, p. 4):

- establishing as complete a picture as possible of the causes, nature and extent of the gross violations of human rights which were committed during the period 1 March 1960 to the cut-off date, including the antecedents, circumstances, factors and context of such violations, as well as the perspectives of the persons responsible for the commission of violations, by conducting investigations and holding hearings;
- facilitating the granting of amnesty to persons who make full disclosure of all relevant facts relating to acts associated with a political objective ...;
- establishing and making known the fate or whereabouts of victims and by restoring the human and civil dignity of such victims by granting them an opportunity to relate their own accounts of the violations of which they are victims, and by recommending reparation measures in respect of them;
- compiling a report providing as comprehensive an account as possible of the activities and findings of the Commission contemplated ...;

To effectively accomplish these objectives, the Commission set up three committees in accordance with the TRC Act (1995).

2.4.1 The Committee on Human Rights Violations (CHRVs)

Section 14 of the TRC Act (1995) outlined the objectives and duties of the CHRVs. According to this section, the CHRVs' was tasked with investigating human rights violations from the period 1 March 1960 to the cut-off date (TRC Act, 1995). Therefore, the committee was authorised to receive relevant material on human rights violations from any institution or persons. In addition, all victim testimonies were to be recorded. All findings were to be forwarded to a sub-committee or investigating unit. Recommendations for policy issues surrounding violations of human rights were to be sent to the President. The CHRVs also made recommendations to the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee on victim cases they deemed eligible for the awarding of reparations (TRC Act, 1995).

2.4.2 The Committee on Amnesty (CoA)

Section 19 of the TRC Act (1995) outlined the duties and procedures of the CoA once an application had been received. Therefore, the CoA was tasked with handling all

applicants for amnesty who committed and or were involved in politically motivated acts of human rights violations (TRC Act, 1995). According to Section 19 of the TRC Act (1995) the CoA was required to conduct an investigation to ascertain the validity of amnesty claims. In particular, the committee was required to determine: the full extent of the involvement of the applicant; whether or not the applicant acted alone or was affiliated to other political organisations or groups; the causes and nature of the transgression; who or what the applicant was targeting; to make a decision whether or not to grant amnesty according to the TRC Act (1995, Section 19). This therefore called on full disclosure by the applicant.

2.4.3 The Committee on Reparation and Rehabilitation of Victims (CRRVs)

Section 26 of the TRC Act (1995) outlined the duties and procedures of the CRRVs. According to Section 25 of the TRC Act (1995), this committee was to handle any referrals sent to it by the Commission, CHRVs or CoA. According to Section 26 of the TRC Act (1995), this committee was required to handle the application for reparations processing. In particular, the CRRVs determined whether an application constituted a gross human rights violation. Such acts were referred to the CHRVs for further deliberations. Recommendations for applications that met the criteria of gross human rights violations were made as outlined in Section 4 [f] of the TRC Act (1995). The CRRVs was also required to compile a substantive report to the Commission regarding its findings, duties undertaken and recommendations made (TRC Act, 1995, Section 25). The activities of the TRC began in December 1995 until the third quarter of 1998 (Hamber, 2002). During this period, approximately 20,000 people testified about human rights abuses; while about 840 perpetrators were granted amnesty (Hamber, 2002). In October 1998, a complete report was issued to the then President Nelson Mandela (Hamber, 2002).

2.5 Lessons Learned from Commissions

The common theme in truth commissions has been to effect change from autocracy to democracy with the anticipated result being the promotion of peace (Vora & Vora, 2004). However, the unique political and socio-economic contexts in each country make this a complex process (Cuevas, Rojas, & Baeza, 2002) that results in differing outcomes in each country. Some of the complexities arise from transition arrangements and the resultant consequences. In some cases, ousted autocratic leaders engage in negotiations to

save themselves and their affiliates from prosecution. For example, in Argentina, a private agreement that was inclusive of amnesty was hashed out between the military and the civilian government (Cuevas et al., 2002). Cuevas et al. (2002) indicated that this agreement was brokered apart from the truth commission process.

In Chile, on the other hand, negotiations consisted of several conditions. According to Cuevas et al. (2002) firstly, amnesty protected the Pinochet regime from prosecution for past crimes. Secondly, Pinochet retained his post as head of the armed forces (Cuevas et al., 2002). Lastly, Pinochet and his colleagues also ensured they retained vetoing power in the Senate (Campbell, 2000). Unlike Argentina or Chile that brokered peace between the outgoing autocratic regime and an incoming democracy, this was not the case in El Salvador. As the commission was an internationally-run process, El Salvadorans were not included in the design, inception or implementation processes of the Truth Commission (Popkin, 2004; Campbell, 2000). Consultations on negotiation issues were directed to only a few key El Salvadorans (Popkin, 2004). This had implications on the achievement of justice and ultimately, truth and reconciliation. A common expectation is punishment of violators of human rights (Avruch & Vejarano, 2002).

In Argentina, the interests of truth and justice could not be served as the military junta continued to dominate state affairs even after its (the military junta's) removal (Cuevas et al., 2002). In Chile, Pinochet still retained vetoing power so he and his affiliates were immune from prosecution. In El Salvador, the final report containing names of perpetrators was handed over to the judiciary for action, but the appointed judge did not act on the recommendations (Popkin, 2004). Campbell (2000) speculated that the reluctance of the judiciary to implement the commission's recommendations may have been because the process was largely an international event.

In spite of this, Avruch and Vejarano (2002) contended that the purpose of truth commissions is not to dispense justice. Rather, with the rising discourses on restorative as opposed to retributive justice, literature suggests there is a gradual shift to truth-seeking initiatives and reconciliation (Avruch & Vejarano, 2002). Transitional agreements also have a bearing on how much of the truth can become known by the wider citizenry. According to Gibson (2004), truth commissions operate on the assumption that gaining an understanding of past experiences results in coming to terms with what had happened; and that by obtaining this truth, citizens are able to put the past to rest and forge ahead. Hence when considering the outcomes of truth commissions in these countries, a pertinent

question is to what extent can we say *full truth* was obtained? Looking at the outcomes of nations such as Argentina and Chile, it would be reasonable to assume that truth was obtained in varying degrees; and it seemed to be dependent on the pre-conditions of the transitional agreement.

In Chile, Pinochet remained in power after the transition therefore he and his affiliates were immune from prosecution (Campbell, 2000). In other words, he had power over what could be done with the truth. In Argentina, the unwillingness of the military leaders to divulge past atrocities (save for one General Seilingo), meant that full truth in Argentina was never obtained (Campbell, 2000). In El Salvador, President Cristiani granted full amnesty to those who were named in the commission's report (Popkin, 2004). The report was not widely distributed in El Salvador; therefore, only partial truth is known publicly (Popkin, 2004). In contrast, when truth is allowed space to be deliberated on, positive results are seen. For example, in Chile, the second commission was a broader initiative that allowed for more to be said, and this resulted in increased knowledge and understanding of past experiences (Klep, 2012). Similarly, the South African TRC was highly televised and to the credit of the commission, many misconceptions about the truth of what really happened were cleared (Campbell, 2000; Lapsley, 1998). Gibson (2004) cautioned however, that becoming aware of the truth does not mean an acceptance of the truth.

2.6 Assessment of the TRC in South Africa

There are diverse views as to whether the implementation of the TRC was successful or not in South Africa. In her assessment of it, Campbell (2000) highlighted the TRC's contributions to peace, reconciliation and for public knowledge of truth. However, Van der Walt, Franchi and Stevens (2003) argued that democracy happened at a great cost to the wider South African population who lost economic, social and psychological reparations. Campbell (2000) also explained that the decision to grant amnesty was not widely received as many felt justice should have been retributive. Furthermore, the decision made by the TRC to streamline eligibility for reparations to cover only gross human rights violations meant that many more were left out of the process (Campbell, 2000). Lapsley (1998) asserted apartheid affected more than three million people during the forced evictions. Furthermore, those who suffered inferior education or the many oppressive apartheid laws and the subsequent effects such as poverty, access to poor

nutrition and healthcare were not to be considered victims according to the TRC (Borer, 2003). Women also felt largely left out of the TRC process despite the experiences they went through. According to Campbell (2000), incarcerated women were tortured by utilising such techniques as flooding water in fallopian tubes to cause sterility; some were raped or harassed sexually; while others were forced to be sex slaves in hostels.

After the democratic government came to power in 1994, it began pursuing programmes aimed at poverty alleviation. May (2010) described initiatives such as the Reconstructive and Development Programme (RDP), followed by the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), the land reform policy and other government-led initiatives that were meant to address poverty and socio-economic inequality. However, May (2010) commented that “while the violent actions of the apartheid state had much to do [with] the increase in poverty in the 25 year period from 1960 to the mid 1980’s, and continues to shape the prospects of poverty eradication in South Africa, the response in the 15 year post-apartheid period must increasingly be held accountable for the persistence of high poverty rates” (p. 4). Regarding the violent acts of apartheid, Walaza (2003) indicated that the majority of South Africans were mentally affected by the brutality of apartheid. Furthermore, poverty and socio-economic inequalities continue to compound existing psychological stressors (Walaza, 2003). The violent trauma of the past is made complex by present-day situations of rising violence, HIV/AIDS, unemployment and poverty (Walaza, 2003). These are all conditions that may potentially exacerbate intergenerational humiliation.

2.7 Summary

This chapter aimed to give the contextual background of the present study. Discussions began with a brief chronological account of the history of South Africa beginning from 1960 when the struggle for freedom from apartheid rule had become militant up to 1994 when the new democratically-elected government took office. Apartheid resulted in a trauma that ran deep and affected the core issues of Black South Africans¹⁰. It dictated one’s relationships, regulated where one could live, learn, work, and even go to church. In short, apartheid curtailed the freedom of countless people and humiliated them purely because of their skin colour. Humiliation fosters divisions (Lindner, 2000). This has potential implications on relationships between ethnic and racial

¹⁰ The term ‘Black’ is used in its inclusive sense to include people of African ancestry, Coloureds and people of Indian ancestry.

groups and, if left unabated, may perpetuate into future generations. In contrast, human rights codes teach people to respect the sanctity of human life and abhor instances when this life is subjugated to humiliating hierarchies (Lindner, 2000).

Instilling a culture of human rights was one of the objectives of the South African TRC in order to achieve reconciliation. Thus discussions also centred on lessons learned from other truth commissions, the establishment of the South African TRC and an assessment of it in light of the negotiated settlement that led to democratic elections. In the next chapter, discussions will turn to the concept of humiliation, the experiences of humiliation coupled with theories that have been used to clarify it. Lastly, the possible modes of intergenerational transmission of humiliation are considered.

CHAPTER 3 - LITERATURE REVIEW

“... I learned that to humiliate another person is to make him suffer an unnecessarily cruel fate”

Nelson Mandela¹¹

3.1 Introduction

Despite its psycho-social implications, humiliation did not in the past receive widespread scholarly attention (Ginges & Atran, 2008; Lindner, 2002). In addition to this, its intergenerational salience is not known. Klein (1991) pointed out that only a few writers have written literary books on the subject of humiliation. These include recent publications that mention humiliation in personal and culturally humiliating circumstances (Koestenbaum, 2011); and in intimate partner relationships (Hudson, 2008). Teveodjre (2002), on the other hand, examined humiliation in the African context with its enduring historical, as well as present day challenges such as intellectual mass exodus and debt relief debate.

However, research on humiliation has increased significantly over the past two decades. Much of this can be attributed to organisations such as the Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies¹². Examples of empirical studies include the development of a 32-item humiliation inventory scale (Hartling & Luchetta, 1999), and an experimental study to find out how humiliation contributed to unending cycles of conflict (Goldman & Coleman, 2005). In addition to this, Ginges and Atran (2008) conducted three quantitative studies aimed at finding out the extent to which humiliation had an influence in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. While all these studies have contributed to advancing our understanding of humiliation, much is still not known on this subject, particularly from an intergenerational perspective.

Be that as it may, humiliation is still a pertinent subject that deserves attention. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights remains an important statement aimed at upholding the dignity and freedom of all persons from acts of humiliation (Deutsch, 2006). However, despite this declaration, Deutsch (2006) indicated that “oppressive-humiliating relationships” are still rife at all levels (p. 2). Furthermore, humiliation has been linked to human conflict and consequent retaliation, leading to cycles of violent conflict, terrorism

¹¹Torres and Bergner (2010)

¹²The Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies is an international interdisciplinary forum where concerned academics and professionals aim to reduce and ultimately eradicate humiliating and degrading practices worldwide.

and even genocide (Lindner, 2002). Therefore, it is important to ascertain the consequences of these acts of humiliation on future generations.

In this chapter, key literature on humiliation is reviewed. This serves the important function of contextualising the study (Kaniki, 2006). This chapter starts with addressing the complexities associated with defining the concept. Discussions here will also centre on the universal understanding of humiliation as well as perspectives of humiliation from the political, cultural, socio-economic and psychological contexts where scholars have sought to understand this emotion. This will be followed by understanding humiliation as a self-conscious emotion, the experience of humiliation in interpersonal contexts and the resultant consequences. Theories to help understand humiliation will be outlined and finally the discussions will centre on the interplay of collective humiliation and the intergenerational dimension.

3.2 Defining Humiliation

A review of the literature shows that authors have laboured to define humiliation and its consequences (Coombs, Campbell, Jackson, & Smith, 2010; Klempe, 2004; Lukes, 1997; Klein, 1991). The complexity of humiliation is due to a number of factors. Humiliation may emanate from the uniqueness of people's interpretations of their experiences (Lukes, 1997). This may be due to different cultural contexts and backgrounds that people come from (Lindner, 2001a; Klempe, 2004), and the values that they uphold (Statman, 2000). Hence an experience that an individual or group finds humiliating can be equally non-humiliating to the next person or group (Klempe, 2004).

Fundamentally, "the word humiliate is from the Latin root word *humiliare*, which means to humble or to bring down" (Trumbull, 2008, p. 643). According to Lindner (2006), the feeling of being put down or humbled is common to all human kind. In other words, it is a universal feeling brought about when a person or a people are treated less than they should or expect to be treated. Several definitions of humiliation are proffered by various scholars. Klein (1991) defined humiliation as entailing "... some form of ridicule, scorn, contempt, or other degrading treatment at the hands of others" (p. 94).

According to Lindner (2000), humiliation may be understood to mean "enforced lowering of a person or group, a process of subjugation that damages or strips away their pride, honour or dignity ..." (p. 6). Furthermore, Klempe (2004) argued that humiliation and human dignity are two fundamental concepts that make up a human being and that,

without human dignity, a human being would not exist. Central to this notion, the circumstances that result in a loss of human dignity are considered by Margalit (as cited in Statman, 2000) who defined humiliation as "... any sort of behaviour or condition that constitutes a sound reason for a person to consider his or her self-respect injured" (p. 526). Hence in understanding the salience of humiliation, according to Statman (2000), we need to consider what constitutes a sound reason for B to feel humiliated in the face of A's actions. He pointed out that at the very basic level, an individual responds to humiliating circumstances that damage or pose a threat to their self-respect (Statman, 2000).

Owing to the complex nature of humiliation, scholars have argued that this emotion should be understood from a wider perspective as it can be connected at all levels of society (Deutsch, 2006; Lindner, 2001a; Hartling & Luchetta, 1999). Hence scholars have proffered an understanding of humiliation from the political, cultural, socio-economic and psychological perspectives. From a political and socio-cultural perspective, Saurette (2006) indicated that little has been done in assessing the part played by emotions and in particular, humiliation and the need for self-respect in international politics. As an example, Saurette (2006) cited the deliberate humiliation experienced by prisoners situated in Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo Bay at the hands of American interrogators; these include being forced to march around naked, standing for long hours and barking like dogs.

Mistreatment in this manner is common practice in politically-motivated violence where the aim is to inflict pain and terror on victims (Scheper-Hughes, 2003). According to Saurette (2006), these demeaning acts are humiliating because of the effect they have on the prisoners' cultural ideals and value system. Subordination, rejection and marginalisation cause feelings of humiliation (Statman, 2000) and may be viewed as domineering practices by the powerful over the weaker groups. Practices of cultural domination due to stereotypical thinking serve to undermine the culture of the weaker group (Lukes, 1997). And likewise, apartheid was a political system set out to uphold White supremacy (Lockhat & Van Niekerk, 2000).

Furthermore, apartheid was designed to dehumanise the oppressed group causing them to accept domination (Lockhat & Van Niekerk, 2000). This form of dehumanisation is explained by Kelman (as cited in Oliver, 2011) as denial of identity and community. At a fundamental level, every person yearns to be recognised and respected and feelings of humiliation occur when these virtues are denied (Lindner, 2001b). In addition, Oliver (2011) places dehumanisation on a continuum with human dignity, citing that when people

are humiliated, or degraded or made an object of scorn, their value as human beings is desecrated (Oliver, 2011). From a socio-economic perspective, humiliation may be seen in acts of discrimination and marginalisation against economically disadvantaged social groups by more powerful, affluent ones. According to Lukes (1997), discrimination is a negative form of ascriptive humiliation which occurs when social groups are declared unfit to be endowed with privileges that more dominant groups enjoy (Lukes, 1997). Amongst others, he mentions racism, sexism, and an unwillingness of the state to award financial assistance to a particular ethnic group as examples of discrimination (Lukes, 1997).

Historically, South Africa was characterised by institutionalised race and gender discrimination (Coovadia et al., 2009). For example, strict apartheid laws that dictated residential locations and limited labour options affected African families and the structures of their households (Sibanda, 2011). With spouses and families living in Bantustans, a considerable number of Africans worked in urban areas (Sibanda, 2011). The Merriam-Webster's online dictionary (n.d.) defines *Bantustan* as “any of several all-Black enclaves formerly in the Republic of South Africa that had a limited degree of self-government”. Consequently, the migrant labour system disrupted family life, as fathers spent long periods away from their families who were not allowed to live with them in the urban areas where they were employed (Holborn & Eddy, 2011).

In post-apartheid South Africa, some families still live apart as fathers' forward financial support to their families residing in rural communities (Sibanda, 2011). However, in other households, factors such as unemployment and poverty have resulted in an increased number of absentee fathers who are unable to financially support their families (Holborn & Eddy, 2011). The inability of a parent to financially meet the needs of the family may have some implications on breeding feelings of humiliation. This may be understood through the concept of social exclusion that according to Smith (2008) is a more dominant form of humiliation occurring today. This happens as a result of a loss of respectable social standing within the social hierarchy (Smith, 2008).

Terming this process ‘relegation’, Smith (2008) gives a number of examples including: permanent employees who are forced into casual employment; businesses of local small traders folding up owing to the establishment of a supermarket in the locality; and graduates unable to secure gainful professional employment, but instead are forced to work part-time or do manual labour to earn a living. Due to social exclusion, the realities of deprivation and inequality fuel feelings of humiliation as they are conceived as acts of

humiliation being orchestrated by the elite on the less-elite (Lindner, 2001b). As a result, feelings of humiliation emanate from a discrepancy between life's reality and the values espoused by human rights teachers (Lindner, 2001b). For an individual to be in the class of the elite implies a certain social standing or status in society. High social status enables access to resources and privileges that influence health and life expectancy (Phelan, Link, Diez-Roux, Kawachi & Levin, 2004). Low social status, on the other hand, means the inability to gain access to resources meant to sustain and uphold one's wellbeing (Torres & Bergner, 2010). This stigmatises the poor and diminishes their potential to participate in socio-economic affairs (Torres & Bergner, 2010). Therefore, low social status not only results in social exclusion, but also economic marginalisation, which prevents parents from adequately fending for their children.

3.3 Humiliation as a Self-Conscious Emotion

A more predominant view amongst emotional theorists is the classification of humiliation as a social and moral emotion that is part of the group of self-conscious emotions (Buck, 2010). Self-conscious emotions enable one to think and behave in socially acceptable ways (Tracy & Robins, 2004). According to Tracy and Robins (2004), self-conscious emotions are psychologically complex, have separate causes and are therefore difficult to measure. Shame and embarrassment are also part of the self-conscious group of emotions (Tracy & Robins, 2004; Hartling & Luchetta, 1999).

Contributing to definitional challenges, shame has been reported alongside humiliation. Shame and humiliation are often used interchangeably as if there is no distinction between them (Lindner, 2002; Trumbull, 2008; Oravecz, Hárdi & Lajtai, 2004). According to Oravecz et al. (2004), the traditional discourse did not seek to study shame and humiliation as distinct emotions. However, due to recent rises in extreme violence, it would be reasonable to determine the distinct effects of humiliation from those of shame (Oravecz et al., 2004). This is because the responses to either a shameful or humiliating experience differ (Hartling & Luchetta, 1999). In cases of shame, a person makes negative self-judgments where one may feel inferior or inadequate (Trumbull, 2008). Shame is therefore an inward-facing emotion (Hartling & Luchetta, 1999). However, in cases of humiliation, the humiliated person places more attention on the nature of the maltreatment received, and views it as demeaning (Hartling & Luchetta, 1999). Klein (1991, p.117)

explained this by making the distinction that “people believe they deserve their shame; they do not believe they deserve their humiliation”.

Embarrassment is another emotion that has been reported with humiliation. Some researchers have likened humiliation to shame and embarrassment (McCarley, 2009). Grace (2007), however, distinguished shame, humiliation and embarrassment as distinct emotions. According to Grace (2007), embarrassment is elicited when a social transgression is publically witnessed (or thought to be witnessed). For example, when a lady is walking along the street and the heel of her stiletto breaks, causing her to fall, embarrassing feelings may be elicited as she feels everyone saw the unfortunate incident. People who are embarrassed are not likely to fully blame themselves even though the reason for being embarrassed involved their own actions (Pulham, 2009).

Hence in the above example, the lady may attribute the fall to a rut on the street instead of herself and the way she walks. Embarrassment can therefore be said to constitute a lesser form of humiliation (Hartling & Luchetta, 1999). In a humiliating situation, the person’s self-worth or identity is perceived to be under attack (Hartling & Luchetta, 1999). Therefore, what distinguishes embarrassment from shame is the degree of perceived publicity attributed to an act (Grace, 2007). Edelmann (as cited in Grace, 2007) indicated that feelings of shame may be felt by an individual in private, while the feeling of being embarrassed manifests in the presence of other people, real or imagined.

3.4 Experiencing Humiliation

Humiliation is emotionally experienced when people perceive themselves as having been demeaned beyond their expected standard for fair treatment (Goldman, 2008). There is therefore, incongruence between their self- perception and how they expect to be treated on the one hand, and the treatment they receive on the other (Smith, 2008). According to Statman (2000), feelings of humiliation occur as a result of an individual succumbing to the humiliator’s intention to cause humiliation. Furthermore, the affected person should have identified the humiliator’s actions and the intent to cause damage to his/her self-respect (Statman, 2000). In addition, Klein (1991) pointed out that the humiliating experience also causes injury to one’s identity and self-worth.

Therefore, the experience of being humiliated is described as highly intense and it hurts the victim (Elison & Harter, 2007). According to Trumbull (2008), humiliation hurts because an individual perceives his/her self-worth to have been compromised. In addition,

Smith (2008) pointed out that this treatment received is highly unacceptable to the victim. As a result of the humiliating experience, the intrinsic processes that a humiliated person undergoes are explained by Hartling and Luchetta (1999, p. 5) as feelings of being “... degraded, confused, powerless, paralysed, ostracised, violated, or assaulted”.

In attempting to understand the intrinsic processes of emotions, neuroscientists focus on the relationship between emotions and cognitive behavioural process (Lewis, 2005). According to Lewis (2005), neurobiologists tend to look at the neurological maps of specific areas of the brain, while emotion theorists look at linear causality in cognitive-related assumptions, focusing on such areas as appraisal, attention and emotions. Lewis (2005) advocated for a linking of these two important areas through dynamic systems modelling to enhance the understanding of emotions. Whilst the intricacies of the neurobiology of emotion and its relationship to emotional cognition are beyond the scope of this study, it is important to note that they contribute to the overall understanding of the complexity of emotions in general and humiliation in particular.

Theorists have developed process models in order to understand the relationship between appraisal components and emotional consequences (Lewis, 2005). According to Lewis (2005), the focus of process models is mainly on psychological components such as “perception, evaluation, attention, memory, reflection and planning” (p. 172). Lewis (2005) explained humiliation through the psychological model of self-organising emotional interpretations (EI), which involves analyses of the dynamic interplay and functioning levels of the basic components of emotion and cognition.

According to Buck (2005), these basic components are triggered by an event or subjective experience. To demonstrate this, he uses a hypothetical case of a road-rage incident between a fictional character, Mr. Smart and another driver (Buck, 2005). Buck (2005) described Mr. Smart’s experience as one where initially he felt angry and frustrated, which then escalated to powerlessness, a sense of injustice, shame and humiliation. These feelings of shame and humiliation were triggered by the other driver through emotional expressions of his face, voice pitch and body posture (Buck, 2005). Hence, according to Buck (2005), these feelings of unfairness, shame and humiliation produced in the angered driver emanated from higher-level social, cognitive and moral emotions. This therefore suggests that emotions are not merely about genetics and molecular structures of the brain (Buck, 2005), but are firmly embedded in socio-cultural and historical contexts from which they cannot be extricated (Leu, 2011).

3.5 The Role of Context, Vulnerability and Intention

Humiliation occurs within a social context involving an oppressive force, unequal power relations between the humiliated and the humiliator/s, and the emotional consequence emanating from the oppressive situation (Hartling & Luchetta, 1999). Klein (1991) advanced the humiliation triangle to explain the positions within which an act of humiliation occurs. Accordingly, there is the humiliator, who is bent on inflicting harm; then the victim, who experiences the humiliating act; and, finally, the witness, who sees the act committed and concurs that it is a humiliating act. The witness position therefore implies that there has been a certain degree of public exposure to the humiliating act.

Vulnerability to experience humiliation is not always contingent on the intent of the humiliator. According to Klein (1991), merely being a witness or participant in another person's experience of humiliation is sufficient for one to become vulnerable and seek to escape it. In such cases, one develops a fear of humiliation (Klein, 1991). Klein (1991) considered the fear of humiliation as a highly influential force that motivates human behaviour both at the individual and collective level. In the same vein, Jonas, Otten & Doosje (2014) mentioned that there are intentional humiliators who carry on acts with the view to instigate conflict; and there are also unintentional humiliators who are unaware that their actions are humiliating others.

3.6 Consequences of Humiliation

There are a number of ways in which people respond to humiliation. Trumbull (2008) explained that humiliation has the potential to trigger psychobiological responses that produce aggressive defensive actions. Therefore, a person or group may react in anger at the perceived injustice (Vorbrüggen & Baer, 2007). This angry reaction has the potential to escalate into violence (Goldman & Coleman, 2005; Lindner, 2002) and even genocide (Lindner, 2002).

Lindner (2001c) further asserted that a person may also succumb to a humiliating attack by internalising long-term feelings of “entrapment, depression, embarrassment or shame” (p. 44). According to Lindner (2001c), extreme, traumatic forms of humiliation, have the potential to cause dissociation in the victim. In addition, severity of the humiliation suffered is dependent on the extent of public exposure and the humiliator's malicious intention (Torres & Bergner, 2010). Consequently, individuals who have suffered extreme humiliation in public, may develop feelings of hopelessness and

helplessness (Torres & Bergner, 2010). In the same vein, Garfinkel (cited in Torres and Bergner, 2010) stated that results from empirical studies indicate that extreme cases of humiliation can lead victims to suffer major depression, extreme anxiety, contemplate suicide and even present with symptoms characteristic of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Victims of extreme torture feel humiliated and come to view themselves as socially undesirable, which in turn affects their ability to have healthy interpersonal relationships (Oravecz, Hárdi & Lajtai, 2004).

In addition to this, people may respond to humiliation by choosing to work towards changing negative social conditions (Smith, 2008). The late former president of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, is revered in South Africa and globally as a mentor for his tireless commitment towards ending racial oppression in South Africa. According to Smith (2008) in February 1990, Nelson Mandela appealed to his followers to put an end to revenge, to be disciplined cadres that establish effective political organisations and to return to their jobs and education. Similarly, the late Nelson Mandela was a good role model who responded to a humiliating 27-year incarceration, not with anger and revenge (Lindner, 2001b), but to pursue freedom, equality, dignity and respect for all regardless of race, colour, or creed.

3.7 Psychological Explanations of Humiliation

A number of psychological theories have been used to explain humiliation. Foremost among these is social identity theory (SIT). Advanced by Henri Tajfel and John Turner, SIT is a social psychological theory "... of intergroup relations, group processes, and the social self" (Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995, p. 259). It posits that people have several social groups that they feel they are affiliated to. Hogg et al. (1995) further explained that affiliation to the group exists mentally as a social identity with both descriptive and social regulatory attributes. Social identities are also evaluative as they furnish in-group members with mutually agreed upon in-group standards to abide by in relative comparison to other social groups (Hogg et al., 1995). According to Hogg et al. (1995), due to this important self-evaluative aspect of social identities, members seek to remain favourable to the in-group by behaving in socially acceptable ways that uphold in-group principles. For example, if honour and dignity are necessary values that in-group members uphold, then acts of humiliation counter these values and are undesirable to in-group members. In explaining the social identity experience, SIT highlights the

importance of two main socio-cognitive processes, namely categorisation and self-enhancement (Hogg et al., 1995). According to Hogg et al. (1995), through the process of categorisation, a group's interior boundaries are distinguished when the group's stereotypes and normative views are made salient. Hogg et al. (1995) described self-enhancement as the regulatory instrument in the process of self-categorisation as the in-group affiliates seek to remain socially favourable to other in-group members by abiding to group principles.

Therefore, within the context of a humiliating experience, a self-evaluation is made in relation to the context of a humiliating experience (Hartling & Luchetta, 1999). This may be in the form of value judgements involving the perception of one's identity as having been put down (Trumbull, 2008). At a collective level, researchers have attributed humiliation to be an influencing factor in social-group conflict (Hartling & Luchetta, 1999; Ginges & Atran, 2008; Veldhuis, Gordijn, Veenstra & Lindenberg, 2014). Gurr (as cited in Goldman, 2008) indicated that identity-based conflicts stem from a person's need to be acknowledged and valued. Furthermore, Kelman (as cited in Goldman, 2008) explained that failure to receive recognition is seen as a rejection of the victim's identity. This refusal to recognise another's existence is what is experienced as deeply hurtful and humiliating (Goldman, 2008).

Hence at the collective level, social identity can be described through the aspect of categorisation resulting in the in-group being viewed as more favourable than the out-group (Hogg et al., 1995). Therefore, for instance, a degrading attack on the in-group by the out-group has the potential to produce a shared perception as in-group members evaluate the attack as a humiliating experience. To explain this notion further, Veldhuis et al. (2014) conducted an experimental study that sought to determine whether vicarious group-based rejection was possible and whether the emotional responses elicited are akin to feelings of personal rejection. The study focused on whether feelings of humiliation, powerlessness, and anger are felt when members who are not directly involved in the rejection experience observe an in-group member(s) being rejected (Veldhuis et al., 2014). Results of their study confirmed their hypothesis that feelings of vicarious humiliation are associated with feelings of powerlessness and anger as people identify with in-group members (Veldhuis et al., 2014).

Humiliation has also been explained by means of the relative deprivation theory, a theory first conceptualised by Samuel A. Stouffer, a sociologist (Heck & Wech, 2003).

According to Appelgryn and Bornman (1996) "... relative deprivation arises from a subjective feeling of discontent based on the belief that one is getting less than one feels entitled to" (p. 38). Devis elaborated on the theory to include the concept of stress, which can develop from feelings of injustice of not having something that you perceive others have, and to which you feel you are also entitled (Sen & Pal, 2013). Runciman (as cited in Appelgryn & Bornman, 1996) pointed out that this perception of deprivation is not absolute but, rather, relative and stems from a certain standard one has. During the 1970s, Ted Robert Gurr conceptualised the theory of collective action based on the notion of relative deprivation (Brush, 1996; Victoroff, 2005). While the main premise initially was that collective action or violence stemmed from feelings of relative deprivation, this was later revised so that relative deprivation is rather seen as one of the factors contributing to collective action (Brush, 1996).

According to Deutsch (2006), fraternal deprivation occurs when a person perceives that his or her group is disadvantaged relative to other groups. Furthermore, with regards to humiliation, Lacey (2011) highlighted the importance of group status and pointed out that humiliation is expressed when the lower status group experiences unwarranted debasing of their status level. As this degrading treatment becomes unbearable, the lower status group may retaliate violently as a way of defending their human self-worth (Lacey, 2011).

Another psychological theory used to explain humiliation is relational cultural theory (RCT). Developed by J. B. Miller, RCT is based on the premise that connections (brought about by healthy relationships) are important to the wellbeing of a person (Hartling, 2007). Hence this theory seeks to understand how the individual experience is embedded in a relational and cultural environment that either fosters the connection or disconnection of relations (Hartling, 2007). Based on RCT, Hartling (2007) asserted humiliation short-circuits a person's fundamental need to relate with others. Jordan and Hartling (as cited in Hartling, 2007), explained that, traditionally, western psychology has focused more on the scientific study of the separate self when looking at the life experiences of the individual. Hartling (2007, p. 467) asserted that "today, most of us would agree that an understanding of humiliation needs a larger lens. It is an experience that reaches far beyond the experience of self". This is largely because humiliation is experienced in a relational context between individuals, groups or nations (Lindner, 2002, Trumbull, 2008; Goldman, 2008; Volkan, 2009).

3.8 Intergenerational Humiliation

As has previously been stated, the study of humiliation had, until recently, been neglected by scholars, and even less is known about its intergenerational salience. In attempting to understand intergenerational humiliation, it is useful to examine the literature on trauma. This is because much has been written on the latter subject and the often stated association between humiliation and trauma (Volkan, 2009; Oravecz et al. 2004). There are several lessons to be learned from trauma literature that aid in understanding the salience of humiliation at an intergenerational level.

Firstly, it is generally understood that man-made traumatic events (Bar-On, 1995), have the potential to cause massive collective trauma in affected groups (Sotero, 2006). According to Lindner (2001c), trauma becomes humiliating when it is attributed to the intent of the humiliator. This is seen in cases of massive traumatic events that have occurred in world history. Secondly, the protracted nature of deliberate man-made trauma has intergenerational implications.

According to Lindner (2001c), humiliating circumstances may be short-lived or long-lived enduring events that have structural implications. Under these conditions, structural humiliation occurs and is experienced as a daily occurrence (Lacey, 2011). Younger generations born into these grim circumstances may be adversely affected in terms of their health and education. Lacey (2011) described the Palestinian-Israeli conflict as one that has been intractable to the extent that the next generations of Palestinians are being born into dire socio-economic and political conditions. Moreover, they grow up seeing their parents experiencing a range of humiliating incidents such as being subjected to constant searches at security checkpoints (Lacey, 2011).

Thirdly, severe historical trauma lives on in the memory of people who then transmit shame and humiliation from generation to generation (Vorbrüggen & Baer, 2007). Varvin (2003) used psychoanalytic theory to describe how victims of torture and humiliation develop a victimised mindset that ultimately is shared by the larger group. A shared mental representation of the ancestor's trauma has the potential to be transmitted to subsequent generations (Varvin, 2003). Apartheid left lingering memories of a painful traumatic past. The psychological burden due to apartheid was left largely unattended due to the apathy of mental health professionals towards the affected population who were predominantly Black (Baldwin-Ragaven et al., 2000). This has implications for subsequent generations and needs to be addressed. Ramzy (as cited in Burns et al., 2010),

explained that as a result of painful traumatic memories, such feelings as horror, trepidation, defencelessness and humiliation may develop in victims who have suffered great loss. These feelings have the potential to precipitate reactions such as cycles of violence where the affected and their children seek revenge (Burns et al. 2010; Weingarten, 2004; Cobb, 2004).

3.8.1 Object relations theory and intergenerational transmission of humiliation

A theory that helps to explain intergenerational humiliation in terms of identity, albeit from an intra-psychic perspective, is object relations theory. Ainsworth (1969) asserted that object relations theory was derived from Freud's ideas of ego development functions. According to Beit-Hallahmi (2006), object relations theory "... represents the psychoanalytic study of the nature and origin of interpersonal relations and the nature and origins of internal unconscious structures deriving from interpersonal contacts and experience" (p. 327). Hence from infancy, the mind of the child develops through relational experiences with the mother and significant others e.g., siblings (Volkan, 2009), for example, siblings. Parker (2014) argued that the unconscious is essentially social. Therefore, man is born into an already existing social environment where what is noble or corrupt is already known (Parker, 2014). According to Parker (2014), Freud acknowledged the generational impact made by social relations on human life which he located in the superego.

Through object relations theory, Volkan (2009) explained the psychological processes that the child undergoes in externalising self and object images. This externalising process is levelled at suitable targets that are agreed upon by the child's parents and culture and is seen as a permanent process that will not ricochet (Volkan, 2009). Volkan (2009) pointed out that sharing of the beliefs and values of a large-group begins during childhood as children learn from their parents and cultural amplifiers. At a collective level, Volkan (2009) described the notion of large-group identity as "... the subjective experience of thousands or millions of people linked by a persistent sense of sameness ..." (p. 6). Mack (cited in Volkan, 2009) explained that cultural amplifiers bring large-group members together. Aspects such as language, food, and songs amongst others, serve as powerful cultural symbols amongst groups (Volkan, 2009). Volkan (2009) explained that these symbols not only give the group an identity, but bring the group together, making them proud of their membership.

According to Volkan (2009), identity challenges in children gained particular salience when a traumatic event such as a war occurred and affected the large-group of which the parents were part (Volkan, 2009). Such events elicited an enemy or ally response of the large-group (Volkan, 2009). Therefore, this externalisation process is to a large extent an unconscious process for the child and serves as a precursor for the later development of a personal, subjective perspective of the enemy or ally (Volkan, 2009). Large-group members who have feelings of victimisation may retreat and form their own “adult version of suitable targets of externalisation” (Volkan, 2009, p. 9). Volkan (2009) illustrated this notion with an example of how, during the fall of Gaza, Palestinians painted small stones with the Palestinian flag and placed them in their pockets. Upon experiencing humiliating circumstances in their external environment, they would place their hands in their pockets and feel the stones (Volkan, 2009). This enhanced their bond as Palestinians (Volkan, 2009).

3.8.2 The role of family and intergenerational transmission of humiliation

The family plays an important role in the transmission of trauma from primary victims to subsequent generations, because trauma affects areas such as family functioning, beliefs, values and interpersonal relations amongst family members (Danieli, 1998). Furthermore, culture affects how the family fares as a medium of intergenerational transmission of essential issues of living, be they positive transmissions that bring resilience, or negative ones that perpetuate maladaptive behaviours (Danieli, 1998). Torres and Bergner (2010) argued that in line with trauma induced with intent, humiliation carried out with malicious intent can be very debilitating. Hence it may be argued that from an intergenerational perspective, malicious and humiliating man-made events that affect primary generations may be transmitted to subsequent generations, negatively affecting them. Similarly, the present study aimed to explore and understand intergenerational humiliation in the lives of children and grandchildren of apartheid-era victims of GHRVs.

Regarding the actual content transmitted, Kellerman (2001) reported that a form of secondary post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is likely to be transmitted to children if older generations had suffered from it. According to Kellerman (2001) some intergenerational transmission of trauma studies depicted transmissions as positive and reflecting a capability for resiliency. However, Solkof (as cited in Felsen, 1998) indicated that critics of empirical studies on intergenerational transmission of trauma have cited

amongst others, an assumption of psychopathology. Explaining this pathological assumption, Baranowsky, Young, Johnson-Douglas, Williams-Keeler, and McCarrey (as cited in Kellermann, 2001), suggested that given that the Holocaust survivors suffer from PTSD, there is a supposition that their children will also suffer from it. Furthermore, a clinical study of children of Holocaust survivors found that they were stressed and were more susceptible to PTSD than other emotionally disturbed persons (Kellermann, 2001). Consequently, they displayed identity deficiencies and a damaged self-worth as they over-identified with parents, had a shared fear of a recurring holocaust, experienced emotional distress in the form of nightmares, and had impaired social relations (Kellermann, 2001).

Kellermann (2001) distinguished between direct and indirect modes of trauma transmission. Direct transmission refers to the presence of a psychopathology suffered by the parent and is directly found in the child (Kellermann, 2001). Indirect transmission refers to an anomaly in the parent that inhibits parental functioning, which indirectly leads the child to feeling generally deprived (Kellermann, 2001). Through indirect transmission, implicit transmissions occur and younger generations may unconsciously act out the original trauma in their personal or work lives (Mendelsohn, 2008). To illustrate, Mendelsohn used the example of Sigmund Freud, who, at age twelve, heard a stranger hurling anti-Semitic insults at his father, and subsequently threw his father's hat into a drain. As a result of this, Freud identified with his father's predicament and experienced shameful humiliation that caused him later as an adult to identify with Semitic leaders such as Moses and Hannibal (Mendelsohn, 2008).

Through the concept of witnessing of political violence, the trauma suffered by the parent may pass from parent to child (Weingarten, 2004). Weingarten (2004) presented a witnessing schema where there were four witnessing positions and the implications of being either aware or unaware of the political violence. According to Weingarten (2004), children who suffered more distress or discomfort were those who were aware of their parents' suffering but felt unable to help the parent. Through witnessing, knowing or intuition, children entertained thoughts of revenge owing to the humiliation suffered by a parent or grandparent (Weingarten, 2004). Equally so, storytelling can be a mode of trauma transmission between generations (Sotero, 2006). Danieli (1998) explained how the notion of conspiracy of silence occurred due to a lack of empathic acknowledgement by mental health professionals or the society in general to the plight of Holocaust survivors. Therefore, they turned to their familial interpersonal relationships and related

Holocaust experiences with their families (Danieli, 1998). However, other families maintained a silence about their Holocaust experiences. Dekel and Goldblatt (2008) cautioned that by keeping details away or only divulging partially, children may create their own imaginary stories that are more intensely frightening than the actual events that occurred.

According to Sotero (2006) it is possible for transmissions to occur through the concept of vicarious traumatisation. However, Weingarten (2004) pointed out that vicarious traumatisation or secondary traumatisation is widely accepted as occurring amongst professional therapists who handle trauma patients. According to Weingarten (2004), there is no consensus that vicarious traumatisation occurs amongst family members of trauma victims. Despite this, through the concept of vicarious traumatisation, an empirical study found that feelings of humiliation may develop amongst members of the in-group who were not directly involved in a humiliating experience of a fellow in-group member (Veldhuis et al., 2014).

In contrast, not all people who experience man-made traumatic situations suffer pathology. Lieberman, Padrón, Van Horn, and Harris (2005) reiterated the importance of parental love and care a child received during childhood. They argued that reintegration of fond early childhood memories during therapy helps traumatised parents to regain their self-worth and overall wellbeing (Lieberman et al., 2005), and so, although humiliation has the potential to harm social relations (Hartling & Luchetta, 1999), research that points to resilience may offer deeper insight into moderating influences in cases of humiliation stemming from historical trauma.

3.9 Summary

This chapter has been a review of literature on the concept of humiliation, its nature, the experience of humiliation, as well as theoretical explanations that help to enhance our understanding of this emotion. The discussion also focused on the intergenerational salience of humiliation. Given that empirical studies established that trauma may be handed down from one generation to the next (Felsen, 1998), and given the link between trauma and humiliation (Volkan, 2009), the possible modes of trauma transmission to subsequent generations were considered in order to explore its relevance to intergenerational humiliation. In the chapter that follows, the methodology of the present study is explicated.

CHAPTER 4 – METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the research methodology that informed this study. Mouton and Marais (1990) highlighted the importance of having a plan wherein the design method, sampling and data collection, analysis and interpretation of results will be conducted. According to Botma, Greeff, Mulaudzi, and Wright (2010), a well-articulated research design not only brings social value to the research process, but also assists the researcher in achieving the set goals and objectives of study. Furthermore, Creswell (2013) advocated coherence between the researcher's philosophical assumptions and the procedural framework used to obtain results of the inquiry. Therefore, in line with these suggestions, these aspects will be explicated in this chapter, beginning with the justification for choosing a qualitative approach, the philosophical assumptions of the hermeneutic phenomenological methodology and the resultant procedures undertaken as the research was conducted.

4.2 Justification for a Qualitative Research Design

Qualitative research is focused on collecting and analysing data that is aimed at increased understanding and meaning of phenomena (Edmonds & Kennedy, 2013). Therefore, qualitative researchers "... study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 3). A qualitative research design was chosen for this study as it adequately assisted in addressing the aim of the research, which was to explore and understand intergenerational humiliation as experienced by 20 children and grandchildren of victims of apartheid-era gross human rights violations. Brown (2006) explained that "exploratory research tends to tackle new problems on which little or no previous research has been done" (p. 43). Furthermore, Creswell (2013) advocated for an exploratory qualitative research design in order to "hear silenced voices" (p. 48). An examination of the literature suggests that most research on apartheid-era gross human rights violations has further focused on primary victims with little attention being given to the experiences of children and grandchildren of primary victims. This is important if one considers the intergenerational salience of traumatic experiences.

4.3 An Interpretive Paradigm

This study utilised the hermeneutic phenomenological framework, which is part of the interpretive paradigm. Thomas Kuhn introduced the term 'paradigm' (Maxwell, 2004). A paradigm, is an all-encompassing worldview that is designed to guide the researcher when they conduct research (Willis, 2007). Therefore, a paradigm consists of the ontology, which is the nature of reality; as well as the epistemology, which determines how you know what is known; and the methodology, that guides how the research is produced (Creswell, 2007; Willis, 2007). Creswell (2007) added axiology, which involves the researcher's values and writing structures, while Marais (2012) mentioned the teleological dimension, which refers to the aim of the research. Within the interpretive paradigm, the teleological dimension determines the goal of the research which is to obtain an in-depth understanding of the area under study (Marais, 2012).

Since the interpretive paradigm is concerned with understanding reality from the participant's point of view, the ontology is one of multiple realities generated by subjective experiences that are constructed through the use of language (Scotland, 2012). The axiology, or researcher values, are determined by the ontology (Farquhar, 2012). Hence by way of example, the researcher within this paradigm, should value the multiple subjective views of participants and seek to represent them in his/her write-up. Epistemologically, knowledge is generated through social communication as people interact within their environment (Crotty as cited in Scotland, 2012). Methodologically, this knowledge is obtained from historical and cultural participant experiences and is understood from their subjective perspective (Creswell, as cited in Scotland, 2012). According to Mack (2010), the interpretive paradigm draws its philosophical influence from phenomenology and hermeneutics.

4.3.1 Phenomenology

Most philosophies of science have ontological roots that stem from Descartes and his philosophical writings in the 17th century (Seymour, 2006). This philosophy has continued to influence social research, with many objectivist research approaches adopting a view of reality as being context-free, i.e. value-free, devoid of the social, political, cultural meaning it is found in (Seymour, 2006). However, Schwandt (as cited in Seymour, 2006) indicated that other research approaches such as hermeneutics, social constructionism, as well as phenomenology arose in opposition to this ontological position.

Edmund Husserl (1859 – 1938) is widely accepted as the founder of phenomenology (Koch, 1999; Rapport, 2005). Scruton (as cited in Lavery, 2003) indicated that Husserl was interested in pure phenomenology and desired to see the universal establishment of philosophy and science. For Husserl, the life world consists of the common, everyday human experiences (Lavery, 2003). He thus argued that psychology as a discipline should not seek to understand human behaviour through the use of the scientific method (Lavery, 2003). In addition, Lavery (2003) pointed out that Husserl believed that as psychologists tackle issues pertaining to human life, they should consider that human behaviour is not merely an automatic reaction to the environment, but rather a reaction that is guided by one's perception of that environment. In the same vein, Jones (as cited in Lavery, 2003) explained that Husserl also believed that the researcher who views phenomena according to quantifiable variables and their subsequent correlations ignoring the context of the environment, does not only omit other crucial variables, but creates a situation that is greatly artificial in nature. Therefore, Husserl's subjective phenomenology is the study of life experience from the subjective perspective or participant's view (Koch, 1999).

According to Lavery (2003) Husserl believed that the essence of phenomena is present in consciousness and that they need to be intentionally grasped (Lavery, 2003). With regard to the notion of intentionality, Husserl believed that the mind is aware of objects in its environment, and that this belief stems from an assumption that the individual is aware of his own consciousness (Koch, 1999). According to Koch (1999), knowledge is grasped from conscious awareness.

Therefore, Husserl aimed to highlight structures of consciousness or essences and critically evaluate their role in sense-making (Koch, 1999). However, to arrive at the true essence of phenomena, the researcher has to adopt a certain attitude (Koch, 1999). Accordingly, Husserl advocates for the researcher's suspension of outside influences in order to fully appreciate objects as they come to consciousness (Koch, 1999). This is accomplished through a process of phenomenological reduction, also known as bracketing or *epochè* (Rapport, 2005). According to Lavery (2003), these outside influences consist of the researcher's preconceived ideas and beliefs about phenomena. Jones (as cited in Lavery, 2003) extended this notion further to include developing a doubting stance towards the phenomena in order to become open to what one may see. What then emerges is a descriptive unfolding of the true essence of phenomena or things as they are (Lavery, 2003). Therefore, in a phenomenological study, the researcher aims at arriving at a

universal description of participants lived experiences of a particular phenomenon that they have all experienced (Creswell, 2013).

4.3.2 Hermeneutic phenomenology

In its original sense, hermeneutics is “the study and interpretation of biblical texts” (Wilcke, 2002, p. 3). According to Alvesson and Sköldbberg (2009), the early dominant view on hermeneutics was that parts of a whole are understood in relation to the whole. As one examines the part and progresses to the whole, a circular movement ensues that ultimately produces a deep understanding of the part, as well as the whole. This is referred to as the hermeneutic circle (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009). Heidegger (1889 – 1976), a one-time student of Husserl, expanded the hermeneutic perspective (Vis, 2008). His philosophy, which is referred to as hermeneutic phenomenology, brings together daily human experiences (phenomenology) and meanings or interpretations humans attach to those experiences (hermeneutics) (Seymour, 2006). Therefore, at an ontological level, “Heidegger argued that we exist in an already interpreted world and that we are inextricably woven into the wider context of the world and community” (Seymour, 2006, p. 144).

In addition, Heidegger believed that our *Dasein* or being-in-the-world is already given and, although it may be viewed as mundane, it contains hidden phenomena that need interpretation in order to obtain meaning (Wilcke, 2002). At an epistemological level, knowledge is grasped through interpretation of lived experience as a means to arrive at a deeper understanding of existence (Koch, 1999). When engaging in a hermeneutical inquiry, the assumption is that of humans as self-interpreting beings (Koch, 1999). The notion of interpretation was expanded further by Heidegger when he connected language as an essential process to achieving understanding (Palmer, as cited in Vis, 2008).

Vis (2008) explained that, according to Heidegger, interpretations are not captured; rather, as experiences are articulated through dialogue between the researcher and participant, new interpretations are created. In other words, the multi-layered nature of interpretations is influenced by shared understandings and our historical past (Vis, 2008). Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900 – 2002) elaborated through the development of a way of looking at the process of understanding (Wilcke, 2002). According to Vis (2008), Gadamer argued that the language we choose to relate our current or past experiences is just as equally important as the account itself. Therefore, the use of language should be

seen as a way of sharing and making sense of human experience (Regan, 2012).

According to Regan (2012), both Heidegger and Gadamer posited that the significance of language in human living and interaction is made possible only when an understanding of the meaning of *Being* or our existence as humans in the world is reached.

This gives added importance to the position of the researcher within a hermeneutic phenomenological inquiry. Accordingly, Eriksson, Lindahl and Bergbom (2010) called for the openness and sensitivity of the researcher. They explained that interpretation and understanding is achieved when the researcher is also critically aware of his/her own prejudices or preconceived notions concerning the area under study (Eriksson et al., 2010). Therefore, according to Koch (1999), these preconceived notions cannot be set aside as Husserl advocated through Husserlian bracketing. Rather, they need to be incorporated within the process of interpretation (Koch, 1999). Gadamer (as cited in Koch, 1999) highlighted the need for the researcher's critical understanding of the process of research.

Furthermore, Koch (1999) explained that the researcher's reflexivity is accomplished through openness and active listening which contributes to the understanding of human experience. In other words, the hermeneutic circle is formed when the participants' interpretations (or text) and researcher's preconceived notions (prejudices and background) are brought into the inquiry process (Koch, 1999). Therefore, in a hermeneutical inquiry, the fusion of horizons occurs when new dimensions of interpretation or a common understanding are reached between researcher and participant (Koch, 1999) as they converse back and forth through language. The main difference between phenomenology and hermeneutics lies in the approach to the phenomena of lived experience (Lavery, 2003). Van Manen (as cited in Lavery, 2003) explained that phenomenology is concerned with the meanings humans attach to their lived experience.

According to Lavery (2003), in phenomenology the central question is "What is this experience like?" (p. 4). By attending to this question, descriptive accounts of phenomena and meaning are produced (Lavery, 2003). Gadamer (as cited in Cohen, 2000), defined hermeneutic phenomenology as a method that seeks to find out how people interpret their lives and obtain meaning from these experiences. For Gadamer, the interpretation of phenomena is more important than the structure of phenomena (Cohen, 2000).

4.4 Research Procedure: Methodology in Action

Husserl, Heidegger and Gadamer did not intend to posit their ideas or beliefs as an approach (as cited in Koch, 1999). Gadamer in particular claimed that there is no method per se in phenomenology (Van Manen, 1990; Koch, 1999). Henriksson and Friesen (2012) commented “the fact that we have no method might leave us with a feeling of abandonment of being left in the middle of nowhere with nothing more than a burning desire to undertake an experientially meaningful research study” (p. 12). According to Van Manen (1990), conducting a hermeneutic phenomenological inquiry involves the dynamic interplay of these six methodological themes:

- Turning to the nature of lived experience which seriously interests us and commits us to the world;
- Investigating experience as we live it, rather than as we conceptualise it;
- Reflecting on the essential themes which characterise the phenomenon;
- Describing the phenomenon through the art of writing and rewriting;
- Maintaining a strong and oriented pedagogical relation to the phenomenon; and
- Balancing the research context by considering parts and whole. (p. 30-31).

These six themes should not be seen as a procedure, but rather as a means that researchers may be inspired to creatively articulate their own phenomenological inquiry (Hultgren, 1990). These tenets served as a methodological guide for this study.

4.4.1 The role of the researcher

In explaining my role in the research process, my being-in-the-world is also given (Wilcke, 2002). Equally so, the pre-suppositions brought to the research process are made known. This was achieved as I critically assessed myself as a researcher in conjunction with the phenomena under study (Khan, 2000b). I grew up in Zimbabwe as the youngest of seven siblings, with an age-gap of thirteen years between my immediate elder brother and me. My father passed on in 1981 when I was seven years old, I was cared for by my siblings who at that time had their own families. In 2012, my mother passed on. Having a loving and supportive family enabled me to deal with all these tragedies. Coming from a country that had also experienced a tumultuous colonial past, I can to some extent, identify with the impact that apartheid could have had on Black South Africans. Moreover, as a foreigner, I had certain prejudices such as fear of the high crime rates in South Africa. This threatened my confidence to meet community members as I engaged in the fieldwork

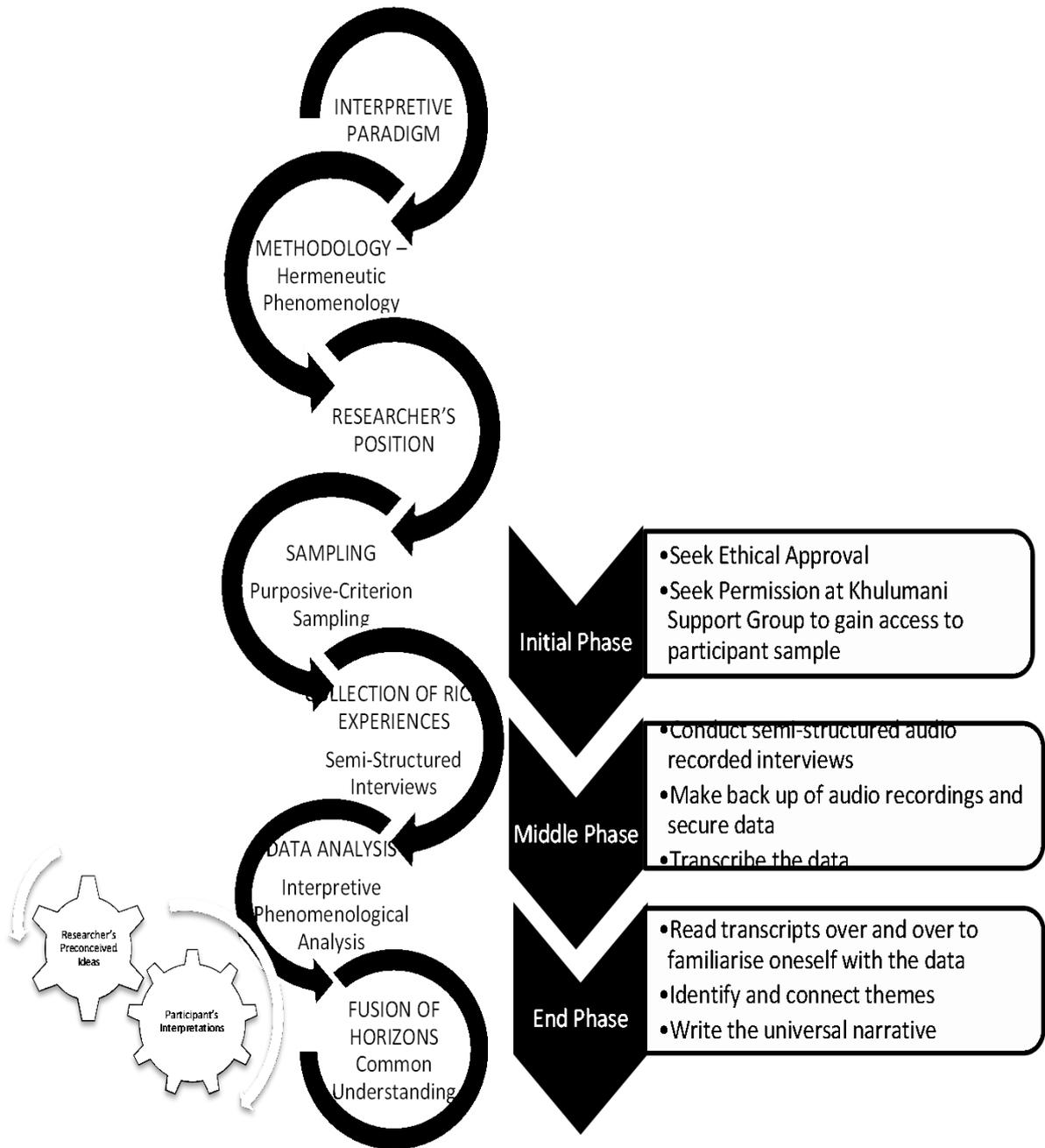
for this study. My reaction was in some ways consistent to Klein's (1991) understanding, i.e., where feelings of vulnerability elicit a need to avoid potential humiliation. However, as I came in contact with the community leaders and research participants, these feelings soon dissipated as I was warmly received and have since developed long-lasting relationships with some of them. The insider/outsider debate is an ongoing one in which there are both advantages and disadvantages to either perspective (Hellowell, 2006). In my opinion, my background and values helped me to gain an empathic understanding of the participants' subjective views such as the lived experience of life after the loss of a loved one/s. Schütz (as cited in Hellowell, 2006) explained that having an outsider perspective is helpful in that it helps the researcher to maintain a critical, objective view of reality that insiders may fail to question. Concurring with this viewpoint, conducting the research as a foreigner, gave me an outsider perspective that assisted in critiquing participants' subjective views whilst searching for an enhanced understanding of their life situations.

However, in endeavouring to gain increased understanding, I may have been unable to fully grasp the significance of certain cultural beliefs and practices that frame the participants' views of reality. This may have resulted in loss of full interpretation of meaning to some extent.

4.4.2 The research sample: sampling strategy

In hermeneutic phenomenology, the sampling process is carefully deliberated on (Steeves, 2000). Moreover, Kelly (2006) explained that when conducting exploratory research, it is important to assess a number of cases in order to make sure that the data is relevant to the topic under study, albeit, as an initial process. A non-probability sampling technique was chosen that ensured that not only the best possible sample of participants were identified, but that they were able to relay relevant information about the phenomenon as they experience it (Steeves, 2000). Furthermore, Lincoln and Guba (1985) stated that having the correct sample enhances the credibility of research findings. According to Botma et al. (2010), setting sample criteria helps to define the population sample. I therefore employed the purposive-criterion sampling technique, which is a technique where participants who have each experienced the phenomenon under investigation and who meet certain criteria, are purposefully selected (Collingridge & Gantt, 2008). Thus participants had to meet the following criteria for inclusion in the study:

Figure 1. Schematic Overview of the Hermeneutic Phenomenological Research Design



Firstly, participants had to be children or grandchildren of those defined as victims of apartheid-era GHRVs by the TRC Act (1995, Section 1 [xix]). Secondly, research participants had to be at least 18 years old. Owing to the historical nature of the study, it is assumed that younger generations may be less likely able to substantially share any experiences regarding historic events that happened during apartheid. In addition, owing to stricter research regulations¹³ protecting minors in South Africa, gaining permission to conduct the research would have been difficult (Zuch, Mason-Jones, Mathew & Henley, 2012). Lastly, participants had to be able to competently express themselves in English. Cross-language interviews are those that occur between the researcher and participant who speak different languages (Williamson, et al., 2011).

The research sample consisted of participants from the Tswana, Pedi, Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu and Ndebele ethnic groups. I, as the researcher, grew up speaking mainly the Shona language. Therefore, having a common language of communication was seen as a medium that would enable a deeper understanding of participant experiences during the face-to-face interviews. Cortazzi, Pilcher and Jin (2011) advised that prior to an interview, decisions have to be made concerning the common language to converse in during the interview as this has a bearing on the quality of the interview.

4.4.3 Accessing participants

In order to facilitate access to potential participants, a gatekeeper was identified. According to Kelly (2006), a gatekeeper is an individual/entity who has permitting powers to allow or disallow contact with potential participants. In order to identify the relevant research participants, I approached the Khulumani Support Group for assistance (see Appendix B for correspondence letter). This is a grassroots organisation that advocates for the wellbeing of victims of GRHVs. Khulumani was established during the TRC's tenure in order to facilitate victims' engagement with the Commission. A Khulumani Support Group Officer (KO) from the head office was assigned to assist me with fieldwork. In addition to this, three community leaders involved in the administration of the organisation's operations at grassroots level, were identified. They served as gatekeepers to the community where fieldwork was conducted. The Khulumani Support Group was

¹³ The National Health Act No 61 (2003, Section 71) stipulates that minors below the age of 18 years need parental or guardian consent to take part in a research project. Prior to 1st March, 2012, adolescents were able to give their own consent (Zuch, Mason-Jones, Mathew & Henley, 2012).

duly informed about the research aims, sample criteria and intended use of results to ensure that relevant participants were identified (Botma et al., 2010).

4.4.4 Overview of interview participants

A total of 20 participants took part in this study. Thirteen participants were children of victims, while the other seven were grandchildren of victims. Three families had both child and grandchild generations represented in the sample. In terms of gender, 10 participants were female and 10 were male. Participant ages ranged from 19 to 57 years. The overall mean age was 35 years. The mean age for females and males was 34 and 37 years respectively. Participants were drawn exclusively from the Gauteng Province, with all of them residing in high-density residences that were shared with members of their extended families. Only three participants lived in their own homes while the remaining 17 resided within the homes of their grandparents. Of those who lived in their own homes, two lived in a shack on an informal settlement. Only five of the 20 participants had reached tertiary-level education. Regarding employment, two participants reported that they worked in restaurants, whilst one was a full time musician. 15 participants indicated that they were not formally employed; despite this, eight supplemented the family household income by running their own small informal businesses. Please see the following Table 1 below for participant details.

Table 1
Participant Biographical Details

Name¹⁴	Age	Gender	Ethnic group	Child/ Grand child	Education	Employment Status
Neo	25	F	Tswana	Child	Learnership	Unemployed
Palesa	26	F	Sotho	Grandchild		Unemployed
Hope	22	F	Zulu	Grandchild	Matric	Employed
Lesedi	48	F	Pedi	Child	Grade 12 + Short term courses	Unemployed
Blessing	30	F	Zulu	Grandchild	Grade 12 + Study Receptionist	Trades small items
Bheki	22	M	Ndebele	Grandchild	Grade 12 + Law degree –started	Does part-time jobs
Themba	53	M	Zulu	Child	Grade 6	Full time musician
Michael	35	M	Swati	Grandchild		Unemployed
Nhlanhla	27	M	Sotho	Child	Grade 12	Works part-time at a restaurant
Dorcas	45	F	Zulu	Child	Matric	Sells Avon and Tupperware products
Tumelo	19	M	Zulu	Grandchild	N3 – Matric equivalent	Student
Zandi	27	F	Xhosa	Grandchild	Grade 10	Hairdresser (own small business)
Rapula	54	M	Zulu	Child	Standard 8	On a disability grant due to blindness
Kwanele	57	M	Zulu	Child	Standard 5	Fruit and vegetable vendor
Kgosi	32	M	Sotho	Child	Grade 11	Does odd electrical repair jobs
Fikile	32	F	Zulu	Child	Grade 10	Unemployed
Shepherd	48	M	Sotho	Child	Standard 9	Does odd jobs e.g. painting
Thandi	45	F	Sotho	Child	Standard 8	Unemployed
Susan	39	F	Sotho	Child	Standard 9	Unemployed
Engameli	20	M	Tswana	Child	College	Student

¹⁴ Pseudonyms are used to protect participants' identity and privacy.

4.5 Data Collection

Bloomberg and Volpe (2012) pointed out that a qualitative study is characterised by four types of information, namely, contextual, demographic, perceptual and theoretical. These information sources help to answer one's research questions and bring increased understanding to the area under study (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012). This study's historical context contributes to the contextual information and is outlined in chapter two. Furthermore, the study's theoretical information has been outlined in the foregoing literature review in chapter three. Face-to-face, semi-structured interviews were conducted to collect demographic, perceptual, and context-specific information concerning the experiences of the participants in relation to the phenomena under investigation. Perceptual information, in particular, refers to information on the views of the participant concerning the area under study (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012).

Birks, Chapman and Francis (2007) advised on context-specific arrangements that the researcher must bear in mind such as interview location, time and venue. Logistical issues such as the distance travelled for each trip to meet the participants, the associated costs and overall time spent in the process were deliberated vis-à-vis the available budget. The suitability of the venue and ease of access was also considered with respect to what was viable for participants (Walker, 2011). Furthermore, scheduling participant interviews also brought its' own challenges and this necessitated making certain decisions prior to setting appointments. Interviews were held in Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Soweto, Katlehong and Mamelodi areas within the Gauteng Province at the homes of participants. On average, the duration of an interview ranged between forty minutes to one hour thirty minutes.

4.5.1 The interview process

Interviews in hermeneutic phenomenology are used as an information gathering technique to obtain narratives or stories of lived experiences (Ajjawi & Higgs, 2007). Khan (2000a) described the longitudinal retrospective approach where the participant reflects on an experience. The current study adopted the same approach during interview sessions. The purpose of the interviews was to obtain participant narratives of intergeneration humiliation as experienced from the apartheid-era until the present and the impact this has had on their lives, if any. Semi-structured interviews were preferred as they allowed the researcher to remain focused

on asking the right questions, as well as giving participants an opportunity to relate their experiences (Morse & Field as cited in Walker, 2011). Furthermore, asking the correct questions ensured that appropriate information was collected. What follows is an account of how this process was conducted. Some of the interviews were held in participants' homes, while others took place at homes of community gatekeepers. Some of them had converted outbuildings in their properties to serve as offices as they met often with fellow apartheid victims.

4.5.2 Meeting participants: building rapport

Kawolsky, Thurston, Verhoef, and Rutherford (as cited in Dionne, 2005) cautioned that entry is more than gaining access into a research setting, but that it also involves creating relationships with members in that research setting. Walker (2011) explained that researchers may enhance their relationships with participants by having conversations that aim “to establish a relationship of trust and involvement” (p. 21). Therefore, as the KO and I entered the community and met community leaders and potential research participants, the aim was to have conversations that facilitated the involvement of those we came into contact with. Furthermore, Dionne (2005) cautioned researchers on the need to be culturally aware of the community they were entering. As the researcher, I made efforts to be culturally sensitive towards community leaders and members by previously finding out more about their culture and environment (Birks et al., 2007). This knowledge enabled me to show respect for their culture and traditions and, in the process, gain their trust (Dionne, 2005).

Trust was further enhanced because of the already-existing rapport amongst the Khulumani Support Group head office staff, community leaders and the potential participants, and the fact that the organisation had endorsed the study. The dynamic interplay of all the above efforts seemed to have positive results. Participants were willing to speak and share their experiences. This may also help to explain the overwhelming response by potential participants to take part in the study. Of the 22 identified and approached, 20 agreed to participate in the study.

4.5.3 Use of an interview schedule

Creswell (2013) recommended an interview schedule with between five to seven questions to assist in guiding the interview. Mason (2004) indicated that this interview guide may consist of topic headings or the use of cue cards. An interview schedule was designed that had three broad headings namely: biographical information to capture the participants' biographical data; family information to capture the participants' family backgrounds and the historical apartheid experience that had led their parent or grand-parent to become a victim of GHRVs (see Appendix C for a sample of the interview schedule). Lastly, the humiliation information heading captured the participant's view of what humiliation is; the kind of experiences (personal/familial/racial group) they associated with this view of humiliation from the past and their view of life presently. Under these headings, relevant questions were placed and appropriately interspersed with what Cope (2006) termed follow-up questions.

Pilot testing. To test the interview schedule for appropriateness (Turner III, 2010), a pilot test with the first three willing participants was conducted. Kvale (as cited in Turner III, 2010) pointed out that carrying out pilot tests assisted in highlighting any faults in the interview design. During interviews, a number of participants were unfamiliar with the term 'ethnic group' when asked to which ethnic group they belonged. This was resolved by adding a further question which directly asked "Are you Xhosa, Zulu, or...?" A question under the humiliation heading: "Would you say that this was below what you expect as a level of treatment that people should relate with each other?" was not readily understood. Based on the requests to repeat the question by two of the three participants, the question was rephrased to "Do you feel that your family/racial group deserved such treatment?"

Furthermore, additional questions were added to the interview schedule. For example, when participants were asked about their employment status, they all said they were unemployed. It was during the third pilot interview when we were interrupted by a young child who had come to buy some sweets from the research participant that I realised that it would perhaps be more appropriate to ask "What do you do for a living?" In addition, it was important to find out whether families had received reparations support and what participants' views were concerning the adequacy of the amounts disbursed. In asking this question, I wanted to know whether participant's expectations were met by the TRC, or whether they had any misgivings

with the process. This question had initially been omitted on the interview schedule and was subsequently included. Owing to the rich informative stories of the pilot interviewees, their findings were incorporated in the main study. Having made this decision, follow-up interviews were conducted with these first three participants to collect data on the key outstanding issues mentioned above and to seek any clarifications on the issues that had already been discussed. Permission was sought from the participant to record proceedings before commencing the interview. For ease of administration during data transcription, two separate recordings of the informative and the main segments of the interview were done.

Interview sessions. As the interview began, the participant was greeted and thanked for agreeing to be part of the study. I tried to make the interview as a natural conversation between the researcher and participant (Walker, 2011). In addition, active listening skills were employed by speaking less and allowing the participant to share more (Creswell, 2013). To facilitate further disclosure, probing questions arising from the discussion were posed (Walker, 2011). Examples of probes used were “how does this make you feel?”, “in what ways?”, and “how did you respond?”

Questions on the schedule were not strictly adhered to and at times were appropriately rephrased to ensure a logical flow of conversation. This was also determined by how participants responded to the questions and what they preferred to discuss. As the interview ended, the participant was asked whether they had other issues they wanted to share. This helped to elicit any further responses that may have been left out of the process, which they felt I needed to know. Subsequent communication was centred on clarifying issues with the participants and was conducted telephonically. In such cases where clarification was sought from a participant who was not fluent in English, the KO was asked to follow up with the participant/s.

Challenges encountered. Initially, face-to-face semi-structured interviews with participants who were conversant with the English language were envisaged. However, during the actual interview sessions, language challenges were encountered between me and some of the participants who, at times, struggled to express themselves fully in English. It is important to note that our individual skill levels in communicating in English differed (Cortazzi et al., 2011; Birks et al., 2007). Although some participants were able to converse in English, they were more comfortable speaking in their mother tongue. This was evident during times when they began to

delve deeper into past experiences or when explaining an issue. They seemed to be more expressive when speaking in their mother tongue. Consequently, in order to respect the participant's choice of language and allow for free expression of experiences, a decision to have an interpreter sit in during the interview process was made. However, this decision came with several issues to consider.

Firstly, there was need to find an appropriate interpreter. Temple (as cited in Williamson et al., 2011) explained the benefits of matching interpreters with participants which include amongst others, enhancing of the trust relationship which therefore creates a comfortable environment for participants to share their experiences. The KO was considered as the most appropriate person who was equal to the task. Although she was not a professional researcher or interpreter, her knowledge of the research participants' experiences and the trust relationship that was already present were considered. In the same vein, it was felt that bringing in an outsider may have disrupted the overall rapport that had already been created. Furthermore, the new relationship between an additional outsider and participant may have needed time to develop trust; hence participants may have felt inhibited and as a result be unable to share experiences freely. Budgetary constraints did, however, not permit the use of a professional interpreter (Williamson et al., 2011). The introduction of an interpreter has a bearing on interview proceedings. They should therefore be thoroughly briefed about the research and the relevant ethical obligations (Williamson et al., 2011).

Thus, prior to conducting the interviews, and as part of the preparations, the meaning that the word 'humiliate' has in the relevant ethnic languages was clarified. For example, humiliate in Sotho is *ntsha seriti*, while the Zulu equivalent is *ukululazeka* and in Tswana it is *kgobalatsa*. However, its' exact meaning in Xhosa was not clear. Hence it was decided that participants first be asked for their understanding of humiliation. If they seemed to struggle with the term, they would be asked, for example, "What do you understand by the term humiliation; in Sotho it is called *ntsha seriti*?" Therefore, the interpreter was informed about the need to allow for the participant to bring forth his/her own knowledge of humiliation in an attempt to clarify the concept. In addition, the interpreter's general role in the interview process in terms of the extent of her involvement was also clarified (Williamson et al., 2011). During the interview process, I as the researcher asked all the main questions. Most participants were able to understand

questions posed to them in English. Only two needed translations of what was asked. Therefore, the interpreter's main role during the interviews was to interpret as needed. On a few occasions, the interpreter elicited further explanations from the participant before responding in English. These were allowed so as to gain full understanding of the participant before giving the response.

However, there were a few times during an interview session when the interpreter asked a question just before I ventured to ask the next question on the issue under discussion. When this happened I let the interview and conversation flow in order to preserve experiences as fully expressed by the participant. Lastly, the interpreter was Sotho, and she faced translation challenges where participants responded in isiZulu, at times asking herself: "How can I put it?" when she was translating to English. In such cases further discussion ensued between the interpreter and the participant as they tried to arrive at a common understanding. The interpreter would then translate this into English.

In other cases, the interview was disrupted by telephone calls; or walk-in customers in cases where businesses were run from home; or young children who wanted attention. During interruptions, the interview was suspended for a short while. When it was resumed, the last point discussed was recapped or reiterated. With regards to confidentiality, there were two cases where other family members in particular the victim of GHRVs, were present during the interview, despite being informed that the research was directed to children or grandchildren.

For instance, during an interview with a blind participant, the parent wanted to be present in the interview. In the second interview, the grandparent insisted that the interview be held in her home and for her to be present in the interview. In these cases, questions were directed to the participant and efforts were made for the conversation to be kept between the participant and me. However, this was not always possible as, at times, the participant would refer to the family member about factual details. In such instances, I refrained from interrupting the discussion. In the interest of being respectful and culturally sensitive, I was cognisant of the fact that I should not impose myself on those from whom I had come to learn. Lindner (2001d) warned researchers who carry out research on humiliation to do so in such a manner that would not humiliate the participant. Hence, taking this aspect into consideration, I felt that asking the grandparent or parent to leave the interview area may have been misunderstood triggering feelings of humiliation on both generations represented.

In terms of distressing moments during the interview sessions, six out of 20 participants cried during the interview. Of these, three participants found the memories of past experiences too overwhelming and as a result, they were unable to continue with the interview. During these times, I as the researcher suspended the interview and gave the participant time to regain composure. When they had regained composure, the availability of free psychological counselling was reiterated. They were also asked whether they wanted to continue with the interview or not. In cases where a participant did not want to continue, we did not leave abruptly but prolonged our stay to ensure we left the participant in a better frame of mind. During this time, we held discussions that were spontaneously instigated by the participant.

Summary notes. Summary notes of interview proceedings and main points were recorded for each interview. These were written immediately after the interview whilst details about the interview process were still fresh in my mind. According to Rubin and Rubin (2005), recording summary notes in this manner assists researchers in remaining attentive to what the participant is saying. Non-verbal communication that occurred during the interview was also noted, for example, coughs, nods and the demeanour of the participant. Other things that struck my attention within the interview setting such as the weather were also noted. These notes served as cues to remember interview proceedings.

4.6 Data Analysis

The study utilised interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) to conduct data analysis. According to Smith and Eatough (2012), IPA is mainly concerned with analysing how individuals are making sense of their world. IPA was seen as ideal for this study for several reasons. According to Smith and Eatough (2012) applying IPA to an enquiry enables one to closely explore human lived experiences in such a way that rich, in-depth accounts are produced, as well as the meanings or interpretations participants give to them.

A new understanding of intergenerational humiliation was reached through IPA by closely examining how the children and grandchildren of victims of the apartheid-era GHRVs made sense of their lived experiences and the notion of humiliation. My role as the researcher was guided by the IPA notion of *double hermeneutic*. This involved listening to the participant attempting to understand his or her world while I tried to appreciate the participant's perspective

(Smith & Eatough, 2012). This activity guided my reflexivity as a researcher during the process of interpretation as I attempted to understand the life world of the participant (Smith & Eatough, 2012). Hence at times, although empathic understanding of the participant was sought, critical examination of their accounts was also done from a distance (Smith & Eatough, 2012). Through IPA, I was able to examine the dynamic interaction of how participants think, how they speak, and how they behave (Smith & Eatough, 2012). Inductive coding was used to obtain themes (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012). Inductive coding assisted in obtaining codes that were consistent with the interpretive paradigm of understanding phenomena from the subjective experience of the participant. Data analysis, therefore, involved the following steps:

Transcription. Taped interviews were transcribed verbatim. At this stage, IPA is concerned with semantics (Smith & Osborn, 2003). Transcription for the present study did not only involve what the participant said, but also how it was said. Therefore, a laugh, or a pause, etc., was noted and transcribed as such (Smith & Osborn, 2003). Each transcript was read several times in order to gain a sound knowledge of the participant's perspective (Smith & Eatough, 2012). Following this, transcripts were made IPA ready. This process entailed reading the transcripts and ensuring all parts were translated in the first person.

Identifying themes. Smith and Osborn (2003) pointed out that there is no set method in conducting IPA. However, one method of analysis suggested by Smith and Osborn (2003) is to select a transcript and identify themes in that transcript's entirety before moving on to other transcripts. Therefore, for no particular reason, transcript (TR13) which was for a participant utilising the pseudonym Palesa, was coded first (see Appendix H for a sample transcript). Data was read line by line and opening codes of significant thoughts or phrases were written down in the form of psychological concepts and ideas. These became provisional themes (Smith & Eatough, 2012).

Connecting themes. Data from TR13 was re-read and similar provisional themes were identified and linked together to form sub-themes. Smith and Eatough (2012) pointed out that at this stage, certain overarching themes and super-ordinate level themes start to emerge with subordinate themes nestling under these. Conceptual names were given to these overarching themes. A decision was made on whether to keep these or leave them out (Smith & Eatough, 2012). Developed tables were checked for consistency by a co-coder who was able to trace the

analytical process that transpired. Smith and Eatough (2012) cautioned that care must be taken to preserve the originality of participant statements during the repetitive processes of theme and category building (see Appendix I and Appendix J for the process undertaken). Sub-themes (emerging themes) from TR13 were used to obtain like themes from other transcripts (Smith & Osborn, 2003). Care was taken to ensure that new insights from a participant's transcript were also recorded (Smith & Osborn, 2003). (See participants' contributions across accounts in Appendix K for themes one to three, Appendix L for themes four to five, and Appendix M for themes six to eight).

Writing a narrative account. During this process, the research moved progressively from one level of interpretation to a higher one (Smith & Eatough, 2012). At the basic level, a full descriptive account of the experience was given. This was then followed by taking an interrogative, questioning stance towards the participant's way of understanding or making sense of his/her experiences (Smith & Eatough, 2012). Smith and Eatough (2012), indicates that at higher levels, the interpretation becomes richer. To assist with critical, reflective thinking during interpretation, I utilised Bloomberg and Volpe's (2012) *If/Then/Therefore/Thus* matrix which contained the following questions to pose during critical reflections: "If I find this... then I think this means... therefore I conclude that ... thus I recommend that ..." (p. 204). (See Appendix N for an excerpt of the findings, interpretation and recommendations for the study). The final write-up contained participant's verbatim extracts, interspaced with the researcher's descriptive accounts and interpretations and the relevant supporting literature (Smith & Eatough, 2012).

4.7 Measures to ensure Rigour

According to Lincoln and Guba (as cited in Krefting, 1991), application of trustworthiness in qualitative research is imperative. Krefting (1991) explains that trustworthiness serves as a tool that researchers may use to instil rigour into the qualitative research process, as well as provide a standard to judge validity or truth of research results. In hermeneutic phenomenology, the terminology concerning rigour varies and there is no agreed-upon method to performing an interpretive hermeneutic analysis (Kahn, 2000b). According to Kahn (2000b), at an epistemological level, hermeneutic phenomenology is concerned with the interpretations made by the researcher as they seek to understand the subjective views of the

participant. These subjective views can only be identified through interpretation (Armour, Rivaux, and Bell, 2009). Therefore, when considering rigour of a hermeneutic phenomenological inquiry, this is the point of weakness because “knowledge or knowing is subjective, incomplete and transactional” (Armour et al., 2009, p. 106).

According to Kahn (2000b) a hermeneutic phenomenological researcher must aim to report things as they happened, not as he/she would want them to be. Hence to accomplish this, Kahn (2000b) advocated for the reduction of the presuppositions the researcher brings to the study. He uses the concept of reducing bias to denote rigour (Kahn, 2000b). In accordance with Kahn’s advice, bias was reduced in two ways. I wrote down all my presuppositions about the phenomena and used these during analysis (Kahn, 2000b). I kept a reflective diary of my journey during and after fieldwork (see an excerpt of the reflective diary Appendix F).

This process enhances the reflexivity of researchers, causing them to be sensitive to other subtle prejudices (Kahn, 2000b). In what he terms ‘opening up inquiry’ Khan (2000b) advised that the researcher should allow others who do not have an interest in the research to examine the systematic processes and decisions the researcher took whilst carrying out the research and during analysis. I therefore enlisted the help of a colleague who was fluent in the Sotho, Tswana and Zulu languages to listen to and ascertain if the interpretations were authentic. I also utilised the services of a co-coder to check the consistency of coded transcripts and whether she agreed with the resultant interpretation and meaning derived from them (see Appendix G for co-coder certificate).

Furthermore, since hermeneutic phenomenology is concerned with interpreting participant’s textual accounts, Van Manen’s concepts of orientation, strength, richness and depth in order to uphold the quality of the research were considered (as cited in Kafle, 2011). For orientation, the researcher’s involvement with participants and their accounts is reflected on (Kafle, 2011). During the fieldwork, which was conducted over two months, I had the opportunity to learn about the life world of the participants, and to hear their stories. For strength, care should be taken to write convincing descriptive textual accounts that capture the essence of the participants’ intentions and understanding of their life world (Kafle, 2011). For richness, the aesthetic quality of the text is considered as the participants’ meaning is captured (Kafle, 2011). For depth, the ability to write in-depth accounts that illustrates the good-

intentions of participants should be made (Kafle, 2011). These qualities were born in mind during the reporting of results, analysis and writing up processes.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

Creswell (2013) advised that as researchers, we should be sensitive to ethical issues throughout the research process. Therefore, the following ethical principles were observed including those of the Belmont Report (1979)¹⁵:

Before the study began. The initial proposal for the study was approved by the Department of Psychology at the University of South Africa. Furthermore, ethical clearance was sought from and approved by the Ethics Committee of the College of Human Sciences at the University of South Africa before the study was executed (see Appendix A for the ethical approval letter). Once ethical approval was received, a suitable research setting was identified and obtained with approval from the Khulumani Support Group. Botma et al. (2010) advised on building harmonious relationships with role players. This was successfully accomplished both at the head office and at community level with community gatekeepers and the research participants.

As the study commenced. Creswell (2013) indicates that participants have the right to full disclosure about the research process. The principle of respect for persons was observed. In this principle, it is important to respect the rights of participants as autonomous agents; to protect those who fall under vulnerable population groups; and to respect participants' right to privacy (Botma et al., 2010). The principle of informed consent was also adhered to. Accordingly, participants were informed that their participation was voluntary and that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any time without giving reason. An informed consent letter (see Appendix D), was signed by the participants who were willing to take part in the study. The consent letter was compiled in simple English to enable the participants to understand the purpose of the study in non-technical terms. Time was taken to go over the letter with the participants. In particular, participants were informed that there were no payment incentives for participating. However, following the advice of the gatekeeper, small tokens consisting of a two

¹⁵ This report guides researchers to observe the basic principles of 'respect for persons', 'beneficence' and 'justice' that seek to protect human subjects as research is conducted (Belmont Report, 1979).

litre cold drink and a box of biscuits were offered to the participants after each interview session. In some homes these were utilised as a snack to be shared after the main interview.

The principle of beneficence seeks the protection of participants from harm (Botma et al., 2010). Potential benefits of the proposed research were considered against potential risks to participants. Means of minimising risks were sought. It is envisaged that the results of the study will benefit not only the participants, but the community of victims of GHRVs and society at large. Furthermore, psychosocial benefits to participants were anticipated (Botma et al., 2010). Some participants welcomed the opportunity to speak about their experiences (Botma et al., 2010) despite them being unpleasant. The potential risk was that participant disclosures may cause emotional discomfort and possible psychological distress. Therefore, I was sensitive to the participant's disposition during the interview (Botma et al., 2010). Participants were also furnished with information of the Clinical Psychologist at the Sophiatown Community Psychological Services who agreed to offer free counselling (Botma et al., 2010) (see Appendix E for email from clinical psychologist).

During data collection. The participants' right to confidentiality was observed at all times during the process (Botma et al., 2010). All data collected from participants was placed on a password-secured computer and any hard copies were kept in a locked cabinet (Botma et al., 2010). According to the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics (2012), this data should be kept for a period of a year after the study's results have been submitted. Data is preserved in this way in order to ensure that it is readily available should the university require it either for verification (Botma et al., 2010) or for further research purposes. Respect was accorded to participants', community leaders, and those encountered within the research setting (Creswell, 2013).

During data analysis and report writing. Respect for the privacy of participants was observed through the use of pseudonyms (Creswell, 2013). Botma et al. (2010) indicated that it is important to observe the ethical principle of veracity (truth and truth-telling during data analysis and report writing). An attempt was made to report the various viewpoints that were expressed, including adverse findings (Creswell, 2013). Reporting of the study was done honestly and sincerely, taking note to acknowledge relevant sources of literature (Creswell, 2013).

Disseminating the results. Botma et al. (2010) indicated that a researcher is in breach of the ethical principle of reciprocity when good research is not published. "... science is a collective enterprise that all humanity must benefit from" (Botma et al., 2010, p. 27). Therefore, an article based on research results will be written and published in due course (Botma et al., 2010). The Khulumani Support Group will be provided with a copy of the research results while participants will be informed telephonically (Creswell, 2013).

4.9 Summary

In this chapter, the hermeneutic phenomenological methodology that guided the study was iterated. This methodology enabled a deeper understanding of participants' historical experiences (Lavery, 2003); to see how they made sense of these experiences (Seymour, 2006); and, in particular, their subjective view of intergenerational humiliation. Discussions turned to the practical procedures taken by the researcher which included, amongst others, reflexivity of the researcher, sampling, data collection, data analysis, trustworthy measures undertaken to ensure good quality research; and the ethical considerations made before, during and after the research process. The following chapter will present a discussion of the findings of the study.

CHAPTER 5 – FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the key findings of this study are presented in the form of themes and sub-themes that are supported by the verbatim quotes of participants¹⁶. The aim is to highlight participant experiences of intergenerational humiliation and the meanings they attach to these experiences. Interpretative phenomenological analysis (Smith & Eatough, 2012) guided the data analytical procedure, which yielded eight salient themes. Some were based on the prevalence with which certain issues were highlighted across transcripts, while others were peculiar to specific transcripts and held unique perspectives that enriched the analysis. The overall research question was: *“How is intergenerational humiliation experienced by the children and grandchildren of victims of apartheid-era gross human rights violations?”* In the section that follows, relevant themes and sub-themes are presented according to the sub-questions of the study. Table 2 gives a summary of the themes and sub-themes relevant to the three sub-questions which were as follows:

- What are the causes of intergenerational humiliation in the lives of children and grandchildren of victims of apartheid-era human rights violations?
- What are the consequences of intergenerational humiliation in the lives of children and grandchildren of victims of apartheid-era human rights violations?
- How do they deal with these consequences?

¹⁶ Extracts from transcripts contain ellipses to denote missing words and words in between [] brackets denote translations and/or added words to enhance readability.

Table 2

Themes and Sub-Themes According to Sub-Questions

THEME	SUB-THEME
Sub-question one: “What are the causes of intergenerational humiliation in the lives of children and grandchildren of victims of apartheid-era gross human rights violations?”	
1. Police repression	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Police actions ▪ Police attitudes
2. Intergroup conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Actions ▪ Attitudes
3. Socio-economic deprivation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Death/disappearance of family member ▪ Inferior job opportunities ▪ Unemployment and dependence on an alternative income
Sub-question two: “What are the consequences of intergenerational humiliation in the lives of the children and grandchildren of victims of apartheid-era gross human rights violations?”	
4. Secondary traumatising	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Grief and bereavement ▪ Other negative emotions ▪ Traumatic memories
5. Embracing a victim identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Victim family versus non-victim family ▪ Continuing injustices ▪ Intergenerational implications
Sub-question three: “How do they deal with these consequences?”	
6. Coping with grief	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Cognitive reappraisal ▪ Avoidance/trying to forget ▪ Closure ▪ Familial support
7. Coping with humiliating experiences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Staying positive ▪ Suicidal ideation ▪ Silence vs. expressiveness
8. Coping with poverty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Taking responsibility for own development ▪ Familial support

5.2 Police Repression

The first salient theme in relation to sub-question one was that of police repression. Thus a major cause of intergenerational humiliation was the repression suffered at the hands of the police as they went about enforcing apartheid policies. Participants perceived this as humiliating treatment that demeaned the dignity of primary generations and their families. Police repression manifested itself both in terms of the **actions** and the **attitudes** of the police towards primary generations. These actions and attitudes therefore constitute the sub-themes and were potent sources of intergenerational humiliation amongst the secondary generations.

5.2.1 Police actions

This sub-theme reveals various forms of police repression that occurred during apartheid and the transition years. These included actions that were meant to restrict the freedom of movement, association, and political expression of people in the townships.

“She [grandmother] often tells me that if it was that time of the apartheid-era you wouldn’t go about the streets this time you would have been long time at home, stuff like that, how the Boers treated Blacks” (Bheki – grandchild).

“Yah that was bad because you couldn’t wear a t-shirt which had a name on, you will be beaten, yah, for wearing a t-shirt of someone’s face on... and you were not supposed to - to go in groups, maybe four five people together, no you were not allowed to do that ... like, the ones – the elder ones from us used to study like at night at schools. Then they were not allowed to do that too” (Lesedi – child).

At times students were caught up in the violence occurring in their community. Students were beaten and classroom learning was disrupted as they protested against carrying means of identification.

“Um, it was the apartheid police, they went to the class and then beat them in the class ... they were fighting for going around carrying the dompas¹⁷” (Thandi – child).

The repressive environment drove many people to join the armed struggle as political activists. This happened in the families of nine participants. The backlash from the state was often deadly. Despite his youthful age, Michael shared how the loss of his father when he was fifteen years old, as well as the deaths of other high profile liberation leaders served as a trigger for him to become an activist.

“I was fifteen. After my father died, after my father died, er, they killed Seabelo Pama, after – it was Chris Hani. So it was enough pain – so because my father was – was an activist, so I was an activist too” (Michael – grandchild).

At times, parents and grandparents were harassed and physically assaulted by the police. This also had the potential to trigger feelings of intergenerational humiliation as activists were helpless to defend their parents or relations from police harassment. In Rapula’s case, his mother was harassed and subjected to cruel treatment in order to force her to divulge his whereabouts.

“When I came my mother told me that these people were here, they were ransacking each and everywhere, they make me to drink thinners, they wanted me to tell the truth about you and your brother” (Rapula – child).

As political activists were targeted by the police, their homes were regularly raided or attacked in search of them. In the course of these actions, some children of victims of apartheid-era GHRVs witnessed incidents of violence that, in some cases, led to the death of individuals.

¹⁷ A *dompas* was a pass book that was given to the Black population to carry at all times as a means of identification in order to meet the requirements of pass laws.

“My mother was er ANC Women’s League and I was in ANC Youth League ... they were children from exile so they didn’t have a place to stay so my mother decided to take the children to come and stay with us. On 92 – 1992 January 24, um ... we were attacked, like the house was attacked and the children from exile were killed ... we were scared to open the door and then my mother was asking ‘What are you going to do to the children? Are you going to kill them?’ like, taking a [long]time for – to open the door until they [apartheid police] knocked down the door ... and the first one they shot was this one (points to one of the youths in the picture) ... so two boys died at home ...” (Dorcas – child).

While, in some cases, older grandchildren were also witnesses to police repression, most of them heard of these experiences through stories relayed by parents and grandparents.

She [grandmother] now and then talks about it she said the Boers will, normally - if they did not take you to prison, they will kill you and hide your remains and your family wouldn’t find you” (Bheki – grandchild).

Hope’s family experienced regular police raids and she shared that this was a humiliating process where all family members were woken up and made to stand outside the house and produce their pass books.

“My grandmother says er, the police like came looking for my uncle, the one that went missing ... they had to be woken up and like give out your passes and like they want to see who are you and ... they took them out of the house like searching the house” (Hope – grandchild).

Furthermore, the household items were mishandled in the process when the apartheid police came to Blessing’s house.

“They [apartheid police] will kick the door ... opening the – the wardrobe and then the bed they will, how can I put it? Make it upside down yes, so everything was moved ...”
(Blessing – grandchild).

Similarly, Palesa’s family suffered harassment and had their home ransacked when the police came to look for her father who was an activist leader at that time.

“During those times, the police would always come here and knock, kick the doors, they would just abuse everyone in the house, kick them and throw everything outside ... they would be coming here wanting my father ... they would turn the tables upside down, the bed upside down looking for my father ...” (Palesa – grandchild).

At times, in a bid to capture or kill political activists, apartheid police destroyed their homes in the process. This is what happened to Dorcas’s family home, which was bombed.

“Um my mother she said they – they started shooting at the windows and then they threw a hand grenade in the air, so then the hand – it – it exploded” (Dorcas – child).

Similarly, Palesa shared how their home was also destroyed by arson.

“Our house was burnt ... our everything was burnt my – my grandmother had to start over again ... to at least give us a roof” (Palesa – grandchild).

Blessing’s family were fortunate enough to be warned of a possible arson attack on their home and hence were able to take steps to protect themselves in case it occurred.

“There was um a word going around that they [apartheid police] were going to burn the house we had to put the hosepipe ready on the sink, on the tap, so that whenever they try to put a petrol bomb or something to burn the house and then we can use that hosepipe to stop the fire” (Blessing – grandchild).

Participants' relatives suffered routine detention and torture. Palesa shared that on a number of occasions, despite her young age, she and her family members were detained on account of her father; her grandmother and other family members were tortured during those times in a bid to extort information about her father's whereabouts.

“If they couldn't find him, then they would take all of us in the house take us to the – to the police station. They would keep them there until they torture them and torture them and she [grandmother] said she would never talk. She said they would tell her to climb on those rocks and look on the window, it was like on the fifth floor th – they w – wanted her to jump out that window in order to tell the people that she committed suicide. They would just force her to do it and ... starve her for maybe like days ...” (Palesa – grandchild).

5.2.2 Police attitudes

This sub-theme reveals how participants perceived the humiliating treatment they and their families received at the hands of the apartheid police and may also be regarded as a source of intergenerational humiliation. A case in point is Palesa's family. Her father was a leader of the youth league and the police used to come in search of him at their home. Being young at that time, Palesa observed how her grandmother would react to the treatment she and her family received from the police.

“If the police come – if the policeman – my – my grandmother used to say if they came in and talk – she – she – she would like [say] don't touch me! Don't touch me! Don't give me that attitude!” (Palesa – grandchild).

During night raids when the apartheid police came to their home in search of his brother, Themba described their manner as 'terrible'. This suggests that their attitude filled victim-families with terror.

“... but they were terrible ... [speaks intensely in hushed tones] It was terrible, it was terrible, it means these people, when they – if they wanted somebody, he is not in the house, they would wake you up ...” (Themba – child)

Remarking on their conduct during night raids, Themba further reiterates the unfairness of their conduct and ‘bossy’ nature which left those affected helpless against them.

“Mm that was unfair treatment, how can it be fair that one? Its unfair treatment; so now the way they were so bossy yah, you couldn’t say anything to them, you know. Even my mother would say baas [boss] to an eighteen, nineteen – year – kind of – it was stupid” (Themba – child).

Themba attributed this arrogance to Whites’ need to be superior over the Blacks.

“Yah because er I think the superiority that’s what Whites wanted” (Themba – child).

Furthermore, racist remarks were a further source of intergenerational humiliation and revealed the low regard Whites had for Blacks.

“... because they were calling us bobojanis [baboons], yah, yah so that be bobojane for them ... [chuckles softly] yah, that’s – that’s hectic man, that’s er, sad hey? Yah, they humiliated everybody as long as you are Black” (Themba – child).

Rapula concurred with this view of supremacy, albeit from his general opinion of apartheid.

“Baya funa ukuba phezu kwethu [they wanted to be superior to us]; they always wanted to be superior than us ... each and everything, you must beg them, you must call them baas, you must call them missus” (Rapula – child).

5.3 Intergroup Conflict

The second salient theme in relation to the first sub-question is that of intergroup conflict as a result of political affiliation, real or perceived. This was manifested in both **actions** and **attitudes**. Participant accounts describe intergroup conflict during the early 1990s between ANC and IFP supporters. The power struggle that ensued may be seen as another source of intergenerational humiliation. This was also the time when transitional arrangements for a new democratic dispensation were taking place. During this period, primary generations and their families who belonged to or who were perceived to belong to one party, were targeted by members of the other party.

5.3.1 Actions

This sub-theme reveals some of the experiences that became a source of intergenerational humiliation. These included routine harrassment, but often even more severe forms of interpersonal violence.

“Hostel dwellers are from rural areas like KZN and they are not working. So they come to us here at the location, stealing from us – robbing us so even if you try something you are not safe at all because they are just coming and ask money from you and rob you”
(Kwanele – child).

Kwanele and Thandi also relayed other experiences suffered by their families, which included violent beatings and attacks, rape and also murder.

“They [hostel dwellers] will call up a meeting ... they will go house to house and then if they find you inside the house, they will beat you and you will go running to that meeting” (Kwanele – child).

“So on the day of the night vigil ... my sister was – she was pregnant and she was raped on the very same day and she was killed. So most women who were attending that night vigil were raped and they [Inkatha youths] killed the people” (Thandi – child).

As a result of the violence between the ANC and Inkatha supporters, the structure of many families was affected as members were killed as a result of the conflict. This much was shared by a number of participants, some of whom were personally affected.

“Yes I did, er, there was a house where all the family where killed, they killed all the members of the family and the house was burned” (Kwanele – child).

“Yah four people died at my house – my mother, my brother and also my cousin sister ...” (Fikile – child).

“Yes it was my father and my grandmother... they got killed by the people they call themselves maInkatha” (Kgosi – child).

“I received a phone call and I called my mother informing her that, um, my father was killed. So my – my biological father was killed in 1992 by the Inkatha. So, nine family members were killed” (Thandi – child).

Findings also reveal the operations of the *Third Force* that fuelled further conflict between Inkatha and mainly ANC supporters. This resulted in entrenching divisions amongst warring groups and many deaths.

“They were White policemen at that time ... so they would come to the location, take people here from the location dump them in an open space or where they know that there is a riot and that person will never come back alive” (Kwanele – child).

“... because the guys from IFP, they were mixed with er apartheid soldiers” (Michael – grandchild).

“Inkatha used to work with the – the police” (Dorcas – child).

5.3.2 Attitudes

This sub-theme reveals the attitude of an out-group¹⁸ towards victim-families and may be seen as a source of intergenerational humiliation. Some transcripts describe instances where an out-group would descend on communities and, through their domineering and aggressive attitude, they would induce terror in families. Nhlanhla felt frightened each time riots broke out in the streets.

“When, er, comrades go to the streets ... parents will take you away from the street to come to the house. Ehe, I was feeling afraid. I used to hide [laughs gently] at the back of that stove, you see that coal stove there? [Points to a stove in the kitchen]. My mother would cry ‘Where is your brother?’, ‘Where is your brother?’ My brother was a comrade by that time” (Nhlanhla – child).

Kwanele’s transcript reveals the attitudes of hostel dwellers towards community members. He saw them as the area’s ‘rulers’ who wielded a certain power over the out-group. This perception seems to remain with him even in the present day as he strives for cordial relations with those around him.

“This place was ruled by the hostel dwellers ... yah, we live – for – for peace sake we try to – to remain calm, even if – no matter how a person can disrespect you but you need to – to be calm because you don’t have the powers that they have” (Kwanele – child).

Similarly, Michael perceived IFP members as ‘rulers’ of trains where many murders were committed during that time.

“People were killing each other. In the trains people were killing each other, the IFP used to rule trains” (Michael – child).

¹⁸ Findings show that opposing groups were formulated mostly by political affiliation. For example, IFP supporters were considered the out-group in a neighbourhood where ANC supporters dominated and they frequently fought against each other.

At times, neighbours in the community made insulting remarks that were designed to provoke enmity between social groups. Blessing described the hostel members' low regard of members of the out-group. If the latter were found outside the borders of their community, they were referred to as an 'animal' and dealt with accordingly.

“So there was this other guy from the hostel dwellers and then he came this side and then when they see you they will call you ‘Umdlwembi, umdlwembi’ it’s an animal. They will call and scream and say ‘Umdlwembi! Umdlwembi!’ meaning ‘the animal, the animal!’ and then people will come out, so they know that when they say ‘Umdlwembi’ you don’t belong to – to this part ... you are an enemy. So they did put a tyre around the neck, they beat him, beat him and then put the tyre around the neck and then burn him” (Blessing – grandchild).

Moreover, despite being in a needy state, some community members would adopt a mocking attitude towards others. Dorcas felt humiliated by them as they taunted her family because of their homeless state.

“Life wasn’t good, um it has affected me very badly because I had to – to move from where I grew up, coming here and um having a child here ... then we will stay with that person [relative] maybe for two years ... there was this other movie series um TV series called er ‘Mahlale’ - ‘Mahladinyoka’ so it’s like people who doesn’t have a stable place, like moving from one place to the other. So the people in the community were calling us like that, if they see us with the bags” (Dorcas – child).

5.4. Socio-Economic Deprivation

The third salient theme in relation to the first sub-question has to do with socio-economic deprivation. Some participants described experiences of surviving on chronically low income. This suggests that primary generations and their families were placed in a disadvantaged socio-economic position where the needs of the family were not adequately met and may be seen as a possible source of intergenerational humiliation. A number of sub-themes were discerned with

regard to this theme. These were **death or disappearance of family member, inferior job opportunities** and **unemployment and dependence on an alternative income**.

5.4.1 Death/disappearance of family member

Transcripts reveal that the deaths of spouses in the primary generations affected the financial situation and material wellbeing of the family, as some of those spouses were often sole bread winners of their families. Their deaths left surviving spouses (usually female) faced with the burden of fending for the family, as Lesedi explained.

“My mom was the only person working ... yes, so she had to take care of all five of us and she wasn't earning that much where she worked. See now, she couldn't just make it because my father had - had a loan at the bank. So she had to start paying the loan coz we couldn't – she made a security with the house so she had to fight for that also to start paying for it so that we would have where we stay. She had to cater to school, food, and everything so - so it was hard” (Lesedi – child).

Similarly, household income in Nhlanhla's family was significantly affected following his father's abduction and disappearance during apartheid to this day. As a result, the family became socio-economically disadvantaged and they were unable to provide for some of Nhlanhla's needs at school. For him, this became a source of intergenerational humiliation as he grew up seeing himself as less privileged than other children at school.

“Since my father went to work, he never came back. Since after we struggle a lot. My mother used to go there at [name withheld] where he used to work searching for him and [she] didn’t find him, you see ... he [father] used to went all around South Africa when he had a long distance – [a] truck driver, yes ... we were fully harmed ma’am because he was the breadwinner you see, he was the only one working. So after years, we struggle a lot... when we grow up as a family like this, you have nothing you see ... yah, you don’t have something to eat at lunch time or break time ... so when you try to ask some friends for food, eish, they make jokes about you... yah you don’t have shoes, you don’t have those kind of things ... eish, it was – I was in pain. If you come from a poor family everyone will treat you like nothing, you see you are nothing to them” (Nhlanhla – child).

From a collective perspective, Palesa noted the important financial position a breadwinner plays in the family and how the progress of family members is affected when he/she passes on.

“Many Black people still suffer ... they lost their breadwinners in the house so if you can go to many houses where they will say this person died in 1994 and he was the one who was helping us you will see that person really left a huge gap in the house. Those people still suffers, from 1994 till 2014 and we say we live in a democratic world, but you can see in that house very – very ... they are very suffering big time” (Palesa – child).

5.4.2 Inferior job opportunities

Participant accounts also reveal poor wages and conditions of employment that surviving parents were working under as being a source of intergenerational humiliation. Kwanele’s mother worked as a domestic worker; she not only earned a low wage over a 20-year period but she was also denied pension benefits and this may be seen as a humiliating experience as she struggled to raise her children.

“My mother used to work as a domestic worker, yes and she worked there for 20 years and she wasn’t earning so much and she was trying so hard to raise the other children and when she left the work - when she resigned - when she went back to the employer to ask for money - for the benefits - the employer ran away from my mother” (Kwanele – child).

Tumelo’s mother earned a low wage and she was unable to sustain their monthly household needs. This situation was worsened each time they had to move and live in another location due to their homeless state as transport costs to and from work increased, thus further depleting their meagre income levels. In Tumelo’s view, it was better for her not to continue working at the job as he could not see the financial benefit.

“... at some point we have to move and then when we move we are getting far from the place where she works and then we are going far, so the taxi money the money that she earns there won’t maintain the standard of our month so it was best when we stayed – when we lived there ... than now when we are far and she is working for less money, what she has to do is leave the job and rather stay home because it’s the same thing” (Tumelo – grandchild).

Themba described the poor working conditions of grandmothers and mothers who were working as domestic workers.

“I think that time it was not easy to survive this er – em, you know, humiliation, eh? Because I think, everybody passed on the top of it, even like our mothers and our grans they used to do the domestic kind of work for these Whites, it’s part of that also to me because you can’t let magogo [granny] like that wash the whole day – washing and ironing and look after the kleinbaas [small boss] ... that’s also – ucindeza umuntu ingqondo [you humiliate someone’s intellect or mind]” (Themba – child).

5.4.3 Unemployment and dependence on an alternative income

Some surviving spouses within the primary generations lived on other sources of income such as a pension fund or grant, whilst others depended on their children to survive. However, all too often, these sources of income were not sufficient to meet the needs of the family. This was the case with Shepherd's family who survives on his mother's pension.

"Things are worse than before, nothing is getting better. Right now at the moment we survive by my mother's pension money ..." (Shepherd – child).

Similarly, Palesa and her family are living on her grandmother's pension.

"Now we are-we struggling big time we have to live with m-my grandmother's pension fund ... I'm not working, I'm hustling big time" (Palesa – grandchild).

Blessing's grandmother is advanced in age and unemployed with no pension. She suffered a stroke in 2004 that left her severely invalid. All their basic household needs are met by Blessing's uncle who is her grandmother's second son, as her first son is in rehabilitation.

"So the only person who help[s] is the – the child, my grandma's child, the last – the last child. So he is the one who is helping financially and buying the diapers, everything that is needed in the house and he is not married ... the other one is not well, he went to rehab, he did smoke – they suspect that he did smoke – em – dagga a lot of dagga so it disturbed him and he went to rehab," (Blessing – grandchild).

When Kwanele's mother was not given her pension benefits after 20 years of service, his small vegetable vending business sustained the family, until he became crippled following an attack one night by a group of youths in 1994. His wife and family were also harassed during the transition years and told to vacate his mother's house, but he refused to move, citing a lack of money to pay rent for the new building. Now he lives on a disability grant. However, he is unable to afford the current medical costs associated with good quality health care.

“... we survived through my business where I was selling tomatoes and in 1994 that is when the riots started, and I was attacked at home and they stabbed me here [motions to his thigh] with a njumanju [Zulu weapon] on my thigh yes, and then my mother rushed me to the hospital, and then I stayed there for six months. Because I was now um, a cripple, the hospital decided to get me a letter so that I can get a grant ... when I go to the clinics, most of the time I don't see the doctor, they only give me the pills and rub-rub – heat rub. So if I had money, I would be able to go to the doctor and he would put me on x-ray, check me and give me an injection ... the Zulu dwellers came and told me like “No you need to move [from] here because you are an ANC member, we don't want you to stay in this house anymore” so like I refused because my mother was sick and they have already killed my brother, so I decided that no, it's better for me to die here, I am not going anywhere. I am still in the same place because I don't have money, even if I were to go somewhere and rent a room, where would I get the money to pay rent?” (Kwanele – child).

5.5 Secondary Traumatization

This first salient theme in relation to the second sub-question is the secondary traumatization that participants are still experiencing as a result of intergenerational humiliation. Here, the following sub-themes were discerned: **grief and bereavement, other negative emotions and traumatic memories.**

5.5.1 Grief and bereavement

Findings reveal that all but three participants experienced the death of a loved one as a result of past injustices. Of these, thirteen participants lost either a grandparent and/or parent, while four participants lost either a brother or an uncle. These losses, coupled with past apartheid trauma, as well as prevailing present-day socio-economic challenges, have all had an emotional impact on the lives of participants. In some cases, loved ones were taken away suddenly without warning. Lesedi's father is a case in point. He lived and worked in Witbank

away from the family. She explained that her family was shocked by the news of her father's kidnapping and subsequent murder.

"Since I wasn't there, I just heard from the people who were with him there that the - men came in, they just had a short talk with him and then took him in - got - they got away with him inside a combi ... we were all shocked. That was very bad because the last born was about seven years" (Lesedi – child).

Transcripts reveal the grief participants experienced following unexpected death of a loved one. Shepherd grieved the death of his father for a long time. Each year, this would become more acute towards the anniversary of his father's death. Notwithstanding, Shepherd indicated that he is now recovering from the loss.

"I can say that especially coming to the memorial days, er, having gone to the grave yard, I will be thinking that this person who is lying here, he [was] the one who was taking care of us – um – being without a father is like a garden without flowers – mmm – he was a father, not some[body] to fear ... even if when you were to come with problems, er, telling him of your problems he would always be there, never turning behind – um his back on his children – he was a real father. Gonkile nako ore keatle [it took me time to recover but now I am strong]" (Shepherd – child).

Furthermore, most transcripts show that their grief is mingled with a view that this loss has affected how their life has turned out. Their thoughts are centred on this loss and on how much progress they could have made in terms of their education and careers had their fathers lived. Having knowledge of this life setback may further exacerbate their grief and feelings of intergenerational humiliation. Palesa shared her grief.

“I never knew my father and [crying] if he was here I know maybe my life would have changed, would have been better ... it [apartheid] humiliated us, I never had the co-the opportunity to finish school ... and now I’m not working ... I’m hustling big time” (Palesa - grandchild).

As she grew up, Lesedi’s grief of losing her father became especially acute when she needed money for needs such as education.

“Like maybe if you need something, you are in need of something or maybe you wanted to further your studies and then you just, you – you’ll realise that if my father was here then maybe I wouldn’t suffer like this ...” (Lesedi – child).

5.5.2 Other negative emotions

In this sub-theme, participants shared how they felt about events that happened in the past and how they feel about present-life challenges. Transcripts reveal feelings that ranged from anger, hurt/pain, hate, revenge, stress, apathy and fear. Some participants reported feeling angry because of the loss of a loved one. Michael shared that he was angered by the murder of his father, and that of a revered liberation leader, Chris Hani.

“We went there to check for ourselves that is it really true that Chris Hani is dead and brutally, and me as a - as a – as a victim because my father died before Chris Hani, as victim of that, I was so very, very angry ... there was a lot of dying and there was a lot of death ... even today, other people are still angry about that. Even me I’m still angry about it” (Michael – grandchild).

Furthermore, the brutal murders of people such as Michael’s father may depict the malicious intention of the perpetrator, thereby triggering and heightening feelings of anger and intergenerational humiliation. Michael appeared angered by not only the inhumane way in which his father and others were killed, but also by subsequent culturally insensitive references to his father. This continues to fuel his anger.

“You see – someone might say in isi Zulu ubaba wakho bambulala [they killed your father] and to that – to us to that it’s not ok, we don’t say your father bambulala [they killed] but ubaba wakho washona [your father has passed away] that’s our culture ... yah, so if someone says ‘ubaba wakho bambulala’ [they killed your father] ... it’s more of an insult, its insensitive because you are placing the passing of a human being at the same level with an animal which is referred as ‘the goat is dead’ [imbuzi ifile] ... ‘your father’ was killed. It’s like not like ‘your father passed away’ so it’s like an insult to you ... because what happened is not like, it was a chicken’s life – you know a chicken is something that has to be eaten, this is a person, it’s a father t- to his children – he was supposed to take care of his children” (Michael – grandchild).

In other transcripts, feelings of anger emanated from hearing stories about what had happened to their parents or grandparents during apartheid and transition years. When Kgosi heard about the death of his father and grandmother, he felt angry. They were killed during the 1992 Boipatong Massacre and this impacted on his life chances, which could further have exacerbated his anger. Reflecting on his apartheid experiences, he explained that the anger he feels at times affects his relationships with his neighbours.

“I lost my parents because of apartheid I don’t have good things anywhere. When I get angry, I can really get angry, I don’t know and I don’t know how to talk with some other people, er, neighbours’ coz they used to help me with some things you see” (Kgosi – child).

The story of police firing teargas into his family home and his mother’s health being affected as a result also left Engameli feeling angry. In addition, he sometimes lacks full concentration at school owing to what happened.

“... my parents usually was trying to tell me some kind of stories like 1991 up until 1994 they told me that there was this time when they were sitting inside at home watching TV – maybe it was er 8:00hrs or 9:00hrs they hear some noise, people a-are fighting outside there is a police shooting – that police put teargas inside – inside the h-house and that smoke of teargas get inside my mother’s chest and right now is starting, getting coughing, vomiting, sometimes [she] can’t wake up ... it affected her now when I go to school sometimes I feel so angry ... my parents you see – because I – are those people who give me the chance to live – who mean the world” (Engameli – child).

Other transcripts show that feelings of anger over what happened in the past have turned to hate and in some participants, the need for revenge. Bheki feels angry about the past traumatic events that led to the death of his grandfather at the hands of the apartheid police; in turn this has led him to hate Whites.

“It makes me feel angry uh it makes me hate Whites a lot, at lot, a lot especially Boers ... mmm I know hate is a strong word to use but I do, that’s what I feel. I hate them, that’s it” (Bheki - grandchild).

Palesa hates the apartheid experience and perceives that, because of it, many lives were affected.

“Yoh! I hate apartheid big time I wish it was never there, coz it destroyed many lives” (Palesa – child).

Consequently, some participants felt the urge to take revenge over what had happened. Shepherd shared that he felt like taking revenge when, in 1984, he learned about the circumstances surrounding the death of his uncle during the Sharpeville massacre that had occurred in 1960. He felt the need to avenge his uncle’s death by becoming a political activist.

“When I was told about my uncle, I wasn’t happy about what happened, so I tried to make um – to revenge what happened ... I joined [PAC] because of my uncle who passed on – I wanted to revenge the death of my late uncle” (Shepherd - child).

Findings also show participants thoughts and feelings concerning present-life challenges. According to Shepherd, the current socio-economic situation has worsened compared to previous years. Making a living through odd jobs, he feels angry and stressed because he cannot secure permanent employment and this has led to him developing high blood pressure.

“Things are still the same, now it’s becoming worse than before because there is no jobs and people are hungry ... this makes me very angry because I am stressing thinking about the work and I did have a stroke because of stressing so much. When I go to the treatment they tell me that I have high blood [high blood pressure] – it’s too high” (Shepherd - child).

Similarly, Michael feels stressed about being unemployed, as well as in constant need of something or the other to survive but not having somebody to help. He has experienced this as a daily humiliation that has at times affected his social relations. Over time, Michael has also become epileptic.

“To live that life, it’s money and to go and acquire a skill, it’s money. You see that, every day in this world – but where should I get this money? So humiliation it’s a daily thing... spila ngayo [we live with it] we – we seeing it every day ... because now this stress, what it brings – it brings – I’m grown up, I’m 35 like I said... but I am becoming epileptic now because of stress, stress brings me epilepsy now, yah, I’ve got those times – just started now - just started now. Because now, I’m not working, my mother’s not working, I live with my grandfather. So sometimes when I don’t have money and he doesn’t have money, it’s a stress. So it pushes me to – to be – to be violent, vulgar, and don’t appreciate a certain person as someone who is going to help me” (Michael – grandchild).

The feeling of apathy was expressed by two participants. Transcripts show that past emotional trauma coupled with the stresses of living in poverty and having to take care of dependents under such difficult circumstances has taken its toll on participants, leaving them despondent and apathetic towards life.

“I don’t enjoy life I just take life as it comes” (Kwanele - child).

“I take life as it comes, I’m not enthusiastic about anything now because everything has come to a – a standstill” (Blessing - grandchild).

On the other hand, Kwanele shared that he fears a re-occurrence of the political violence that was happening in his community during apartheid, which resulted in many injuries and deaths.

“Um, most of the time I am afraid because even if I hear the knock, I will think that they are people from the hostel ... so I am not free – I am afraid most of the time that something is going to happen to me ... yes I, I think that the hostel dwellers, they still have apartheid” (Kwanele – child).

5.5.3 Traumatic memories

Another sub-theme under secondary traumatising is that of traumatic memories. Thus the way in which participants reacted when they related the violations that family members had suffered, suggested that they were still traumatised. Consequently, some participants preferred not to discuss the past. Michael witnessed atrocities that had taken place during apartheid and the transition years, but was unwilling to delve into these experiences.

“There was nobody who was feeling ok about apartheid ... because apartheid wasn’t doing things the way people wanted them to be done ... it’s very sad, you see, it takes me somewhere but I don’t want to go there ... so there was – there was a lot of death and there was a lot of dying” (Michael – grandchild).

Similarly, during his interview, Kgosi seemed wary of talking about the past, as reliving past events conjured up unpleasant memories that caused him to become oblivious to present-day situations happening around him.

“Why we try to think about those things – we must think about other things, we don’t have to think about the past, because you will bring er bad things to your mind and it can affect you because even if you think about those past things, you start to think about it – you won’t even see when the car is coming in front of you ... because you will be deep in thought” (Kgosi – child).

Furthermore, these painful memories were associated with mental imagery that was difficult to erase. Themba shared that, to this day, he has a mental image of the Combi in which his younger brother, a political activist leader, was tragically burnt to death in 1986. In the company of some friends, they were abducted in a Combi, taken to a remote location, injected with a lethal substance and their vehicle was set alight.

“I don’t know whether my mother did once show you that photo, that photo affected me, you know, even today I don’t want to see that photo, you know, because it’s still in my picture right now yah ... I don’t want to see it again [pause]so since that picture then it’s [voice dies down] yah, but the rest of the thing when I thought to myself, I said, ah – yah to forgive you can forgive, but you can’t forget” (Themba – child).

Relating past events re-opened old wounds in the case of three participants who, as a result, could not continue with their interviews. In all instances, the interview was respectfully terminated and the relevant participant was again reminded of the availability of free psychological counselling. Zandi, for example, was only five years old when her late mother was shot at the front gate of their home. She was hurt when she learnt about the death of her mother and that the woman she had always referred to as mother all these years was not her biological mother. Perhaps due to the painful memories associated with her past, Zandi’s

responses in the interview were short and curt as evidenced by her request to terminate the interview. Outside the interview, we stayed a while until Zandi calmed down.

“The story what happened, I was too young, I was five years old when my mother got shot but I know nothing. I only know that she got shot, she was at the gate, that’s it ... I grew up with my aunt’s child. My aunt she’s – she’s older than my mother ... so I grew up knowing my aunt as my mother, so, yah, I didn’t – I didn’t know the whole story ... she [cousin] would tell me - that is not your mother, it’s my mother, your mother is dead - I felt very bad - maybe we should stop” (Zandi – child).

5.6 Embracing a Victim Identity

Another salient theme under sub-question two was the tendency of participants to embrace a victim identity. Thus the past traumatic events that caused victimisation of primary generations have in turn influenced subsequent generations into forming a victim identity as a consequence of intergenerational humiliation. They feel that they are victims as well, because their relatives were killed and their property was destroyed; they are acutely aware of how the gross human rights violations suffered by their families had affected and still affects their (participants’) lives. The following sub-themes fell under this theme: **victim-family versus non-victim family, continuing injustices and intergenerational implications.**

5.6.1 Victim family versus non-victim family

Some participants see their families as incomplete and they see other Black families who did not lose a family member as a result of past injustices (referred to as non-victim families) as better than themselves. Nhlanhla considers family structure and points out that a family with both parents is better and achieves more in life.

“They’ve achieved because mmm they are a full family, you see they have got their mothers and their fathers” (Nhlanhla - child).

Kwanele explains that non-victim families have all the peace and happiness of being together as family members, the financial ability to access such privileges as building secure homes, and the ability to afford good quality education for their children.

“Sekuthulekile [there is peace] bayakha [they are building] bahleli kamnandi [they live happily] – what I can say is that they live happy, they are staying with their family, they are staying with their grandchildren, they can be able to pay their kids to school, so they are happy, everything is fine with them” (Kwanele - child).

Similarly, Tumelo perceives that peers from his school who come from non-victim families are better as they did not undergo the past trauma that his family faced.

“Yes they are like some that I know, my friends back at school ... they are living a better life because they haven't experienced what we have experienced” (Tumelo - grandchild).

In the same vein, Palesa admires her peers from non-victim families as she perceives them as able to do things because they had parents and elder siblings who were in a position to financially assist in their education.

“I met up with my friends so we went to school together so she bought a car now ... then she said to me what happened? ... and I told her that you know what girl, during the time – the time we were at school, you had everything, you had your mother, you had your father, you had your sisters who were working for you, so mina [me] I had no one ... At least if I had gone to college, then upgraded my matric, or didn't upgrade then do the M-courses, maybe I would have been somewhere at least” (Palesa – grandchild).

5.6.2 Continuing injustices

In this sub-theme, transcripts also reveal that some participants' sense of victimhood is exacerbated by the contemporary injustices that they are subjected to. Palesa perceives victim-families as being at the 'ground' level and suffering from what she termed 'the unhealed wounds

of apartheid'. She is saddened by this knowledge and does not see the government doing enough to assist victim-families. She shares the view that South Africa has never changed in terms of racism but appears to contradict this statement again.

“Many Black people still suffers from those unhealed wounds [of apartheid] some of them still suffers from – they lost – they lost their breadwinners in the house so if you can go to many houses where they will say this person died in 1994 and he was the one who was helping us you will see that – that person really left a huge gap in the house, those people still suffers, from 1994 till 2014, and we say we live in a democratic world. It makes me sad... South Africa has never changed – its changed coz they – they are no longer racist, but they are still racist – healing racists but saying it didn't change – many youth doesn't work, our – our government is looking at those high – those high places people – they are looking only to themselves, they are not look to the ground, and people from the ground are the ones suffering” (Palesa – grandchild).

This perceived low status position is evidenced by the humiliation participants feel as they are unable to adequately cater for their daily needs and that of the family, owing to chronically low incomes as a result of the structural legacy of apartheid wherein primary generations were in a disadvantaged socio-economic state. Furthermore, participants used the word *struggle* to describe their experiences of trying to survive on chronically low incomes. This depicts a family in a constant challenge to meet the needs of the household.

“Um well I know my family is struggling because most of us we are not working” (Neo – child).

“We are still struggling, you see ... no one is working there, even me I'm – I'm not working” (Kgosi – child).

Secondly, participants may feel victimised through their experiences of poor service delivery of such items as water, electricity and housing within their communities. Michael's

statement of lack of development happening in communities seems to be tantamount to a lack of care by service delivery officials who are perceived as doing nothing to better community members' living conditions.

“The humiliation is stemming from people who were supposed to take care of my grandmother ... what is it that they are developing in the community? Nothing” (Michael – grandchild).

In Kgosi's case the humiliating surroundings that his family is living in is a cause of concern to him and he appeals for the government to come and see his plight.

“... I asked them what's happening about my family coz I see you forgot us, you don't come and come and see what, er, by the way we are living, we are still struggling ... most of my siblings they don't have a place that they call at home so they will have to stay in the shack. So they will have to stay there and there is no water or electricity” (Kgosi - child).

Participants also reported long periods of waiting to gain access to RDP housing¹⁹. Some have not been allocated a house despite having made an application whilst others have seen and heard of corrupt practices taking place in order to gain access to shelter. Consequently, service delivery officials are perceived to have forgotten them.

“They forget about their promises so they don't deliver to the people ... Those things are hurting, they are very painful and there is nothing we can do about it because those people are crooks – skelem [thieves]” (Shepherd - child).

The above quote also suggests that there may be feelings of powerlessness or helplessness associated with the humiliating situation as there is no solution in sight. In addition,

¹⁹ RDP Housing - Through the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the new democratic government aimed to meet the basic needs of the poor and housing was amongst its first priorities (Visser, 2004).

the knowledge that corruption is resulting in the diversion of funds that are meant to benefit the underprivileged seems to reinforce this perception of service delivery officials as having an uncaring attitude, thereby heightening feelings of intergenerational humiliation.

“The humiliation because the money that the people are supposed to benefit from that money – sometimes that the people who are giving them tenders, I don’t think all those tenders are going to – even in the houses of the RDPs, I don’t understand what – you can make a house. After one year, that house is demolished and after that you are supposed to build it again ... to monitor those things – the government – I don’t think so – even though some others are protesting” (Rapula - child).

Thirdly, sentiments of a sense of abandonment may further reinforce participants’ perception of victimhood. Transcripts show that owing to the sacrifices loved ones made in becoming political activists, some participants perceived their families as participators in achieving democracy. However, according to Michael, the sacrifices that family members made as political activists are not being acknowledged and he feels that they are being discriminated against as a result.

“We are humiliated because that family is better than that family – because now, our surname it’s not – it’s not being – being regarded as participants in that apartheid-era to achieve democracy ...” (Michael - grandchild).

Furthermore, transcripts from Kwanele and Dorcas reveal that they feel abandoned and forgotten by the now disbanded TRC. Kwanele perceives that officials do not care about his situation despite him having testified at the TRC.

“Like I was injured I went to TRC to tell them my story, but they don’t care. I lost a brother, we’ve lost children, and I am injured – they don’t care about everything that happened to them” (Kwanele - child).

Equally so, Dorcas claims her family was forgotten and perceives the now disbanded TRC authorities as having benefited from the process to the detriment of victim-families.

“So they did forget about us – TRC for it promised to give us money ... now they are benefiting, they are sitting there at least if they can, if they can try and do something for us” (Dorcas - child).

These findings suggest that their pleas are not being heard. Despite the years that have passed since the TRC officially ended in 1998, some of the parents of participants are still awaiting a response to their application for reparations. Equally so, some child-generation participants who became victims according to the TRC Act (1995) are also still waiting. Kwanele feels humiliated and discriminated against as over the years, others have received their own reparations ahead of him and he consequently blames apartheid.

“No, I blame apartheid for this, um, but sometimes I think that maybe these people [recipients of reparations] who are living better were treated more badly than I was – maybe that is why they were given the money than me. I am saying this because I did submit my forms to the TRC for reparations ... so I wish they can treat me like a human being most of the um, Khulumani members, they did receive the reparations, so why can't I receive the reparations? So meaning during Thabo's – when Thabo was still a president, yes Thabo Mbeki, he felt the pain and he felt what people were going through and that is why he gave the people the R30,000.00. So why can't they also at least, give me also that R30,000.00? Meaning that I am not a human being that is why I am not receiving that money” (Kwanele - child).

Kwanele's expression above suggests his feelings of intergenerational humiliation may have been further exacerbated by the delay in his application process for reparation leading to feelings of low self-worth and dehumanisation as evidenced by his description of himself as not being human. He is among those who have approached the Khulumani Support Group to assist them with the follow-up process.

5.6.3 Intergenerational implications

Findings in this sub-theme reveal that the victim mind-set of participants makes them prone to be acutely aware of intergenerational implications of past injustices, which further exacerbate their intergenerational humiliation. Michael shows concern for the future. He reflects on his upbringing and worries whether his own children will ever receive a good education, since circumstances in his family have not been conducive.

“Education is one of the most important things because now if I sit alone, I sit alone and think that, I didn’t have an opportunity to go to university. I didn’t have an opportunity to go to school to do this and this and this, what about my children? Are they going to fail like me?” (Michael – grandchild).

These questions posed by Michael seem to reveal his concern about how his children will fare in life; given that he does not have anything to leave his children as a legacy, he sees this as a failure. Hence Michael perceives that his dream of becoming a business owner cannot be realised.

“You get my point of view sisi [sister], that I believe to be my own boss have my own, my own company even if I don’t have a company, maybe I’m contracted to a certain company ... I can’t achieve that because the work I get. I can’t buy the material that will help me to achieve that. I can’t buy these because the salary I get, if I – if I work it’s not enough” (Michael – grandchild).

Similarly, Lesedi perceives that her failure to receive a good education and career negatively impacted her ability to send her own children for tertiary education.

“I couldn’t reach my goals [because] my mom was the only person working ... so she - she wasn’t earning that much where she worked ... I am now also not working for now so I can’t take them [children] further” (Lesedi – child).

The expectations that older generations place on the younger generations may also transmit this victim identity to the next generation. An example of this is Dorcas and her family who experienced a tragic past that led to both mother and daughter being detained and tortured in prison, and subsequently, leading a homeless existence after their home had been destroyed in the process. Through this experience, Dorcas does not see her-self having cordial relations with Whites. She instead places expectations on the next generation; that they will perhaps resolve racial conflicts and bring unity. She makes an assumption that the younger generations will find it easier to make peace with other race groups owing to the influence of Nelson Mandela.

“I don’t know because for me I won’t be fair for a White person and the White person will - will not be – will do the same – maybe the next generation will do that but for me – I can’t, the White man has left a scar, yah, for them it will be easy because they are born free, everything is fine, Tata Nelson Mandela spoke to them – explained the situation to them, made peace um with them... so when you talk to this new generation, they will tell you that ‘I wasn’t there ... so I can’t be involved with something that I wasn’t there’ ... I can – I can forgive but I can’t forget. There is still that - I can forgive Kudzai ‘but’ – you see? If there is still that ‘but’ meaning things will never work out between me and the White person” (Dorcas - child).

This notion of Dorcas highlighted how younger generations perceive their absence from apartheid as somehow absolving them from past trauma, and may be likened to younger generations shrugging off the responsibility of carrying through the expectations of the older generations. This seemed to be confirmed by Bheki, a grandchild participant who does not want to know about the past.

“Sometimes I tell her [grandmother] not to talk about that stuff coz I wasn’t there so I don’t wanna know about that stuff” (Bheki – grandchild).

5.7 Coping with Grief

The first salient theme of the third sub-question, which seeks to ascertain how participants are coming to terms with the past, as well as how they are moving forward with their lives in light of the consequences of intergenerational humiliation, was that of coping with the grief resulting from the death of a loved one as a consequence of past gross human rights violations. Here the following sub-themes were discerned: **cognitive reappraisal; avoidance/trying to forget; closure; and familial support.**

5.7.1 Cognitive re-appraisal

Some participants came up with their own understanding (cognitive re-appraisal) of past experience as a way to deal with the trauma of losing loved ones. An example is Bheki who chooses to cognitively reappraise the meaning of the traumatic experience of losing his grandfather in order to handle his grief. He downplays the loss by distancing himself from the atrocities that occurred and telling himself he was not yet born in that era.

“Ah, I try to think of it that I wasn’t there [during apartheid], it’s not my battle, like I wasn’t there - it’s not my battle to fight. It’s somebody else’s battle you see, I wasn’t there ... when I try to think of it I say you know what, it’s not my burden, eh, it happened, it happened it’s – it’s God’s way of saying or of showing us something let’s just leave it like that – I leave it like that and then focus on myself ...” (Bheki – grandchild).

Kwanele has had a tragic past at the hands of the hostel dwellers; this saw the deaths of his brother and mother. Living in fear, he seems to have developed a cynical perspective of hostel dwellers over the years.

“In 1995, they [hostel dwellers] came back again and my brother was ... he was stabbed and killed to death and we found [his body] on the street and my mother was hurt and then crying ... ‘why my children are being killed?’ and then since from that [time], my mother was ill until she passed on ... I am afraid most of the time that something is going to happen to me... I think that the hostel dwellers, they still have apartheid ... there was this time that they [hostel dwellers] came to the location and they were taking like the girls from each house... and if you refuse ... meaning that you belong to ANC that is why you do not want your child to go to the meeting – and um some were beaten and some were raped ... [presently] they don’t do that [rape] anymore, but um, to hurt you, they hurt you through the grandchild. If you have a grandchild, they will send a boy to propose love to – to the girl and they will use the child” (Kwanele – child).

5.7.2 Avoidance/trying to forget

Findings in this sub-theme reveal that some participants choose avoidance as a coping mechanism, while one tries to forget, as a way to handle the grief of losing a loved one. Bheki, for example, avoids discussing matters that are personal to him as they make him feel powerless.

“I don’t like to talk about my humiliation, it makes me feel small” (Bheki – grandchild).

Thandi also avoids talking about what happened to her father and nine other family members in the past as it brings her pain.

“I don’t really like to talk about it because it brings me pain, today I don’t have a father and um, I have two children and my mother is helping me to raise these children” (Thandi – child).

When Kgosi lost his grandmother and father during apartheid, life was never the same again for him; hence he tries to forget them as a coping mechanism. However, he expresses that he finds this difficult.

“I lost my parents because of apartheid, I don’t have good things anywhere ... eh I am trying to make myself to be ok – to forget them but it’s a really tough choice sometimes” (Kgosi – child).

5.7.3 Closure

This sub-theme has to do with the healing that took place when participants learnt about what had happened to a loved one who had gone missing years before. Some participant families were fortunate in that the remains of a family member who had gone missing during apartheid had been found; they were positively identified; and the affected families were able to give them a decent burial in accordance with their cultural customs and traditions. This allowed the families to gain closure. Hope and Themba’s family had to wait for approximately thirteen years to know what had happened to their loved one. Themba was grateful to the government and Khulumani for having facilitated the repatriation of his brother’s remains and he expressed relief.

“That’s why I am saying I thank the government for that – for – it’s them who made us to, you know, yah to reach where we are ... yah as I said, it healed me, yah it was hectic, looking for a person you don’t know where to find, where to – you know, and especially Khulumani, you guys, you came through [laughter]” (Themba – child).

Lesedi came to know what happened to her father after about 10 years. In all those years while he was missing, Lesedi expressed hope that perhaps he was still alive.

“Yah many years, coz we found out – he left in January - in July 1987 ... yah and I think this information we got in 2005 or 2007 I think ... we thought maybe he will knock one day and come in” (Lesedi – child).

Despite the length of years that had passed, performing such burial rituals as holding a befitting funeral ceremony helped participants gain closure. Lesedi expressed relief at having

finally received the news about what had happened to her father and the subsequent reburial ceremony that was performed at their local cemetery.

“I can say I – I was happy because at the end we – we know what happened to our father ... so we had to get those remainings [body remains] and then bury what we have, the little we had and then we had to take to the cemetery” (Lesedi – child).

5.7.4 Familial support

Transcripts in this sub-theme reveal the life lessons as well as emotional support participants were able to obtain within their families so as to cope with grief. Palesa is learning from her grandmother how to heal from past hurts, by forgiving and accepting the death of her father.

“Well, I will say I’m healing. Every time when my grandmother talks to me, I see through her that she’s been healed. If she wasn’t healed, I would say, I would never be healed coz she came around the fact that he’s [father] dead, and he’s not gonna come back and at the end of the day, we need to accept that he is never coming back and we need to forgive” (Palesa – grandchild).

Following the death of Kwanele’s mother and brother during apartheid, his elder brother moved to live in Mpumalanga. Despite the distance, the family kept in touch telephonically to support each other.

“I can’t really blame my family because my eldest brother – he had to – to leave the place and go there and stay in Mpumalanga, so it was only me, my brother [younger] and my wife that were left. So, normally my family will – my brothers will call us daily asking us how we are doing or watching the news to follow up on what was happening this side” (Kwanele – child).

5.8 Coping with Humiliating Experiences

Another theme under sub-question three is the ways in which participants coped with the humiliating experiences that primary generations and their families were subjected to. Here the following sub-themes are discerned: **staying positive; suicidal ideation; silence versus expressiveness; and familial support.**

5.8.1 Staying positive

Some participants appreciated the value of staying positive in the midst of adversity. Themba shared that despite past experiences that threatened to produce a negative mindset in him, he strove to be positive instead.

“Yah, it [being positive minded] helped me that way because, if I could’ve concentrated [on] those things, I don’t think I should have been where I am today; yah, because that’s why I am saying that once you start concentrating on a thing which is negative, yah it’s gonna lock your mind in – your mind into this negative-ness, yah, so I tried to move that negative from my mind – I believe in positive things” (Themba – child).

Hope expressed a sentiment similar to that of her uncle Themba about having a positive mindset when handling humiliating experiences. She emphasises the importance of recognising one’s self-worth and not being easily offended in the face of a humiliating circumstance. Hope seems to believe that by so doing, positive results or opportunities will come her way.

“I mean, people should be positive about it [unfair treatment], a person just can’t treat you, em, bad and [you don’t] say anything about it, you cannot just be quiet ... just tell that person, you know, I don’t deserve this treatment ... I mean if you tell that person that you know if you look at me this way, it’s your problem but since I’m this person, I’m like this ... just tell that person, you know, I don’t deserve this treatment. I may be Black or I may be poor or I may be everything but inside here I am richer than you – just put it out there ... with this positive attitude that I have, surely something will come up ...” (Hope – grandchild).

5.8.2 Suicidal ideation

In two participant transcripts, suicide was considered as a way of dealing with the tragic circumstances in their lives. Michael, for example, considered the idea of committing suicide as a way of dealing with past injustices and current challenges.

“I used to sell rat poison, you see the rat poison, if it was someone else, he would have eaten that thing long time ago” (Michael – grandchild).

Fikile on the other hand, attempted to take her life twice owing to what had happened to her family in the past and the consequent life challenges she has had to face.

“When someone hurts you, someone disrespects you, someone [makes you] feel like you are not at the same like level ... like most of my friends were humiliating me because [reason withheld] ... I drink too much ... I was raped, my father has taken another wife and he doesn't give me any support ... I have three children, one stays with the father and the other two stay in foster care ... I feel I should just take tablets and die ... so I am asking myself why all of this happening to me and why I had to face this? ... I done that [attempted suicide] twice” (Fikile – child).

5.8.3 Silence versus expressiveness

This sub-theme suggests that remaining silent or talking about past traumatic experiences is also used as a means of coping. Dorcas, for example, suggests that a parent may choose to be silent about traumatic experiences as a way to shield the child from them. She and her mother were detained in separate police stations during apartheid for housing youths who had returned from exile. After being released, Dorcas mentions that they both did not talk to each other about what had happened in prison. She thought that the reason why her mother did not discuss this experience may have been in a bid to protect her from the horrific details of what had happened to her.

“My mother wouldn’t talk to me, she couldn’t tell me exactly what is happening, how she is feeling, and coz that was heavy so she – she didn’t want to take like the burden and put it on me. So both of us were like, not talking to anyone ... ah, from there when we were released, we never said anything to each other” (Dorcas child).

Zandi lives with her grandmother but they do not talk about events in the past that led to the murder of her mother. As a result, she does not know exactly what had happened to her.

“So in here there is my grandmother – its two of us only ... but I know nothing. I only know that she [mother] got shot, she was at the gate, that’s it that’s all I know because they didn’t inform me that much – uh, we don’t [talk about] that you know old people, they just sit all by themselves and then we kids we sit all by ourselves. They don’t talk stuff” (Zandi-child).

On the other hand, some participants come from families that talk freely about past experiences. In Tumelo’s family, his mother discusses prevailing issues discussed by the local Khulumani victim-support group.

“Yes we do [share about past experiences] sometimes like, maybe let me say, when, when my mother comes out from this meeting of Khulumani she has been attending, she will tell me, she will discuss the problems when it comes to those times, telling me what they have done in the meeting and then we will go back and talk about it” (Tumelo – grandchild).

Hope’s grandmother freely shares with her family about her past experiences and the events that led to her uncle’s demise.

“Yah, she [grandmother] shared most of her experiences with us all what happened like ... my grandmother isn’t a person that just forgets, you know? She would love to share as much as she can with us ... like any – anything she wants to tell us she would just share, put it out there” (Hope – grandchild).

Furthermore, being able to let others know what you are facing seems to have a therapeutic value, as seen with Kgosi's transcript.

"I feel better when I talk about the experience, especially when I talk to you" (Kgosi – child).

Similarly, Rapula did not want the interview to end but wanted to keep on talking, even about other issues.

"... uh, sometimes we can just – we can just talk not to say it belongs to that research of yours – we can just talk" (Rapula – child).

5.9 Coping with Poverty

This theme reveals how participants are managing to cope with material challenges. The following sub-themes emerged: **taking responsibility for own development**; and **familial support**.

5.9.1 Taking responsibility for own development

Some participants believe that their present circumstances will only change when they take responsibility for their own development by focusing on their education and/or pursuing their career goals. As diverse as these dreams are, a common thread amongst the transcripts is the need for financial assistance to realise them. Hope's bursary application was rejected. However, this has not deterred her as she is thinking of getting a job and saving up so that she can complete her education.

"I feel that since I didn't get funding for my education I may as well just go look for a job save up and go back to school and do my Bio-Chem but since I don't have[money] – I'm busy like saving up for – it's never too late to go to school (giggles and smiles) but surely I'll get there ... I mean I push when this door closes I make sure the other one opens so I try as hard as I can" (Hope – grandchild).

Similarly, Palesa wants to save towards becoming a paramedic. Though she still has to complete her matric, she believes that it is not too late to pursue her chosen career.

“I was telling myself every job I find, I’m going to save to become a paramedic, coz it’s still not too late ... I still need to – to upgrade my matric results and it needs money to go study again” (Palesa – grandchild).

Despite Rapula being blind, he hopes to one day run a small business operating machines that make Pamper nappies and tissues. Notwithstanding his handicap, Rapula is determined to better his life and earn more income for his son’s education.

“I want to better my life. I think if I can have this business, I think with my family and if my son can get an education maybe something, when time goes on he can help us ... because those machines, I can operate them even when I cannot see – I just need someone to assist me to put those [parts] together” (Rapula – child).

5.9.2 Familial support

In addition to taking responsibility for one’s own development, participants also depend on support from family members to cope with poverty. This support can take both material and non-material forms. Michael, for example, has depended on what his grandmother taught him to work hard in order to meet his needs.

“My grandmother, was someone who was a straight talker, [she] did tell me that, if you want – if you want a trouser, you should wake up and go and sell steel wool. I sold from ten years [of age], I was selling steel wool enter house to house selling steel wool on a Saturday if I am not at school, so that next week when I want to go to school, I have money for lunch, I have money for school shoes, I have money for school shirt. Everything I had, I had to work for it” (Michael – grandchild).

Furthermore, having material support enables affected person/s to cope with the consequences of intergenerational humiliation. Findings show that life had become bearable for some participants who were receiving material support and they felt sufficiently supported. Shepherd is unemployed and does odd jobs now and again; however, he is grateful for the material support from his mother's pension that helps to meet the family's basic needs.

“We are a close family ... right now at the moment we survive by my mother's pension money – but as long as we can eat and we can, um, take a bath and then through the grace of God everything's fine” (Shepherd – child).

Blessing depends on financial assistance from her uncle to help her cope.

“The only person who helps is my grandma's child, the last child. So he is the one who is helping financially” (Blessing – grandchild).

5.10 Summary

The foregoing has been a discussion of the key findings of the study. A total of eight themes emerged during the theme-building exercise. These themes were organised according to the three sub-questions that helped to answer the main research question of the study. Key findings were appropriately interspersed with participants' quotes. This contributed to the integrity of the findings as I, the researcher, sought to highlight the participant perspectives (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012). The next chapter, which is the final chapter, focuses on the interpretation of findings, conclusions and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 6 – DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

“... after climbing a great hill, one only finds there are many more hills to climb”

*Nelson Mandela*²⁰

6.1 Introduction

This final chapter aims to bring an increased understanding of intergenerational humiliation derived from participant accounts, as well as the researcher’s interpretation of these (Smith & Eatough, 2012). This is known in hermeneutics as a *fusion of horizons* (Koch, 1999). Discussions will focus on the analysis of findings proffered in the previous chapter and contextualising these in existing literature in accordance with the IPA procedures of writing up a study (Smith & Eatough, 2012). Application of IPA yielded eight themes that helped to answer the study’s research sub-questions. Discussions will begin with these, followed by a synthesised answer to the main research question. The limitations of the study will be followed by conclusions and recommendations for future research. Finally, a reflection on the research journey is proffered.

6.2 Causes of Intergenerational Humiliation

Sub-question one sought to determine the possible causes of intergenerational humiliation in the lives of children and grandchildren of victims of GHRVs with three themes being yielded in this regard, namely: **police repression, intergroup conflict** and **socio-economic deprivation**. From an intergenerational perspective, findings show that participants may experience humiliation through witnessing incidents or hearing stories about the humiliation that primary generations experienced. Consistent with this finding, Klein (1991) indicated that a person/s might feel humiliated by merely witnessing acts of humiliation. Equally, through story-telling (Sotero, 2006), subsequent generations come to know about historical trauma. Moreover, literature also shows that children were taught through every day language and repertoire, aspects that symbolised the values and norms of apartheid (Sullivan & Stevens, 2010). From these possible modes of intergenerational transmission of humiliation, subsequent generations may form opinions about others and the world around them and it is up to them to act either in

²⁰ Mandela (as cited in Architects of Peace, 2014)

aggression or to succumb to the demeaning treatment primary generations suffered. Theories of social-cognitive development are able to show how intergroup attitudes develop in children from an early age and the associated implications of these (Nasie, Diamond, & Bar-Tal, 2015). As humiliation fosters divisions (Lindner, 2000), intergroup conflict may have implications for subsequent generations as South Africa seeks social cohesion amongst its populace. Veit, Barolsky and Pillay (2011) argued that there is need for relationship transformation in South Africa so that its citizens relate amicably with one another, as a failure of social cohesion creates the likelihood for violence. With this in mind, discussions will now turn to these three themes.

6.2.1 Police repression

Police repression, as manifested in both **police actions** and **police attitudes**, resulted in the destruction of property; physical and emotional injury; and even death of loved one/s; and could be considered as possible causes of intergenerational humiliation. Apartheid made provision for a legislative framework that upheld White minority rule while subjugating the Black majority. The then South African Police (SAP – now referred to as the South African Police Services) was tasked with enforcing the laws that entrenched racial oppression and class domination against Blacks (McMichael, 2014). Hence, police attitudes were influenced by this apartheid racist ideology (Pruitt, 2010).

For example, Mr. Daniel Mofokeng, who was a provincial minister of Local Housing and Development in the Pretoria Witwatersrand and Vereeniging areas in 1994, confirmed this sentiment, describing police attitudes towards him as lacking courteousness and respect during an event held in Pretoria (Hamlyn, 1994, November 15). In addition, some police actions amongst others constituted harassment, monitoring people's conversations or movements, assault, detention (Ramaphosa, 1996) and torture (Graham, 2001). The coercive, oppressive and violent manner in which this was done (Stewart, 2013) could have been perceived as humiliating. This is because, from the victim's standpoint, such acts go beyond his/her expected standard for fair treatment, resulting in an injury to their self-respect (Lindner, 2000).

6.2.2 Intergroup conflict

In addition to police repression, the effects of intergroup conflict were also regarded as a major cause of intergenerational humiliation. Due to their ethnic identity and perceived political affiliation, many people were subjected to attacks that led to injuries and sometimes deaths. In support of this finding, a study that investigated transitional violence in South Africa showed that those of Zulu origin were automatically labelled IFP supporters if they resided in hostels; while those of Xhosa origin were also targeted, not only for being perceived ANC supporters, but also because they shared the same ethnicity with Nelson Mandela (Kynoch, 2013). Identifying people in this manner led to attacks and some were killed as a result (Kynoch, 2013). In addition to physical attacks, people were also treated with hostility. Research shows that during 1990, many local residents on the Witwatersrand were intimidated into joining either the ANC or IFP; the Thokoza and Katlehong areas were particularly targeted because of their large population base (Kynoch, 2013).

From a humiliation perspective, these forceful **actions** and domineering **attitudes** that are aimed at subjugating persons into passivity, damage one's dignity and self-respect, causing humiliation (Lindner, 2000). Intergroup conflict was largely manifested in what was generally regarded as turf-wars between the ANC and the IFP during the early 1990s; these threatened to plunge the country into anarchy, and were widely described as "black-on-black violence" (Duncan, 2005, p. 12). It is probable that as one group suffered a humiliating defeat, this may have served as an impetus to retaliate and thus set off cycles of humiliation (Lindner, 2002). According to Lickel, Miller, Stenstrom, Denson and Schmader (2006), cycles of intergroup conflict may perpetuate through an aspect of intergroup aggression known as vicarious retribution that motivates retaliatory acts on the out-group. Thus humiliation has been known to contribute to the intractability of conflicts (Goldman & Coleman, 2005). Consistent with this understanding are the current findings that illustrate some participants' ongoing mistrust of hostel dwellers in their community.

6.2.3 Socio-economic deprivation

Findings reveal socio-economic deprivation to also be a cause of intergenerational humiliation in the lives of children and grandchildren of victims of apartheid-era gross human

rights violations. Socio-economic deprivation was typically brought about by the **death/disappearance of a family member; inferior job opportunities; or unemployment and dependence on an alternative income.** Consequently, not all the needs of the family could be met. Consistent with this finding, South Africa's infrastructure was, amongst other things, built on the subjugation of Black people (primary generations) who were in turn coerced into menial labour positions for low wage returns (Coovadia et al., 2009). Thus the structural legacy of apartheid is contributing to the financial status and wellbeing of subsequent generations in the present day (Holborn & Eddy, 2011).

Poverty may trigger feelings of humiliation, shame and loss of individual self-respect (Wilkinson et al., as cited in Seedat, et al., 2009) as parents fail to cater for the needs of their children. Findings also revealed that feelings of intergenerational humiliation may have been triggered when some participants saw themselves as less privileged than their fellow peers at school. Lewis (1966) suggests the presence of a sub-culture operating alongside the mainstream society where the poor are unable to adequately provide the family with shelter, education, health, etc., owing to chronically low income. This is similar to being socially excluded from participating in the economic affairs of the society owing to low social status (Torres & Bergner, 2010). Critically assessing humiliation associated with poverty, Schweiger (2013) noted that not all poor people feel humiliated by their status.

The term 'social exclusion' does not mean that they are excluded from a capitalist economy (Schweiger, 2013). Rather, it is the capitalist forces at play that are weakening the poor and placing them in a vulnerable social status position (Millar, as cited in Schweiger, 2013). Furthermore, Schweiger (2013) explained that being poor was a hurtful experience where "the multidimensionality of poverty translates into the multidimensionality of suffering: poverty, exclusion, low education, unemployment, illness, psychological pressure, addiction, violence, stigmatisation, harassment, humiliation, etc." (p. 515). As a result, the state of socio-economic deprivation that emanated from the primary-generation era has implications for the wellbeing of children and grandchildren of victims of GHRVs as they in turn look to raise their own families.

6.3. Consequences of Intergenerational Humiliation

With regards to the consequences of intergenerational humiliation in the lives of the children and grandchildren of victims of GHRVs, a number of salient themes and sub-themes were identified. These point to the complexity of humiliation (Lukes, 1997; Klempe, 2004) as it may present in situations of trauma (Volkan, 2009; Oravecz et al., 2004), as well as its potential to be vicariously felt by in-group members for an attack perpetrated on their member (Veldhuis et al., 2014). From an intergenerational perspective, empirical research on Holocaust experiences has confirmed vulnerability to PTSD in Holocaust parents and the presence of emotional and psychological dysfunction in subsequent generations (Danieli, 1998). This confirms the possibility of negative intergenerational transmissions. Thus, it may be reasonable to assume that children and grandchildren of victims of apartheid-era GHRVs may have vicariously felt the humiliation suffered by their grandparents and parents who constitute their in-group. However, Lev-Wiesel (2007) highlighted the fact that research has showed inconsistencies concerning the trauma effects amongst the second and third generations.

So there may be a possibility that subsequent generations were not affected by the political violence that primary generations experienced. As Bargal (2004) commented about the young generations of Israelis and Palestinians, they “will probably be less contaminated by the bitterness of the conflict than their parents and grandparents” (p. 601). Therefore, two schools of thought are proposed: intergenerational transmissions may be positive, as well as negative with the latter suggesting psychopathology in subsequent generations (Kellerman, 2001). His integrated view posited that there are a number of factors that influence intergenerational transmission such as amongst others, the child’s past developmental trajectory, familial influence and the social context he/she is growing up in (Kellerman, 2001). Findings in the present research yielded two themes namely: **Secondary traumatisation** and **embracing a victim identity** as consequences of intergenerational humiliation. As such, the real-life consequences of intergenerational humiliation for younger participants in the current study, for example Bheki (22), may therefore differ markedly from those of older participants.

6.3.1 Secondary traumatisation

Findings in this theme showed that participants may have been affected by the exposure to primary generation trauma. Buchanan, Anderson, Uhlemann and Horwitz (2006) explained that secondary traumatisation takes place when a person is exposed to or has some knowledge of the trauma that a loved one experienced. Secondary traumatisation was manifested in the sense of **grief and bereavement** that some participants experienced at the death of their family member who was killed or had disappeared during apartheid. Despite the many years that have passed, some participants still share this grief with surviving primary generations through stories about the deceased, as the loss seemed to have made a distinct mark on the collective memory of the family. In literature, grief is a natural and unique experience that may linger indefinitely (Lipsett, 2006). Furthermore, telling stories about the loved one assists family members in making sense of their grief experience (Black & Santanello, 2012). A common thread running through participant accounts was that these deaths occurred under tragic circumstances that were sudden and unexpected. Consequently, some participants seemed to be ‘stuck’, unable to come to terms with their grief or face life without their loved one/s.

This is similar to complicated grief that occurs when grievers are unable to get past the loss of a loved one who died under traumatic circumstances (Opperman & Novello, 2006) and may help to explain why some participants are finding it difficult to deal with it. In addition, participants’ grief and bereavement seemed to be further aggravated by the financial stress they were under following this death. This may have been because the loved-one was a breadwinner in the family who often offered advice, encouragement as well as financial support. According to David Vincent (as cited in Strange, 2002), “the loss of a close-relation was so bound up with the material problems of life that at worst, it seemed no more than an intensification of the misery of existence” (p. 143).

In the present study, one grandchild participant described the experience of striving to survive without parental support as a ‘daily humiliation’. Research also shows that indigenous Australians, for example, still suffer from overwhelming grief, loss and trauma which affect their emotional, psychological and socio-economic wellbeing, following the destruction of protective structures within the family as well as community (Social Health Reference Group, 2004). It is probable that removal of such supportive structures owing to apartheid violence may have

worsened the plight of participants and has implications on their future life outcomes. As Bombay, Matheson, and Anisman (2009) explained, that, historical trauma has implications for the younger generations' socio-economic and mental health wellbeing.

The sub-theme **other negative emotions** showed participants' emotional response to the humiliation experienced by primary generations in the past, as well as present-day socio-economic challenges. Feelings of anger and hurt over the death of a loved one were prevalent in transcripts despite the many years since the incident occurred. Consistent with these findings, Lipsett (2006) explained that although people respond differently to grief, it may, however, be a painful and long-lasting process characterised by such feelings as anger, loneliness and confusion. Moreover, traumatic distress is associated with not accepting the death of a loved one and feeling angry over the traumatic situation surrounding their death (Howarth, 2011). Similarly, in the present study for example, one participant was not only angered by his father's death, but also by the traumatic circumstances of the killing which showed the callous and malicious intent of the humiliator (Torres & Bergner, 2010). The gruesome nature of his father's murder probably went beyond his standard value for human dignity and life, coupled with his cultural beliefs. According to his culture, this symbolised how animals are killed.

Feelings of intergenerational humiliation may therefore emanate from seeing his father placed on that same level. Owing to the complexity of understanding and identifying humiliation within any given culture, Klempe (2004) posited that linguistic symbols that epitomise humiliation embedded in culture need to be adequately circulated within the cultural system, in order to be identified as such. Moreover, scholars have also called for a wider understanding of humiliation (Hartling, 2007) wherein a richer understanding of it from different cultural contexts (Klempe, 2004) may be obtained.

Perhaps humiliation scholars may learn from their trauma counterparts on the importance of understanding trauma from a wider socio-cultural and political perspective. In so doing, a deeper understanding of relevant, locally developed treatment and recovery strategies to handle the consequences of protracted war and violence is attained (Afana, Pedersen, Rønsbo, & Kirmayer, 2010). In another case, anger over death of both parent and grandparent led a participant to have a negative view of life, resulting in his social relationships being affected. Consistent with this finding, literature suggests that victims of trauma may feel humiliated by the

experience which affects their self-worth (Trumbull, 2008). As a result, they perceive themselves to be socially inadequate and thus find it difficult to form relationships (Oravecz et al., 2004).

Furthermore, other findings show unresolved anger and hate over the humiliation that primary generations suffered at the hands of apartheid police. As a consequence of intergenerational humiliation, some participants are projecting these feelings of anger and hate towards the White population in the present day and they feel justified for adopting this stance. Literature shows that through the concept of ‘transference’, it is possible to unconsciously supplant past thoughts and feelings about a notable person onto another person in the present time (Andersen & Berk, 1998). In other words, stereotypical thinking enables projection and, through it, an individual may feel justified for not having a fair view of others (Fein & Spencer, as cited in Govorun, Fuegen & Payne, 2006). In addition, these negative stereotypes transcend history and generations as racist ideologies that become entrenched in the collective memory of the society through such ways as media or education (Thompson & Neville, 1999), thereby becoming a collective reference point for society and subsequent generations. Furthermore, as a result of intergenerational humiliation, some participants entertained thoughts of revenge.

Consistent with literature, humiliation has been linked with revenge violence (Cobb, 2004). Feelings of revenge may also be ignited in children when they come to know or witness their parents’ humiliation (Weingarten, 2004). In addition to this, fear was also another salient negative emotion expressed by participants. For example, one child-generation participant expressed fear that the events that happened in his community during the apartheid and transition years were going to reoccur. Consequently, he admitted to feeling largely apprehensive and that he had an expectation of impending danger. Empirical research shows that children of Holocaust survivors displayed such symptoms as stress, anxiety, fear of death, and/or a reoccurrence of Holocaust experience (Kellermann, 2001).

In other cases, feelings of anger and stress were expressed towards the consequences of present-day financial challenges. This resulted in the development of high blood pressure in one male participant, epilepsy in another, whilst two others confided that they felt apathetic as a result. Drentea and Reynolds (2015) defined economic hardship as “the experience of not having enough financial resources to cover basic expenses” (p. 19). Furthermore, experiences of

economic hardship are more prevalent amongst socio-economically disadvantaged populations (Drentea & Reynolds, 2015). This may be a humiliating experience where a person/s has the potential to lose their self-respect as a result (Wilkinson et al., as cited in Seedat et al., 2009).

Considering emotional consequences of economic hardship, research has shown that men exhibited anger, aggression and violent tendencies as a result of economic hardship (Paat, as cited in Williams, Cheadle & Goosby, 2013). Women on the other hand, were more prone to depression than men (Kessler, as cited in Williams et al., 2013). Consistent with these findings, Lindner (2001c) explained that aggressive reactions are akin to shaking off a humiliating experience, while depressive responses may mean the humiliation has been internalised and the person feels helpless in the situation.

The sub-theme **traumatic memories** revealed that some participants are still haunted by painful memories despite the years that have passed. This finding suggests that trauma has enduring qualities that make it possible for it to be transmitted to the next generations (Bombay et al., 2009). In particular, Vorbrüggen and Baer (2007) argued that traumatic memories are not only long lasting, but have the potential to transmit humiliation and shame to subsequent generations. Exposure to past trauma left some participants with mental images of what they witnessed or memories of their loved ones, which they were finding difficult to erase from their minds. Thus, during the interviews, some participants showed signs of emotional distress as a result of sharing past experiences, while others were wary to speak about the past for fear of the mental pain this caused. This suggests that certain memories of what happened in the past were still too painful to utter. Studies have shown that traumatic situations associated with humiliation are distinct from normal trauma incident because on recall, feelings of humiliation are conjured up, resulting in a strong compulsion to repeat the memory and, in the process, make it difficult to resolve mourning (Lacey, 2011).

6.3.2 Embracing a victim identity

Findings from this theme revealed that some participants perceived themselves and their families as victims of apartheid. The legitimacy of victim-status found its standing in the uniqueness of the overarching political context within which acts of victimisation took place (Jacoby, 2014). Within the South African context, the delineation of victims according to set

criteria in the TRC Act (1995) may be seen as the legitimisation of this marginalised group. Legitimacy gained in this manner, was however, not without its critics as some challenged the inclusion and exclusion process (Van der Walt et al., 2003). Moreover, this validation of status may be extended to subsequent generations in that in the present study, participants had to be children and/or grandchildren of victims of GHRVs as defined by the TRC Act (1995).

Findings in the sub-theme **victim-family versus non-victim family** show that participants were distinguishing between the victim-family and the non-victim family with the latter referring to those families within their communities who did not suffer the death of a family member owing to political violence. Social categorisation theory (SCT) argues that a person has a collective self from which self-categorisation at both personal and social level is made (Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994). This is because according to SCT, “self-descriptions are not defined by specific traits, but according to the level of categorisation and comparison” (Verkuyten & deWolf, 2002, p. 782). Therefore, SCT enables personal identity comparisons to be made at the intragroup level, while social identity comparisons are made at intergroup level (Verkuyten & deWolf, 2002). In light of SCT, participants hold a collective self-identity that encompasses their racial, ethnic, historical, political and cultural attributes.

They perceived non-victim family structures as complete, that is, they have a family where both parents were still alive. In addition, the latter were seen as happy, prosperous and successful with all the financial stability to build homes and send their children to school. By contrast, victim-families were characterised by a traumatic past that left them emotionally, psychologically and socio-economically affected. In such instances, the experience of humiliation occurs when a person perceives their identity to have been demeaned beyond their standard for fair treatment (Goldman, 2008). These attributes highlighted by participants may be likened to family identity markers that identify both the victim-family as well as non-victim family.

On the one hand, positive attributes may be seen as identity markers that have the potential to form notions of pride in belonging to the family. Negative attributes, on the other hand, have the potential to trigger feelings of intergenerational humiliation in participants. Furthermore, these identity markers may also be examined from a social status perspective. In society, a person has different statuses from which they may be identified (Bergner, 1999),

including their position in family, workplace, etc. (Torres & Bergner, 2010). Equally so, status is not only associated with prestige but may also be negative (Torres & Bergner, 2010).

For example, findings in the present study show that children and grandchildren of victims of GHRVs perceive their familial identity has been maligned owing to historical trauma. For subsequent generations, this has implications on their general sense of self-worth or identity (Lacey, 2011) and this may be seen as a consequence of intergenerational humiliation. Findings in this sub-theme **continuing injustices**, revealed that participants' sense of victimhood is further aggravated by contemporary socio-economic challenges. Some victim families have chronically low household incomes and are perceived as having a low social status. They used such terms as 'grassroots', or 'the ground' to refer to themselves as victim-families. From a social hierarchy perspective, the process of degradation to the lowest status level is a humiliating experience (Smith, 2008). Other participants in the present study, were not formally employed and earned money by doing odd jobs. As a result, they are now unable to adequately cater for their families' needs and described their daily survival as a struggle where they were 'hustling' to provide necessities.

This may be a humiliating experience that appears to reinforce victimhood and feelings of social exclusion. According to Adato, Carter, and May (2006), social exclusion entails being unable to engage in economic activity, as well as participate socially in decision-making roles within the family or community contexts. It is at this point of social exclusion where one may develop feelings of humiliation due to his/her debased state (Smith, 2008) and this may, therefore, be seen as a consequence of past socio-economic injustices.

Consistent with this finding, Holborn and Eddy (2011) pointed out that historical trauma brought about by apartheid impacted negatively to the structure, health and financial wellbeing of South African families today. Particularly, the wellbeing of Black families has been affected by such factors as the migrant labour system imposed during apartheid, the HIV/AIDS pandemic and household poverty (Holborn & Eddy, 2011). In addition, findings revealed that participants' have expectations of efficient and effective service delivery within their communities. However, these expectations are not being met, thus causing heightened frustrations with the service delivery system. It may be reasonable to assume that they see neglect of these services as

tantamount to neglect of the poor by those in positions of power. This seems to aggravate their feelings of hurt while also reinforcing their sense of victimhood and humiliation.

The result has been that service delivery protests have become wide-spread in South Africa in recent years. A possible explanation is put forward by Hough (2008) who suggests that a sense of relative deprivation is one of the underlying preconditions for collective action, as protesters feel that they are not getting the services that they are entitled to. This could explain the sense of abandonment that was expressed by participants in the present study. In particular, participants feel forgotten by the now disbanded TRC and the present ANC government although they see themselves as having played a part in bringing about democracy. Goldman (2008) reminds us that feelings of humiliation may emanate from non-acknowledgement. Hence societal recognition of the suffering of victims of conflict is important for their restoration and healing (Hetherington, as cited in Burns et al., 2010).

Findings in the sub-theme **intergenerational implications** revealed that as participants embrace this victim mind-set, they are becoming increasingly aware of the intergenerational implications of past injustices. This may be seen as a consequence of intergenerational humiliation. In literature, the historical trauma theory was utilised to explain how the historical context of the Aboriginal peoples in Canada created socio-economic and psychological disadvantage amongst that populace spanning five generations (Aguilar & Halseth, 2015). Furthermore, literature on the life course perspective is also useful in explaining the intergenerational implications of past injustices. Through life course research, it is possible to identify distinct life events over the lifespan and discover how social processes have impacted developmental trajectories (Macmillan, 2001). For example, the age at which certain debilitating life events occur, has an influence on later life outcomes and quality of life. Hence low educational attainment is equivalent to low occupational attainment, resulting in victimised adolescents earning low incomes as young adults (Macmillan, 2001).

Prevalent in transcripts were concerns over the future outcomes of participant offspring, given their parent's disadvantaged past, as one participant in the present study perceived himself as a failure in life because he was unable to leave a legacy to his children. This was seen as an important gesture and instrumental to the latter's socio-economic success. Research conducted in the United States showed that children from wealthy families are more economically

advantaged and have access to better educational opportunities (Bowles & Gintis, 2002). While a few wealthy parents are able to leave their offspring a substantial inheritance (Bowles & Gintis, 2002) working class parents, on the other hand, may have constrained financial resources that hinder such intergenerational transfers (Albertini & Radl, 2012).

In the present study, findings show a cycle of poverty (Bird, 2007) stemming from primary to the grandchild generations where most participants have not attained educational or career goals. This is similar to literature. Poverty research found that the life outcomes of children from poorly educated parents with low incomes, were more adversely affected compared to those from more affluent and educated parents (Bird, 2007). From the social reproduction perspective, the family and school are two social contexts that are thought to reproduce inequality (Potter & Roksa, 2013). Hence on the one hand, social production theories argue that family experiences over time influence children's habits, tastes and attitudes towards school, thus contributing to unequal academic achievement and resultant intergenerational social inequality between classes (Potter & Roksa, 2013). On the other hand, "a production function relating school inputs to the development of productive capacity should give us a better indication of why the more educated are better qualified for productive roles" (Bowles, 1970, p. 12). In South Africa, inequality predominantly stems from historical injustices.

During apartheid, Blacks were schooled under an inferior education system to that of other racial groups (Thomas, 1996); this may be seen as an event in history that negatively impacted subsequent generations in terms of advancing education and career opportunities. Therefore, as South Africa is still struggling with the structural legacy of apartheid and resultant inequality (Coovadia et al., 2009), present and future generations in South Africa, may continue to be positively or negatively impacted by this, depending on their race. Negative impacts reveal the humiliation felt by parents experiencing poverty as these parents fail to fend for their children's basic needs (Schweiger, 2013). In other findings, primary generations may place expectations on subsequent generations to resolve certain issues that they failed to solve and, by so doing, perpetuate a victim identity in the next generation.

For example, in the present study, a traumatic apartheid experience at the hands of apartheid police affected a child-participant's general perception of Whites; she instead placed her expectation for resolving racial tensions on her son's generation (grandchild participant). In

addition, she reasoned that the latter's generation was born in the era of freedom where Nelson Mandela, a role model of peace and reconciliation, had taught them lessons on forgiveness. From literature, group-based conflicts may cause feelings of humiliation that have the potential to be perpetuated in the next generation through collective memory, as the latter generation is left with the task of resolving past injustice (Lacey, 2011). However, conflict resolution may prove to be a difficult task, because as younger generations are politically socialised, they may be influenced by conflict stories that promote a perspective which does not encourage peace-building initiatives (Nasie et al., 2015). Alternatively, through education, young generations may be taught lessons that promote harmonious social relations (Bar-Tal, 2000).

6.4 Dealing with the Consequences of Intergenerational Humiliation

This sub-question sought to determine how participants are coping with the consequences of intergenerational humiliation, specifically in relation to grief emanating from the death of a loved one, the humiliating experiences their families were subjected to, and the poverty that they are experiencing. Ali, Perveen and Ahsan (2013) pointed out that people react differently to stressful life events; how they think and feel about a particular circumstance is determined by their personal, social and cultural frame of reference. Moreover, the choice of a coping strategy also determines positive or negative health outcomes in a person (Lazarus, as cited in Bombay et al., 2009). Therefore, from an intergenerational humiliation perspective, it may be reasonable to assume that when negative intergenerational transmissions are handled using negative coping strategies, a negative emotional state is reinforced and this in turn increases vulnerability to intergenerational humiliation transmissions. By contrast, intergenerational humiliation may be curtailed through positive interventions. Results from a study conducted to train participants on understanding humiliation and how to counter it through appropriate coping strategies and resiliency, confirmed its benefits as an empowerment strategy to deal with feelings of humiliation (Jonas et al., 2014).

6.4.1 Coping with grief

As participants are trying to come to terms with the death of a loved one, some resort to **cognitive reappraisal** as a coping strategy. Cognitive reappraisal is defined as an emotion

regulation strategy that involves re-adjusting what an individual thinks about a situation in order to lessen its emotional affect (Gross, as cited in Troy, Shallcross, & Mauss, 2013). In order to deal with the death of his grandfather, who was killed during apartheid, one participant made a conscious effort to not dwell on past events and reasoned that these were not his concern as it had happened before he was born. In so doing, he seemed to protect his emotions from feeling the loss of his grandfather. While this may yield positive results, it needs to be added that emotion-focused coping strategies may also yield negative results that are maladaptive (Bombay et al., 2009). According to Janoff-Bulman (1989), people generally have basic assumptions of the world around them. In situations of trauma, they make use of these beliefs/schemas in a bid to cognitively obtain meaning about incidents (Janoff-Bulman, 1989). Cognitive coping involves adjusting these schemas to the reality of the changes that have occurred after the traumatic experience; however, this is not an easy task as, in the case of most people, schemas are difficult to alter (Janoff-Bulman, 1989). For example, the ANC/IFP clashes resulted in one study participant sustaining a hip injury, as well as losing his brother and mother. This left him cynical about hostel dwellers and led to him perceiving them as instigators of violence in his community and fearful that apartheid would re-occur in the present day. From this perspective, it is probable that despite the transition to democracy, he may be finding it difficult to alter his belief/schemas (Janoff-Bulman, 1989) about the hostel dwellers.

In the second sub-theme, findings show that some participants are choosing **avoidance/trying to forget** as a way of handling grief. This was especially the case during interviews when they were asked to discuss the past traumatic incident that led to the demise of a family member/s. For example, one participant actively avoided discussions about the death of his father and his grandmother. Instead, he indicated that he was trying to forget them, but was finding it difficult to do so. Given these findings, it is probable that some participants are still haunted by painful traumatic memories of the past despite futile efforts to cope through avoidance or forgetting. Literature shows that any reminders of the traumatic incident or loss of loved one, may lead complicated grievers to become emotionally numb or try to avoid talking about the grief experience (Howarth, 2011). Moreover, symptoms of complicated grief mimic those of PTSD and interfere with the grieving process in an individual (Cohen et al., as cited in Howarth, 2011).

Findings in the third sub-theme, **closure**, revealed that finding closure is an important process that helps a grieving person cope with the loss of a loved one. For two families in the present study, this was made possible when the remains of loved ones were exhumed, positively identified, and reburied at local cemeteries years after they had disappeared. Participants expressed relief that their loved ones were given a befitting burial. Performing this ritual may have helped participants to come to terms with what happened. Literature shows that in different cultures, holding a funeral ceremony following the death of a loved one is an accepted ritual that enables family members to express their sorrow (Lobar, Youngblut, & Blooten, 2006) as well as bring finality to the tragedy (Madeira, 2010). However, research undertaken by Simmons, Duckworth, and Tyler (2014), found that although closure helps to lessen the painful experience of loss, it does not lessen the trauma a secondary victim feels after the traumatic death of a loved one. In the wider context, closure for the family of a victim of murder is not only about honouring the memory of the victim's life, but also seeking justice and ultimately the hope of healing (Madeira, 2010). However, in South Africa, obtaining justice for apartheid crimes may have eluded victims of GHRVs as amnesty was granted to perpetrators, although some victims had sought retributive justice (Campbell, 2000). Debate has arisen over the merits and demerits of the decisions taken by the TRC (Van Zyl, 1999) and what this may mean for survivors or family of victims seeking closure (Hamber, 2000).

Needless to say, empirical research from the field of criminal justice found that although symptoms of trauma diminish with case progression, they may not be fully dealt with at case closure (Simmons et al., 2014). Moreover, Madeira (2010) argued that closure is a complex concept that should not only be perceived as a healing mechanism for the individual, or as therapy; rather, "closure is a process, not a destination, a recursive series of adjustments that involve both intrapersonal and interpersonal communicative aspects" (p. 1481).

The fourth and final sub-theme, **familial support**, highlighted the importance of having family for emotional support during the process of grieving and dealing with the consequences of intergenerational humiliation. Events such as death of a family member may threaten the stability of the family unit (Opperman & Novello, 2006). Therefore, family may be seen as a social support network that helps the affected person to emotionally connect with others and vent any frustrations and/or challenges he/she may be facing (Bombay et al., 2009).

As such, one grandchild participant shared how she appreciates her grandmother for teaching her the life lesson of forgiveness as she tries to work through the death of her father. Supporting this finding, research conducted by Sigel and Weinfeld (as cited in Lev-Wiesel, 2007) showed that third-generation children identified with first-generation experiences; this resulted in the former being less affected by Holocaust experiences than the second-generation children (Lev-Wiesel, 2007). On the other hand, social support networks may be negative and the affected person will be unable to emotionally connect as a result (Ingram, Betz, Mindes, Schmitt, & Smith, 2001). Such behaviours may instigate feelings of humiliation that disconnect relationships (Hartling & Luchetta, 1999) and have the potential to adversely impact the self-esteem of the affected person (Lacey, 2011).

6.4.2 Coping with humiliating experiences

Participants shared how they came to terms with the humiliating experiences primary generations and their families had encountered. In literature, stressful life events may significantly affect a person's experience of the incident (Updegraff & Taylor, 2000). However, research shows that how a person chooses to respond will either influence pathology or positive change (Updegraff & Taylor, 2000). As a result, more is known about negative rather than positive emotions (Strümpfer, 2006). Some participants in the present study found value in **staying positive** in the face of a humiliating experience. This is supported by literature. Fredrickson (as cited in Strümpfer, 2006) developed the broaden-and-build theory which posits that as a person increases his/her reservoir of long-lasting positive emotions, they are able to utilise them to solve any problems that may arise owing to stressful life events. Moreover, research on positive affect and its influence in social interaction showed that positive emotions promote reciprocity, helpfulness and understanding in group situations (Isen, 2001). In contrast, humiliation is a negative emotion that promotes divisions (Lindner, 2000) and research shows its influence in social-group conflict (Veldhuis et al., 2014). Hence, humiliation may have implications on race and ethnic-group relations in South Africa, and if left unabated, it has the potential to affect future generations.

Suicidal ideation was also identified as a salient way in which participants attempted to cope with the consequences of intergenerational humiliation. Thus one participant admitted

entertaining thoughts of suicide, while another admitted to attempting to take her life twice. According to Meehan, Peirson and Fridjhon (2007), youths in South Africa are faced with a milieu of challenges following the end of apartheid and disparities in the economic, social, cultural and political arenas. It is the dynamic interplay of these factors that predisposed them to feeling stressed, depressed, helpless and hopeless; and as such entertain ideas of suicide (Meehan et al., 2007). Furthermore, the integrative motivational volitional model of suicide (O'Conner, as cited in Meissner, Bantjes, & Kagee, 2015) suggests that attitudes and social norms are mediating influences that help us understand why defeat/humiliation may lead to suicidal ideation. Given the background of these two participants, their families faced extreme humiliation in the face of political violence that resulted in the death of loved ones. It is probable that under these circumstances, feelings of helplessness and hopelessness may further aggravate feelings of intergenerational humiliation and this may result in suicidal ideation.

Silence versus expressiveness relates to how participants and their families choose to talk about past experiences. In terms of familial intergenerational communication patterns, clinicians involved with families of trauma victims have expressed concern over the issue of disclosure of past trauma and the effects it could potentially have on subsequent generations (Dalgaard & Montgomery, 2015). In the present study, some participants come from silent families where the tendency not to discuss the past is prevalent. Consistent with the literature, an examination of one transcript suggests that a possible reason for this silence emanates from the parent's desire to protect the child from the emotional burden of past trauma. Research on Holocaust survivors show that parents were reluctant to share their painful and humiliating experiences with their children as they believed that this would be detrimental to the children's mental health (Hass, as cited in Gangi, Talamo, & Ferracuti, 2009).

Conversely, other participants came from families that communicated freely about past experiences. These participants tended to discuss their family history, including the traumatic incident that led to the demise of their family member. Perhaps from a psychoanalytic perspective on intergenerational transmission of trauma, talking about an experience places it in consciousness (Mendelssohn, 2008) and, in this way, a person is able to continue working out the emotional and psychological effects of coming to know painful and humiliating truths about the suffering that primary generations experienced. Mendelssohn (2008) speculates that should the

surviving parent/s be able to effectively divulge past trauma to their children, intergenerational transmission of trauma may be curbed.

However, intergenerational trauma transmission literature focusing on pathology seems to suggest that trauma affects parenting, and this may in turn affect parents' ability to effectively communicate with their children (Felsen, 1998). In such cases, trauma transmissions to the next generation may happen indirectly (Kellerman, 2001; Mendelsohn, 2008). This happens through parental behavioural cues that are partial and unclear, thus leaving it to the child's imagination to make sense of past experience and, in the process, generating more frightening imaginings than the original trauma (Dekel & Goldblatt, 2008). Be that as it may, an emotionally supportive familial network (Bombay et al., 2009) helps the affected individual work through the consequences of disclosure. Alternatively, professional counsellors provide clients with an understanding of trauma as they encourage them to ask questions (Sargent, 2009) and also offer advice on how to deal with traumatic events (Weingarten, 2004).

6.4.3 Coping with poverty

Results of the study suggest poverty to be a source of intergenerational humiliation and highlight the strategies participants employ to cope with this. Thus, despite facing challenging life situations associated with chronically low household income, most participants were hopeful about their future and therefore expressed a commitment towards **taking responsibility for their own development**. Consistent with these findings, Dill (1998) explained that poverty has more to do with deprived opportunities than a person's lack of hope. Furthermore, Riolli and Savicki (2012) indicated that hope enables a person to have confidence in mapping out successful strategies toward achieving desired goals. Grandchild participants showed a desire to pursue education and career goals, whilst the older child participants looked to starting businesses and/or or getting a financially secure job. By and large, participants were of the opinion that having a good education is equivalent to ending up with a well-paying job.

However, this may not be as straightforward today since securing formal, well-paying employment may prove to be difficult despite being highly educated. In literature, theories of reproduction argue that educational institutions reinforce the social structure and cultural ways of that country (Collins, 2011). For example, given South Africa's history of institutionalised racial

discrimination in favour of the White population race, critical race theory emphasises how perceptions of race, culture and identity continue to influence an oppressive and unjust social order (Modiri, 2012). From these perspectives, apartheid may thus be seen as a social and cultural system that contributed to the income poverty and inequality of Blacks (Seekings, 2007). After, 1994, the democratic government began initiating pro-poor policies aimed at poverty alleviation (Triegaardt, 2006). However, Van der Berg, Burger, Burger, Louw, and Yu (2006) pointed out that the ability of social assistance as a means to deal with poverty is weakening. In addition, poverty and inequality are conditions that are associated with unemployment (Triegaardt, 2006). Today, South Africa is faced with high unemployment rates as a result of “rising inequality within the labour market due – to both rising unemployment and rising earning inequality” (Leibbrandt, Woolard, Finn, & Argent, 2010, p. 4). This may have adverse implications on the education and employability of subsequent generations, further aggravating intergenerational humiliation. Despite a disadvantaged past, these participants are looking within themselves to bring about a change in their circumstances in order to secure a brighter future. Still, a common thread within their accounts was the need for financial assistance to reach their goals.

The second sub-theme, **familial support**, highlights the importance of having family who can offer both material and non-material support in order for one to be able to cope with the consequences of intergenerational humiliation. This is supported by literature. Research shows that parents with the financial stability are able to make an investment into the education and progress of their children; while the potential abilities of poor children are adversely affected as poor parent-generations are unable to invest in their success (Magruder, 2010). This may be a source of distress on subsequent generations from poor households as they try to cope with the poverty situation. An exploratory study conducted by Nduna and Jewkes (2012), aimed at finding out the sources of distress faced by young people, found that they were distressed by financial instability and familial relations, which were linked to aspects of poverty such as parental unemployment, absentee fathers and large family size.

These poverty aspects have implications for the ability of subsequent generations to cope financially. Social capital theorists have highlighted the role of social capital within the context of the family unit (Edwards, Franklin & Holland, 2003). Bourdieu’s theory (as cited in Edwards

et al., 2003) may help in explaining how inequality within the family unit is perpetuated from one generation to the next. According to this theory, social capital generation is a continual process over time and is also linked to cultural as well as symbolic capital (Edwards et al., 2003). Thus, the ability of parents to intergenerationally transmit these forms of capital to their children is inherently linked to the family's economic capital (Edwards et al., 2003).

However, parental ability to transfer social capital and convert it to other forms of capital is a complex process that is influenced by the wider social, political as well as economic environment (Leonard, 2005). These effects are thus debilitating for families with lower forms of capital (Leonard, 2005). Moreover, there may be ripple effects, as found in the case of 17 participants in the present study. Despite being of a mature age, they still live in the homes of primary generations. Owing to unemployment and poverty, participants were unable to financially cope with establishing and maintaining their own homes. Research confirms that, in situations of unemployment and poverty, young people tend to delay leaving their parental households and start their own livelihoods (Klasen & Woolard, 2008). Moreover, as parental households render this support, they too become at risk of worsening their poverty situation, thus making it difficult to cope (Klasen & Woolard, 2008).

6.5 Answering the Main Research Question

The main research question asked was: *How is intergenerational humiliation experienced by the children and grandchildren of victims of apartheid-era gross human rights violations?* In light of the foregoing discussions surrounding the study's three sub-questions, the following synthesis is given as an answer to the main research question: The children and grandchildren of victims of GHRVs share a common historical context wherein primary generations suffered humiliation. They experience intergenerational humiliation as a phenomenon that affects family composition and wellbeing, as loved ones, who were breadwinners, were killed under tragic circumstances. Moreover, those who survived were also mishandled in a humiliating way and, in some cases, property was destroyed. Consequently, these experiences have left some feeling vulnerable and largely victimised. Their present life circumstances serve as a reinforcement of this perception, as they compare their quality of life and potential outcomes with those of others who did not suffer such a fate. This hurt and loss perpetuates through generations. In some

cases, the hurt becomes removed in the generation owing to positive influences, but remains alive in memories.

6.6 Limitations of the Study

There are a number of limitations to this study. It is acknowledged that the introduction of intergenerational humiliation in the title of the study may contribute to pathologising victims of apartheid-era GHRVs. Yet there are those who feel that they have dealt with the past and do not feel humiliated in anyway, and in fact, choose to see themselves as survivors instead of victims. Also, although purposive-criterion sampling was utilised to identify participants, the possibility of biases was anticipated since the participants share a similar traumatic history (Botma et al., 2010). However, I as the researcher found this not to be the case in this present study. Although the participants shared a common, tragic past, some had moved on and were choosing rather to live positively, having dealt with their past and any feelings of humiliation that they might have had. Furthermore, semi-structured interviews were conducted to collect participant experiences. Owing to the years that have passed since apartheid, historical experiences were relayed in a retrospective manner. It was anticipated that some participants may face problems of memory such as: providing inaccurate and or insufficient details surrounding an incident, or giving incorrect historical dates about incidents that occurred (Brutus, Aguinis, & Wassmer, 2013). Although there were one or two instances where dates were mixed up during interview proceedings, the overall themes that arose from participant accounts seemed to suggest a common knowledge or experience of historical events.

While the study focuses on the trauma of GHRVs that took place from 1960 such as the Sharpeville Massacre (Maharaj, 2008; Ellis, 1998), these cannot be the only factors that influence the findings of the study. Apartheid had been instituted in 1948, but literature shows that segregationist policies came much earlier than this (Henrard, 2003). As the Dutch East India Company controlled the Cape, the beginnings of racial segregation emerged, leading to its subsequent legalisation (Maharaj, 2008). Legislated practices such as land dispossession were carried out by violent subjugation (Coovadia et al., 2009). From a humiliation perspective, enforcing any order by coercion is a humiliating experience (Lindner, 2000). Hence, the effects on the Black population of being in an already subjugated position, owing to historical

experience, may also be seen as a contributory influence to the humiliation suffered by victims and their families. Furthermore, some participants were directly caught up in the traumatic incident that caused humiliation to the primary generation. In such cases, their intergenerational humiliation experience may be conflated with a personal humiliation experience, unlike those of, say, much younger participants. Therefore, in such cases intergenerational humiliation may be difficult to ascertain.

A total of 20 participants took part in this qualitative exploratory study. While this was a relatively small sample size, Horsburgh (2003) argues that qualitative researchers should seek situational instead of demographic representativeness. In light of this, generalising the research to another research setting may be a challenge. Moreover, given the varied nature of humiliation (Lukes, 1997), it may not be possible to utilise the study's results in another research setting of similar population. Be that as it may, the study's aim was to gain understanding of the phenomenon from the subjective view of the participants and not to achieve generalisability (McDowell & MacLean, 1998). The aim of hermeneutic phenomenology is for the researcher to accurately capture events in the research setting as they occur (Khan, 2000b). In addition to this, limitations to do with the researcher's bias may impinge on the production of a true interpretation of the participant's sense-making (Khan, 2000b). To this end, a reflective diary was maintained which assisted in critical thinking.

6.7 Conclusions and Recommendations

The purpose of the present study was to explore and understand intergenerational humiliation in the lives of children and grandchildren of victims of apartheid-era GHRVs. IPA (Smith & Eatough, 2012) was used to analyse data collected by means of qualitative interviews. The analysis yielded eight themes that addressed the study's three sub-questions, covering the causes and consequences of intergenerational humiliation, and how participants were coping with these. The results indicated that participants' perceptions of the causes of intergenerational humiliation were situated within the social context of apartheid and the subsequent transition to democracy. The contextual causes which emanated from police repression and intergroup conflict showed how primary generations were subject to demeaning treatment that created a relationship of unequal power between the dominant and weaker group (Hartling & Luchetta,

1999); this in turn affected subsequent generations through witnessing (Weingarten, 2004) or hearing stories (Sotero, 2006) of what had happened.

Moreover, socio-economic deprivation, was as a result of living on chronically low incomes owing to the death of a family member during apartheid and transition years who had been, in most cases, the family breadwinner. A possible conclusion is that events that occurred during apartheid and the transition years had the potential to cause intergenerational humiliation. Since the study of humiliation in the South African context is relatively new, I recommend the development of an indigenous humiliation measure similar to that of Hartling and Luchetta (1999) that focused on evaluating derision, degradation and debasement. Its relevance is crucial in the present context of so many interpersonal tensions such as ethnic-racial divisions, social economic exclusion, and xenophobia, amongst others.

Findings also revealed that the consequences of intergenerational humiliation in the lives of participants were varied, owing to how they interpreted their unique life situations. This variedness showed the complexity of humiliation as an emotion (Lukes, 1997); its' possible presence in traumatic situations (Volkan, 2009; Oravecz et al., 2004); as well as its' ability to be vicariously felt by in-group members (Veldhuis et al., 2014). A possible conclusion is that, intergenerational humiliation had an impact on the emotional, psychological as well as socio-economic well-being of participants. This has implications on the effectiveness of peace and reconciliation initiatives that seek to build more harmonious racial relations (Lapsley, 1998) and, the perpetuation/curbing of intergenerational humiliation transmissions to future generations. I therefore recommend that adequate support from stakeholders such as mental health professionals, social workers, and donors, be made available to cater for the emotional, psychological and socio-economic needs of children and grandchildren of victims of GHRVs.

Discussions then turned to participant experiences of coping with the consequences of intergenerational humiliation. In particular, discussions dwelt on how participants coped with grief, humiliating experiences, and poverty. Although some positive coping strategies were noted, the negative coping strategies indicated maladaptive ways of dealing with these consequences and were mostly associated with lack of familial emotional and material support. A possible conclusion is that positive coping is promoted when protective structures (Social Health Reference Group, 2004), such as familial emotional and material support, are present. I

therefore recommend that a family systems intergenerational study be conducted that seeks to ascertain the conditions that may help to alleviate intergenerational transmission of humiliation to subsequent generations. In particular, one needs to look into (i) Communication patterns in the family unit; (ii) Grandmother role; and (iii) The influence of material support.

Finally, an answer to the main research question was proffered and it revealed that the experience of intergenerational humiliation was within the overarching context of events that took place during apartheid and the transition period. Subsequent generations were affected emotionally, psychologically and socio-economically as a consequence. Positive coping was seen in participants who had emotional and material support from their families, whilst maladaptive coping was seen in those who did not have such resources. This has implications for perpetuating intergenerational humiliation transmissions if left unabated. Further research on humiliation within a South African context is encouraged as it will help raise awareness on this pertinent aspect of ethnic and racial social group relations, especially in the wake of a plethora of recent mass protests that threatens social cohesion.

6.8 Reflecting on the journey

Conducting this research has been a ground-breaking event for me, in my view. The participants are the ‘new voices’ in this relatively new area of humiliation discourse. Perhaps, with acknowledgement and assistance, those voices can become more amplified; no longer with pain and sorrow but with the joy of living free from the past. During fieldwork, I have never seen such a need to be heard, a passion to learn, to grow, to succeed and fend for their families. At a personal level as I embarked on this research project, in my mind’s eye, I was a runner. At times the run felt like a sprint, exhilarating. At other times it felt like a marathon. As I neared the end, it has been like a mountain climber seeking to crest the mountain. Concluding this study feels like cresting that mountain. However, peering into the distant horizon, I see many more hills and I realise there is still more to be done.

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Appendix A

Ethical permission to conduct the study



Ethical Clearance for M/D students: Research on human participants

The Ethics Committee of the Department of Psychology at Unisa have evaluated this research proposal for a Higher Degree in Psychology in light of appropriate ethical requirements, with special reference to the requirements of the Code of Conduct for Psychologists of the HPCSA.

Student Name: K S Nyabadza

Student no. 3598-817-7

Supervisor/promoter: Dr. Cyril Adonis

Affiliation: External Supervisor

Title of project:

Intergenerational Humiliation: Exploring Experiences of Children and Grand-Children of Victims of Gross Human Rights Violations

- Ethical clearance is given to this project without any further conditions
- Ethical clearance is given on conditions that certain requirements are met (as appended)
- Ethical clearance is deferred as the matter was referred to the Ethics Committee of the CHS, Unisa
- Ethical clearance is deferred until additional information is supplied (see the appended list)
- Ethical clearance cannot be granted on the basis of the information as presented (for reasons as listed in an appendix)

X

Signed:

Prof. M Papaikononou

[For the Ethics Committee]
[Department of Psychology, Unisa]

Date: 2013-10-24

Appendix B

Letter from Khulumani approving the study

KHULUMANI SUPPORT GROUP
NPO 008-135 ; PBO 930 029 992
National Contact Centre: 2nd Floor Khotso House
62 Marshall Street, Marshalltown 2017
Tel: +27-11-833 2044/5 Fax: +27 11 833 2048
info@khulumani.net | www.khulumani.net
'From victims to active citizens'



Ms. Kudzai Nyabadza
Tel: +267 7416 1639
Fax: +267 316 6069
Email: kudzaisn@gmail.com
28 January 2014

Dear Ms. Nyabadza,

**re: Authorisation for Your Planned Engagement with
Children and Grandchildren of Victims of Apartheid Atrocities**

Warm greetings from Khulumani Support Group. We are very grateful for your interest in Khulumani Support Group and in our membership.

We would be delighted to host you and assist you with your study of the transgenerational transmission of trauma resulting from humiliation through organizing meetings with families that belong to Khulumani Support Group.

We suggest that we meet in our offices in Khotso House on 4 February 2014 to discuss your study proposal and to clarify aspects of your proposal. We would welcome a presentation on your proposed study at approximately 2 pm on 4 February 2014.

We will address all the administrative and logistical details involved when we meet on 4 February 2014. We look forward to meeting you.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Marjorie Jobson'.

Dr. Marjorie Jobson
National Director
Khulumani Support Group
Mobile: +27 82 268 0223
Email: marje@khulumani.net
Website: www.khulumani.net

MEMBERS OF THE BOARD

Nomarussia Bonase; Gertrude Fester; Shirley Gunn; Brandon Hamber (Research Adviser);
Marjorie Jobson (ex-officio); Kabelo Lengane (Legal Advisor); Tshepo Madlingozi; Tinyiko
Maluleke; Nombuyiselo Mhlauti; Musa Ndlovu; Judy Ann Seidman; Paul Verryn

Appendix C

Interview schedule

Biographical Information

1. What is your name? (Identified by pseudonym on transcript)
2. What is your age?
3. What is your ethnic background?
4. What is your highest level of education?
5. What is your marital status?
6. Are you employed? What do you do for a living?
7. Do you or your parents own property?

Family Information

8. Briefly tell me about your family background
Possible follow-up questions:
 - How many are you in your family?
 - Do you have any brothers and sisters?
9. Are you a child or a grandchild to the victim of Apartheid gross human rights violations?
10. If you can, please tell me briefly about what happened to your parent/grandparent during apartheid that led them to become a victim?
Possible follow-up questions:
 - Where were you when this happened?
 - Were you harmed in any way?
 - How did this make you feel?
 - How did you come to know the story you have just shared with me?
11. Sources of information on apartheid experiences
Possible question/s:
 - Does your grandparent share about apartheid experiences with you?
 - What about your extended family, aunts and uncles – do they talk about Apartheid stories with you?
 - Where else have you heard about Apartheid? (Media: radio/ TV/ group gatherings)
12. Do you feel that you are closely related as a family?
Possible follow-up question:
 - In what ways?
13. What are your views about Apartheid? How does that make you feel?

Humiliation Information

As we discuss humiliation, I want us to look at humiliation and whether it affects you as an individual, you in relation to your family and you in relation to your racial group in light of the Apartheid past.

14. What do you understand by the word humiliation? In Zulu its *Ukululazeka*; Sotho its *Ntsha seriti* Xhosa - ?
15. In general, have you ever had experiences where another person(s) have laughed at, or insulted you, or disrespected you on purpose?
Possible follow-up questions:
 - What happened?
 - How did this make you feel?
 - Who was the perpetrator?
 - How did you respond?
 - Did you feel that you deserved this treatment?
 - Would you say that this was fair or unfair treatment? Please explain
16. What situations did you or your family experience during Apartheid that you felt was unfair treatment?

Possible follow-up question:
What happened?

17. Were you or your family ever forced to do certain things during this incidence(s)?
Possible follow-up question:
 - What were you forced to do?
 - How did you feel about this?
 - Did you feel that your family deserved this treatment? Please explain.
 - Who were the perpetrators?
 - How did your family respond?
 - Would you say that this was fair or unfair treatment? Please explain.
18. What situations did your racial group experience during Apartheid that you felt was unfair treatment
Possible follow-up questions:
 - What happened?
 - Who were the perpetrators?
 - How did you feel about this?
 - Did you feel that your racial group deserved this treatment?
 - How did your racial group react towards the perpetrators?
 - Would you say that this was fair or unfair treatment? Please explain
19. Do you feel that people in power have the right to treat others unfairly or in a disrespectful way?
20. In your view, what can help to stop unfair treatment between individuals or groups?
21. When you consider your past, in what ways has the Apartheid experience affected you today?
Possible follow-up questions
 - As an individual?
 - How about your family?
 - How about your racial group?
 - How does this make you feel?
22. How do you view life now?
23. Did your family receive reparations?
Possible follow-up question
 - What is your view on the reparations?
24. What are your dreams or things that you aspire to do or have as an individual?
Possible follow-up questions:
 - How about your family?
 - Do you see yourself or your family realising them? How does this make you feel?
 - In your view what help do you need in order to realise your dreams or goals or those of your family?
 - Do you feel that you have this help? Please explain
25. Do you feel that there are certain people who are living a better life than the one you are living?
Possible follow-up questions:
 - Who are they?
 - What is it about their life that you admire?
 - How do you feel about this?
26. Are there any other things that you feel you want to share with me?

Thank you for sharing your experiences with me

Appendix D
Informed consent letter
Consent Form

Adult/General Informed Consent form for Participation in a Study entitled:

**INTERGENERATIONAL HUMILIATION: EXPLORING
EXPERIENCES OF HUMILIATION IN CHILDREN AND
GRANDCHILDREN OF VICTIMS OF GROSS HUMAN
RIGHTS VIOLATIONS**

Dear Prospective Participant

Introduction

My name is Kudzai Nyabadza and I am doing research under the supervision of Dr. Cyril Adonis in the Department of Interdisciplinary Research, University of South Africa towards a Master's Degree in Research Consultation. I would like to invite you to participate in a study entitled: **Intergenerational Humiliation: Exploring experiences of children and grandchildren of victims of gross human rights violations.**

Description of the Study

This project involves research. The goal of this study is to find out if humiliation can be transmitted from one generation to the next. You are invited to participate because you are a child or grandchild of a parent who lived during apartheid era years and faced many atrocities. The purpose of the research is to explore and understand intergenerational humiliation as experienced by children and grandchildren of victims of gross human rights violations.

If you agree to be involved, I Kudzai Nyabadza, as the principle investigator will conduct a face-to-face semi-structured interview with you. The interview is expected to run for an hour. If we should extend it due to the discussions, this will not be for more than thirty more minutes. This brings the total interview time to one and a half hours. I will ask you questions from your past until present that have to do with humiliating experiences that you or your family may have felt in your social environment e.g. neighbourhood, or community as well as family relationships and as an individual. I will also ask you questions about you, such as your age, marital status, etc. You may be asked to do a follow-up interview to see whether you agree with what I recorded or there may be other experiences or incidents on humiliation you have thought of and want to share. It is hoped that this research will increase our understanding of how humiliation is transmitted from one generation to the next and how it affects people.

Audio Recording

This research project includes audio recording of the entire interview. I will transcribe the audio tape in private and remove your name from the transcription. I will make every effort to limit access to the tape.

Will what I say be kept confidential?

Yes. Your real name will not appear on any interview answer forms and nobody will know the answers you gave. Your interview answer form will be given a false code. Your real name will not appear on any of the results, or published documents that will result from this study. Any information we need from the answers you supply will be given a false code. The answers you have given me may be checked by the Research Ethics Committee, a transcriber and an external coder. These people hold the responsibility for making sure that research is done in a fair manner. Otherwise records that identify you will be available only to people working on the study, unless you give permission for other people to see the records.

A report of the study will be submitted for publication, but no participants can be identified through this report.

What are the potential benefits of taking part in this study?

There are no direct benefits for taking part in this study. However, taking part in this study may give you a place to be able to talk freely without any fear of being judged. The study will also be helpful in finding out about intergenerational humiliation and how it is affecting people. This information will contribute to knowledge in this area.

Are there any risks of taking part in this study?

As you speak about your experiences this may make you uncomfortable. Should the information you share during the interview make you feel sad or unhappy in any way, I will stop the interview immediately. There are free psychological clinics <contact details of psychological clinics> where you may go for counselling. If you have any concerns about the risks or benefits of participating in the study you may contact me Ms Kudzai Nyabadza and Dr Cyril Adonis at the telephone numbers given above.

Will I receive payment or any incentives for participating in this study?

There are no payments given to participants who take part in the study.

Are there any costs for participating in this study?

No. There are no costs that you will have to pay for as a result of your participation.

How will information given be kept? Will you later destroy it?

Your information will be kept confidential and safe for a period of five years in a locked cabinet. All electronic information will be kept on a password coded computer. This information will be used for educational purposes or future research. Any future research that will be conducted will have to be cleared by the Research Ethics committed again. At the end of these five years, the paper records will be shredded and the tape burned. All information about this study will be kept confidential unless we are required to share it by law.

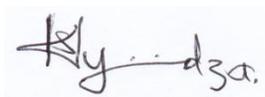
If I decide not to continue with the study can I withdraw?

Yes. If at any time you feel that you no longer want to be part of the study you are free to withdraw. No harm will come to you because you have decided to withdraw.

How will I be informed of the findings/results?

Results of the study will be made available on request from either Ms Kudzai Nyabadza on email address kudzain@gmail.com or Dr Cyril Adonis on email address adonic@unisa.ac.za

Thank you for taking out time to read the information sheet and for wanting to know more about the study. Should you have any queries, please feel free to ask. I look forward to your participation.



Kudzai Nyabadza
Principle Student Researcher

Voluntary Consent by Participant

I want to confirm that I have read the preceding Informed Consent information sheet and give my approval to take part in this research as has been explained to me. I understand what the research is about, what procedures will be undertaken, my role as participant and the potential benefits or risks of taking part. I have been given a chance to ask questions and I give consent to participate in the research. I willingly agree to participate and understand that I may withdraw at any time without any harm coming to me. I am aware that the results from the study will be published as a research report, journal and/or be presented at a conference. I agree that semi-structured interviews may be recorded. A signed copy of the informed consent agreement has been given to me.

NAME & SURNAME (PLEASE PRINT)	SIGNATURE
Participant.....
Researcher.....
Witness.....

Appendix E

Email correspondence for free psychological counselling

3mail - Request for counselling services

<https://mail.google.com/mail/u/0/?ui=2&ik=bcd686ceda&view=pt&...>



Kudzai Nyabadza <kudzaisn@gmail.com>

Request for counselling services

Johanna Kistner <johanna@sophiatowncounselling.co.za>
To: Kudzai Nyabadza <kudzaisn@gmail.com>

Tue, Feb 4, 2014 at 5:05 PM

Dear Kudzai,

Thanks for introducing me to the research. We would be happy for clients to be referred to our service, if and when they feel they need it.

Kind regards,

Johanna Kistner

Executive Director/Clinical Psychologist
Sophiatown Community Psychological Services
Westdene Office: 4 Lancaster Rd, Westdene2092
Tel. +27 11 482 8530
Bertrams Office: 20 Derby Rd, Bertrams 2198
+27 11 614 5242
Cell: +27 83 5615011
Email: johanna@sophiatowncounselling.co.za
Website: www.sophiatowncounselling.co.za

From: Kudzai Nyabadza [mailto:kudzaisn@gmail.com]
Sent: 04 February, 2014 4:04 PM
To: johanna@sophiatowncounselling.co.za
Cc: Marjorie Jobson; Angela Tembo
Subject: Request for counselling services



Kudzai Nyabadza <kudzaisn@gmail.com>

Request for counselling services

Kudzai Nyabadza <kudzaisn@gmail.com>

Tue, Feb 4, 2014 at 4:03 PM

To: johanna@sophiatowncounselling.co.za

Cc: Marjorie Jobson <marje@khulumani.net>, Angela Tembo <angela@khulumani.net>

Dear Johanna,

I was referred to you by Judy from Khulumani Support Group as I enquired about the possibility of free counselling services for the participants in my study. As per our earlier telephone conversation, herewith some detail about the research I am involved in.

I am a Master's student with the University of South Africa within the department of Interdisciplinary research. My research is entitled "Intergenerational humiliation: Exploring experiences of children and grandchildren of victims" these would be victims of gross human rights violations suffered during Apartheid. I'm interested in a relatively new field of study which is the subject of humiliation. This emotion has not received wide scholarly attention and yet from the few studies that have been done, it has been linked with intractability of conflict (Goldman and Coleman, 2005), and the production of revenge (Cobb, 2004). From an intergenerational perspective, earlier scholars Volkan (1996) have linked this emotion with transgenerationally transmitted trauma. My research makes the assumption that if trauma can be transmitted from one generation to the next, then humiliation may also be transmitted. I am therefore interested in seeing the subjective views of children and grandchildren of victims as they share their past and present circumstances to see whether humiliation that is found in man-made traumatic situations (such as Apartheid) does in fact exist or not and if it does, how is it affecting them?

I kindly request your counselling services in the event that a participant in the study may experience retraumatisation due to opening up old wounds. This is one risk that may likely to happen and I wanted to ensure that I have made contingency plans. At present, I anticipate a total of ten participants. Their ages range between 18 - 40+ years and will be either male or female.

I thank you and look forward to your reply.

Sincerely,

Kudzai Nyabadza

Appendix F

Excerpt of the reflective diary

February 3, 2014 – I am so excited but nervous at the same time! I managed to get the participants through Khulumani Support Group. Wow, absolutely amazing! Ok so now I need to plan what I need to get – voice recorder, Olympus is said to be a good model ...mmm...

February, 14, 2014 – Interviewed a grandchild of a victim today – total 3 hours! Was left so tired I was drained! He seemed to empty himself of all the fears, worries and disappointments he has experienced. How sad and to think this was the eve of his father's death.

February 28, 2014 – Probed second child of victim – from his story I can see that he seemed so isolated and discriminated. I was left feeling so sad and sorry for his case. The more I am hearing these stories, the more I think that help should come to these people now! They have suffered long enough! It's so sad!

March 27, 2014 – Transcribing is so tedious! Plus, I get to listen to sad stories all over again... I think I will lay off a few days ... it's just too much...

April 4, 2014 – writing up methodology section – reflected on why did I get involved in this research? – Ok so it's to fill a knowledge gap – to hear the silent voices of children and grandchildren of gross human rights. To gain insight and understanding on intergenerational effects of humiliation within the context of ... Why did I choose a qualitative instead of a quantitative framework? ... Further research may seek to investigate numbers and to what extent these effects have affected the population group ... mmm...

April 14, 2014 – still transcribing! Some interviews are long and I notice for a 1hr 30min interview it is taking me close to three days to complete!

May 2, 2014 – still transcribing! I notice that I am now just listening to these stories and it is not affecting as much as I was affected earlier on in the process. Mmm... must be getting used to hearing their experiences.

May 22, 2014 – I can start to see some themes starting to come up – importance of education/education attainment; heartache of having a breadwinner die – affected participant seems to be asking – what will become of me? They also seem to feel disillusioned by their present life circumstances.

May 30, 2014 – Noticed that Themba and Hope are quite positive in their attitudes – why is that? Hope did say her family is a family of positive thinkers – what makes them that way? It seems they are a unique set – seem to have dealt with the past... mmm...

June 18, 2014 – the strategy which I have now devised on transcribing seems to be paying off

June 26, 2014 – Met with my supervisor today – gave me some useful advice that I should be trying to juggle all the aspects of the research – that means I should be writing and transcribing – great, how am I going to do that?

July 3, 2014 – Noticed that some of the participants when they are talking giggle or laugh in some places that don't seem appropriate – to investigate further

July 4, 2014 – When doing analysis look for similarities, look between generations – what are the youths saying? – possible theme: black-on-black violence

July 5, 2014 – Tumelo's interview got me thinking about unfairness/unfair treatment in terms of what they experience when their house was destroyed – he said it was not replaced – equality – could it be that people feel robbed, short changed, hurt about the wrongs of apartheid?

Appendix G
Co-coder certificate



the spirit that moves

CLIENT/STUDENT: Kudzai Singatsho Nyabadza (3598-817-7)

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:

Prof. Jeanette Maritz has co-coded the following qualitative data:

Individual interviews

For the study:

“Intergenerational Humiliation: Exploring Experiences of Children and Grandchildren of Apartheid-era Victims”

I declare that we have reached consensus on the major themes of the data during a consensus discussion.

Prof. Jeanette Maritz (D.Cur; M.Cur; B.Cur (Ed.et.Adm); Advanced Research Methodology

jeanettemaritz@gmail.com

Dr.Retha Visagie (M.Cur; B.Cur (Hons); BACur); Advanced Research Methodology

rgvisagie@mweb.co.za

Appendix H

TR13 Coded interview transcript

Date: 05 February, 2014

Location: Sharpeville

Duration: 39min 29sec

Provisional themes	P#	Initial Notes
<p>Traumatic incident: Father died and disappearance of mother</p>	<p>1:00 I: Um good afternoon P: Afternoon I: Thank you so much for agreeing to take the interview. Um, we will first of all start off with biographical information. Um what is your name? P: Palesa (Pseudonym) I: Ok what is your age? P: I'm 26 years of age I: And in terms of your ethnic background um say for example are you Tswana, Xhosa, Sotho? P: I'm Sotho I: Ok you are Sotho - what is your marital status? P: Single I: Are you employed P: No I'm not I: Um, do you own any property P: No I: Um, ok, in terms of your family background, how many are you in your family do you have any brothers and sisters and so on? P: I'm the only child from my mother and father I: Ok um and ok where are your parents? 1.26 P: My parents - my father died and my mother she disappeared during those apartheid times I: So you don't know where she is? P: Mm.mm, (saying no) I: You don't know whether she is alive or not? P: I don't know I: Ok um and you are a grandchild to the victim of gross-apartheid era gross human rights violations? P: Yes, yes I: er Ok, if you can, please tell me er briefly about what happened to your grandparents during apartheid 1.47 P: What I know is what my grandparent always tell me, she said during those times,</p>	<p>Traumatic incident: Father died and mother disappeared during apartheid</p> <p>Treatment at the hands of the humiliator: Police conduct</p>

Conducted humiliating night raids	<p><u>the police would always come here and knock, kick the doors, and they would just victimi-they would just abuse everyone in the house, kick them and-d throw everything outside the house they would be coming here wanting-want my father and they would turn the tables upside down the bed upside down looking for my father, if they couldn't find him, then they would take all of us in the house take us to the-to the police station keep us there until they are found.</u></p>	<p>night raids looking for father Kick doors Family members harassed Searching for her father Property dismantled/turned upside down</p>
Detained whole family at the police station	<p>I: Mmm 1.62 P: <u>So my grandmother she was like, she won't tell the-she-she said she didn't want-she didn't tell the police where he was</u></p>	<p>Detain whole family at the police station Treatment at the hands of the humiliator: Grandmother questioned in detention – refused to divulge the whereabouts of her son</p>
Response to humiliation: Grandmother fought to have children released	<p>I: Ok 1.66 P: <u>They would fight-she would fight until the-the police take us out the children</u></p>	<p>Grandmother fought to have her children released</p>
Grandmother tortured in detention; Harassed in detention to divulge information	<p>I: Ok 1.69 P: Their lawyer would come-go-go to the police station and ask the police to-to at least take the children home and leave the other peo-other people there at the station I: Ok 1.74 P: They would keep them there until they torture them and torture them until they tell h-tell-tell them about where my father is and she said she would never talk</p>	<p>Received legal assistance Received torture treatment whilst in prison</p>
Response to humiliation: Grandmother remained adamant	<p>I: Ooh! 1.79 P: They would do as much as they want she w-d-didn't say anything I: Ok so in terms of the torture what would happen then? What d-did she tell you wh-how they were tortured?</p>	<p>Did not divulge any information</p>
Taunted and provoked her to commit suicide	<p>1.84 P: She said they would like maybe put them -put her like um she said they were rocks like-like long rocks, they would put them th-there on-on the floor neh? and <u>she said they would tell her to climb on those rocks and look (out) the window, it was like on the fifth floor</u></p>	<p>Taunted and provoked grandmother to commit suicide</p>
Taunted and provoked her	<p>I: Mmm 1.92 P: <u>Then sh-she would look like (out) that</u></p>	

to commit suicide	<p><u>window, th-they w-wanted her to jump out that window in order to tell the people that she committed suicide.</u> So she wouldn't-she didn't do it, she didn't do anything bad</p>	
Dehumanise victim	<p>1.98 P: <u>They would just force her to do it and force her and force her and starve her for maybe like days</u></p> <p>I: Ok do you know how long she was in-in detention?</p> <p>P: Mm.mm, (shaking head) I don't know, I don't know</p> <p>I: Ok um in terms of the times when they would you know like take you and detain you did they harm you ph-physically?</p>	Grandmother was starved for days
Children unharmed during detention	<p>2.08 P: She said they didn't harm us- the children</p> <p>I: Ok you were just kept with your parents but you were not harmed?</p> <p>P: Mmm, mmm (saying yes)</p> <p>I: Ok um but – do you – can you, you know relate with, you know, with all these experiences that were happening, how does that make you feel?</p>	During detention, children were not harmed
Transference: Hated Whites – school experience	<p>2.16 P: Um when I was like fifteen, sixteen I h– I had that hatred for-for-for white people neh?</p> <p>I: Mmm, mmm</p> <p>P: Coz there was a time I was at a multi-racial school when I was like ten years, I started multi-racial in Vanderbijlpark. So during those times I was at that school, I would feel like I don't want these people near me, they were-they were sm- I felt like they were like stinking</p>	developed hatred for Whites as a result of the experiences her family passed through
Intergroup conflict actions: black-on-black violence disrupted children's schooling in the community	<p>2.27 P: I didn't want them. Anyway, I had to go to that school because the comrades, <u>black people were sometimes fighting against black people</u> so she- she took-she took me to that school and because there at-at- <u>there at Sharpeville, th-the people they were coming fighting at schools, comrades fighting,</u> fighting with them so I end up going there, then I end up being around the white people.</p>	Intergroup conflict actions: Fighting disrupted children's schooling in the community
Harboured unforgiveness over death of father at the hands of the apartheid police	<p>2.33 P: <u>I had to adjust pretend whether everything is ok knowing that deep down I will never accept the fact that those people are the ones that made my –my father die</u></p>	Pretended as if everything was ok but harboured thoughts of unforgiveness in her heart towards the white people, that they killed her father

Presently in the process of healing	<p>I: Mmm so inside you - you know like what-what feelings can you – can you – can you put names to the feelings that you have – that you had at that time?</p> <p>2.42 P: (Pause) well, I will say, I'm healing</p>	Feels presently she is in the process of healing
Grandmother is her role model of forgiveness	<p>I: Ok</p> <p>2.44 P: Slow by slow, coz every time when my grandmother talks to me, I see through her that she's been healed</p>	Grandmother a role model Sees in her the healing that she has experienced
Grandmother teaching her to accept the death of her father	<p>I: Mmm</p> <p>2.48 P: <u>If she wasn't healed- if she didn't -if she wasn't healed, I would say, I would never be healed</u> coz she came around the fact that he's dead, and he's not gonna come back and at the end of the day, we need to accept that he is never coming back and we need to forgive.</p>	If her grandmother had not healed, Palesa says she would never have healed Saw that her grandmother accepted the death of her son and that he will not come back and the need to forgive
Experience of her father's death will remain in her memory despite forgiving perpetrators	<p>I: Ok</p> <p>2.55 P: But although-although there is a saying that you can forgive but you will never forget at the end of the day.</p>	Palesa will forgive but not forget
Transference phenomenon as result of the past	<p>I: Mmm</p> <p>P: Mmm</p> <p>I: Ok, but in terms of – ok during that time when you were at school, what – you know – what feelings were – what emotions were going through you when you were looking at these, er, White people? What were you thinking?</p>	
Transference phenomenon as result of the past	<p>2.66 P: <u>I wanted to kill those people with my bare hands coz I didn't even want to sit next to them I didn't even want [them] to touch me or eat anything that comes from them. I had this friend once at school, she was white</u></p> <p>I: Mmm</p>	White apartheid police killed my father therefore I hate white people
Transference phenomenon as result of the past	<p>2.72 P: She always brought food for me, every time during lunch she was-she gave me bread, some snacks I would just take them not I didn't want to give her the impression that, girl, I don't really like your people</p> <p>I: Mmm</p> <p>2.78 P: I would take- I would take those food and put them in my bag then <u>when I come home I'm going to tell-tell my grandmother that she gave me this and this and this...then I would throw them in the bin even though she</u></p>	Analogy – if they killed my father they could well kill me too

<p>Mother disappeared during apartheid</p>	<p>didn't want but I would say I'm not gonna eat these things I will throw them in the bin <u>I don't want anything coming from them if those people had the courage to kill one of our people what about me maybe she is going-her mother or father will give her something and say go and give it to her...</u> I: Mmm P: Then I'm gonna die that-that was the feeling that I had at that time I: Ok, ok and your father, um you know, you knew that he was that he-he had died what about your mother, do you have any feelings towards her disappearance? 2.97 P: I still want to know where she-where she went coz I don't know her I – what I know is what they are telling me that she was here during the 10 days of my-of my birth I: mmm</p>	<p>Mother disappeared 10 days after giving birth to Palesa</p>
<p>Mother's whereabouts still unknown</p>	<p>3.01 P: After that she disappeared to where, I have no knowledge, but I still need to know where she went, why did she go? Is she-is she still alive or what? I: Ok, ok um so from the story that you have just shared with me can we-can we say then that your, er, your grandparent - you know - she talks to you a lot about what happened during apartheid?</p>	<p>Does not know what happened to her mother</p>
<p>Grandmother expressive about past</p>	<p>3.10 P: Yes she does I: Ok P: She does I: Um do you have extended family like aunts and uncles? P: Yes I do I: Do they also talk about these issues? P: No not much I: Not much</p>	<p>Grand-parent communicates about apartheid experiences</p>
<p>Aunt silent about past</p>	<p>3.19 P: Not much coz my-my aunt, she doesn't talk much coz she-she was very close to my-to my father I: Ok P: Every time, talking about that brings back hard feelings to her I: Ok, ok, and um where else can you say you have heard information about apartheid? P: Mmm in school</p>	<p>Aunt doesn't talk much about apartheid as this brings back bad memories</p> <p>External environment – school and the community Hears about apartheid</p>

		through the channels of school and the ANC-led community meetings
Family relationships close	<p>I: Ok P: Um around the community, coz sometimes we go to the ANC meetings I: Mmm P: We attend those meetings and we meet some ex-combatants I: Ok P: So they talk to us about those things - “we were with your father somewhere, somewhere ”, you know, they are telling us I: Mmm P: “ the first time I saw your father we were at the meeting of youth league what, what , what ” so that’ s where we-we meet those people and tell us about apartheid I: Ok, ok, um as a family would you say that you are a closely related family? 3.45 P: Yes I: You are close P: Yes I: Um, do you consider your family as a close knit family that shares experiences? P: Mmm I would say that if we like having family gatherings I: Mmm, mmm P: We like – talk I: Ok, ok P: And what we’ll say you know, “I know - I know your mother from this and this” “I know your-” I: Ok</p>	Family relationships close
Hates apartheid as it caused the death of her father	<p>P: See, family gatherings, that’s when we share I: Ok, um and in your view, what are your views about apartheid? 3.65 P: Yoh! <u>I hate apartheid big time</u> I wish it was never there coz it destroyed many lives and <u>I would say if apartheid was never here, my father would still be alive he would still</u></p>	Share apartheid experiences during family gatherings
Still grieving over the loss of both father and mother	<p>3.70 <u>be here and my mother also</u> would still be here coz I never had the [chance] to get to know them I never knew my father and</p>	View of apartheid - Hates apartheid - Wishes it was never there then her father would still be alive and her mother would be with her
Also attributes his death to the poverty situation family is experiencing	<p>3.73 [crying] <u>if he was here I know maybe my life would have changed, would have been better coz now we are-we struggling big time</u></p>	Death of a breadwinner - Family struggling financially, on

Perceives that if her father was alive her life would have been better

Secondary traumatisation (Interview suspended for some time)

(Interview continues at Palesa's request)

Unresolved feelings of hurt and anger

Attributes anger and hurt to apartheid system

3.77 we have to live with m-my grandmother's pension fund coz I know if my father was alive he would have done everything in his powers to give us a better life [crying]

3.80 **I:** Mmm (interview paused for a while) I just wanna give you a bit of time
I: Do you want us to continue or do you want us to stop?
P: Lets continue

I: Ok (long pause) ok I can see that, er from your response that this really is a hurtful er, time for you um can you – c-can you let me know how you are feeling?

P: (pause) In-in what way?

I: In terms of can you say, maybe, I feel - I'm feeling hurt, I feel angry what, what are your feelings?

P: I am both hurt and angry

I: Ok by the - by what happened during apartheid?

P: Yes, by apartheid system

I: (Pause) now we move on to the humiliation information, um, as we discuss humiliation, I want us to look at humiliation, and see whether it affects you as an individual in relation to your family, in relation to your racial group and in light of, you know, what happened in-in apartheid so we are going to look at h-how humiliation, if-if at all-

P: It affects me?

I: Yes it affects you. Ok um but firstly I think we-I need to understand do you know what the word humiliation means?

P: Mmm (pauses to think) humiliation is like maybe I won't -I don't understand it in your language try to explain

I: Ok in isiPedi you would say "ntsha seriti"

P: Ehe (yes), In seSotho "ke ntlo ntlo be ntsha seriti" it's like-like the-er "ke ntlo ntlo be ntsha seriti" like - something like that (pauses to confer with KO in Sotho)

grandmother's pension fund

- Perceives if father was alive life would be better
- Secondary traumatisation (begins to cry)

Interview suspended for some time – to allow Palesa room to express her grief

Palesa requests that the meeting continue

Unresolved anger:
Feels both hurt and angry by the painful memory of losing her father due to apartheid

Attributes this to apartheid

Meaning of humiliation:
ukukipa isithunzi – direct translation of ntsha seriti – stripping away of one's

Feels humiliated by apartheid

Attributes her inability to finish school to apartheid humiliation experience

Attributes her unemployment status currently to apartheid humiliation experience

Attributes her uncle's unemployed state to apartheid humiliation experience (father killed who was the breadwinner)

Feels humiliated by apartheid – feels stripped of her dignity as a result

I: Ok. So you understand what I'm saying?
P: Ehe, ehe, ehe, (nodding yes)
I: Ok, would you like to explain it further for me?

P: I would like say it humiliated us mmm

I: Maybe giving examples of things that have happened to you that you can relate that word to

P: I never had the co-the opportunity to finish school

I: Ok

P: And now I'm not working

I: Mmm, mmm

4.11 P: I'm not working, I'm hustling big time
you know my younger brother-my big brother-it's like he's like my uncle

I: Ok

4.16 P: My father's younger brother er, he's not work-he's not working; it humiliated him-it humiliated him big time coz we all we-he was also-he also-my father was the breadwinner at that time

4.21 I: Mmm, mmm

4.22 P: So he was the one going to take him to school ok

I: Mmm, mmm

P: So he didn't even go to school, he didn't even finish his univers-his varsity-his varsity studies; so he is not working that's-that's why I'm say it humiliated us at home like that coz neith-neither of us didn't finish school neither of us is working

I: So when you say "it humiliated you" what do you mean? You mean apartheid?

4.33 P: Apartheid humiliated us

I: Ok, ok, um so when we look at um like general experiences, were you know er, have you ever had experiences where people have laughed at, or insulted you or disrespected

dignity

Feels humiliated by apartheid

apartheid humiliation: Opportunities were lost such as education as a result

apartheid humiliation: currently unemployed

apartheid humiliation: uncle is also unemployed

Taking her understanding of humiliation as *ntsha seriti* when Palesa says 'apartheid humiliated us' she means apartheid stripped us of our dignity – our social standing in society

	<p>you on purpose?</p> <p>4.39 P: Mm.mm (shaking head saying no) I: There haven't been such incidences? P: Mm.mm (shaking head saying no) I: Ok, um, what situations did you or your family experience during apartheid that you felt was unfair treatment? P: (Pause) can you please repeat I: Um what situations did you or your family experience during apartheid that you felt this was unfair treatment?</p>	
Police actions – arson	4.49 P: Our house was burnt	Perceptions of unfair treatment Family house was burnt during apartheid
Police actions: Destroyed house by arson	4.51 I: Ok P: <u>Our everything was burnt my-my grandmother had to start over again</u> start buying everything, start renovating – see everything is not as it-the way it was before - coz she had to make ends meet to-to-to-to <u>at least give us a roof</u>	House was destroyed by arson, family had to start over on low financial resources
Loss experience for victim	4.57 I: Mmm so during that time of apartheid, was your family ever forced to do certain things? You know, were they forced to be somewhere or to do certain things because of apartheid? P: (Pause) mm.mm (saying no) not anything that I can remember coz some of the things, is the things that my grandmother was telling me and my uncles were telling me I can't remember anything	
	4.66 I: Ok, ok, ok, um, ok, so you wouldn't know if there was anything that they were forced to do which was below what they expected?	
Police attitude: Aggressive towards grandmother so she can divulge information	4.69 P: er, what they were forced to do at that time what I know, remember, is that they were forced to-to - to tell they were being forced to tell where my father is coz he was the leader of the youth leagues and he was the one making sure whether the youths participate in the youth programmes, so they were forced to-tell they were forced to-to tell the police where he was at a certain time I: Mmm, mmm P: mmm I: Ok	Grandmother forced by apartheid police to release the whereabouts of her son
Police actions: Torture	4.81 P: That's why the police were torturing them	

Vexed reaction to police attitude

Police actions:
Tapped phone line

Tapping phone line;
perceives this invaded family's privacy

Police actions:
Monitored the family

I: Ok, but, do you feel that your family deserved this treatment?

P: mm.mm, (saying no)

I: Uh- and who were the perpetrators? Who were the-the ones that were – who were – um

P: Who were being victimized?

I: Who were-who were the perpetrators the ones that were inflicting this control and you know, forcing your parents?

P: The police

I: The police. Ok. How did your er, family respond to this?

P: They were fighting back

I: Ok

P: They were also fighting back

I: Er for example, can you give me an example of fighting back?

4.99 P: Like they were-if the police come-if the policeman my-my grandmother used to say if they came in and talk-she-she would like "Don't touch me! Don't touch me! Don't give me that attitude!" you see, it was like that

I: Ok um

5.05 P: And they would like I don't know tapped her phone we had a Telkom phone in the house I don't know from which pole did they put a bug, every time she talks to other comrades or every time she talked to my father wherever he was hiding, the police were hearing that where he is they would trace him with-with our phone to his phone

I: Mmm um would you say this was fair or unfair treatment?

P: It was unfair

I: Would you care to explain?

P: was unfair coz they didn't have privacy anytime

I: Ok

P: Every time-everything they did, the police were watching them...everything they ever did the police were here, watching everything they are doing...it was not fair at all

I: Mmm...um what situations now we move to the-your racial group...

P: mmm...ok

Vexed reaction to police attitude

Treatment at the hands of the humiliator:
Home phone line was tapped

Unfair treatment – tapping phone line was an intrusion on their privacy

Police actions:
Monitored the family;

Effects on racial group:
Traumatised to the extent
of being unable to express
their feelings of historical
trauma

Effects on racial group:
Curtailed freedoms:
Forced to learn Afrikaans
Not allowed to join
political parties

Contextual influence –
angry youths fighting back
the apartheid police

Encourages peace and
dialogue as opposed to
fighting

Feels let down by
government

I: Ok what situations do you-did your racial
group experience during apartheid that you
felt was unfair treatment?

P: Pause being unable to talk

I: Ok

P: Coz there are still some p- some-some
racial groups, or my groups

I: Mmm, mmm

5.35 P: That d-don't know how to-to-to-to talk
their feelings

I: Ok

5.38 P: Some of them are still hurting, they
didn't-they don't know how to talk where do
I go and where do I express their feelings
about what happened during that time

I: Ok um in terms of the different things that
you know that happened during apartheid,
what would you say your racial group was
forced to do in certain situations?

5.46 P: They were forced to- what I know is they
were forced to study Afrikaans, they were
forced to study Afrikaans at that time and
they were forced not to-to-to-to be in-in
political groups, like not being in ANC, th-
they were forced...they-they just wanted
them to be individuals...not to express what
they are seeing outside

I: Ok, and who were these people who were
forcing them to do that?

P: The police the white policeman

I: How did you feel about this?

5.57 P: Angered its like the youth also were-were
fighting back to the police whenever the
police were talking to them, they were being
angered then they fought back...

I: And-and now, if-if you look at yourself
how do feel about this kno-knowledge that
you have about your racial group?

5.64 P: You know, now, as in this new
democracy we have I don't think fighting is
not the only answer to peace we should at
least talk things-talk things through instead
of fighting although we know that our
democracy is failing us, our government is

Effects on racial group

- Some victims still unable
to talk about what
happened, they are still
hurting
- - need for counselling to
enable hurting people to
come to terms with what
happened

Racial group

- were forced to study
Afrikaans
- not to be seen in groups
- were not allowed to
express themselves what
they are feeling

Atmosphere during apartheid
Angry youths fighting back
the apartheid police

Fighting is not the solution in
the new democracy
Talk instead of fighting
Our government is failing us

Sense of abandonment
Feels helpless and let down
by government

failing us big time

I: Mmm

5.71 P: So sometimes we have to sit back and just watch them maybe they come back to us and give us the answers whether everything is gonna be alright or not is gonna be not alright so that's why I'm saying the government is failing us

I: Would you say being forced in this way of you know, being forced to speak this Afrikaans language is below what you expect as a level of treatment that people of different racial groups should relate together as? Would you say that, you know, would you say that was below your level of expectation of how blacks and whites should relate for example

P: During that time?

I: No. like now, knowing that you know, your racial group was forced to speak Afrikaans, would you say that in-in terms of what you expect - that - you know, amongst different racial groups, do you feel that that was good to treat others in that manner?

P: mm.mm (saying no) it was not

I: Ok

Encourages unity between
Blacks and Whites

5.93 P: We have to be one thing coz we are all Africans at the end of the day

I: Ok, and ok, would you say that this was fair or unfair treatment as well?

P: It was unfair

I: Ok in what ways would you-

Encourages unity between
Blacks and Whites

6.00 P: It was unfair, tha-that's why I'm saying at the end of the day we are all Africans we-we there was no need to fight against-against saying we need to speak Afrikaans coz those Afrikaans they are all coming- they came- they come from Africa and we black people we also come from Africa at the end of the day, we are in one-we are in one nation

I: Mmm

P: We need to be all Africans and united

I: Mmm so do you feel that, um, people in power have the right to treat others unfairly in a disrespectful way?

P: No

I: In your view, what can help to stop unfair

Whether black or white we
are Africans
We need to be united as
Africans

Perceives Blacks and Whites
all come from Africa and
therefore should be united

Perceives that unity can stop unfair treatment	<p>6.16 P: <u>Unity – black people and white people being united, talking these things, talking together, sharing views together and stop the racist, being racist</u> I: Ok um when you consider your past, in what way has the apartheid experience affected you today in terms of you as an individual, your family, or your racial group? P: Can you please repeat, say again I: Ok, er, when you consider your past in what ways, how has apartheid experience affected you today? I know you mentioned that you were not able to go to school and therefore you don't have a job are there any other ways you can think of that probably affected you? P: Affected me? I: Yes</p>	Unity can stop unfair treatment
Grief over loss of father	<p>6.34 P: <u>Mmm not any other but I would say that the loss of my father is the one that made me - that affected me - needing a father's love that's all-that's all I have ever-ever wished for</u> and except going to school and finding a job - then the love that I needed from a father I: Ok, ok in terms of your family, how do you think apartheid affected your family (interview is paused when baby enters room crying and is consoled by his mother the participant; given toys to play with) I: (resumes after a while) In terms of your-family, how do you think apartheid affected you?</p>	Effects of apartheid - loss of father greatly affected Palesa - experiencing the love of a father
Family members still also grieving the loss of her father	<p>6.46 P: It left my mother- grandmother sick. She is very, very, sick and she still has those unhealed wounds of apartheid I: Ok. Any other family members that probably you can- P: My-my aunt - my aunt - sh-she also still has those un-unhealed wounds from apartheid I: In your view in terms of your racial group, what can you say about apartheid and how it has affected your racial group?</p>	- As a family there are the unhealed wounds of apartheid - grandmother is sick - Aunt still hurting from the loss and her injury during apartheid
Shows empathy and	<p>6.56 P: Man-many black people still suffers from</p>	- Perceives Blacks still

understanding of the plight of her population group that experienced apartheid	those unhealed wounds some of them still suffers from- they lost-they lost their breadwinners in the house so if you can go to many houses where they will say this person died in 1994 and he was the one who was helping us you will see that - that person really left a huge gap in the house I: Mmm	suffering from what she termed ‘unhealed wounds of apartheid’ that saw breadwinners die
Shows empathy and understanding ...	6.64 P: Those people still suffers from 1994 till 2014 and we say we live in a democratic world but you can see in that house very, very, very, very - they are very suffering big time I: Mmm, mmm and how does this make you feel? When you look at all this?	Households are suffering due to this
Shows empathy and understanding ...	6.70 P: It makes me sad I: Mmm	Saddened by plight of her racial group
Shows empathy and understanding ...	6.72 P: Makes me very sad coz you-you come in- you sometimes go into someone’s house and you find that she is a-a-an old woman she’s older than my grandmother she-she doesn’t – her feet are still like wounded neh? I: Mmm	- People are physically crippled because of apartheid
Shows empathy and understanding ...	6.78 P: And she doesn’t even get paid she-she’s earning a pension-a grant that grant money doesn’t help her to go to the doctors the-the government is doing nothing about that I: Mmm	- No income for them in that state
Shows empathy and understanding ...	6.83 P: They get nothing from the government - saying “this is a reparation for you to go to the doctor”, “this is a reparation for your grandchildren to go to schools and you to get healed”. There is nothing like that I: Mmm	- They get nothing from government in the form of a reparation to get medical help, to send grandchildren to school
Shows empathy and understanding ...	6.89 P: <u>That is why I’m saying I’m getting hurt big time</u> I: Ok Now how do you view life now? What is your view of life now?	Still feels hurt by this knowledge
Victim-family identity seen at ground level	6.93 P: (Pause) South Africa has never changed its changed coz they-they are no longer racist, but they are still racist healing racists but saying it didn’t change many youth doesn’t work, our-our government is looking at those high are-those high-those high - those high places people they are looking only to themselves, <u>they are not look to the ground and people from the ground are the</u>	View of life now SA has never changed Contradiction: there is no longer racism but racism still exists - Youth are unemployed - Government only looking at people in high places and neglecting the

	<p><u>ones suffering</u></p> <p>I: What are your dreams or things that you aspire to do or have as an individual?</p>	<p>grassroots</p> <p>- Grassroots are suffering</p>
Taking responsibility for own development	<p>7.05 P: Um I wanted to be a social worker when I grew up I wanted to be a social worker um one time went on seeing that my – my grandmother doesn’t have the – the resources to take me to go to social work then I told her that <u>I’m gonna work hard, find piece jobs and take myself – go to school</u> and I’m going to work as a Paramedic coz it’s the easiest job that you find easier</p> <p>I: Mmm</p>	<p>Aspirations looking into the future: Wanted to be a social worker but lacked the resources Wants to become a paramedic</p>
Taking responsibility for own development	<p>7.10 P: so I’m gonna make ends meet then I want to be a paramedic make a living for you and me</p> <p>I: Mmm ok um what about in terms of your family d-do they have any dreams that they want to do they have any dreams that they wish they could have you know, attain?</p> <p>P: The person I share dreams with is my uncle, my younger uncle, what I know he wanted to work for the government, coz every time we talk he would say “if I worked for the government I would do this and do this and do this” he will-he will talk-like change things</p> <p>I: Mmm</p>	
	<p>7.15 P: in the government so that’s the person I always share my dreams with</p> <p>I: Ok, ok, ok um do you see yourself or your family realising these dreams?</p>	
Hopeful that she will attain her dreams	<p>7.30 P: Yes</p> <p>I: Ok. How does this make you feel, this anticipation of I’m going to make-I- these dreams are going to happen?</p>	<p>Is hopeful – sees herself attaining her dreams</p>
This hope strengthens and encourages her to continue pursuing her dreams	<p>7.34 P: It makes me feel like every time when I wake up I want to go out there fight for myself you see go out and find something that will make me fulfil my dream</p> <p>I: Ok</p>	<p>This knowledge that her dreams are going to happen</p> <p>- Strengthens her to go out and find the solution to fulfil her dreams</p>
Wants to please her grandmother by achieving her dreams	<p>7.38 P: Coz every time we talk, I want to fulfil that dream before-she is getting old</p> <p>I: Mmm</p>	<p>Wants to fulfil her dream before her grandmother dies so that she looks after her – gives back</p>

Empathises with grandmother's health

Desires to reciprocate what grandmother has done for her

Has a plan to go back to school

Needs financial resources to realise her dream of getting back to school

Needs financial assistance for the lesson

7.46 P: And seeing her sick every day it's making me very, very, sad

I: Mmm

7.49 P: Coz I want to work for her

I: Ok, ok, so in terms of, er your education, um, do you have your basic c-certificate you have it?

P: Um, I only attended workshops for trauma counselling

I: Ok

P: I did trauma counselling workshops, that's the only one I attended then I got some-some projects, there is this EPA UP project

I: Ok

P: I'm working with, we were doing e-environments

I: Ok

P: workshops

I: Mmm

P: Er, the cleaning workshops, th-those are the workshops that I attended, also I did hospitality workshops

I: Ok, alright, now you-now you want to look for the college to do Paramedics?

P: I want to do Paramedics big time

I: Ok, um what can be done in order for you to live this life that you feel is a better life?

What do you think can be done?

P: For me?

I: Yes

P: As an individual?

I: As an individual

7.79 P: Going back to school, doing what I want will change everything

I: Ok um but in your view what help do you need to-to do that?

P: You know you can't do anything without money

I: Mmm

7.86 P: Those things need money

I: Mmm

P: That's what I need – going there its

money – coz **P:** I – I made researches out there, learners it needs money

Feels sad over health of her grandmother

Has a plan to go back to school

Needs financial resources to realise her dream of getting back to school

Has researched possible options for returning to school and associated costs

<p>No financial assistance from father's pension/benefits</p>	<p>I: Mmm P: And then those classes – attending those lessons I: Mmm P: Maybe sometimes a 3 weeks course it needs like R8,000.00 I: Mmm P: So we don't have it I: Ok so what you need is money. So do you feel that you have this help to get money? P: No I don't I: Ok, can you explain 8.03 P: I don't have the help coz, the – the my father was a - a military veteran</p>	<p>Has no help despite her father being an army veteran</p>
<p>Has not received father's pension/benefits from his workplace</p>	<p>8.06 I: Mmm P: So I went to those – those people – I – I went to them and asked if they could take me back to school since – since then – told me they are going to get back to me till now – since then it was 2 – 2009 I think the last time I talked to them – its 2014 now they haven't come back to me. I: Mmm P: So my – my mother – my father's brother is not working I: Mmm</p>	<p>Sought benefits from her father's workplace since he was a military veteran. Still awaiting response. Many years have passed</p>
<p>No financial support from extended family to help her to go back to school</p>	<p>8.17 P: and besides the fact that he is not working, he also has his family to support I: Mmm P: My aunt is married [her] husband is supporting the children – his children I: Mmm</p>	<p>There is no one in her extended family who she is able to send her to school</p>
<p>Family support is present for basic needs though its meagre</p>	<p>8.23 P: And my grandmother she is only earning R1,200.00 per month and we have to buy food, buy electricity, she sometimes have to buy me – give money to go buy clothes, you see I: Mmm P: and she also has to buy some for herself so- (voice dies down) I: Ok P: I don't have- (picks up baby begins to rock him on her laps) I: Who is this baby? P: He is mine I: Ok, how old is he? P: One year six months – he is turning 1year</p>	<p>Aunty helps with basic needs</p>

Taking responsibility for own development – saving money to go back to school

8.49

6months on the 27th
I: Ok, so he is also looking to mum now?
P: Mmm
I: Alright, um – so what do you feel should be done for you to live the life that you feel is the better life? Maybe I asked you that before, but what do you feel should be done in light of what you have told me that um-
P: Yah, you know like I just told you, I'm still trying – I'm still trying to find jobs neh?
I: Mmm
P: And I told – I was telling myself every job I find, I'm going to save to become a paramedic, coz its still not too late
I: Mmm
P: I'm going to save to become that
I: Mmm
P: Or I am going to save to become a social worker
I: Mmm
P: Coz what I have heard that – coz I failed my metric,
I: Ok
P: So I want to – if I have to go to – to become a social worker
I: Mmm
P: I still need to – to upgrade my metric results and it needs money to go study again
I: Mmm
P: That year for metric and the following year – maybe three years – I am going to study to become a social worker, you see
I: Mmm
P: That money for four years, where am I going to take it? So I told myself, I will waitress [but] being a waitress you don't earn much
I: Mmm
P: Sometimes you get tips some you don't
I: You don't
P: Sometimes you don't get tips for the whole week, sometimes you – so how will I save?
I: Ok
P: And if I have saved, sometimes she needs to go to the doctor because she- (inaudible because of child crying - interview suspended to allow Palesa to attend to the child – she then motions to continue after a

Plans to save money to return to school

Has a plan to get a job waitressing

8.71

Has a plan

Peers whose parents are still alive has a better life

Considers family structure is important: having parents

Non-victim families are admired as they have reached their goals

while)
I: Do you feel there are c-certain people who are – who are living a better life than the one you are living?
P: Yoh! A lot of people!
I: Who are they?
8.96 P: You know there was a time when I went to the shops, I met up with my friends
I: Mmm
So we went to school together. So she bought a car now – when she saw me, she was like – she was like ah this girl – she came closer to me and she was like “eh it’s you Palesa?” I told her “yes it’s me” – “where have you been?”- “uh I have been around doing 1-2-3 making ends meet” then she said to me “what happened?””
I: Mmm
9.08 P: And I told her that “you know what girl? During the time – the time we were at school, you had everything, you had your mother, you had your father, you had your sisters who were working for you so mina I had no one” There came a time when I wanted to go to – I think Matric and then to go to college, none of my family had the money to take me to college. At least if I had gone to college, then upgraded my matric, or didn’t upgrade then do the M-courses, maybe I would have been somewhere at least
I: Mmm... ok – so what is it about em your friend’s life that you admire?
9.22 P: That they have reached their goals

I: Ok, that she – she has reached her goals
P: Mmm, She wanted to be a [voice not clear] and she went for it, coz she knew my dream of being a social worker – I – I always liked helping people very much
I: Mmm
P: So we were talking about “when I grow up I want to be like that” you know, so she went for it
I: Ok, how do you feel about this? Knowing that she reached her goals?
P: I am happy for her – even though at one time I was jealous – at the time I separated from her after school and I came home – she

Perceptions of a better life Friends – those whose parents did not die during apartheid

Making comparisons between her victim-family and non-victim family:
- They have complete families
- They were financially supported to advance their education

They have reached their career goals

Feels the need to go back to school	<p>gave me her number but when time went on I was like ah, shame, at least she did what I didn't have the chance – the chance to do it – I am happy for her, coz sometimes I call her we talk, we talk, coz she even asked me to go out with her for dinner some time.</p> <p>I: Mmm ok, any other things you feel you want to share with me as we come to the end?</p> <p>9.46 P: Nothing much, we – we almost talked about everything, coz what I wanted to share is I need to – I need to go back to school</p> <p>I: Mmm ok, ok. Thank you for sharing your experiences with me</p> <p>P: Thanks for coming</p> <p>I: Ok</p> <p>--- interview ends ---</p>	Feels the need to go back to school
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SUMMARY NOTES:

It was a partly cloudy afternoon

I was met by Palesa and her grandmother. They are very warm, pleasant, and open people

I felt welcome

I was ushered into a very comfortable, guest bedroom/office. Palesa told me this is where her grandmother counsels those from her community.

Bed had a lovely pink and black bedspread set. A toy box was at the foot of the bed. There was a double seater sofa and chair on the other end. Very neat and clean environment.

Reflection: Despite Palesa's pain about the past – she seemed determined to share her story.

Appendix I

Example of table of themes for TR13

Date: 05 February, 2014

Location: Sharpeville

Duration: 39min 29sec

Sub-theme	Provisional theme	P#	Extract from transcript
Police Actions	Conducted humiliating night raids	1.47+	What I know is what my grandparent always tell me, she said during those times, <u>the police would always come here and knock, kick the doors</u> , and they would just victimi- <u>they would just abuse everyone in the house</u> , kick them and-d <u>throw everything outside</u> the house <u>they would be coming here wanting-want my father and they would turn the tables upside down the bed upside down looking for my father, if they couldn't find him, then they would take all of us in the house take us to the-to the police station keep us there until they are found.</u>
	Detained whole family at the police station	1.52	
	Response to humiliation: remained adamant	1.62	So my grandmother she was like, she won't tell the- <u>she said she didn't want-she didn't tell the police where he was</u>
	Grandmother tortured in detention; Harassed in detention to divulge information	1.74+	They would keep them there until <u>they torture them and torture them</u> until they tell h-tell-tell them about
		1.79+	where my father is and she said she would never talk + <u>They would do as much as they want</u> she w-d-didn't say anything
	Dehumanise victim by starvation	1.98	<u>They would just force her to do it and force her and force her and starve her for maybe like days</u>
	Response to humiliation:	1.66+	... <u>she would fight until the-the police take us out the children</u> +
	Grandmother fought to have children released	2.08+	She said they didn't harm us- the children+
		1.69	Their lawyer would come-go-go to the police station and ask the police to-to at least take the children home and leave the other peo-other people there at the station
	Police actions: Destroyed house by arson	4.49+	<u>Our house was burnt + our everything was burnt</u>
Loss experience for victim	4.51	<u>my-my grandmother had to start over again</u> start buying everything, start renovating – see <u>everything is not as it-the way it was before - coz she had to make ends meet</u> to-to-to-to at least <u>give us a roof</u>	
Tapped phone line; perceives this invaded family's privacy	5.05	... <u>they ... tapped her phone</u> . We had a Telkom phone in the house. I don't know from which pole did they put a bug, <u>every time she talks to other comrades or every time she talked to my father wherever he was hiding, the police were hearing</u>	

Sub-theme	Provisional theme	P#	Extract from transcript
			<u>that -where he is they would trace him with-with our phone to this phone – it was unfair – unfair coz they didn't have privacy anytime</u>
Police actions (continued)	Monitored movements of the family	5.17+ 5.20	Every time- <u>everything they did, the police were watching them everything they ever did the police were here, watching everything they are doing it was not fair at all</u>
	Response to police actions: angry youths fight back the apartheid police	5.57	Angered – it's like the youth also were-were fighting back to the police whenever the police were talking to them, they were being angered then they fought back
Police Attitudes	Taunted and provoked grandmother to commit suicide	1.87+ 1.93	<u>she said they would tell her to climb on those rocks and look (out) the window, it was like on the fifth floor ... + th-they w-wanted her to jump out that window in order to tell the people that she committed suicide. So she wouldn't-she didn't do it, she didn't do anything</u>
	Vexed reaction to police attitude	5.00	<u>if they [policemen] came in and talk-she-she would like "Don't touch me! don't touch me! Don't give me that attitude!" you see, it was like that</u>
Intergroup conflict: Actions	black-on-black violence disrupted children's schooling in the community	2.28	the comrades, <u>black people were sometimes fighting against black people</u> so she [grandmother] took me to that [multiracial] school [instead] ... because there at-at- <u>there at Sharpeville, th-the people they were coming fighting at schools-comrades fighting</u>
Death of breadwinner	Father who was breadwinner died	4.19	my father was the breadwinner at that time
Unemployment and dependence on alternative income	Struggling-living on grandmother's pension	3.75	coz now we are- <u>we struggling big time we have to live with m-my grandmother's pension fund</u>
Grief and bereavement	Traumatic incident: Father died and disappearance of mother	1.27+	My parents - <u>my father died and my mother she disappeared</u> during those apartheid times + I still want to know where she-where she went coz I don't know her I – what I know is what they are telling me that she was here during the 10 days of my-of my birth + After that she disappeared to where, I have no knowledge, but I still need to know where she went, why did she go? Is she-is she still alive or what
		2.95+	
		3.00	

Sub-theme	Provisional theme	P#	Extract from transcript
	Harboured unforgiveness over death of father at the hands of the apartheid police	2.34	<u>I had to adjust, pretend whether everything is ok knowing that deep down I will never accept the fact that those people are the ones that made my –my father die</u>
	Still grieving over the loss of both father and mother	3.65+	<u>I would say, if apartheid was never here, my father would still be alive he would still be here and my mother also would still be here coz I never had the [chance] to get to know them. I never knew my father and [crying] + if he was here I know maybe my life would have changed, would have been better +</u>
	Also attributes his death to the poverty situation family is experiencing	3.70+	
	Perceives that if her father was alive her life would have been better	3.73	<u>coz I know if my father was alive he would have done everything in his powers to give us a better life [crying]</u>
	Grieves over loss of love she would have experienced from the father	6.34	<u>I would say that, the loss of my father is the one that made me - that affected me - needing a father's love that's all-that's all I have ever-ever wished for ... the love that I needed from a father</u>
Other negative emotions	Transference: Hated White peers – school experience	2.15+	Um when I was like fifteen, sixteen I h– I had that hatred for-for-for white people neh? + ... so during those times I was at that school, I would feel like I don't want these people near me ... I felt like they were like stinking + <u>I wanted to kill those people with my bare hands coz I didn't even want to sit next to them. I didn't even want [them] to touch me or eat anything that comes from them +</u>
		2.18+	
		2.66+	
		2.69+	
		2.72+	
		2.85	
	Experiences unresolved feelings of hurt and anger	3.86	I am both hurt and angry

Sub-theme	Provisional theme	P#	Extract from transcript
Traumatic Memories	Hates apartheid as it disrupted her life and that of others	3.65+ 4.06+ 4.11+ 4.16+	Yoh! <u>I hate apartheid big time</u> I wish it was never there coz <u>it destroyed many lives</u> + I never had the opportunity to finish school + <u>I'm not working; I'm hustling big time</u> + my father's younger brother ... he's not working it [apartheid] humiliated him
	Feels humiliated by apartheid – feels stripped of her dignity as a result	4.26+ 4.33	that's why I'm say it [apartheid] humiliated us at home like that coz neith-neither of us didn't finish school, neither of us is working + <u>apartheid humiliated us</u>
	Loved one's death remains in memory	2.54	But although-although there is a saying that you can forgive but <u>you will never forget</u> at the end of the day.
	Victim-family vs. non-victim family	Considers family structure: having parents that provide for child's needs	8.96
9.22+ 9.24+ 9.34			P: ... <u>they have reached their goals</u> + mmm, she wanted to be a [voice not clear] and she went for it, coz she knew my dream of being a social worker – I – I always liked helping people very much. + I am happy for her – even though at one time I was jealous – at the time, I separated from her after school ... when time went on I was like ah, shame, <u>at least she did what I didn't have the chance – the chance to do</u>
Non-victim families are admired as they have reached their goals			
Continuing injustices	Empathy and understanding of victims of apartheid	6.56+	Man-many black people still suffers from those unhealed wounds some of them still suffers from- they lost-they lost their breadwinners in the house so if you can go to many houses where they will say this person died in 1994 and he was the one who was helping us you will see that-that person really left a huge gap in the house +

Sub-theme	Provisional theme	P#	Extract from transcript
		6.64+	Those people still suffers, from 1994 till 2014 and we say we live in a democratic world, but you can see in that house ... they are very suffering big time
	Victim-family identity seen at ground level	6.93	(Pause) South Africa has never changed its changed coz they-they are no longer racist, but they are still racist healing racists but saying it didn't change many youth doesn't work, our-our government is looking at those high ... places people they are looking only to themselves, <u>they are not look to the ground and people from the ground are the ones suffering</u>
Continuing injustices (continued)	Empathy and understanding of victims of apartheid	5.38+	<u>Some of them are still hurting</u> , they didn't-they don't know how to talk where do I go and where do I express their feelings about what happened during that time + ... <u>makes me very sad</u> coz you-you come in-you sometimes go into someone's house and you find that she is a-a-an old woman she's older than my grandmother she-she doesn't -her feet are still like wounded neh? +
		6.72+	
		6.78+	
		6.83+	
		6.89	
	Sense of abandonment: Feels helpless and let down by government	5.65	We know that our democracy is failing us, <u>our government is failing us big time</u> + So sometimes we have to sit back and just watch them; <u>maybe they (will) come back to us and give us the answers whether everything is gonna be alright or not is gonna be not alright so that's why I'm saying the government is failing us</u>
Coping with grief	Familial support: -Presently in the process of healing -Grandmother is her role model of forgiveness -Grandmother teaching her to accept the death of her father	2.42+	P: (pause) well, I will say, I'm healing +
		2.44+	P: Slow by slow, coz every time when my grandmother talks to me, I see through her that she's been healed +
		2.48	P: <u>If she wasn't healed- if she didn't -if she wasn't healed, I would say, I would never be healed</u> coz she came around the fact that he's dead, and he's not gonna come back and at the end of the day, we need to

Sub-theme	Provisional theme	P#	Extract from transcript
			accept that he is never coming back and we need to forgive.
Coping with humiliating experiences	Grandmother expressive about past	3.10	I: Ok, ok um so from the story that you have just shared with me can we-can we say then that your er, your grandparent ... talks to you a lot about what happened during apartheid? P: Yes she does I: Do they [extended family] also talk about these issues?
	Aunt silent about past	3.18	Not much coz my-my aunt, she doesn't talk much coz she-she was very close to my-to my father; Every time, talking about that brings back hard feelings to her
Coping with poverty	Wants to please her grandmother by achieving her dreams	7.43+ 7.46+ 7.49	P: Coz every time we talk, <u>I want to fulfil that dream before-she is getting old</u> + and seeing her sick every day <u>it's making me very, very, sad</u> + coz I want to <u>work for her</u>
	Taking responsibility for own development	7.05+ 7.15+ 7.79+ 8.49	Um I wanted to be a social worker when I grew up I wanted to be a social worker um one time went on seeing that my – my grandmother doesn't have the – the resources to take me to go to social work then I told her that <u>I'm gonna work hard, find piece jobs and take myself – go to school</u> and I'm going to work as a Paramedic coz it's the easiest job that you find easier + so I'm gonna make ends meet then I want to be a paramedic make a living for you and me + Going back to school, doing what I want will change everything + and I told – I was telling <u>myself every job I find, I'm going to save to become a paramedic, coz it's still not too late</u>
	Family support is present for basic needs though it is meagre	8.23	P: And my grandmother she is only earning R1,200.00 per month and we have to buy food, buy electricity, she sometimes have to buy me – give money to go buy clothes, you see
	Needs financial resources to realise her dream of getting back to school	7.84+ 7.86+ 8.03	You know you can't do anything without money Those things need money, That's what I need – going there its money – coz I – I made researches out there, learners it needs money and then those classes – attending those lessons, maybe sometimes a 3 weeks course it needs like R8,000.00 so we

Sub-theme	Provisional theme	P#	Extract from transcript
	No financial assistance from fathers pension/benefits		<p>don't have it + I don't have the help coz, the – the my father was a - a military veteran so I went to those – those people – I – I went to them and asked if they could take me back to school since – since then – told me they are going to get back to me till now – since then it was 2 – 2009 I think, the last time I talked to them – its 2014 now they haven't come back to me</p>

Appendix J

Clustering of themes for TR13

SUPER-ORDINATE THEME 1: ‘POLICE REPRESSION’

<i>Police actions</i>	<i>Police attitudes</i>
Conducted humiliating night raids	Taunted and provoked grandmother to commit suicide
Tapped phone line	Vexed reaction to police attitude
Monitored movements of the family	
Destroyed house by arson	
Loss experience for victim	
Detained whole family at the police station	
Grandmother tortured in detention	
Harassed in detention to divulge information	
Dehumanise victim by starvation	
Reaction to police actions: angry youths fight back the apartheid police	

SUPER-ORDINATE THEME 2: ‘INTERGROUP CONFLICT’

<i>Actions</i>	<i>Attitudes</i>
black-on-black violence disrupted children’s schooling in the community	(no contributions)

SUPER-ORDINATE THEME 3: ‘SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEPRIVATION’

<i>Death of breadwinner</i>	<i>Unemployment and dependence on alternative income</i>
Father who was breadwinner died	Struggling-living on grandmother’s pension

SUPER-ORDINATE THEME 4: ‘SECONDARY TRAUMATISATION’

<i>Grief and bereavement</i>	<i>Other negative emotions</i>
Experienced death of father and disappearance of mother	Transference: Hated White peers – school experience
Harboured unforgiveness over death of father at the hands of the apartheid police	Experiences unresolved feelings of hurt and anger
Still grieving over the loss of both father-mother	Hates apartheid as it disrupted her life and that of others - in the area of education and employment
Also attributes his death to the poverty situation family is experiencing	Feels humiliated by apartheid – feels stripped of her dignity as a result
Perceives that if her father was alive her life would have been better	
Grieves over loss of love she would have experienced from the father	

Traumatic Memories
Experience of her father’s death will remain in her memory

Appendix J (continued)

SUPER-ORDINATE THEME 5: ‘EMBRACING A VICTIM IDENTITY’

Victim family versus non-victim family

Considers family structure: having parents that provide for child’s needs

Non-victim families are admired as they have reached their goals

Continuing injustices

Shows empathy and understanding of the plight of her population group that experienced apartheid

Sense of abandonment

SUPER-ORDINATE THEME 6: ‘COPING WITH GRIEF’

Familial support

Presently in the process of healing

Grandmother is her role model of forgiveness

Grandmother teaching her to accept the death of her father

SUPER-ORDINATE THEME 7: ‘COPING WITH HUMILIATING CIRCUMSTANCES’

Silence vs. Expressiveness

Aunt silent about past

Grandmother expressive about past

SUPER-ORDINATE THEME 8: ‘COPING WITH POVERTY’

Take responsibility for own development

Plans to get a job and save for educational programme

Adapted from “Chapter 18: Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis: Stages of Analysis – Box 18.4: Clustering of themes” by J. A. Smith, and V. Eatough, 2012. In, J. A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative Psychology: A Practical Guide to Research Methods* (pp. 51-80). London: Sage Publications.

Appendix K

Themes 1 – 3: Participant’s contributions to the causes of IGH

Pseudonyms	Transcript #	Themes 1		Theme 2		Theme 3		
		Police repression		Intergroup conflict		Socio-economic deprivation		
		1.1	1.2	2.1	2.2	3.1	3.2	3.3
Bheki	TR01	■				■		
Blessing	TR02	■	■	■	■			■
Dorcas	TR03	■	■	■	■			■
Engameli	TR04	■						
Fikile	TR05			■				
Hope	TR06	■						
Kgosi	TR07			■	■	■		■
Kwanele	TR08			■	■		■	■
Lesedi	TR09	■				■		
Michael	TR10	■		■	■			■
Neo	TR11			■				
Nhlanhla	TR12	■			■	■		
Palesa	TR13	■	■	■	■	■		■
Rapula	TR14	■	■				■	■
Shepherd	TR15	■						■
Susan	TR16	■						
Thandi	TR17			■				
Themba	TR18	■	■				■	
Tumelo	TR19	■					■	■
Zandi	TR20	■					■	■

Note: Subthemes: 1.1=Police actions; 1.2=Police attitudes; 2.1=Intergroup actions; 2.2=Intergroup attitudes; 3.1= Death/disappearance of family member; 3.2= Inferior job opportunities; 3.3=Unemployment and dependence on an alternative income;

*Please see below how cases were appended and the associated quotes that fall under these themes.

Appending other cases – Themes 1 – 3

Steps taken: Sub-themes from TR13 were used to obtain like themes from other transcripts and new insights were also taken into account (Smith & Osborn, 2003)

SUPER-ORDINATE THEME 1: 'POLICE REPRESSION'

Sub-themes:

1.1 Police actions

Conducted humiliating night raids (TR13, TR02, TR03, TR04, TR06, TR14, TR18)
Destroyed house by arson (TR13, TR03, TR02, TR19)
Police harassment, detention and torture (TR13, TR03)
Dehumanise victim by starvation (TR13)
Tapped phone line (TR13)
Monitored movements of the family (TR13, TR03)
Abduct and kill (TR01, TR18)
Disrupt classroom learning and beat students (TR09, TR17)
Restrict freedoms of association, movement and political expression (TR01, TR09, TR12, TR16, TR17)
Political activism (TR10, TR14, TR15, TR19)

1.2 Police attitudes

Taunted and provoked grandmother to commit suicide (TR13)
Perceived superiority over Blacks (TR14, TR18)
Perceived low regard for Blacks
Vexed/fearful reaction to police attitude (TR13, TR02, TR18)

Provisional themes that changed

- 'Detained whole family at the police station' + 'Grandmother tortured in detention' + 'Harassed in detention to divulge information' was changed to '**Police harassment, detention and torture**'
- 'Reaction to police actions: angry youths fight back the apartheid police' was changed to '**Political activism**'
- 'Police attitude perceived as having a low regard for Blacks' (TR03) + 'Mocking' from TR14 & TR18 were put together to form '**Perceived low regard for Blacks**'
- Vexed reaction to police attitude (TR13) and fearful reaction to police attitude (TR02, TR18) was changed to '**vexed/fearful reaction to police attitude**'

Note: Please find below the associated quotes that fall under this theme. Kindly note that quotes that are found in the main dissertation have not been restated unless more information has been added on to the quote. This was done in the interest of space. Where applicable, an appropriate reference was supplied.

1.1 POLICE ACTIONS

{Conducted humiliating night raids}

“What I know is what my grandparent always tell me, she said during those times, the police would always come here and knock, kick the doors, and they would just victimi-they would just abuse everyone in the house, kick them and-d throw everything outside the house they would be coming here wanting-want my father and they would turn the tables upside down the bed upside down looking for my father” (TR13);

TR02, TR03, TR04, TR06 (see chapter 5 – section 5.2.1 for quotes)

“I was raided with my younger brother, we were raided by police each and every now and then ... you see, our house, it was just like I don’t know what ... our parents were being kicked every now and again when they come ... the policeman ‘where is this one?’, ... ‘he is not here’ ... sometimes when I come they [parents] will say ‘it’s better for them to hit me than for you to die’ ... when I came my mother told me that ‘these people were here, they were ransacking each and everywhere, they make me to drink thinners, they wanted me to tell the truth about you and your brother” (TR14)

“They will come twice a week or thrice it depends how, it depends how they, er, they wanted to get hold of you. Here they were using this word um... ‘siyanyova’ ... ‘are you siyanyova?’ ... mmm ‘are you siyanyova are you politically involved?’” (TR18).

{Destroyed house by arson}

TR03, TR13, TR02 (see chapter 5 – section 5.2.1 for quotes)

“They burned ... the house and the tyre they burned it there on top of the house, it was hectic ... we had to come out of the house fast so they [apartheid police] shot other brothers who were in there” (TR19)

{Police harassment, detention and torture}

“If they couldn’t find him [father] then they would take all of us in the house take us to the-to the police station keep us there until they are found ... they would keep them there until they torture them and torture them until they tell tell-tell them about where my father is and she said she would never talk ... she said they would tell her to climb on those rocks and look [out] the window, it was like on the fifth floor ... th-they w-wanted her to jump out that window in order to tell the people that she committed suicide they would just force her to do it, and force her and force her.” (TR13)

“I and my mother were taken to Police Station. I was taken to Meyerton and my mother was taken to Alberton – er – Vanderbijlpark even when they were buried, the children, my mother and I did not attend the funeral because we were still in prison” (TR03)

{Dehumanise victim by starvation}

“... and starve her [grandmother] for maybe like days” (TR13)

1.1 POLICE ACTIONS (continued)

{Tapped phone line; perceives this invaded family's privacy}

“... they ... tapped her phone. We had a Telkom phone in the house. I don't know from which pole did they put a bug, every time she talks to other comrades or every time she talked to my father wherever he was hiding, the police were hearing that -where he is they would trace him with-with our phone to his phone – it was unfair - unfair coz they didn't have privacy anytime” (TR13)

{Monitored movements of the family}

“Every time-everything they did, the police were watching them everything they ever did the police were here, watching everything they are doing it was not fair at all” (TR13)

“That is where my granny stayed. Well like, if we moved from one place to the other [place], when we arrive there the police are there without knowing who informed the police that we are going [there]” (TR03)

{Abduct and kill}

“Uh, from my understanding he was abducted, then taken to a certain remote – remote farm, and then he was tortured where – where he was killed and his remains were blown into pieces and buried somewhere” (TR01)

“I was not around when he left but um I had this information from my mother that he [brother] left here, it was 1986 I think, yah, and with some friends going to meet [name withheld]. He is the guy who was pretending to be the ANC, you know ... he was a spy ... yah, and then promising that [they will] leave for Zambia or etcetera ... yah, so he was recruiting them and then delivering them to [the apartheid police] – he was the man behind it all, you know, kidnapping kind of [voice dies down] ... he left with them until the place somewhere this side it's between Mafikeng and Rustenburg I think that's where now they were ... injected yah, I think maybe that injection drugged them into – and they were – they put in the petrol there and then they burned the combi” (TR18)

{Disrupt classroom learning and beat students}

TR17 (see chapter 5 – section 5.2.1 for quote)

“That was not right coz at times maybe like this time we are at school, they will just tell you to go home, neh? And when you - you coming from - just ‘Go, go! Out of the class and run home!’ you just carry your handbag, you know, your schoolbag, neh and then you'll find the police with the - the vans neh, er – er pointing guns at you – you'll have to run to any house and they will pour teargas at you while you are busy running being so young, like maybe at the age of eight” (TR09)

1.1 POLICE ACTIONS (continued)

{Restrict freedoms of association, movement and political expression}

TR01 + TR09 (see chapter 5 – section 5.2.1 for quotes)

“They said they were struggling about those times because the police used to chase them or they – they don’t go out to the streets without ID’s” (TR12)

“Um, it was during the riots, um they were busy singing – there is a post office next to – in Sebokeng Zone 12 ... they were busy singing there. So by the time they were busy – um shooting at people – he [brother] wasn’t aware that they [apartheid police] were shooting at people, and he was shot with 10 rubber bullets. They did spray him with the spray gun, so he did inhale that – that gas, and again, on his way home they did shoot him with another rubber bullets and they took him to the hospital and the doctor did remove some um, bullets and some he could not remove ... The riots started in 1994, but the time he was shot was around 1996 and he passed on in 1998. So he didn’t pass away immediately after the shooting” (TR16)

“My mother was doing standard 6 it was during – around 1963 – it was um, the Sharpeville Massacre was happening at that time. So my mother – police hit my mother with um shambocks, here at the back and she still h - has that wound. So the wound it is healed from the outside but not from the inside. So sometimes she can feel that pain. So whenever she feels that pain, it hurts me because if it wasn’t um due to apartheid, my mother would be ok (TR17).

{Political activism}

“I was fifteen. After my father died, after my father died, er, they killed Seabelo Pama, after – it was Chris Hani. So it was enough pain – so because my father was – was an activist, so I was an activist too” (TR10)

“Some of the brothers they resisted the apartheid regime ... we were being targeted because of our colour, because of our parents and we must do what they want us to do ... yes we were activists, apartheid activists” (TR14)

“I joined [Pan Africanist Congress party] because of my uncle who passed on – I wanted to revenge the death of my late uncle” (TR15)

“There by Sharpeville, there are too many grandmothers and daughters who live there who were affected by that time [apartheid] ... them they were fetching their sons now at their homes, being shot by the streets coming home. Some of them were burned coming from other locations ... they were shot in the middle because they there doing the strike, fighting like, back ... the apartheid police just wanted them to live under their laws, so they didn’t understand, so they went to fight back” (TR19)

1.2 POLICE ATTITUDES

{Perceived superiority over Blacks}

TR14 (see chapter 5 – section 5.2.2 for quote)

“Yah to me they had this superior kind of feeling – or telling [themselves] they are too superior but with a barbaric mind you know? yah, because what they were thinking if they see you as a black man, you are part and parcel of their daily value bread and they could kill you at any time. It was not safe” (TR18)

{Perceived low regard for Blacks}

“I was isolated... they never wanted to put me with others because they were saying ‘yeah, this is the dog – these are the dogs that wants to um kill the police’ er ‘we are here busy with you and we want to go home, [sound of bus in the background] we left our families, our wives there ... ‘we will take you to the mortuary so that you can see what happened to the others ... we will kill you just like them!’” (TR03)

“I was working somewhere – when sometimes I would hear them talk about it with my bosses ... they would say [about] Mandela because he was being released. So those were the things that I didn’t like, yah, they made fun of us to say ‘do you really think that a Black man would one day govern – take this country?’ It’s one of those things the White man would talk” (TR14)

TR18 (see chapter 5 – section 5.2.2 for quote)

{Vexed/fearful reaction to police attitude}

- {Vexed reaction}

TR13 (see chapter 5 – section 5.2.2 for quote)

- {Fearful reaction}

“I was – I was – I was scared. We were afraid most of the time. Um, even if I hear a sound I would just, how can I put it, become scared” (TR02)

TR18 (see chapter 5 – section 5.2.2 for quote)

SUPER-ORDINATE THEME 2: 'INTERGROUP CONFLICT'

Sub-themes:

2.1 Actions

Disrupt classroom learning (TR13)

Harassment and robbery (TR08)

Murder (TR05, TR07, TR08)

Rape (TR17)

Violent beatings and attacks (TR02, TR05, TR08, TR011, TR017)

Operations of the Third Force (TR02, TR03, TR10)

Reaction to intergroup conflict (TR10)

2.2 Attitudes

Perceived as rulers (TR08, TR10)

Perceived low regard and mocking attitude (TR02, TR03)

Reaction to attitudes of warring political parties (TR12)

Provisional themes that changed

- 'Fighting disrupted children's schooling in the community' was changed to 'Disrupt classroom learning'
- 'Perceived as having a low regard for members of the out-group' from TR02 and 'Perceived mocking attitude' from TR03 was put together to form "Perceived low regard and mocking attitude"
- "Violent attacks" from TR05, TR08, TR11 and 'Violent beatings' from TR17 were put together to form "Violent beatings and attacks"

Note: Please find below the associated quotes that fall under this theme. Kindly note that quotes that are found in the main dissertation have not been restated unless more information has been added on to the quote. This was done in the interest of space. Where applicable, an appropriate reference was supplied.

2.1 ACTIONS

{Disrupt classroom learning}

“The comrades - Black people were sometimes fighting against Black people so she [grandmother] took me to that [multiracial] school [instead] ... because there at Sharpeville, the people they were coming fighting at schools-comrades fighting” (TR13)

{Harassment and robbery}

“... the – the hostel dwellers [were] fighting in the community, yes, so they were going around asking people which party do you belong to? Are you an ANC member or an IFP member? and then if you say no, they are going to kill you because you don’t know where – where you belong – it’s more like you are lying, like you are hiding your identity maybe you belong to the ANC” (TR08)

{Murder}

“... my cousin was there, but he died after that. He was there, he grabbed me and put me under the bed. ... they [Inkatha youths] started in my mother’s bedroom – my other brother went to help my mother because he – he heard my mother screaming. He went there, I don’t know [whether] they shot him or they stabbed him I don’t know, coz he died on my mother’s bed ... Yah four people died at my house – my mother, my brother and also my cousin sister ...” (TR05)

“There was too much killing – killing each other ... 1992, 17 June, they [grandparent and parent] got killed by the people they call themselves maInkatha. Those people, when – my grandmother and my father were staying there, when those people came there with the sharp knife and everything and kill others – it was not only them, and other neighbours, they were also dead. By that time, I was lucky because I was in Boipelong to my principal (TR07)

“...er my brother was attacked – my brother was stabbed and was killed – he was stabbed and killed to death and we found [his body] on the street and my mother was hurt and then crying ‘what have I done? why do I deserve er, er, things like this? er, ‘why my children are – are being killed?’ and then since from that [time], my mother was ill until she passed on” (TR08)

{Rape}

“So on the day of the night vigil ... my sister was – she was pregnant and she was raped on the very same day and she was killed. So most women who were attending that night vigil were raped and they [Inkatha youths] killed the people” (TR17)

2.1 ACTIONS (continued)

{Violent beatings and attacks}

“So they did put a tyre around the neck, they beat him, beat him and then put the tyre around the neck and then burn him” (TR02)

“I only know that it was close to 10:00hrs at night. They (Inkatha youths) broke the windows, then they came inside. My dad opened the door – thought it was comrades coming to fetch my brother to – like patrol ... then, when the windows break I ran straight to my mother” s bedroom, then I saw my father at the door. When he – he opened he saw that these are not the comrades, and the other ones were coming in from the windows. That’s when it all started ...” (TR05)

TR08 (see chapter 5 – section 5.3.1 for quote)

“She [mother] told me was that on 19 on 1992 - the 17th of June [Boipatong Massacre incident] um, the riots came at about um 10:00hrs. They started shooting and then ... she was trying to protect me because I was three years old, I was facing um, the wardrobe so they hacked my head and that’s when I-I became disabled ... well she [mother] told me that er one of those rioters took a sharp instrument and then er broke her finger, but she is operated now (TR11)

“So the group came, the Inkatha Freedom Party, we were still staying at Sharpeville, not here and at that time my mother was helping our aunt to give birth to her child in the bedroom. So the group came and they took me outside and then they beat me and beat me and um they pointed me with the AK 47 – I did have a back [injury] where I was beaten so I stayed in the hospital for six months ...” (TR17)

{Operations of the Third Force}

“Like the white policeman and the Inkatha became one thing, so they were fighting the people from this side. So the police will supply the Inkatha with the weapons the – the guns everything, the teargas, everything that is needed so that they can be able to fight the group this side” (TR02)

TR03 (see chapter 5 – section 5.3.1 for quotes)

“The apartheid government was supporting people who were against the ANC ... which was the IFP at that time you see” (TR10)

{Reaction to intergroup actions}

“... the IFP was given guns to go and kill at locations so where I – where I come from, we had to become self-defence unit – worse to participate in SDU, we had to go and defend people at our locations because we were tired, people were killed in the trains, taxis, in the buses, people were killed, killed like – killing someone it was – a funeral it wasn’t something that is – something that amazed us, it was something – it was normal, a funeral was normal at that time” (TR10)

2.2 ATTITUDES

{Perceived as rulers}

“This place was ruled by the hostel dwellers ... yah, we live – for – for peace sake we try to – to remain calm, even if – no matter how a person can disrespect you but you need to – to be calm because you don’t have the powers that they have” (TR8).

“People were killing each other. In the trains people were killing each other, the IFP used to rule trains” (TR10).

{Perceived low regard and mocking attitude}

“Um If you are staying at the hostel you are not supposed to come this side and then if you are staying this side you are not supposed to go to the hostel side. So there was this other guy he came from – from the hostel dwellers and then he came – he came – he came this side and then when they see you they will call you “Umdlwembi, umdlwembi” it’s an animal. They will call and scream and say “Umdlwembi, umdlwembi!” meaning “the animal, the animal!” and then people will come out, so they know that when they say “Umdlwembi” you don’t belong to – to this part, you are from the other – you are a – you are an enemy. So they did put a tyre around the neck, they beat him, beat him and then put the tyre around the neck and then burn him” (TR02)

TR03 (see chapter 5 – section 5.3.2 for quote)

{Reaction to attitudes of warring political parties}

“When, er, comrades go to the streets ... parents will take you away from the street to come to the house. Ehe, I was feeling afraid. I used to hide [laughs gently] at the back of that stove, you see that coal stove there? [Points to a stove in the kitchen]. My mother would cry ‘Where is your brother?’, ‘Where is your brother?’ My brother was a comrade by that time” (TR12)

SUPER-ORDINATE THEME 3: ‘SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEPRIVATION’

Subthemes:

3.1 Death/disappearance of family member

Experience after death of a breadwinner (TR13, TR01, TR07, TR09, TR12)

3.2 Inferior job opportunities

Inferior job opportunities (TR08, TR14, TR18, TR19)

3.3 Unemployment and dependence on alternative income

Living on pension/disability grant/child support grant (TR13, TR08, TR10, TR14, TR15, TR20)

Dependent on working child (TR02)

Unemployment experience (TR03)

Note: Please find below the associated quotes that fall under this theme. Kindly note that quotes that are found in the main dissertation have not been restated unless more information has been added on to the quote. This was done in the interest of space. Where applicable, an appropriate reference was supplied.

3.1 DEATH/DISAPPEARANCE OF FAMILY MEMBER

{Experience after death of a breadwinner}

I would like say...it [apartheid] humiliated us, mmm, I never had the co-the opportunity to finish school, and now I'm not working ... my father was the breadwinner at that time so he was the one going to take him [uncle] to school ... that's why I'm say it humiliated us at home like that coz neither of us did finish school neither of us is working (TR13)

“my mom didn't work and my granny had a huge family to support on her own” (TR01)

TR07, TR09, TR12 (see chapter 5 – section 5.4.1 for quotes)

3.2 INFERIOR JOB OPPORTUNITIES

{Inferior job opportunities}

TR08, TR18, TR19 (see chapter 5 – section 5.4.2 for quotes)

“I understand about the humiliation. The humiliation even when we were still young, the humiliation our fathers and mothers were working [under] but we rose to say we want some – some little money, we rose to go and – and look for the jobs at the white man's houses, looking for jobs. Sometimes no work, sometimes 8 – 8hours – 8:00 to 4:00 o'clock from 8:00am to 4:00 o'clock they only give you one rand. On those days it was a humiliation that I did attend to these people - why are they doing these things to me? (TR14)

3.3 UNEMPLOYMENT AND DEPENDENCE ON ALTERNATIVE INCOME

{Living on pension/disability grant/child support grant}

“Now we are-we struggling big time we have to live with m-my grandmother’s pension fund ... I’m not working, I’m hustling big time” (TR13).

TR08 (see chapter 5 – section 5.4.3 for quote)

“My father died ... me I grew up very tough, I used to sell at school, at lunch time, me I did go out - I did go out and open up my table and sell – I did sell and people, even I was learning people would say ‘Hey, Michael sell us some of your maize corn’. I did have my stock here because my principal did understand that this child is suffering and to acquire – for him to come to school, he should sell this ... because now, I’m not working, my mother’s not working, I live with my grandfather, we live on my grandfather’s grant. So sometimes when I don’t have money and he doesn’t have money, it’s a stress.” (TR10)

“No I am not employed, er, I am on a disability grant” (TR14)

“Things are worse than before, nothing is getting better. Right now at the moment we survive by my mother’s pension money ...” (TR15)

“I don’t work. I just sew hairs, I am a hair stylist, mmm, but sometimes not all the time. I earn grant that comes for the twins” (TR20)

{Dependent on working child}

TR02 (see chapter 5 – section 5.4.3 for quote)

{Unemployment experience}

“You know when um – when things are still fresh and you come, the [extended] family will be happy and accept you but when time goes on, things are becoming difficult because my mother wasn’t – she wasn’t working. So things were – were so difficult for them ... Yah I felt like that because other children were getting things, they were getting things for them and I wasn’t getting anything because my mother was not – was not working so having to experience that was not a nice thing” (TR03)

Appendix L

Themes 4-5: Participant's contributions to consequences of IGH

Pseudonyms	Transcript #	Themes 4			Theme 5		
		Secondary traumatisation			Embracing a victim identity		
		4.1	4.2	4.3	5.1	5.2	5.3
Bheki	TR1	■	■		■	■	■
Blessing	TR2		■			■	■
Dorcas	TR3		■	■		■	■
Engameli	TR4		■			■	■
Fikile	TR5	■	■	■			
Hope	TR6		■		■		
Kgosi	TR7	■	■	■	■	■	
Kwanele	TR8		■		■		
Lesedi	TR9		■	■		■	■
Michael	TR10	■	■	■		■	■
Neo	TR11		■		■		
Nhlanhla	TR12	■	■	■	■	■	■
Palesa	TR13	■	■	■	■	■	■
Rapula	TR14		■		■	■	■
Shepherd	TR15	■	■		■	■	■
Susan	TR16		■			■	■
Thandi	TR17	■		■			
Themba	TR18		■			■	■
Tumelo	TR19		■	■	■	■	■
Zandi	TR20		■	■			

Note. Subthemes: 4.1=Grief and bereavement; 4.2=Other negative emotions; 4.3=Traumatic memories; 5.1=Victim family versus non-victim family; 5.2=Continuing injustices; 5.3= Intergenerational implications;

*Please see below how cases were appended and the associated quotes that fall under these themes.

Appending other cases – Themes 4 – 5

Steps taken: Sub-themes from TR13 were used to obtain like themes from other transcripts and new insights were also taken into account (Smith & Osborn, 2003)

SUPERORDINATE THEME 4: ‘SECONDARY TRAUMATISATION’

Subthemes:

4.1 Grief and bereavement

Traumatic death/disappearance of loved one (TR13, TR01, TR05, TR07, TR08, TR09, TR10, TR12, TR17)

Grief experience (TR13, TR01, TR05, TR07, TR08, TR09, TR10, TR12, TR15, TR17)

4.2 Other negative emotions

Anger (TR13, TR02, TR04, TR07, TR10)

Anger turning to hate (TR13, TR01, TR03)

Revenge (TR15, TR04, TR07)

Stressful present-life challenges leading to medical condition (TR10, TR15)

Feeling bad (TR08, TR09, TR12, TR19)

Feeling sad (TR10, TR11)

Apathy (TR02, TR08)

Fear (TR05, TR08)

4.3 Traumatic memories

Painful memories (TR13, TR03, TR05, TR07, TR10, TR17, TR20)

Traumatic mental imagery (TR05, TR18)

Provisional themes that changed

- ‘Traumatic incident’ + ‘death of loved one’ + ‘disappearance of loved one’ were brought together and formed ‘**Traumatic death/disappearance of loved one**’
- ‘Pain/hurt associated with memory’ + ‘Loved one’s death remains in memory’ were brought together and formed ‘**Painful memories**’

Note: Please find below the associated quotes that fall under this theme. Kindly note that quotes that are found in the main dissertation have not been restated unless more information has been added on to the quote. This was done in the interest of space. Where applicable, an appropriate reference was supplied.

4.1 GRIEF AND BEREAVEMENT

{Traumatic death/disappearance of loved one}

“My parents - my father died and my mother she disappeared during those apartheid times ... I still want to know where she-where she went coz I don't know her I – what I know is what they are telling me that she was here during the 10 days of my-of my birth ... After that she disappeared. To where, I have no knowledge, but I still need to know where she went, why did she go? Is she-is she still alive or what” (TR13)

“... he [grandfather] was killed and his remains were blown into pieces and buried somewhere” (TR01)

“Yah four people died at my house – my mother, my brother and also my cousin sister” (TR05)

“When my father came out, it's when they [Inkatha youths] caught him and kill him and my grandmother she was – she was trying to er to call somebody, it was late then they killed her and my dog also they killed it ...” (TR07)

“... er, my brother was attacked – my brother was stabbed and was killed – he was stabbed and killed to death and we found [his body] on the street and my mother was hurt and then crying ‘what have I done? why do I deserve er, er, things like this? er, ‘why my children are – are being killed?’ and then since from that [time], my mother was ill until she passed on” (TR08)

TR09 (see chapter 5 – section 5.5.1 for quote)

“Mmm... so someone sent him a – sent him a parcel telling him that you are going to hear this and this from this parcel I am sending you. Yes, so it happened that when he wanted to listen to that tape, it was, the tape was, was ... that tape and the stereo, they blast his head ... his eyes, his blood – the way it – that room – even today we have never use that room ... So it was bloody everywhere” (TR10)

“Yes he [father] just disappeared. We don't know where he is right now because forensic guys called – called my mother, mmm, they are testing bones you see?” (TR12)

“I received a phone call and I called my mother informing her that um, my father was killed. So my – my biological father was killed in 1992 by the Inkatha. So nine family members were killed ... The group came, the Inkatha group came – so um because they were shooting at people, I had to go in my father's um, coffin to hide” (TR17)

{Grief experience}

“I would say if apartheid was never here, my father would still be alive he would still be here and my mother also would still be here coz I never had the [chance] to get to know them I never knew my father and [crying] if he was here I know maybe my life would have changed, would have been better ... I know if my father was alive he would have done everything in his powers to give us a better life [crying] ... the loss of my father is the one that made me - that affected me - needing a father's love that's all-that's all I have ever-ever wished for” (TR13)

4.1 GRIEF AND BEREAVEMENT (continued)

“... [expels air] It makes me feel robbed, like I – I have – I have certain questions that I want to ask but I don’t know who to ask like if he was still alive maybe my life could have been better or something, I don’t know, but I still feel robbed (TR01)

“... It hurts me, it hurts people, um I always ask my question why, why did they have to treat people like that? Why did people have to die?” (TR05)

“... sometimes when I am sitting alone I can [pause] ehy, I can cry sometimes man” (TR07)

“I feel bad because now I don’t have a mother, my – my brother passed on and I nearly died” (TR08)

TR09 (see chapter 5 – section 5.5.1 for quote)

“Uh! I felt terrible, like, I still feel terrible today, because now at least – even if, even if a person can, can know something about you, that is not how to, to, to, get rid of him! You know? That is not how to get rid of him – because my father died very brutally – it’s very painful” (TR10)

“... Eish! I feel so terrible because everyone when they disappear in my family, they must have the chance to bury her – him or her, you see? So, I don’t [like this] each and every day when I think about it” (TR12)

TR15 (see chapter 5 – section 5.5.1 for quote)

“If my father was here things would be better because normally if I have a problem I would go to my father and he will assist where he can and now I’m alone on my mother’s side and also on my father’s side and I can’t really find work because I have this pain at my back” (TR17)

4.2 OTHER NEGATIVE EMOTIONS

{Anger}

“I am both hurt and angry” (TR13)

“At the moment I’m angry ... I don’t understand like the situation exactly, um, because um, I was helping my granny – I have to deal with the situation of my granny and then suddenly my mother passed on and I am the eldest in the family so I have to take care of my granny and my kids, my siblings, so it’s – it’s hard for me. I think I need, um counselling, maybe if I can get counselling or some other kind of help but I – I have anger, I need to understand some of the things” (TR02)

TR04, TR07 (see chapter 5 – section 5.5.2 for quote)

“After- after my father died there was a lot of anger, it even pushed me to – to carry a gun ...” (TR10)

4.2 OTHER NEGATIVE EMOTIONS (continued)

{Anger turning to hate}

Yoh! I hate apartheid big time. I wish it was never there, coz it destroyed many lives” (TR13)

TR01 (see chapter 5 – section 5.5.2 for quote)

Um yah this thing em, it did bring, ah, pain for us because we were fighting for a right thing and it ended us - it ended up making us hating each other you know because whenever I see a white person, I have that hatred for them (TR03)

{Revenge}

“When I was told about my uncle, I wasn’t happy about what happened, so I tried to make um – to revenge what happened ... I joined [PAC] because of my uncle who passed on – I wanted to revenge the death of my late uncle” (TR15)

“Um, me and my friends we like to go out to – to town on the streets of Vanderbijlpark and we will go to a sports centre where you can play any sports of your choice so I like to play like this rough game like um, rugby and I will be playing with the – the whites and whenever we start playing, I won’t have that – that feeling that, no, maybe I am Black and he is White so I have to be gentle, whatever happened to my mother or my parents it will be like a flash – yes – and then I will play rough with them to – to hurt them” (TR04)

“Ke tla mo tlatsa tlatsa [slang word] – what he does to me I will do it back to him - like revenge. I can easily tell that person to stop what they are doing because I don’t like it but if they continue, and they don’t stop – whatever they are doing to me, I do it back” (TR07)

{Stressful present-life challenges leading to medical condition}

TR10, TR15 (see chapter 5 – section 5.5.2 for quote)

{Feeling bad}

“Ngi feeler kabi [can also be translated ‘I feel bitter’] – I feel bad because now I don’t have a mother, my father – my brother passed on and I nearly died ... even now I am not ok” (TR08)

It [apartheid] makes me feel very bad because it took lives of people who were useful to the family, I can say that they were useful to the family. So without them, it’s - it’s like life - there is no life anymore because you can’t go ahead without them. Yes. (TR09)

Eish! It was very bad during those days It was very bad because people were dying like animals you see, so I, I, I feel so, eish, I feel so bad talking about apartheid coz people, eish, people are widows now (TR12)

4.2 OTHER NEGATIVE EMOTIONS (continued)

“... after that house where they [apartheid police] burned, we never had anywhere where we can live. We always had to search for a new home, until last year when we found a proper home where its – I can call it home. Except that one day they burned it, that is why I say it’s unfair, because after what they did, they didn’t replace our home. We were left with no home ... it makes me feel bad because what my parents have experienced it’s not a small thing at all” (TR19)

{Feeling sad}

“But him [father] because he loved his country, and he loved the people, and he didn’t want people to be treated that way ... he sacrificed his life and – and there is nothing that saddens us than – than – than your life to be cut – than – in life its God who provides life and its God who takes life ... I feel sad. I feel sad. I feel sad. I feel sad, (silence) I feel very sad” (TR10)

Well it makes me feel sad because I wasn’t born like this [disabled due to Boipatong Massacre attack on the family], and there are so many things I can’t do for myself and sometimes I feel like crying you know? Yes, because I also want to experience doing things for myself and I also get tired by asking other people to do things for me (TR11)

{Apathy}

“I take life as it comes, I’m not enthusiastic about anything now because everything has come to a – a standstill” (TR02)

“I don’t enjoy life I just take life as it comes” (TR08)

{Fear}

“I have so many problems – talking about it [attack experience] – I am afraid to talk about it” (TR05)

“Um, I am not feeling good about it [apartheid] because I still have a feeling that this thing can happen again because we are still living next to the hostel dwellers” (TR08)

4.3 TRAUMATIC MEMORIES

{Painful memories}

“... but although-although there is a saying that you can forgive but you will never forget at the end of the day” (TR13)

“Oh it [homeless experience after home was destroyed by apartheid police] was painful. It’s so painful it’s more like you are an orphan ... people will be calling you to go and look after their houses, then after that you go to the other [person] – it’s more like you don’t have where you belong” (TR03)

4.3 TRAUMATIC MEMORIES (continued)

“Sometimes when I speak about it –it’s like I am reliving what happened and I have so many problems – talking about it – I am afraid to talk about it ... It [apartheid] hurts me, it hurts people, um, I always ask my question why, why, did they have to treat people like that? Why did people have to die?” (TR05)

“Yah – it’s pain, it’s painful coz they [grandmother and father] were not there even if you want to go to school ... why we try to think about those things – we must think about other things, we don’t have to think about the past, because you will bring er bad things to your mind and it can affect you because even if you think about those past things, you - start to think about it, you won’t even see when the car is coming in front of you... because you will be deep in thought” (TR07)

“There was nobody who was feeling ok about apartheid ... because apartheid wasn’t doing things the way people wanted them to be done ... it’s very sad, you see, it takes me somewhere but I don’t want to go there ... so there was there was a lot of death and there was a lot of dying” (TR10)

“So that – when I think about that – when I talk about that –that day traumatised me because they shot my father here (indicates the forehead) on the forehead, so I had to witness that” (TR17)

“The story what happened, I was too young, I was five years old when my mother got shot but I know nothing. I only know that she got shot, she was at the gate, that’s it ... I grew up with my aunt’s child. My aunt she’s – she’s older than my mother ... so I grew up knowing my aunt as my mother, so, yah, I didn’t – I didn’t know the whole story ... she [cousin] would tell me ‘that is not your mother, it’s my mother, your mother is dead’ ... I felt very bad – maybe we should stop” (TR20)

{Traumatic mental imagery}

“Sometimes when I speak about it –it’s like I am reliving what happened and I have so many problems – talking about it – I am afraid to talk about it” (TR05)

“I don’t know whether my mother did once show you that photo, that photo affected me, you know, even today I don’t want to see that photo, you know because it’s still in my picture right now yah ... I don’t want to see it again [pause]so since that picture then it’s [voice dies down] yah, but the rest of the thing when I thought to myself I said ah – yah, to forgive you can forgive, but you can’t forget” (TR18)

SUPERORDINATE THEME 5: 'EMBRACING A VICTIM IDENTITY'

Sub-themes:

5.1 Victim family vs. non-victim family

Perceived impeded growth owing to altered family structure (TR13, TR01, TR12)
Perceived differences in education and financial ability (TR06, TR08, TR09, TR11, TR14)
Perceived unfair loss of property (TR19)
Perceived affluence of political leaders (TR10, TR15)

5.2 Continuing injustices

Perceived low-status position of victim-family (TR13, TR01, TR02, TR19)
Experience of poor service delivery (TR07, TR10, TR14, TR18, TR19)
Sense of abandonment (TR13, TR03, TR08, TR10)

5.3 Intergenerational implications

Concern for future generation education and life outcomes (TR09, TR10, TR14)
Expectations older generations place on younger generations (TR03, TR01)

Provisional themes that changed

- 'Considers family structure: having parents that provide for child's needs' was changed to '**Perceived impeded growth owing to altered family structure**'
-
- 'Perception of education as valuable' + 'Perception of having financial ability' was put together to form '**Perceived differences in education and financial ability**'
- 'Shows empathy and understanding of the plight of her population group that experienced apartheid' (TR13) was changed to '**Empathy and understanding of victims of apartheid**'
- Empathy and understanding of victims of apartheid + 'victim-family identity seen at ground level' where put together to form '**Perceived low-status position of victim-family**'

Note: Please find below the associated quotes that fall under this theme. Kindly note that quotes that are found in the main dissertation have not been restated unless more information has been added on to the quote. This was done in the interest of space. Where applicable, an appropriate reference was supplied.

5.1 VICTIM FAMILY VERSUS NON-VICTIM FAMILY

{Perceived impeded growth owing to altered family structure}

“I met up with my friends so we went to school together so she bought a car now ... then she said to me what happened? ... and I told her that you know what girl, during the time – the time we were at school, you had everything, you had your mother, you had your father, you had your sisters who were working for you, so mina [me] I had no one ... At least if I had gone to college, then upgraded my matric, or didn't upgrade then do the M-courses, maybe I would have been somewhere at least” (TR13)

“Yeah, there are people who are fortunate, who are fortunate enough, maybe it's God's way of saying hold on, don't lose hope or something but there are people who are fortunate, ah, those people who – whose grandparents were never victims of apartheid, you – you know what I am saying? Because, people who lost families, a family [that] has a victim of apartheid – it – it ruins you all as a family” (TR01)

TR12 (see chapter 5 – section 5.6.1 for quote)

{Perceived differences in education and financial ability}

“If we were all like educated I mean – no one likes to - likes to be called dumb everyone wants to own their own property or their own cars or own everything [takes deep breath] I mean, imagine looking at your friend or someone like, getting out there [succeeding] I mean, [they] are not the same as me and my family, I mean, let's just say they [victim-family] didn't choose to be like that but it really hurts you know getting to know that your friend would come with a car and you don't have that, I mean, there is no car at your home and there's nothing, yah, those are material things but sometimes they do hurt coz it gets you from point A to point B but they [victim family] didn't choose to be like that let me just say. Apartheid wasn't very nice to them ... I would say, maybe they [non-victim family] got a better opportunity than I did, er yah, a friend of mine she lives just next door she just finished her – her last year university. I couldn't go coz you know, no one would pay for my studies so that hurts a lot but I still support her hey, I had to go look for a job ... I mean I would love to go as far as I can it's just that I can't get funds to get me out there” (TR06)

TR08 (see chapter 5 – section 5.5.3 for quote)

“The ones who have the finance [live a better life] ... I mean the main, the main thing right now is schooling, yah if you go to school then you can get anything that you want when you going for a better job isn't it? ... Anything that you want. If you want to go somewhere, you've got money, you can go wherever you want to, you can do anything you want – buy yourself a house, a car, anything” (TR09)

“Most people I was schooling with, yes, they found jobs and now they are working and I graduated on 2011 and I'm still at home now I haven't found any job but they did, mmm, and they are still telling me that I-I should er – er find a job but they don't understand that I need someone who will take me to work and then bring me home again – I'm-I'm not just like them – coz they can walk and I can't [became disabled during the Boipatong Massacre]” (TR11)

5.1 VICTIM FAMILY VERSUS NON-VICTIM FAMILY (continued)

{Perceived unfair loss of property}

“Why is it happening to me that I start to leave everything behind? Why did they [apartheid police] choose our home because there are still some neighbours there who [were] also [there] at the apartheid time? they [apartheid police] burned our house ... their [non-victim family] home is much more extendable [bigger] than ours, we have to start a new home ... so that’s where it affected me that when am I gonna get like you know a real home?, when am I gonna say that I have my own room – bedroom? because we live in a small room, we cook there, we sleep there, we wake up there and at the end where our previous home [was before] they burned it, the house next door is fine and then they [non-victim family] are growing – they are going forward with life whereas us we don’t have” (TR19)

{Perceived affluence of political leaders}

“The one in powers, the one who – who they were from the previous government, the one who are still in the present government, their friends, their relatives, you know, a lot of people, they are living a good life they are safe, they have – they have a background, they have a background [meaning: they have secure support] ... [they have someone] behind them” (TR10)

“Yes, most of them are our [political] leaders [are living a better life]” (TR15)

5.2 CONTINUING INJUSTICES

{Perceived low-status position of victim-family}

“Man-many black people still suffers from those unhealed wounds ... Those people still suffers, from 1994 till 2014, and we say we live in a democratic world, but you can see in that house ... they are very suffering big time (pause) South Africa has never changed its changed coz they-they are no longer racist, but they are still racist healing racists but saying it didn’t change many youth doesn’t work, our-our government is looking at those high ... places people they are looking only to themselves, they are not look to the ground and people from the ground are the ones suffering, some of them are still hurting, they didn’t-they don’t know how to talk – where do I go and where do I express their feelings about what happened during that [apartheid] time ... makes me very sad coz you-you come in-you sometimes go into someone’s house and you find that she is a-an old woman she’s older than my grandmother–her feet are still like wounded neh? ... and she doesn’t even get paid she-she’s earning a pension-a grant that grant money doesn’t help her to go to the doctors the-the government is doing nothing about that ... they get nothing from the government - saying “this is a reparation for you to go to the doctor”, “this is a reparation for your grandchildren to go to schools and you to get healed”. There is nothing like that ... that is why I’m saying I’m getting hurt big time” (TR13)

“...we are at the grassroots fighting for them to be there, to give them a nice living, so they need to, to treat us fairly and think about all those things that we sacrificed” (TR02)

5.2 CONTINUING INJUSTICES (continued)

“Coz we are still er, er, living in apartheid but its un-ruled apartheid, mmm, it’s an apartheid of individuals where individuals segregate that no, ‘those are the Tsongas they – they live one side’, ‘we are the Sothos’, ‘we are the new generation’, ‘we are the born-frees’, what, what. There are certain groups that do that ... Ah, I think the Boers have achieved what they have always longed for, for us Blacks not to work hand in hand; and we will always see Whites as superior that’s it ... mmm, that’s how I feel like. It started a long time ago, long before I was born ... Ah they [people in power] do treat others unfairly, like they go with positions. People in power see others who like have money, or others in power as like ... as people they should be associated with but us at the lower class, we don’t work, we don’t go to school, we are just peasants to them” (TR01)

{Experience of poor service delivery}

TR07 (see chapter 5 – section 5.6.2 for quote)

“So me I have my own zozo [shack], I have my own zozo in a settlement where we did go and plant our zozos there ... there’s lot of corruption. People who were long time in a waiting list for those houses, they don’t get the houses. Right now my mother has got a title deed ... her house is out but we don’t stay in it – people have taken it, the present government what is it doing? Nothing! ... The house was approved but she’s not staying in it, but the title deed is there. People took those houses – (voice in low tones) yah, give it to their friends – sold it R4000, R5000 ... at the present time, they are doing that, in our own, in our own ruling party. In our own ruling government. The government that our fathers and brothers and sisters sacrificed for to be in power, still its oppressing our brothers and sisters ... I’m talking a personal experience, I’m talking something that I can give you a proof of and say here is a title deed of my mother ... So what’s that? ... It’s something that is coming, to the community, the whole lot of people there in our township ... where I stay – maybe four or five – five ladies who have those houses but they are not staying in them, they are still living in their father’s houses and mother’s houses and they should be - they were supposed to be living [their own lives there] but they are still living with their parents. But our present – our present government they are building billions – houses worth billions” (TR10)

“Surely, under the democratic government apartheid is still existing ... for if we - we counting from the Marikana issue, till today, I don’t know how many people have died for their rights ... Apartheid is still existing, how can black people kill black people for their rights? Because if you are a policeman you killing me, tomorrow when you are protesting for your – for your service delivery or for your money or for your pay, do I have a right to kill you because you are protesting?” (TR10)

TR14 (see chapter 5 – section 5.6.2 for quote)

“You have to give yourself time so that these people talk ... everywhere people are protesting, electricity, etcetera ... they will blame the government, yah they will tell you that they want an RDP house and you know, people are angry to be honest with you, they are angry ... When you look at the 20 years where we are now, there are a lot of some other different things which happened and people they don’t see those things, you know, they see them the other way round that the government doesn’t do anything – no there is a lot ...” (TR18)

5.2 CONTINUING INJUSTICES (continued)

“Everyone now they want those houses, the youth want the houses that they are building in there but not knowing that the other people by the apartheid time need houses, so the government needs to know who is first and who comes behind” (TR19)

{Sense of abandonment}

“We know that our democracy is failing us, our government is failing us big time + So sometimes we have to sit back and just watch them; maybe they (will) come back to us and give us the answers whether everything is gonna be alright or not is gonna be not alright so that’s why I’m saying the government is failing us” (TR13)

“So they did forget about us – TRC for it promised to give us money ... now they are benefitting, they are sitting there at least if they can, if they can try and do something for us” (TR03)

“Like I was injured I went to TRC to tell them my story, but they don’t care. I lost a brother, we’ve lost children, and I am injured – they don’t care about everything that happened to them” (TR08)

“We are humiliated because that family is better than that family – because now, our surname it’s not – it’s not being – being regarded as participants in that apartheid-era to achieve democracy ... There is no acknowledgment – there is nobody saying ‘hey, those guys have worked, go and check on those guys. Are they ok, are they still fine?’” (TR10)

5.3 INTERGENERATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

{Concern for future generation education and life outcomes}

TR09, TR10 (see chapter 5 – section 5.6.3 for quote)

“My dreams and hopes is for the younger one [name supplied] to get back to school and finish his studies now because he did finish matric by now it’s a lack of funds ... It’s only him that I am worried about then with my family, my wife, if I can get something like a small business because when I’m like this [blind], I must get something, an income” (TR14)

{Expectations older generations place on younger generations}

“I don’t know because for me I won’t be fair for a White person and the White person will - will not be – will do the same – maybe the next generation will do that but for me – I can’t, the White man has left a scar, yah, for them it will be easy because they are born free, everything is fine, Tata Nelson Mandela spoke to them – explained the situation to them, made peace um with them... so when you talk to this new generation, they will tell you that ‘I wasn’t there ... so I can’t be involved with something that I wasn’t there’ ... I can – I can forgive but I can’t forget. There is still that I can forgive Kudzai ‘but’ You see? If there is still that ‘but’ meaning things will never work out between me and the White person” (TR03)

“Sometimes I tell her [grandmother] not to talk about that stuff coz I wasn’t there so I don’t wanna know about that stuff” (TR01)

Appendix M

Themes 6 – 8: Participants' contributions on coping

Pseudonyms	Transcript #	Theme 6				Theme 7			Theme 8	
		Coping with grief				Coping with humiliating experiences			Coping with poverty	
		6.1	6.2	6.3	6.4	7.1	7.2	7.3	8.1	8.2
Bheki	TR1	█							█	
Blessing	TR2							█		
Dorcas	TR3							█		
Engameli	TR4									
Fikile	TR5						█	█		
Hope	TR6					█		█	█	
Kgosi	TR7		█					█		
Kwanele	TR8	█			█					
Lesedi	TR9			█						
Michael	TR10	█					█	█		
Neo	TR11							█		
Nhlanhla	TR12							█		
Palesa	TR13				█			█		
Rapula	TR14							█		
Shepherd	TR15							█	█	
Susan	TR16									
Thandi	TR17		█							
Themba	TR18			█		█				
Tumelo	TR19							█		
Zandi	TR20		█					█		

Note. Subthemes: 6.1= Cognitive reappraisal; 6.2= Avoidance/trying to forget; 6.3=Closure; 6.4=Family support; 7.1=Staying positive; 7.2=Suicidal ideation; 7.3= Silence vs. expressiveness; 8.1= Taking responsibility for own development; 8.2= Family support

*Please see below how cases were appended and the associated quotes that fall under these themes.

Appending other cases – Themes 6 – 8

Steps taken: Sub-themes from TR13 were used to obtain like themes from other transcripts and new insights were also taken into account (Smith & Osborn, 2003)

SUPERORDINATE THEME 6: ‘COPING WITH GRIEF’

Sub-themes:

6.1 *Cognitive reappraisal* (TR01, TR08, TR10)

6.2 *Avoidance/trying to forget* (TR01, TR07, TR17, TR20)

6.3 *Closure* (TR09, TR18)

6.4 *Familial support* (TR13, TR08)

Provisional themes that changed

‘Avoidance’ and ‘Trying to forget’ were put together to form ‘**Avoidance/trying to forget**’

Note: Please find below the associated quotes that fall under this theme. Kindly note that quotes that are found in the main dissertation have not been restated unless more information has been added on to the quote. This was done in the interest of space. Where applicable, an appropriate reference was supplied.

6.1 COGNITIVE REAPPRAISAL

{**Cognitive reappraisal**}

TR01 (see chapter 5 – section 5.7.1 for comment)

TR08 (see chapter 5 – section 5.7.1 for comment)

“I want someone to depend on ... but I can’t – I can’t cry that my father – my father died, so when my father died [does] that mean I don’t – I no longer have a life? My father died, but I still have a life to live” (TR10)

6.2 AVOIDANCE/TRYING TO FORGET

{**Avoidance/Trying to forget**}

TR01 (see chapter 5 – section 5.7.2 for quote)

TR07 (see chapter 5 – section 5.7.2 for quote)

TR17 (see chapter 5 – section 5.7.2 for quote)

“When it comes to that my mother story, it hurts me ... only that people were killed [during apartheid], they were being hurt emotionally, but I – I don’t have much to say – but I – they told me, but mmm, I become emotional so I prefer not to talk about it” (TR20)

6.3 CLOSURE

TR09 (see chapter 5 – section 5.7.3 for quote)

“We took years to know where he is, er, er it was roughly between 2001 and 2002. That’s why I am saying I thank the government for that – for – it’s them who made us to, you know, yah, to reach where we are. Uh to be honest, I mean, thirteen years with everybody’s dream, or wish [of finding brother] Yah but you know, our wish is you could see [him] by the eyes you know? If you see somebody waking up smiling, you know, if he is not in a good mood you could see from the eyes then you could ask what’s wrong, you know? Yah, as I said, it [finding brother] healed me, yah it was hectic, looking for a person you don’t know where to find, where to – you know, and especially Khulumani, you guys, you came through [laughter] (TR18)

6.4 FAMILIAL SUPPORT

“Well, I will say I’m healing every time when my grandmother talks to me, I see through her that she’s been healed if she wasn’t healed, I would say, I would never be healed coz she came around the fact that he’s [father] dead, and he’s not gonna come back and at the end of the day, we need to accept that he is never coming back and we need to forgive” (TR13)

TR08 (see chapter 5 – section 5.7.4 for quote)

SUPERORDINATE THEME 7: ‘COPING WITH HUMILIATING EXPERIENCES’

Sub-themes:

7.1 *Staying positive* (TR06, TR18, TR19)

7.2 *Suicidal ideation* (TR05, TR10)

7.3 *Silence vs. expressiveness* (TR06, TR07, TR10, TR12, TR14, TR15, TR19)

Silent family (TR13, TR03, TR05, TR10, TR20)

Expressive family (TR13, TR06, TR07, TR12, TR14, TR15, TR19)

Provisional themes that changed

‘Silent family’ and ‘Expressive family’ where put together to form ‘**Silence vs. expressiveness**’

Note: Please find below the associated quotes that fall under this theme. Kindly note that quotes that are found in the main dissertation have not been restated unless more information has been added on to the quote. This was done in the interest of space. Where applicable, an appropriate reference was supplied.

7.1 STAYING POSITIVE

TR 06 (see chapter 5 – section 5.8.1 for quote)

“... it’s simple to ignore things which are trying to hit somewhere into your heart, it’s easy for me because I could just take my guitar or maybe take my percussion, or maybe play music – just listen to music, then think about that situation that happened and that music will heal me – I used to say that “this is stupid, that’s how they [Whites] are but they are going nowhere” because if you have a future and a vision, then you foresee the weak point of the perpetrator ... As I said they were trying to, you know, hit you down ... I have this mentality I can fall down but when I stand up, then I ignore it, you know? Then I move forward. Yah, it helped me that way because, if I could’ve concentrated [on] those things, I don’t think I should have been where I am today. Yah, because that’s why I am saying that once you start concentrating on a thing which is negative, yah, it’s gonna lock your mind in – your mind into this negative-ness ... Yah, so I tried to move that negative from my mind – I believe in positive things” (TR18)

“At the end we can all have cars but its’ how we got them ... it’s what makes the difference. So I always tell myself that I will reach there, I am still going through some obstacles, maybe he [from non-victim family] just got there fine but I’m still gonna go there, at the end we will all have cars” (TR19)

7.2 SUICIDAL IDEATION

“When someone hurts you, someone disrespects you, someone [makes you] feel like you are not at the same like level ... like most of my friends were humiliating me because [reason withheld] ... I drink too much ... I was raped, my father has taken another wife and he doesn’t give me any support ... I have three children, one stays with the father and the other two stay in foster care ... I feel I should just take tablets and die ... so I am asking myself why all of this happening to me and why I had to face this? ... I done that [attempted suicide] twice” (TR05)

TR10 (see chapter 5 – section 5.8.2 for quote)

7.3 SILENCE VS. EXPRESSIVENESS

{Silent family}

“Not much coz my-my aunt, she doesn’t talk much coz she-she was very close to my-to my father; Every time, talking about that brings back hard feelings to her” (TR13)

TR03 (see chapter 5 – section 5.8.3 for quote)

“He [brother] went there, I don’t know - they shot him or they stabbed him I don’t know, coz he died on my mother’s bed – I don’t know what happened to him coz my dad doesn’t talk about it that much ... I always ask my question why, why did they have to treat people like that? Why did people have to die?” (TR05)

“We have family gatherings like maybe sometimes, like if there is a funeral somewhere we meet as family then we talk, but we don’t want to go there because it creates anger, it creates pain. Sometimes, someone can talk something that you can’t – you can’t like swallow it and – and put it in your heart and say, uh, it’s gone” (TR10)

TR20 (see chapter 5 – section 5.8.3 for quote)

{Expressive family}

I: “Ok, ok um so from the story that you have just shared with me can we-can we say then that your er, your grandparent - you know - she talks to you a lot about what happened during apartheid?”

P: “Yes she does” (TR13)

“Yah, she [grandmother] shared most of her experiences with us all what happened like when it was like apartheid time ... she always shares like her experiences with us so that we don’t repeat the same things that happened way back when we have like, em, like chances to do better than what she did” (TR06).

TR06 (see chapter 5 – section 5.8.3 for quote)

TR07 (see chapter 5 – section 5.8.3 for quote)

“Yes I have a chance to talk to – to them [aunts and uncles] about apartheid” (TR12)

TR14 (see chapter 5 – section 5.8.3 for quote)

“I started hearing the stories about apartheid in 1984. That my uncle, from the father’s side passed on – er he was with my mother. It was the day of the Sharpeville massacre” (TR15)

TR19 (see chapter 5 – section 5.8.3 for quote)

SUPERORDINATE THEME 8: ‘COPING WITH POVERTY’

Sub-themes:

8.1 Taking responsibility for own development

Plans to get a job and save for educational programme (TR13, TR06)

Plans to own a business (TR10, TR14)

8.2 Familial support

Non-material support (TR06, TR10)

Material support (TR13, TR02, TR15)

Note: Please find below the associated quotes that fall under this theme. Kindly note that quotes that are found in the main dissertation have not been restated unless more information has been added on to the quote. This was done in the interest of space. Where applicable, an appropriate reference was supplied.

8.1 TAKING RESPONSIBILITY FOR OWN DEVELOPMENT

{Plans to get a job and save for educational programme}

“I wanted to be a social worker, um, when time went on, seeing that my – my – grandmother doesn’t have the – the – resources to take me to go to social work, then I told her that I’m gonna work hard, find piece jobs and take myself – go to school and I’m going to work as a paramedic ... going back to school, doing what I want will change everything ... I was telling myself every job I find, I’m going to save to become a paramedic, coz it’s still not too late ... I still need to – to upgrade my matric results and it needs money to go study again” (TR13)

TR06 (see chapter 5 – section 5.9.1 for quote)

{Plans to own a business}

“I can open up a business, I can maybe eh, eh, eh, construct gates and stuff and – you see – like go on and be a lawyer. Uyabona? [You see?] ... You get my point of view sisi [sister] that I believe to be my own boss ... by having that - that small business, you can pay insurance for your children that maybe when - when I pass away, they will provide my children with an education fund that my children can go on at school – can live a better life ... because it’s very – it is very warming to go to school knowing that you have food, you have money to buy sweets at school ... but it’s sad if you go to school, you don’t have nothing. You won’t be like the other children at school, you will be angry at school” (TR10)

TR14 (see chapter 5 – section 5.9.1 for quote)

8.2 FAMILIAL SUPPORT

{Non-material support}

“... in terms of education, it wasn’t easy for them coz [she] had to do ... Bantu education and yah, so she [grandmother] couldn’t like carry on with her studies coz it wasn’t easy like we do have, so she always

says like ‘you are privileged to like have the, er, ability to go to school ... so just don’t mess it up on things that mean nothing, when we wanted the chance we didn’t get it but still since you have it, so use it’ like my grandmother wants us to be better than what she has now. That’s what is important to my grandmother you know? [takes a deep breath] She wants us to be, er, the best like grandchildren so that when she’s not here we’re able to-we’re solid enough to like experience the world without her ... but she is the strongest one, so if she can do it, so can we” (TR06)

“My grandmother, was someone who was a straight talker, [she] did tell me that, if you want – if you want a trouser, you should wake up and go and sell steel wool. I sold from ten years [of age], I was selling steel wool enter house to house selling steel wool on a Saturday if I am not at school, so that next week when I want to go to school, I have money for lunch, I have money for school shoes, I have money for school shirt. Everything I had, I had to work for it” (TR10)

{Material support}

“My grandmother she is only earning R1,200.00 per month [pension money] and we have to buy food, buy electricity, she sometimes have to buy me – give money to go buy clothes ...” (TR13)

“The only person who helps is my grandma’s child, the last child. So he is the one who is helping financially” (TR02)

“We are a close family ... right now at the moment we survive by my mother’s pension money – but as long as we can eat and we can, um take a bath and then through the grace of God everything’s fine” (TR15)

Appendix N

IF/Then/Therefore/Thus Matrix

Findings through recommendations			
Findings If I find this	Interpretations Then I think this means	Conclusions Therefore I conclude that	Recommendations Thus I recommend that
What are the causes if intergenerational humiliation? Findings reveal that the causes of intergenerational humiliation within a South African context lie within the events that occurred during apartheid, time of transition to democracy and socio-economic deprivation due to poor income opportunities for surviving spouse (primary generation)			
Owing to the attitudes and activities of the apartheid police, their manner and speech some participants or their family members were mistreated as a result.	Presence of an unequal power relationship owing to the mistreatment that transpired	These scenarios have the potential to cause intergenerational humiliation	Further research to find out more about humiliation. As a first step, develop an indigenous humiliation measure similar to Hartling and Luchetta (1999)
During escalated intergroup conflict some participants lost family members and others suffer physical injuries from personal encounters.	Presence of an unequal power relationship owing to the mistreatment that transpired		
Participants shared their familial experiences of poverty owing to low income; absent earnings due to unemployment; and dependence on alternative income that is not enough.	Socio-economic deprivation caused by the structural legacy of apartheid		

Note. Adapted from: “Drawing Trustworthy Conclusions and Actionable Recommendations” by L. D. Bloomberg & M. Volpe, 2012, *Completing Your Qualitative Dissertation: A Roadmap from Beginning to End*, p. 204. Copyright 2012 by SAGE Publications.

Appendix N (continued)

IF/Then/Therefore/Thus Matrix

Findings through recommendations			
Findings If I find this...	Interpretations Then I think this means...	Conclusions Therefore I conclude that...	Recommendations Thus I recommend that...
What are the consequences of intergenerational humiliation?			
Findings reveal that participants have been affected emotionally, psychologically as well as socio-economically as a consequence			
Participants are still haunted by historical trauma despite the period of years that have passed. They still feel the hurt of losing a loved one and have painful memories of what happened.	Participants suffer complicated grief where historical trauma is interrupting their grieving process.	IGH had an impact on the emotional, psychological and socio-economic needs of participants	Provision of adequate support services to cater for their emotional, psychological and socio-economic needs
Owing to events that happened in the past, participants seem to be embracing a victim-identity as they compare their present life circumstances with those who did not suffer a similar fate, are frustrated by continuing injustice. As a result, some participants are uncertain of the life outcomes of their children going forward.	Participants may be embracing a victim-identity/identifying with what happened to primary generations		

Note. Adapted from “Drawing Trustworthy Conclusions and Actionable Recommendations” by L. D. Bloomberg & M. Volpe, 2012, *Completing Your Qualitative Dissertation: A Roadmap from Beginning to End*, p. 204. Copyright 2012 by SAGE Publications.

Appendix N (continued)

IF/Then/Therefore/Thus Matrix

Findings through recommendations			
Findings If I find this	Interpretations Then I think this means	Conclusions Therefore I conclude that	Recommendations Thus I recommend that
How do they deal with these consequences?			
Findings reveal that when positive coping strategies were adopted, coping with the consequences of IGH was possible. Negative coping strategies made coping difficult. Material and familial support are important in helping participants cope.			
Positive coping strategies seemed to assist participants in coping.	The presence of familial and material support seemed to promote the ability to positively cope while their absence promoted maladaptive coping	Positive interventions may hinder IGH transmissions while negative coping may promote them.	Conduct a family systems intergenerational study that helps to ascertain conditions that help to alleviate IGH transmissions to subsequent generations.
Negative coping strategies promote maladaptive coping.			Focus on:
Grandparents appreciated by third-generation for advice in handling grief and poverty			i) Communication patterns in the family unit
Family relations helped some participants materially with their needs following the absence of a breadwinner			ii) Grand-mother role
			iii) The influence of material support

Note. Adapted from “Drawing Trustworthy Conclusions and Actionable Recommendations” by L. D. Bloomberg & M. Volpe, 2012, *Completing Your Qualitative Dissertation: A Roadmap from Beginning to End*, p. 204. Copyright 2012 by SAGE Publications.